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IFDA DOSSIER 21 , JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1981

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IFDA DOSSIER 21 , JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1981

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The note on 'The IFDA Dossier in 1981' which appeared on the last page of Dossier 20 has provoked such an adverse reaction that we have to backtrack.

We shall therefore endeavour, this year, to publish six rather than four issues of the Dossier, and airmailing will be continued.

Reasons for this are twofold.

First, surface mailing - we have been told, and we now realize better - entails long delays in delivery in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This would be tantamount to discrimination against readers in the Third World - something, needless to say, in total opposition to IFDA policies.

Second, a quarterly publication may slow down the process of exchanging experiences and ideas and hamper our effort to provide a tribune to 'unheard voices' and to the third system. It was also the view of IFDA Executive Committee, at its Ottawa meeting in November, that the frequency of the Dossier should be maintained.

These changes imply an additional financial burden at a time when resources for our kind of activities have become more difficult to obtain. In order to save on both printing and mailing costs, we shall circulate Dossiers of 96 pages rather than 132 pages. We shall also endeavour to find additional resources. One step in this direction would be for readers in industrialized countries to follow the example of those having already subscribed, as invited in Dossier 20. The prices will remain unchanged, but they will apply to six thinner rather than to four thicker issues. Further, supporting contributions from institutions and individuals in a position to do so would be most welcome.

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IFDA DOSSIER 21 , JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1981

BUILDING BLOCKS

ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT WITH WOMEN

Last year the world conference of the United Nations Decade for Women took place in Copenhagen (Denmark) at both inter-governmental and third system levels. Whatever was started or was given impetus at Copenhagen now requires concrete steps towards equality, development and peace. We intend to contribute, however modestly, to the battle. This issue of the IFDA Dossier includes four papers by D. Bandyopadhyay, Eva Zabolai-Csekme, Krishna Ahooja-Patel (which together constitute the first 'building block' of this issue) and by Lucille Mair ('markings').

Further, and in order to follow up an effort which started with the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Project 1/, we are discussing with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and the Association of African Women for Research and Development (cf. p.12) the possibility of organizing a joint seminar on Another Development with women.

1/ Cf. Krishna Ahooja-Patel, 'Another development for women' in Marc Nerfin (ed), Another development, Approaches and Strategies (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1977) copies of which could be obtained from the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Övre Slottsgatan 2, S-752 20 Uppsala, Sweden).

D. Bandyopadhyay */

TRAVAILS OF MIGRANT TRIBAL WOMEN

They issued no declaration. They prepared no manifesto. There was no thunder. There was no rhetoric. Haltingly, almost shyly, they raised a few simple but basic issues. They questioned the rationale of the present social arrangement and the ethics and legitimacy of the process of development which, over the decades, ignored and bypassed them. They doubted the possibility of peaceful transformation of society where the strong were expected to surrender to the weak their privileges without demur and without resistance. They had assembled in the Jhilimili Reorientation Camp for migrant women workers. (May 22-25, 1980). Initially they appeared to be bewildered. They were young and old, married and unmarried, divorced and deserted. Children accompanied their mothers - and there were a few sucklings.

That they mattered surprised them all. That their problems could be subject of intense discussion made them rather uneasy. Their menfolk were not very unwilling to let them come unescorted. Perhaps the women might get some relief, they thought. The annual migration would have to be undertaken soon; it was a period of penury. So, if the women and children were fed by the Government it would mean a welcome relief to their strained family budget. So they allowed their women to join the camp.

They came from half a dozen villages of wooded uplands in the north-western corner of the district of Bankura in the Ranibandh block. They were thirty-four in all. They were Santhals, Kherias and Scheduled Caste Hindus. None of them knew how to read and write. Excepting a couple of them none had any land. Quite a few among them did not have even homestead plots. They were all

*/ The author is Land Reforms Commissioner, Land and Land Reforms Department, Calcutta (article published in Mainstream, June 14, 1980).

agricultural workers who migrated two to four times a year to the lowlands in search of work.

Slowly they overcame their shyness and started talking softly but sharply about their economic, social and family problems. They wondered why it was that they had to leave their villages and homes every year several times and migrate in groups along with their menfolk and children to Burdwan and Hooghly for work. They wanted to know why they could not get employment in the neighbourhood.

Migration caused immense trouble to them. Agents would come from these distant lowlands, organise them in groups and make them walk from the villages through the wooded hilly terrain to the bus stops. They would be taken to Bankura where they would not know where to stay with their children and a few belongings. They would sleep on the railway platforms or on the outer verandahs of shops in the market. Shopkeepers would drive them out. Other railway passengers would resent their presence.

They would wait for two or three days to get accommodation either in the light railway or in a bus. In both cases some babu passengers would object to their presence or make derisive and not infrequently lewd remarks about their figure, social habits, ignorance and rusticity. They would not allow them to sit. With children on their lap or back and some tugging at their saris, pressed and jostled, they would arrive at their destinations hungry and exhausted. It would be the same again when they would come back.

Each time they returned, they brought back in cash about Rs. 30 to Rs. 70 after meeting their expenses there. On the way back they would make little purchases in Bankura bazar and with the remaining cash they would repay the advances they had taken from the money-lenders. To avoid the complication of calculation, the

money-lenders made very simple arrangements. They charged Rs. 5/- per Rs. 10/- per month as interest. After repaying the loan with interest they would be penniless again. The cycle would start afresh - indebtedness, hard work at low wages, migration and repayment. They disliked the seasonal migration to the irrigated areas of Burdwan and Hooghly. They wanted work and employment in their own villages.

They thought that if there could be irrigation resulting in double or triple cropping, they would get enough employment. They would not have to go to distant areas for work and income. But a few of them during the discussion raised the question why the land-owners of Hooghly and Burdwan inducted tribal labour from the uplands of Bankura and Birbhum instead of engaging local labour. They thought double-cropping in the area perhaps pushed up the wages of local labour and that encouraged the land-owners and their agents to bring cheaper labour from afar. So bringing in irrigation in their own locality might not assure full employment to them. The land-owners might organise similar migration from Chhotanagpur region to cultivate their lands and harvest the crop. So from irrigation they moved on to a more fundamental issue - the problem of land alienation and restoration of alienated land.

All of them stated that they had heard that either their grandfather or their great-grandfather did possess land in the area. They had brought the culturable lands in the valleys under cultivation by clearing the jungle and removing stones. Soon thereafter, through indebtedness or just physical threat, they lost their land and became agricultural workers. They had also heard that the Government had vested some land belonging to some big land-owners. They did not know who got these surplus lands and wondered why they were not given these lands. They knew well that a small parcel of land of an acre or so in this infertile area would not yield sufficient income or crop to meet their needs for a year. But the fact that they had land and the fact that it

would at least provide some insurance against starvation and hunger would certainly enhance their bargaining power vis-a-vis the land-owners, which would result in increase in wage rates. They identified landlessness as the major cause of their poverty and migration. They demanded land and irrigation and the where-withal to cultivate the land without any dependence on money-lenders.

The women tribal workers received lower rates of wages. While the men got 3 pais */ of paddy for a full day's work, the women-folk would get 2 to 2½ pais for the same quantum of work. On top of it, while menfolk would waste their income in drinking liquor and merry-making, the entire burden of maintaining the family and looking after the children would fall on the women. They resented this discrimination. They were surprised to know that there was a law which prohibited differential wage rates between men and women for the same kind of work. They asserted that the intensity of work of women workers was greater than that of the men. This was in spite of the fact that even during the work time they had to feed the children who were either left on the high field boundaries or wallowed in the mud and slush in the field.

Their main grievance was against the forest policy of the Government. For the tribal women forest provided basic means of livelihood. They used to collect free of cost fruits, flowers or leaves of mohua, peasal, kendu and other trees. They used to gather kendu leaves and brushwoods and other minor forest produce without paying any charge to anybody. But during the last three decades gradually their customary rights had been abrogated. They were harassed, prosecuted, insulted - and above all were deprived of their supplemental income from forests.

*/ Local volumetric measure; paddy of one pai weigh slightly less than a kilogram.

In the course of the discussion it came out that not infrequently some of the tribal men and women would cut standing trees, and shape them as poles for sale in the market. They conceded that this was a reprehensible practice. They would not mind action against such persons who harmed the forest. Forest to them was a source of livelihood and by tradition and custom they would never do anything that would cause any harm to it. But they wondered why, while so much concern was shown about preventing them from exercising their customary rights in the forest, no one bothered when the contractors clear felled huge areas and left gaping blanks in the forests. They complained that the contractors always took away more wood than their permits allowed. Such deforestation by contractors caused more harm to the forest than collection of brushwood or even occasional lopping of live branches.

The Santhals knew the utility of forest much more than anybody else. Left to themselves they would protect it. They resented the interference of the Government in the exercise of their customary rights. According to their folklore their customary rights were recognised by the British Raj after the great 'Hul' (revolt). But it appeared strange that the Government which professed sympathy for them should withdraw the same rights and stop their major source of supplemental income, and even prevent them from living on forest fruits in the lean months. An old woman wondered whether they would have to organise another 'Hul' to restore the rights that were given to them six score years ago following the great rebellion.

They talked about changing social relations, particularly those which affected women adversely. In the tribal area the previous practice of paying 'bride price' had been substituted recently by the dowry system. Bridegrooms demanded costly items like bicycle, transistor, big torch and other consumer durables. Many tribal parents could not afford to pay dowry except by selling their

meagre possessions. Among the participants were a number of girls who remained unmarried because of their parents' inability to pay dowry.

What caused an even greater sense of insecurity among tribal women was the easy process by which husbands deserted their legally married wives. Not only quite a number of tribal husbands did not contribute anything for the maintenance of the family, often they deserted their wives on flimsy grounds and married other women accepting lower dowries. The tribal women had never felt so insecure before. The old system of tribal panchayat where the women could lodge a complaint about the misbehaviour of the husband had fallen into disuse. Further, panchayats being wholly dominated by men, women hardly ever got justice or relief.

They demanded legal security against desertion and stringent law against divorce. As a measure of protection, they demanded equal property rights for women. The least that could be done was to record the homestead plots in the names of the women. If the properties were in their names, husbands would think twice before deserting them. They also wanted some social security for such abandoned women and wondered whether land could be assigned to them separately.

They expressed great concern about the welfare of their children who accompanied them during their migration to the lowlands. Women had to work as hard as the men. Most of the jobs being contractual in nature, they had no fixed working hours. They worked from sunrise to sunset, and often late into the evening on full-moon nights. They had to complete the job within a fixed period and move on to some other job elsewhere.

They were working hard for bringing up their children. If the children suffered or died of disease what was the need for their

working? They had to prepare meals before they left for the field and do the same after they came back. Children accompanying them had to suffer untold agony during the entire period of their work. Often they died of snake bite, fever or dysentery. They demanded extra wages to engage some old women to look after their children during the working hours. They knew that no one would listen to them unless they organised themselves to put pressure on the employers. They wondered whether the Government machinery or any other organisation could help them to arrest high mortality among the children during the period of migration.

Someone talked about the importance of education of children. They cut him short by stating that they knew the utility of education of children - both boys and girls. But could anyone solve their problem? Children demanded food in the morning and some wearing apparel before they went to school and the parents could not afford these. Instead, if they could engage their boys as cowherds, at least a meagre meal is assured and in addition they might earn fifty paise per head of cattle per month or one bag of paddy in a year. Formal schooling meant loss of income and extra cost of feeding the child in the morning. Therefore, free primary education was not free for them.

They could not send their girls to school because they helped the mothers in household chores, particularly in looking after the young ones. Mother had to go to the field or forest to earn a living. The young girls looked after household work. But they wondered why classes could not be held in the evening when both boys and girls could attend without losing their earnings or usefulness. They knew that most of the present teachers would not agree to this change. They wanted teachers from their own community who understood their problems to undertake this new type of educational programme.

What they talked about at Jhilimili are perhaps universal problems of tribal migrant workers all over the country. What distinguished this group was their clear perception of the basic problem and unambiguous exposition of it. Their participation a few years ago in the kendu leaf movement for enhancement of price of leaves collected by them taught them the value of group action. The price went up from 10 pais for 600 leaves to 8 pais per 100 leaves. They knew that their weakness lay in their disunity and they were also aware that poverty divided them and made them compete among themselves for the limited opportunities. The same merchants who yielded to their joint action played one against the other and succeeded in again reducing substantially the price of kendu leaf.

These merchants also deprived them of extra income from rope-making from sabai grass by exporting grass to manufacturing units in industrial towns. Their utter resourcelessness resulting in lack of staying power made them vulnerable to manipulation by merchants, land-owners, money-lenders and corrupt officials. Therefore they demanded asset redistribution in their favour and guaranteed employment to enhance their bargaining capacity.

It was their camp. They posed their own problems. They thought of possible solutions. They were convinced that the critical factor in bringing about any significant change in the existing situation was organisation. Such an organisation could not develop without some external support. They were also aware that this might be dangerous. Their economic advancement would certainly affect some others adversely. Confrontation was unavoidable. All that they wished was that if and when it came, the sarkar which organised the camp should not be on the other side.

L'AFARD, UNE ASSOCIATION DE FEMMES "CHERCHEURS" */

Ces dernières années, de nombreux intellectuels africains, chercheurs et éducateurs, concernés par les problèmes de développement se sont rendu compte de la nécessité d'approfondir leurs connaissances sur les réalités politiques, économiques, sociales et culturelles de leurs pays afin de contribuer à la recherche de solutions capables de remédier à la situation de sous-développement et de dépendance que connaît le continent africain.

Des associations spécialisées ont ainsi vu le jour. Mais il s'est avéré que, dans la plupart d'entre elles, la question féminine continuait à faire office de parent pauvre, qu'elle demeurait la chasse gardée des non-africains et que nos plans de développement ne faisaient pas mention des femmes.

Des femmes africaines, parce qu'impliquées dans des projets de recherche ou d'actions pour le développement, parce qu'insatisfaites des résultats des recherches menées par des non-africains, ont alors senti la nécessité de se regrouper pour échanger leurs expériences et discuter des priorités et des méthodes de recherche.

Une première assemblée consultative a réuni, à Lusaka (Zambie), en décembre 1976, un noyau de femmes chercheurs venant de différents pays africains. Ce groupe s'est fixé les objectifs suivants:

1. regrouper les femmes africaines impliquées dans des projets de recherche, ou d'actions communautaires;
2. définir les priorités de recherche et évaluer les outils méthodologiques;
3. jeter les bases d'un réseau dont le rôle sera le réexamen des recherches en cours sur les femmes en Afrique.

Pour ce faire, le groupe a décidé de se constituer en une "Association de Femmes Africaines pour la Recherche et le Développement" et d'organiser un séminaire intitulé: "Les Femmes Africaines et le Développement: La Décolonisation de la Recherche". Ce séminaire qui s'est tenu à Dakar en décembre 1977 s'est efforcé, notamment, de:

1. discuter et établir une orientation théorique capable d'aider à un réexamen des conceptions actuelles dans le domaine de la recherche. Dans ce sens, il est préconisé de décourager la recherche à seules fins académiques et il est fait insistance sur la nécessité de l'orienter de manière à ce qu'elle contribue à la résolution des problèmes urgents et quotidiens de nos peuples;
2. faire la critique des points de vue actuels sur le développement en Afrique et leur impact sur la condition de la femme pour apporter des éléments nouveaux quant au rôle des femmes dans le processus de l'indépendance politique, économique, sociale et culturelle de nos pays. Cela nécessitera une réévaluation des conceptions sur la place de la femme dans le développement rural, des idées néo-malthusiennes quant au contrôle de la fécondité, des points de vue sur l'industrialisation et son impact sur les femmes, des besoins en matière de recherches et de l'utilisation des résultats.

*/ Associations des femmes africaines pour le recherche sur le développement, Boîte postale 3186, Dakar, Sénégal.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AFTER COPENHAGEN*

Éva Zabolai-Csekme

When H.M. The Queen of Denmark, Margarethe II, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, Ms Helvi Sipilä, Assistant Secretary General of the UN for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, Ms Lucille Mair, Secretary General of the Conference and others delivered their opening speeches, the air in the plenary hall, packed with more than 2,500 people, was full of expectations. This conference, for which many have worked hard during the past few years, was to advance the cause of women by a large step, thereby improving the lot of humankind as a whole. For lately, it has become increasingly clear that by challenging those structures which subjugate half of the world's population, women are attempting to shake the forces which are perpetuating injustice, exploitation and disregard for human rights in general.

This recognition makes us women aware that our struggle could bring about much desired social changes for the benefit of the total global community, but also that this is a more complex and demanding task than previously imagined.

This complexity was more than evident in Copenhagen where the conference was dominated by political struggles and where the constant emphasis on particular issues overshadowed other equally important ones. These facts are in a sense not surprising, for we women are formed by the socio-political realities and as such mirror the existing world situation. Copenhagen, besides its achievements, such as the adoption of a Programme of Action for the coming five years and the signing of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women by more than sixty states, reflected the state of affairs of our torn world with all its hopes and fears. We can accept this state of affairs as the undesired yet real situation, but we can never allow ourselves to be satisfied with it. The many challenges and dangers which our societies are facing have to lead us to more critical reflections on our movement, to more creative and more efficient actions and to an increased readiness to change our own attitudes.

* *World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, Copenhagen, 14 - 30 July 1980.*
Lutheran World Federation, Women, Newsletter No. 16, October 1980.
(150, rte de Ferney, CH-1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland).

The 1980s are ahead of us with somber economic forecasts, with increasing suffering through extreme poverty, malnutrition and starvation, with continuing exploitation of our natural resources, with growing political tensions and with the menacing arms race. A concentrated effort is necessary to bring about radical changes. While each period in history has had its particular problems, humankind has never faced so many different challenges and dangers, including the possibility of total annihilation, as it does now. It is impossible to view the women's movement outside the context of this extremely complex situation. We therefore have to ask the following questions:

- A. What dangers does the women's movement face in this particular moment of human history?
- B. In what way can the women's movement contribute to the desired socio-political and economic changes?
- C. What strategies are needed to reach the desired goals?

- A. What dangers does the women's movement face in this particular moment of human history ?

Since the situation of women is inseparable from the socio-political and economic conditions, the present circumstances both endanger the women's movement and provide it with new opportunities.

1) Every threat to the well-being of a nation or to its national security increases protectionism and nationalism, giving the desire for international solidarity lower priority in view of a threat to those factors which are an integral part of peoples identity. The Copenhagen conference clearly demonstrated this. The present political and ideological struggle retard and endanger the development of an international solidarity among women. (The study of the efforts of The Second Socialist International to develop an international solidarity among the working class and thereby avert the First World War, as well as of the factors which prevented these hopes from materializing, provides us with interesting parallels.)

2) Although much effort has already been made to portray the condition of women as an economic, political and social issue, governments, international organizations and NGOs as well as voluntary agencies tend to view it solely within the social framework. This false perception is

not only dangerous because it leads to a lopsided awareness and therefore to an insufficient response to the problems, but because social issues tend to receive lower priority in times of crisis. If the socio-political or economic situation deteriorates, we women will face increased neglect of our problems, unless we succeed in convincing decision-makers that a change in the status of women and the re-evaluation of values and tasks traditionally assigned to us would benefit humankind as a whole.

3) As a result of the International Women's Decade and other related efforts there is an undeniable increase in the awareness of the situation of women. There is a more profound understanding in certain circles, but in general this awareness remains a superficial one. While it is "considered proper" to write a paragraph or two about women when treating socio-economic questions, decisions concerning national policies, modes of production, advertizing, formal and non-formal education, primary health care, etc., reflect hardly any change in consciousness. Superficial concessions, however, can serve to pacify without changing the status quo. Insufficient awareness can therefore be as dangerous as no awareness at all.

4) A further danger lies in the fact that questions related to the status of women are regarded as problems of women and not as problems of humankind as a whole. It is imperative that the women's movement effect a thorough change in the present understanding. For it is obvious that those who profit from the exploitation of others will not promote change unless they learn that this is also in their own interest.

B. In what way can the women's movement contribute to the desired socio-political and economic changes ?

Every moment of chaos hides a moment of chaïros (opportune time); that is, every complex situation poses dangers and creates possibilities. Great leaders and new ways of thinking have usually emerged at times of need.

The women's movement started responding to the challenges of our time by focusing its objectives on the responsible participation of women in the creation of a more humane future for human-kind as a whole rather than on the welfare of women alone.

The most important message of the movement, which has yet to be strengthened and amplified is as follows: The challenges faced by our world are of such magnitude that they cannot be met without radical rethinking of our value-systems and without the resulting change in human relationships, attitudes as well as socio-political and economic structures. This applies equally to micro- and macro-processes and structures. There is a dialectic relationship between the micro- and macro-structures in our societies. They influence and determine each other. Human values and relationships practiced in the smaller units of society, namely the family and the local community, are transmitted to the national or international levels, while decisions taken for the larger unit greatly influence the well-being of the smaller ones. As long as inequalities and hierarchical human relations are the accepted norm in the so called "private sphere", it is very difficult to convince people that they have to act differently in the public sphere.

Human relations between women and men and related values are basic to all societies. People have to recognize that all "manifestations of injustice" including those related to women must be eliminated from our structures in order to build just and equitable societies. Further, it has to be acknowledged that the condition of women falsely confined to the "private" or social spheres, has grave consequences for the economic and political spheres. If the women's movement succeeds in generating a consciousness which is ready to recognize that the improvement of the situation of women is not a marginal issue but an essential prerequisite for the creation of the desired new society and new world order, it will greatly contribute to a positive socio-political and economic change.

Another meaningful contribution of the women's movement is its striving to revalue those human values and tasks which have so far been assigned to women. All societies tend to transmit one set of values to males and another set of values to females. Those assigned to the females are usually devalued and excluded from the decision-making processes, despite the fact that these values are often extremely positive ones, and their absence from the political arena not only impoverishes humankind but endangers its future.

This applies equally to certain types of work and services. Although world statistics show that only a certain percentage of women work, all of us know that the women of the world not only work longer hours than do men, but that they render services to humankind without which our human community would be totally unable to function. Here I have in mind not only the bearing of children (which can also be regarded as the reproduction of the labour force), but also the ensuring of the physical and psychological well-being of the family and the local community through the production, preservation and preparation of food,

through the partial production and maintenance of household goods, through the basic education and socialization of the next generation, through rendering basic health services and through maintaining the emotional well-being of the family, to mention only a few. Due to the fact that these services are provided by women, societies tend to devalue them. The result is not only a lopsided "work ethic" but inadequate social security systems, a totally misleading perception of the GNP of a country and the failure to develop appropriate technology for work performed by women, except in highly industrialized countries where household appliances have become major consumer items.

Further, the women's movement could render great service to humankind by challenging the existing conceptual frameworks for development. By this I mean that the objectives of development have to be

- a) the development of human beings and not that of "things";
- b) the improvement of the quality of life through the satisfaction of both basic material needs such as food, shelter, clothing, education, medical care, etc., and basic non-material needs such as independence/interdependence, identity, autonomy, creativity, self-fulfillment, etc..

The development of "things", structures or institutions should serve only as a means to the above objectives but never as an end in itself.

Such a conceptual framework which considers the basic material and non-material needs as equally important for human development has the potential to make equal partners of North and South. The moment the "omnipotent Northern technology" is dethroned and becomes one important development factor among many others, the give and take between South and North has a much better chance of becoming a reality. For only if the North stops regarding itself solely as the giver and recognizes the necessity of being equally the receiver, only if the North allows its identity to be challenged by the identity of the South, can a genuine "subject-subject" relationship develop which is the prerequisite of any partnership.

The women's movement also has the potential to contribute significantly to world peace through the development of an international solidarity among women. However, this possibility has so far been inadequately explored despite various peace-efforts by women. The previously mentioned dangers of protectionism, overemphasized nationalism and chauvenism as well as an insufficient overall consciousness of the power such solidarity entails, prevents the movement from becoming really effective in active search for world peace, - a difficult but necessary goal.

C. What strategies are needed to reach the desired goals ?

Instead of attempting to give a complete list of possible strategies, I would like to mention only a few factors which, according to my understanding, are essential for advancing the aims of the movement.

1) First of all, I believe that strategies can only be worked out in a meaningful way if the movement has clear-cut over-all objectives with well defined short- and long-range subgoals. These subgoals might vary from region to region but they should be inter-related.

2) It is essential to further develop such an underlying philosophy, which combines an overall vision with the necessary practical steps in a charismatic way. This philosophy should also aim at developing general awareness of the fact that the struggle of women is an integral part of the striving for human development, a really new international economic order and world peace.

3) Another important factor is flexibility. A constant analysis of the socio-political and economic situations and flexibility to adjust strategies accordingly are imperative.

4) Further, it is important to note that multidimensional problems can only be solved through multidimensional strategies. In other words, the problems have to be attacked from several sides simultaneously and in a coordinated manner. That is, local, national and international efforts should be coordinated and the different areas of concern interrelated. It is, for example, not enough to conscientize women about paid labour and improve the conditions of employment. The raising of the awareness of the total community about the needs for equalitarian human relationships and shared work in the home, the need for more relevant education, improved child-care facilities, etc. must go hand in hand with such conscientization in order to achieve a basic and lasting change.

5) The base of the women's movement has expanded significantly during the past years but further conscientization of both women and men has to receive priority. Since it is necessary to reach the different segments of society, varying approaches have to be worked out for the many target groups.

6) One of the aims of these awareness raising efforts has to be the development of an international solidarity among women. Without it the movement will never gain sufficient strength. Unless we women are

able to unite despite the fact that we belong to different political parties, embrace different ideologies and support different movements, and despite the cultural, racial and social differences, we will not be able to bring about a significant change.

7) Such international solidarity leads us women to giving priority to strategies and actions which first of all benefit those who are most in need.

8) Concerted efforts to develop leadership among women for local, national or international tasks have to be a major part of the strategy.

9) Leadership development however does not automatically lead to participation in the decision-making processes. It is essential therefore that the movement aims at participation of women at all levels of decision-making, while not losing sight of the desire to change the structures.

10) An extremely important factor is the recognition that the desired new world order and just, equitable and peaceful societies can only be built by self-reliant, mature people who are able to be both independent and interdependent and who are ready to recognize the equivalence of the other. The strategy of the women's movement has therefore to include the challenging of all structures and relationships which perpetuate the patronization and infantilization of human beings.

11) As a result, the struggle of women has to ally itself with all movements which work for the liberation of human beings from all kinds of oppression while ensuring that the objectives of the women's movement are not relegated to secondary importance.

12) All these strategies presuppose as well as lead to the development of a new identity of women and men. Historical and sociological studies aiming at a clearer understanding of the past history and present condition of women as well as their contributions to the functioning and advancement of our societies can significantly enhance the development of the desired new identity. While such studies are essential, they cannot however replace the will of both women and men to change habitual attitudes and traditional perceptions of each other and of the self. The changing of attitudes and perceptions along with underlying value-systems has therefore to receive high priority.

We still have a long way to do, but the challenges of our times should urge us to make a rapid and meaningful contribution to the revolution of human dignity and to our search for a *modus vivendi* which will allow humankind to survive into the 21st century.

EMERGING

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE (WIPS)

PURPOSE:

To increase the exchange of news and information about women, among women in different regions; to promote the dissemination and publication of news items about women and by women which project a more positive and realistic image of women; to explore the offer by Inter Press Service (IPS - a Third World News agency) of the utilisation of IPS services in achieving these purposes.

SCOPE:

International.

CONTACT:

Anne S. Walker, International Women's Tribune Centre, Inc.,
305 East 46th Street, 6th Floor, New York, New York 10017 U.S.A.

PROBLEMS:

- lack of facilities for regular, international exchange of information and news of concern to women;
- lack of information about problems, programmes, and issues that affect women worldwide;
- isolation of women, especially rural women and the urban poor;
- negative and sex-stereotyped image of women in mass media;
- distorted and incorrect reporting of women's issues and activities in the mass media;
- lack of support for women in crisis situations.

PRESENT ACTION:

- analyse the ways in which women from different regions utilised IPS wire service coverage of the world conferences in Copenhagen (IWTC Newsletter #12 published a listing of IPS phone numbers for contact);
- distribute Copenhagen IPS news coverage as reported by an international team of women journalists;
- collect articles and news items about Copenhagen appearing in newspapers and periodicals;
- discuss at national and local levels the IPS offer for collaboration among interested journalists and organisations;
- identify other journalists, writers, and organisations interested in joining the discussion of IPS wire service offer;
- meet in November, 1980 in New York City to consider future strategies regarding IPS wire service offer and the expansion of the network.

FUTURE ACTION:

- continue discussions with IPS and determine a desirable working agreement for use of the wire services;
- consider appointment of full-time coordinator to monitor and facilitate use of IPS wire services based on November, 1980 meeting;
- expand network of participating journalists and organisations;
- formalise the systematic exchange of news items and information among women worldwide;
- develop working relationships and liaison with existing women's media services, publications, and organisations.

PUBLICATIONS:

Package of IPS news coverage of Copenhagen as reported by international team of women journalists (U.S.\$5.00); and analysis of Copenhagen activities undertaken by ISIS/Quest (U.S.\$10.00).

(International Women's Tribune Centre, Newsletter No. 13, 1980)

Krishna Ahooja-Patel */

COPENHAGEN: WHAT ARE THE QUESTIONS?

"Justice is the distribution of natural equality among unequals". Plato

There is a basic difference between Copenhagen and other United Nations world conferences on selected global themes such as population, food, technology, water and habitat. The World Conference on the United Nations Decade for Women in July 1980 at Copenhagen included all these international concerns on its various official and unofficial agendas and more. Its hidden item - a charter of demands on half of humanity - went beyond any class or group interest; further than any political or economic hierarchy and surpassed questions of theology or ideology. Its policy statements in the plenary, its discussions at the Committee level and its free-for-all exchange of views at the Forum managed to cut across national, regional and international frontiers. The decisions and results of the Copenhagen Conference have, in fact, spilled through the existing structure of the UN system itself. What are the primary reasons for this development; what are the main premises of the Programme of Action adopted at the Conference and finally, what is the relevance of its resolutions for planners, politicians, and policy makers? These are some of the questions to which we must turn if the Copenhagen Conference is to be viewed in a broader historical perspective.

It is five years since the Declaration of Mexico (Plans of Action) raised some fundamental questions about women in society and Copenhagen (1975-1980) represents a painful transition on the long and uncertain journey towards the advancement of women. Mexico

*/ The author is the editor of the ILO Newsbulletin Women at Work, but the views in this article are personal and not those of the organisation of which she is a staff member. (ILO, 4 chemin des Morillons, 1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland).

followed within the year the Declaration on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order (NIEO), while Copenhagen concluded its deliberations a month before the UN General Assembly discussed the New International Strategy for the 80s. These dates are important landmarks in this struggle. In 1975, at Mexico, the national and international scene was studded with a new vocabulary denoting historical disparities and inequities - and therefore the interlinkages with the three well known pillars, "equality, development and peace" were easily established.

At the same time, the Mexico Plan of Action, in posing a pertinent problem and making a simple appeal probably to the "enlightened enclaves", suggested that "new measures" to improve women's situation as well as their role in the process of development must be "an integral part of the global project" for the establishment of a new economic order. This "global project" was to be evaluated by governments, who were also to examine the implications of the Plan itself and make "necessary financial arrangements".

One of the major points of the Copenhagen Conference was precisely to pick up this thread and give a closer look to what had actually happened to women in about one hundred and fifty countries; especially in the triangular circuit placed on the Agenda as "education, health and employment". These were the chosen sub-themes, where it was felt the great walls of resistance against women's entry were not crumbling down. With minor shades and undertones, the story was the same in almost all countries. It was the principal aim of the Copenhagen Conference to present key indicators on these crucial variables in the development process and that too from different economic and social systems which use different criteria, methodologies and value systems. The nature of the enquiry was phenomenal, the resources at the level of the secretariat of the Conference minimal. No single computer could provide consistent and systematic answers to such multi-dimensional questions whose origins are buried in history, lost in biology

and confused in sociology. And yet, one of the most significant outcome of the Copenhagen Conference is that for the first time there exists a new information base on the multiple role of women across national frontiers, cultural heritage and religious beliefs on a global scale. In the construction of this edifice, it would seem that new drawers were opened in various ministries, new files made their way across departments and new statistics rapidly digested in reports and studies.

In this behind-the-scene activity, policy statements on women were formulated and members and heads of delegations composed and selected. Like the slow and surreptitious movement of a glacier, these invisible processes have released powerful forces that may not hit the eye at first sight. The approval, nomination and selection of over 1,600 women participants to the Conference and over 6,000 to the Forum, became a public affair and almost overnight women emerged as leaders articulating their problems and providing a whole series of remedies. ^{1/}

This pedagogical exercise has sane implications beyond the Conference rooms. It must have had a multiplier effect of raising awareness through various national structures. Its important lesson is that women at Copenhagen could not be expected to remain indifferent to major international concerns that directly affect national development, incomes, security or life. The tendency, therefore, to separate or regard women's issues as distinct from the contemporary international scene is to miss an important point.

Reflecting the international currents of the 80s at Copenhagen, the questions affecting the nature of relationship of women to

^{1/} In passing, it may be suggested that those few men (about 400) who were participating at the Conference did exhibit "minority feelings", frequently the experience of women in other conferences. It was not surprising that like their male counterparts in other UN Committees and Conferences, at Copenhagen women took the front seat and learnt the techniques and procedures of international decision-making.

society were redrafted, reformulated and re-presented. The Copenhagen Program of Action took another step forward and indicated that the fate of half of humanity is directly connected with what transpires at the global level. The core theme that permeates through its paragraphs and pages is that the perpetuation of global inequalities and economic dependence ultimately inhibits the full utilisation of material and human potential, which also seriously undermines the capacity of women to contribute to human progress. Like the various articles of the UN Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the Programme provides an historical perspective with various linkages to the past showing the proximate causes of why women have come to be considered as subordinate, second-class or satellites. (The Programme uses these notions without this terminology). At the same time, it recognizes the modest, sometimes bold and frequently hesitant steps that have emerged in the outline of national programmes to increase literacy rates, create job opportunities, introduce equality laws or ensure participation in policy-making decisions.

As regards the future, the vision at Copenhagen was that the "joint responsibility of both men and women for the welfare of the family" should be emphasised. This is the basic assumption on which the series of recommendations of the Programme urges governments to establish special machinery, eliminate discrimination, involve women in formulating and implementing development plans, institution building and make efforts towards recognizing and rewarding women's economic and social contribution.

These proposals and reforms of the Programme touch but lightly the concepts and notions of "household as a unit", on which much of the existing structure of inequalities is based and beyond which the researcher will have to penetrate in order to find valid answers for the crippling position of women. By calling for a new data base on households, the Programme has removed one of the last sacred curtains behind which the position of women within the

family was frequently hidden. Different cultures may still continue to use tradition as a weapon of discrimination against women, but then at least there would be some knowledge of the instruments used.

The relevance of the 48 resolutions adopted at this Conference must be deduced not from its numbers nor from its subject matter which ranges over almost all aspects of women's life, but from the manner in which they underscore the special or specific problems concerning women. For example, two global resolutions on "Women and NIEO" and "Women in agriculture and rural areas", could be classified in the category of those resolutions which carry a moral authority. Their significance relates to the sensitization of public opinion and in contributing to a national and international climate to new ways of looking at women's questions. Some of the notions, for example, of "quantifying" women's contribution, or recognizing the quality of their involvement or revising laws and regulations as an instrument of social change, have now gained legitimacy and are incorporated in the operational clauses of the various resolutions.

The majority are addressed to governments, national and international organizations, to take action through formal policies, legislation or administrative procedures. They fall in the area of practical action - in the sense that a single act of political will could change the position and status of women in such areas as adequate remuneration, work burden, access to social security, to training or to health or social facilities. These contain, in sum, the demands which the poor made in the late 19th century in several European countries and which are now universally taken for granted.

Another set of resolutions make an appeal to the "conscience of mankind" and describe the special situation of women as migrants, as refugees, as disabled and as aged. These are addressed to

various national and international donor agencies to channel financial resources as a result of human or natural disasters affecting women directly. Their significance lies in the fact that while women have been considered beneficiaries and passive recipients of humanitarian aid, they are frequently outside the regular circuit. But the point needs to be made that women suffer from special economic vulnerability which has its social consequences which affect seriously their status and their ability to raise their head higher in their community.

In encompassing such a vast area of concern and in showing how and why women need to be included in the processes of power, development and peace, the decisions and results of the Copenhagen Conference have added their weight to an undercurrent - one which is a part of the mainstream of history of ideas, in which women will no longer stay behind to watch the scene of life from the balconies.

IFDA DOSSIER 21 , JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1981

BUILDING BLOCKS

GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS: WAITING FOR GODOT? */

by Juan Somavia
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Can the proposed New Round of Global Negotiations succeed? Could this be the creative new instrument the international community awaiting to implement the New International Economic Order? Nothing in the past moves to optimism in the future. By any standard chosen failure has been the key operative concept up to now. Since the 6th Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, no major break-through has been achieved on basic issues and, in many areas and countries, a clear degradation of the already weak international atmosphere for development cooperation, is evident.

But this is not new. How many times have we met at the governmental and extra-governmental levels to decry this situation? By now we know the explanations by heart, in a well rehearsed litany of repetitive and inconclusive justifications. "Lack of political will", says the Third World. "Unrealistic demands", reply the industrialized countries. "We are not responsible for the present situation" add the Eastern European socialist countries. All of it couched in the periodic emergence of certain catch phrases that

*/ Paper presented at the SID North-South Round Table, Ottawa, November 1980.

constitute the "in-jargon" of the moment. Among others, the sudden (1974) and ill-defined discovery of global interdependence as if anybody could seriously affirm that all countries and people depended equally from each other, or the misleading image that because the majority of the world's peoples share a common interest in changing present unjust structures, this can somehow be done without seriously affecting existing vested interests.

In such a context, this paper tries to address these issues from a different intellectual perspective. It submits for discussion the idea that under the present analytical approach, stagnation and political failure in development cooperation is inevitable. It makes the point that the implicit theoretical assumptions underlining the proposals for change and cooperation (as expressed in the declaration and plan of action for the establishment of a NIEO and the numerous follow-up documents, including the New Round of Global Negotiations) do not consider or apprehend fully the real transnational power structures that need to be modified. I believe that a completely insufficient consideration has been given to the economic, cultural and political implications of the process of private transnationalization which has characterized the organization of the world economy and international relations in the last 35 years. By not focusing in precise and analytical terms on the foundations of the transnational power structure and the different manners in which it affects out individual and social life, efforts at "bureaucratic understandings" among government representatives in international fora becomes like a futile effort at shadow-boxing.

I will try to develop this point by going back to 1974 and taking a look at UN General Assembly resolutions 3201 and 3202 which approved the declaration and the programme of action on the establishment of a NIEO. In paragraph 4 of the declaration, we find that out of the 20 principles upon which the NIEO should be founded, one refers to the regulation and supervision of the activities of transnational corporations. Of the 10 chapters which comprise

the programme of action, again one of them refers to the regulation and control over the activities of transnational corporations. The focus given to this issue leaves the clear impression that dealing with transnational enterprises is simply one of the points of a much larger agenda and that the necessary changes and solutions in the other areas mentioned have nothing to do with transnational enterprises. Transnational enterprises are seen as just one more of the actors which have to be considered.

My contention is quite the contrary: TNCs are not merely another actor of contemporary society, they are the material embodiment of a historical process, of a fundamental process of structural change in the world's economic, cultural and political landscape: what we have called the process of transnationalization.

This process of transnationalization has expressed itself principally in the international expansion of North American enterprises from the 1950s onwards and of the European and Japanese enterprises beginning in the 1960s. This situation has generated a significant increase in the relative power wielded by the transnational sector of the world economy as compared to the power of both host and home states and to the non-transnational part of the world economy whether it is located in the highly industrialized or Third World countries.

Under these circumstances it would appear that unless we focus on the substantive areas that constitute the implementation of the NIEO in order to identify the influence of transnational enterprises, we will not be able to deal adequately with the real structures of power upon which the present economic order is built.

What does the evidence show in this respect? Looking at some data of the situation around 1974 and 1975 may be useful.

In the all important monetary and financial field, transnational banks have acquired such a position of power that they are successfully challenging Central Banks in the administration of world

monetary affairs. The reported foreign liability position of financial institutions operating in the Euromarket come to only US 15 billion in 1963. By 1974 it had grown to 200 billion and we know that today that this market has expanded in such a manner (actual figures quoted very significantly) that it has in fact become far larger than the monetary reserves of all central banks and many times superior to the monetary reserves of their countries of origin.

This tendency towards privatization is also present in the credit flows worldwide. As the Brandt Report states, "one of the most dramatic changes in recent years has been the increase in the loans of the international private market, which now (1979) accounts for 40% of outstanding debt of developing countries compared to only 17% in 1970". These being average figures it is well known that middle income countries have a large part of their foreign debt contracted with transnational banks. The projection of these monetary and financial tendencies can only strengthen further the present power of transnational banks.

In the area of industrialization the transnational component of manufacturing in the Third World was already very high in 1974 (around 50% for Ghana and Brazil, 45% for Peru, 42% for Turkey) but the problem becomes mind-boggling if set in the context of the Lima Plan of Action approved in 1975. In the words of the Brandt Commission: "To reach the Lima target for industrialization in the Third World would require an annual growth rate in manufacturing value added of 10-11 per cent: UNIDO has estimated that this would need a total annual investment of \$40-60 billion between 1980 and 1990, and \$120-140 between 1990 and 2000. If foreign financing is to meet fully the foreign exchange component of the projects, industry in the Third World would need \$25-35 billion from abroad annually over the next decade". Under present conditions the bulk of this financing can only come through credit by transnational banks or direct foreign investment by transnational enterprises. In such a context the Lima Plan of Action becomes the gateway for transnational influence and expansion in the Third World.

These types of figures can be quoted for practically any area dealing with the implementation of the NIEO. So what in fact happens if we turn around all these resolutions to see what the real structures are, we inevitably find that most roads lead to transnationals and the structural process of which they are an expression.

This takes us to a further point. If this is so, basically we are not facing a North-South problem as in the perspective of the bad transnationals exploiting the defenseless Third World countries. It is rather a world-wide problem affecting all of us whether we live in the South or in the North. But what is clear is that the analysis of this situation has to begin by looking at the Northern economic structures.. By 1976 almost three quarters of total transnational direct foreign investment took place among industrialized countries. Thus, the driving force behind transnationalization is to be found in the development of the North's own economic and political systems, rather than in the North-South inter-relationship.

The fact that the presence of transnationals in the Third World is a secondary phenomenon, seen in terms of a world process, does not of course mean that they are any less strategic for the North in certain sectors or areas, or less significant their impact with local societies. What it does mean is that the rationale behind the explosive expansion of transnational presence throughout the world follows a pattern dictated by the logic of development of the capitalist economies in which they are inserted and play such a fundamental productive role. It is for this reason that I would venture to say that the process of transnationalization has up to now affected much more the essence of social life (in terms of values, culture and social relationships) in the North than in the South. The cultural identity of countries such as India, Tanzania and Mexico are much more precise than the growing cultural homogenization within Northern societies.

Under this hypothesis we are obliged to look at the North and see what has happened there. In synthesis I would say that the power and influence, in economic, political and cultural terms, of the transnational sector of northern societies has grown significantly; and it has grown to the detriment of the influence of the non-transnational sectors of the local economies. This has in turn given it more leverage vis-à-vis the national and international policies of their own states, in a situation in which it has often become difficult to distinguish who really sets the policy in the final analysis. This expansion of private transnational power within Northern societies appears to be one of the major structural changes in the post World War II period, developing in conjunction with their own home state, but also increasingly affirming their autonomy in their vision and aspiration for the world.

In this setting, the central question then becomes that of accountability of power and of democratic control of social processes. This is why understanding the real dimension of the revolutionary nature of transnational expansion appears to me to be so crucial also for the people of the North. To what extent the unchecked growth of large corporations has escaped in practice the checks and balances of the democratic process. It would appear that the traditional organization of democracy and the distinction between the executive, legislation and judicial branches as defined centuries ago by Montesquieu are intellectually and practically insufficient to cope fully with transnational power structures. All of this goes to the essence of the social order in industrialized countries today; are more mergers, more concentrations, more conglomeration in all walks of human activities compatible with the basic tenets of a democratic society? Are the people of the North not losing their capacity to design their own future?

It is in this perspective that I believe in a mutuality of interests between the people of the South and of the North. It is to address the fundamental issue of the democratization of the real power structure of the North and the South that joint action is

not only possible but indispensable. It is here where the mobilization of organized social groups, among them trade unions, political parties, churches, youth and women movements have a fundamental role to play in questioning the rationality of present structures.

But this situation also exposed the very fundamental limitations that the intergovernmental process of negotiations faces. Can the bureaucratic representatives of industrialized countries really change these national power structures through negotiated resolutions in the United Nations? If by an act of historical vision or more probably by an act of magic, the governmental representatives of industrialized countries were to say yes across the board to the demands of Third World countries, and those decisions be really implemented? Do they have sufficient power to do it and make it happen? Can they really deliver the goods of an international agreement? These are open questions that need to be analyzed and for which there are nor easy black and white answers.

It is this line of reasoning that leads me to believe that there is still much intellectual input necessary to understand fully the logic and workings of the structures we want to change. I believe it may be a bit simplistic to say as is often heard "we have already clearly identified the problems, now is the time for action". Such intellectual complacency does not appear to concord with the fundamental changes which have occurred and are occurring in today's world.

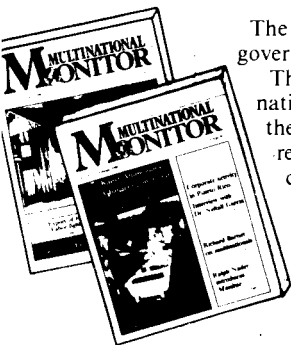
This is so, among other things, because the framework for the new round of global negotiations assumes that economic matters can be neatly separated from political and cultural ones. This leads to the fact that the NIEO issues cannot be solved without considering some major questions such as:

- a) the influence of the security policies of great powers on the structure of the world economic and political alliances;

- b) the authoritarian nature of so many Third World governments who do not represent their own people;
- c) the revolutionary national struggles that have erupted or are simmering in many Third World countries and which cannot be considered as more pawns in a world chess game played by great powers;
- d) the crisis in political creativity affecting both industrialized and Third World countries and all social systems;
- e) the world-wide resurgence of neo-conservative ideology;
- f) the control of communication structures by the North and the dissemination of cultural patterns alien to the people of the South.

In conclusion, unless we understand fully the implications of the process of transnationalization in economic, cultural and political terms; and we can define the concrete impact that it has on every issue under negotiation in the global round of negotiations, we may be committing a rather serious mistake.

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BUILDING BLOCKS

A NEW WORLD EMPLOYMENT PLAN

A Proposal by J. Tinbergen, J.M. den Uyl, J.P. Pronk
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Binnenhof 1a.
2513 AA Den Haag, Netherlands

Original language: English

Abstract: The authors call on industrialized countries (especially the European Commission, the Council of European Ministers and the European Parliament) to formulate a new World Employment Plan. World-wide unemployment should be attacked by moving toward an optimal international division of labour whereby the comparative advantages of countries are developed dynamically, based on the combination of two policies: (i) anticipatory structural adjustment of industries in countries of the North, and (ii) massive international income transfers aimed at large-scale infrastructure programmes in the Third World, financed by new funds including additional IBRD lending, the SDR link, savings in unemployment benefits and reductions in public expenditures in industrialized countries. A comment by Ignacy Sachs appears at the end of this paper.

UN NOUVEAU PLAN MONDIAL DE L'EMPLOI

Résumé: Les auteurs font appel aux pays industrialisés (en particulier la Commission européenne, le Conseil des ministres et le Parlement européen) pour qu'ils formulent un nouveau Plan mondial de l'emploi. Le chômage mondial devrait être affronté en recherchant une division internationale optimale dans laquelle les avantages comparatifs seraient développés d'une manière dynamique sur la base de la combinaison de deux séries de mesures: (i) des ajustements structurels par anticipation dans l'industrie des pays du Nord et (ii) des transferts de ressources massifs destinés à de grands programmes d'infrastructure dans le Tiers Monde; ces transferts seraient financés par des fonds nouveaux comprenant notamment des crédits supplémentaires de la BIRD, en lien avec la DTS, des économies dans les indemnités de chômage et des réductions dans les dépenses publiques des pays industrialisés. Un commentaire d'Ignacy Sachs suit ce document.

UN NUEVO PLAN PARA EMPLEO MUNDIAL

Resumen: Los autores solicitan la ayuda de los países industrializados (especialmente la Comisión Europea, el consejo de ministros europeos y el Parlamento Europeo) para formular un Nuevo plan de empleo mundial. Se debe atacar el desempleo mundial por medio de una política que promoviera una división internacional óptima del trabajo, asegurando así un desarrollo dinámico de las ventajas comparativas de los países. Esto se basaría en la combinación de los

(cont. en la página 56)

J. Tinbergen, J.M. den Uyl, J.P. Pronk and W. Kok

A NEW WORLD EMPLOYMENT PLAN

1. Introduction

The aim of this proposal is to launch a large-scale international operation to stimulate the economies of and to raise employment in both the industrialised and the Third World countries. As a first step thereto we plea for an operational study to formulate a new world employment plan. We do so because in our view a main gap in international economic policy formulating is employment.

The longer the international economic crisis lasts the less acceptable it becomes. In a world where so many of the most pressing needs are not satisfied no justification can be given to productive agents remaining idle, disregarding even the natural feelings of dissatisfaction of those unemployed and wanting to take part in the production process. Clearly a bold approach is needed for the world at large. The international character of any attack on unemployment is due not only to the fact that unemployment now prevails everywhere but also to the strongly increased interdependence of national economies. Increased international interdependence calls for an international effort to stimulate the world economy. At the same time this implies the futility of isolated national policies - an aspect of which public opinion seems insufficiently aware. What is needed is a simultaneous and co-ordinated policy.

Interdependence between the economies of the North and the South, leading to mutual interests between the countries concerned, is being understood much clearer nowadays than in the years before the international economic crisis.

The concept has been analysed within OECD, for instance in the framework of its Interfutures project.^{1/} It is a leading policy principle of the so-called Brandt-report.^{2/} It plays a major role in the North-South dialogue, which this year results in the formulation of a Strategy for the Third Development Decade and in launching a New Global Round of Negotiations. In these reports and consultations the whole of international economic relations between industrialised and Third World countries is being dealt with.

In our proposal, as described below, we intend to elaborate a major part of it. It does not tackle all elements of the present international economic crisis. However, it tackles the main elements of this crisis. In our view an attack on unemployment in the world is an essential precondition for the solution of other structural international economic problems.

Our central thesis is that any large-scale operation to raise employment should be inspired by an attempt to approach an optimal international division of labour for the world at large. Stimulating government policies should be applied to the sectors in which each geographical unit has a comparative advantage viewed in a dynamic way.

Our proposal pertains to a combination of two policies: positive anticipatory structural re-adjustment of industries in industrialised countries and large-scale international income transfers to Third World countries, as recommended by the Brandt-report.

^{1/} "Facing the Future; mastering the probable and managing the unpredictable", (Interfutures), OECD, Paris, 1979.

^{2/} "North-South: a programme for survival", The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt, Pan Books, London and Sydney, 1980.

In the following paragraphs we shall elaborate these policies in their mutual relation. In paragraph 2 we present some basic analytical remarks. In paragraph 3 an outline of a new world employment policy is being sketched.

A description of the framework of a plan underlying such a policy is given in paragraph 4. Finally we shall also make some procedural suggestions.

2. Some analytical remarks

In our view employment is the most appropriate vehicle of a new international policy to stimulate the economies of Third World and industrialised countries, since labour constitutes the main factor of production. To direct such a policy to maximization of employment instead of economic growth - or even to a high increase of welfare in general - has the following advantages:

- a) it implies a direct attack on the major problem in the present international economic crisis: economic stagnation (and stagflation) can only be overcome by a parallel increase in production, productivity and purchasing power, hence by an increase in employment.
- b) there is a direct mutual relation between poverty and unemployment. The poorest of all are the jobless. In most Third World countries, to be unemployed means that basic human needs cannot be fulfilled. Economic growth only results in a general increase in welfare that is more equally distributed if it coincides with an increase in employment.
- c) in many societies to be unemployed means to be isolated from social process. Integration of people in their society can best be furthered through employment. Full employment is a major answer to increasing tendencies towards alienation in the economics both of Third World and industrialised countries.
- d) environmental reasons and the prevalence of scarcity set limits to physical growth. Selective economic growth and a general increase in welfare therefore can best be attained by attaching priority to employment over material production in general.

Efforts to stimulate the world economy should be based upon the principle of an optimum international division of labour. A

lasting structural economic recovery and a general increase in welfare can only be implemented through a maximization of world employment. Such a maximization of world employment can only be reached in the framework of an optimum distribution of employment throughout the world.

To call for a better international division of labour asks for an attempt to identify the sectors in which countries or regions have comparative advantages.

Thereby we must not forget the existence of a substantial volume of activities whose products cannot be traded internationally and hence have to be pursued everywhere. International trade in buildings being next to impossible, constructions is one of these activities. Most of the other non-tradeables are services which by their nature either have to be near or on the spot of their consumption - retail trade, personal services, the overwhelming part of schooling, and a very large part of government activities. Crude estimates result in about half of total employment or total income to derive from these activities. Activities whose products can be traded internationally include practically all material production - agriculture, mining, manufacturing - and a non-negligible variety of services, such as international trade and transportation and important parts of finance, insurance and consulting. It is with regard to the activities producing tradeables that the international division of labour has to be optimized. However, producing tradeables does require some non-tradeables inputs.

We define the concept of the optimal international division of labour - in accordance with the Heckscher-Ohlin principle - as desirability of a maximum use of each geographical area's available production factors or resources; natural resources, labour and capital.

Each of these main types shows very considerable diversity and for analytical purpose a further subdivision is vital. Thereby a sub-division in two steps seems to make sense. Natural resources may be subdivided into exhaustible and non-exhaustible; labour into skilled and unskilled (where the dividing line can be chosen very freely) and capital into physical and human capital. All skills, of whatever level, can be translated into quantities of human capital. A final subdivision should be made into concrete natural

resources (such as land of different fertility, ores of different metals), specified occupational or educational labour groups and different types of physical capital (buildings, different types of equipment , with perhaps different vintages).

It is appropriate to point out that the maximum use of exhaustible natural resources should be defined also in terms of some sort of optimum distribution over time. The problem faced at present by oil-producing countries illustrates this.

Now what are the comparative advantages of developing as distinct from industrialised countries or continents? It is commonplace to state that the characteristics of developing areas are their abundance of unskilled labour, an abundance of some natural resources and a lack of physical capital. (An exception to the last characteristics are some OPEC countries). Most Third World countries have a potential of solar energy which we hope will become a source of welfare to them within some decades. Industrialised countries show comparative advantages in the quantities of capital, both physical and human, the command. Hence it is commonplace too that the economic perspective of these countries depends a good deal on knowledge-intensive activities. Almost all the services which have developed so quickly in western countries these last decades, are knowledge-intensive.

On the basis of such commonplace knowledge, national and international economic policies advocated and implemented in practice can be described as policies who favour or hamper an optimum international division of labour. However, much more research is necessary to identify the sectors in which countries or regions have a comparative advantage.

Some economists have attempted to specify comparative advantages by estimating "revealed" comparative advantages from observed trade figures. This is a somewhat tricky undertaking as long as we live in a world with many protectionist policies: the latter tend to obscure a number of comparative advantages rather than revealing them.

Recently some studies have been published in which research has been carried out on the optimum international division of labour (B. Herman 1/) and on comparative advantages (P.K.N. Tharakan a.o. 2/). It is highly relevant that governments and international organisations stimulate this research.

3. An outline of a new world employment policy

As indicated in the introduction of this paper a new world employment policy should consist of a combination of two policies: positive anticipatory structural re-adjustment of industries in industrialised countries and large-scale international income transfers to Third World countries.

3.1 Structural re-adjustment

Many governments of industrialised countries are under the pressure to protect industries which are unable to compete on the world market. Understandable though they may be in order to prevent higher unemployment levels in the short run, these policies do not contribute to a long run world employment policy. Essentially protection is a negative policy, especially if it is based on one-side decisions and if it is not used only temporarily and selectively as part of a restructuring policy. Western countries need a positive restructuring into the direction of activities where they have comparative advantages, meaning that they more intensively use their abundant resource: knowledge.

Which direction should such a positive anticipatory re-adjustment policy take? The answer to this question should be given against the background of three important trends. One trend - emphasized by Jean Fourastié already in 1949 ^{3/} - is the ongoing shrinkage

1/ B. Herman, "The Optimum International Division of Labour", Geneva, 1980.

2/ P.K.N. Tharakan with L.G. Soete and J.A. Bussaert, in European Economic Review, vol. 11 pp.221-239.

3/ Jean Fourastié, "Le grand espoir du XXe siècle", Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1949.

in terms of relative employment and value added - of material production and the corresponding growth of the employment in the service sector. So in the European OECD-countries the percentage of the labour force employed in agriculture decreased from 24% in 1963 to 16% in 1976, and in industry from 39% to 37%. In that period the percentage of the labour force employed in the service sector increased from 38% to 47%.

The figures refer to the formal economy; for obvious reasons the "underground activities" are not recorded in our statistics (vet); and only a relatively small part of household activities. It is our hope that through analysis like that of Gershuny 1/ we shall soon have more complete information; our impression is that Fourastié's discovery will apply also if we have the more complete information.

The second trend that cannot be overlooked is the element of great uncertainty introduced into our analysis by the rapid technological development in the field of the microprocessors. The progress of penetration of these new possibilities may well be slower than most people think, but they will result in both the greater access to information and knowledge and in widening research possibilities. The difference with previous technological breakthroughs seems to be that this time the capital intensity of the new activities is lower, not higher than that of existing technologies. The similarity with previous breakthroughs may be that a growing demand for the new products will create offsetting employment. Much research is necessary in this field, especially to create and direct a demand for new products and services on the basis of needs which are considered to be important from the social point of view (e.g. improvements in the quality of work circumstances). This also asks for steering mechanisms with regards to the deployment of existing technologies.

1/ Jay I. Gershuny, 1949, "The Informal Economy in the Development Process, Science Policy Research Unit, University of Sussex, Brighton.

The third trend is an increase in women's participation in labour force and a growing emphasis on a more just distribution of employment.

This applies not only to the distribution of employment between men and women, but also to that between employed and unemployed labour. There is a growing tendency towards a shortening of the labour time per employed labourer, whether per day, per week or during his or her whole lifetime. This third trend is related to the other two: if it is politically necessary due to generally accepted views with regard to justice, it is made possible by productivity increase and desirable for welfare increases. This leads us to the following conclusion: given the necessity of a better international division of labour (as conceived in para. 2) and in the light of some present trends described above, it can be argued that Western industrialised countries, choosing for structural anticipatory re-adjustment policies should turn to knowledge-intensive and up to a point capital-intensive activities. The means used by some governments to encourage employment in general should be directed at branches with a future, that is which will become competitive after an initial period of losses.

3.2 Research, investment and employment

Structural re-adjustment towards knowledge-intensive industries means that a high priority should be given to two sectors of the economy which are very much related to each other, namely:

- 1) research
- 2) production of goods and services with a high research component in their development.

Today we are faced with a number of questions, the answers to which we do not know; these answers are of vital importance to the world's future. It is now absolutely clear that we know less than we urgently need to know and less than once we thought we knew.

So some key questions for planning the future are:

- what effect will increased consumption of fossil fuels exert on the climates of various parts of the world?
- what are the comparative risks connected with alternative ways of producing energy - from fossil fuel through all types of nuclear reactors to solar radiation used in alternative ways?
- which uses of solar energy can be expanded, at what rate?
- which part of the world surface must be left in its wildlife state in order to be available as a "gene reserve" for agriculture?
- what additional possibilities do exist to recycle wastes of one industry to be used by other industries?
- what have been the experiences of previous forms of automation, especially with regard to the expansion of demand for the process products and with regard to employment?
- what effects on labour satisfaction have been observed from changes in work organization, in particular from decentralization of such organization?
- can possible "social contracts" be proposed to link wages and salaries with the general price level and the oil price level?
- contracts, hence between Western trade unions, Western employer organizations and OPEC?

It seems clear that answering these questions requires a very large volume of intensified research activities.

Employment can also be created in sectors producing goods and services which require much research in their development. So industrialised countries can specialize, within the manufacturing sector, in the production of anti-pollution equipment, in new recycling activities - some which formerly were too expensive now break even because of higher energy prices - and in the production of equipment for Third World countries.

More orders for equipment will be received if (a) more industrial products of Third World countries are given access to the markets

of industrialised countries and (b) more financial transfers to Third World countries are made, as proposed by the Brandt-report.

Such as restructuring however, for two reasons also implies new activities in the sectors producing non-tradeables. The first reason is that these sectors to a certain extent are complementary to the sectors producing tradeables. The second reason is that there are still many unmet needs in industrialised countries, especially with regard to education, health and housing. So another part of an employment programme may consist of innovation of dwellings, energy saving schemes such as energy saving insulation of buildings, recycling of utilised resources, anti-pollution schemes and of reschooling programmes.

The question may rise how in an optimal international division of labour the available manpower can be used as fully as possible by the main economic sectors. Research done by Tinbergen indicates that the research and education sector may absorb several percents of total employment $\frac{1}{2}$.

For an analysis of the mechanism at work it is appropriate to make a distinction between three economic sectors: the primary sector (I), the research (III) and all that remains (II), which consists of the traditional secondary sectors (manufacturing, etc.) plus all service sectors except research. The labour force was divided into three categories: up to eight years of schooling (A), from nine to fifteen years (B) and sixteen years or more (C). On the basis of extrapolations of the changes during the last decades in the composition of the labour force employed in the three economic sectors in two countries (The United States and the Netherlands), its composition in 1990 was calculated. Combined with the then labour input coefficients per sector (also calculated on the basis of extrapolations of the changes in the composition of the labour force per economic sector) the total requirements of the three types of labour were estimated.

1/ J. Tinbergen, "Which sectors should be stimulated by a Recovery Policy?" Lloyds Bank Review, July 1980, pp. 30-40.

A comparison with existing estimates of available manpower in 1990 led to a considerable oversupply of A, a small oversupply of C and an undersupply of B. From this it may be concluded that it is likely that doubling the relative extent of research and education, not only will occur but will also use the available labour force rather well (in 1990 research employment - C in III - would imply somewhat more than 2% of total employment in the Netherlands, as against somewhat less than 4% in the United States).

It is important to stress that such an anticipatory structural re-adjustment policy towards knowledge and capital-intensive industries and towards social services cannot be implemented with the help of market forces alone. Planning is necessary. Such planning should help re-directing:

- investment capital
- research activities
- labour allocation, on the basis of for instance re-training programmes.

It is equally important to stress that such an anticipatory structural re-adjustment policy requires much more than restructuring specific weak industries. The aim is to create more employment in competitive industries and to distribute this more equally, both between and within nations. Investment decisions should be based on social considerations with regards to the direction of production and the distribution of employment. This may require:

- national selective growth policies, which are based on social priority needs and which do not use too many scarce resources and energy,
- intergovernmental control of the long term investment policies of transnational companies,
- participation of the production factor labour in decision-making processes at the level of industries and of individual firms,
- longer term employment plans (next to longer term investment plans) for sectors and possibly individual enterprises, to be agreed upon by the organisations of employers and employees and by the government,

- investing surplus profits made by stronger industries or firms also to create employment in other sectors,
- satisfaction of basic needs with priority for the socially and economically weakest groups and countries,
- international, industrial and investment policies, not primarily based on private profits considerations, but on the principle of social justice.

3.3 International income transfers

The second element of a new world employment policy consists of an increase in international income transfers to Third World countries in order to increase employment in these countries. The resulting increase in welfare and purchasing power in these countries will lead to higher imports from the industrialised countries. This then will be an important economic stimulus to higher employment in the industrialised countries too.

This has recently been stressed by politicians and development policy-makers like Barbara Ward ^{1/}, Judith Hart ^{2/} and others. It has also been advocated in the report of the Brandt Commission. The question may rise whether there is a contradiction between recommendations for a slower economic growth and a plea for a big push to increase employment. This is not necessarily the case. A big push is meant to raise the level of production and employment for once only; slow growth recommendations refer to longer term trends. Moreover, a contradiction between the two does not come about automatically: it is dependent on the nature of growth policies. We explicitly advocate employment based growth policies, oriented towards a balanced use of the world's scarce resources and energy because unbalanced growth may destroy future

^{1/} Barbara Ward, 1979, in "S. Ramphal, One World to Share, selected speeches of the Commonwealth Secretary-General".

^{2/} Judith Hart, 1979, "Conflicts real and imagined", Development, (Society for international Development), 1979/4 pp. 31-33.

employment opportunities. A selective growth policy for the world as a whole means: optimisation of production in order to maximize employment. In order to be effective, such a policy should be differentiated regionally. It should also be based upon an analysis of unmet priority needs, especially within the poorest countries.

World demand should be steered (for instance by price policies and income transfers) in order to bring it in accordance with these needs and with the availability of scarce resources.

As indicated above the increased international income transfers to Third World countries ought to result in an increase in employment. Therefore they should be invested in two sectors mainly:

- 1) big infrastructural programmes (for instance a railway network in Africa, communication development schemes, road construction, flood regulation schemes, irrigation and desalination programmes, mineral resources exploration, development of alternative energy sources) which are too costly to be financed by individual countries;
- 2) integrated rural development schemes and the furthering of small scale industries in Third World countries.

It will be clear that necessary complementary policies in the field of international trade should be implemented. The industrial restructuring in the industrialised countries, increases the possibilities of Third World countries to get access to markets for their industrial products. This will not only lead to import substitution but also to increased export. International trade measures, based on (indicative) long-term planning of the world's industrial development thereby seem to be necessary. Temporary governmental support for weak and infant industries, both in richer and in poorer countries, may be acceptable if this support enables intergovernmental planning of the sectors concerns.

3.4 The financing of the program

How could the program, consisting of income transfers to the poorer countries and industrial restructuring in the richer countries be financed? In the reports and consultations referred to above, various suggestions have been made. As some possibilities with regard to income transfers, we would like to refer to:

- a) additional lending from the World Bank, whose lending capacity could be increased by doubling its borrowing-to-capital ratio (as advocated by the Brandt Commission);
- b) introducing a link between the allocation of Special Drawing Rights and the financing of development activities. (We agree with the authors of the Brandt report that new SDR's should be created to the extent called for by the need for non-inflationary increases in world liquidity). Such a link could be established partly by allocating new SDR's through the World Bank or a new World Development Fund;
- c) part of the increase in Special Drawing Rights which are made available to the richer countries;
- d) introducing the use of automatically mobilized revenues (this also has been advocated by the Brandt Commission). Possible sources of finance for restructuring programmes are:
- e) savings on benefits to unemployed labourers by rendering employment subsidies lower than these benefits. An elaborate study of subsidizing employment has been made by the Swedish economist Gösta Rehn. ^{1/} We come back to it below;
- f) increase in taxation on energy consumption and on toxical products;
- g) reductions of public financing of higher education by charging a larger part of its costs to the beneficiaries of it (by offering loans to them instead of making available higher education at a very small part of its real cost; repayment of these loans should depend on the incomes obtained after education);
- h) reduction of public expenditures by appropriate decentralization in the execution of some public tasks which may contribute to reducing their costs;

^{1/} Gösta Rehn, "Employment Premiums in Economic Policy" (forthcoming).

- i) increasing private financial allocations to research activities to be undertaken by private firms when subventioned;
- j) (for an individual country) export of research products c.q. services.

A key question involved in such an operation is, of course, whether it can be financed without a reappearance of inflation. Recent experience seems to raise serious doubts whether this is possible. It seems to us, however, that some forces operating against inflation have not been given their full possibilities. Important anti-inflationary consequences can be expected for the elimination of protection (as has recently been shown by J. Waelbroeck. ^{1/}

The introduction of more shifts in some industries (maybe part-time shifts for those who prefer part-time jobs) so as to raise the average equipment utilization time to 45 hours a week would reduce costs and hence prices too. Next, we want to point to the use that can be made of employment premiums in order to reduce marginal costs of production. Important research done at the London School of Economics by Layard and Nickel ^{2/} has shown that a clear pressure on the price level can be attained by such employment premiums. In addition we want to propose that an active price control has to be added in order to get prices down. Here the Swiss experience with a small but efficient Office of Price Administration in the period 1972-1987 lends support to this proposal. It seems to us that taken together these neglected possibilities might well constitute an arsenal of considerable anti-inflationary potential.

^{1/} E. Verreydt and J. Waelbroeck, "Protection, Employment and Welfare in a Stagflating Economy: Policy Issues for the EEC", Centre for Development Studies, St. Ignatius University, Antwerp, Symposium on December 11, 1979.

^{2/} P.R.G. Layard and S.J. Nickel, "The Case for Subsidising Extra Jobs", The Economic Journal, Vol. 90 (1980), pp. 51-73

In our view, both the need to raise the necessary financial resources, and the stipulations that thereby inflation should be avoided as much as possible, call for an incomes policy for all incomes: wages, salaries, fees of the free professions and profits.

4. A New World Employment Plan

On the basis of the analysis presented above we propose that a New World Employment Plan be formulated. This New World Employment Plan should be:

- based on an adequate in-depth-analysis of present international and national social-economic developments;
- quantified, both in terms of its targets and of its instruments;
- related to a concrete specified time-period;
- both a macro plan and a plan with regard to the most important individual sectors;
- an aggregate of national plans or plans for regional groups of countries;
- related both to international and to national targets and instruments (with regard to policies of both industrialised and Third World countries);
- directed already from the outset of the plan formulation, towards its implementation.

The plan thus should consist of elements both with regard to (anticipatory) industrial restructuring in industrial countries and to employment creation in infrastructural, industrial and agricultural sectors in Third World countries.

The quantitative targets of the world employment plan should in first instance refer to increases in employment in specified sectors and regions. Additional targets with regard to changes in relative shares of specific regions in the industrial sectors distinguished may be necessary. Finally also targets with

regard to the international distribution of income should be specified.

In the plan, quantitative figures with regard to the following instruments will have to be estimated:

- investments in all relevant sectors by region
- consumption of energy per country
- sources of finance, including international income transfers
- removal of trade barriers
- shares of national incomes to be spent on research
- shares of the labour force, by educational category and by region, to be retrained.

Finally some institutional measures will have to be specified, at both national and international levels.

5. Some procedural remarks

A New World Employment Plan should not only be an exercise in economic analysis and forecasting, but very much also a political effort. We call upon governments, international organisations, upon organisations of employers and labour unions to commit themselves towards this. Recently many studies have been carried out on the basis of prognostic analysis. They often lead to qualitative recommendations only. A further step, consisting of a quantitative plan is needed now. And from the outset there should be no doubt that such a plan, when formulated, would be discussed amongst governments, in order to reach agreement on policies to be implemented.

In the introduction to this proposal we stressed the urgency of this plan. It may be asked why we need such a new proposal now. The answer is that we need a new initiative because at present the existing international organisations, producing quantitative projections and qualitative proposals, have not come along with quantitative plans. The possible contribution of the various

economic geographical regions to the growth and employment in the world has as yet been quantified inadequately.

The turn from the decade of the seventies into the eighties provided us with a good opportunity for such an initiative. We see a deadlock in the North-South dialogue. We witness a failing economic recovery in countries whose economies could function as a flywheel for the world's economic development. We also are aware of the fact that the necessary international negotiations on the solutions of some major problems like energy and food hardly have started.

At the same time we know that in the forthcoming year important decisions have to be made with regard to the implementation of the Strategy for a Third Development Decade and with regard to the New Round of Global Negotiations. The work on a new world employment plan might be an important catalyst in the process.

We feel that, after consultations leading to political commitment in principle, the plan formulation would take about two years. Political negotiations on its implementation might take another half a year. This means that its implementation could start mid 1983.

This proposal is made to all whom it may concern. We want to be a bit more specific, however. Because the aim of a new world employment plan is to increase employment and welfare in both industrial and Third World countries, from the outset both groups of countries should be involved. We feel that it is highly important that a plan secretariat and a steering committee should consist of people from the South as well as from the North. For this reason we have addressed this proposal in the first place to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

We would like to add that we would welcome participation also from the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries. Their participation in the solution of the world's economic problems is highly necessary. And these countries also have unemployment problems.

We would also hope for the People's Republic of China to participate. The future domestic and international economic policy of this big country has many important employment dimensions.

Finally we hope that Western European countries, both belonging to the European Community, and others, would take a lead in the implementation of this initiative. Western Europe has a specific role to play, both in North-South and in East-West relations. It can do so by means of creative forward thinking "to master the future" and by catalysing international co-operation, in the interest of welfare and employment of all world's population, be it present or future generations.

We have sent this proposal to various international agencies, like the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Secretary-General of UNCTAD, the Director-General of ILO, the President of the World Bank, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, and others.

At this moment we specifically ask the institutions of the European Commission, the Council of European Ministers and the European Parliament, to take a first decision to finance the study which should lead to a plan.

This paper essentially contains a proposal to make a plan. We also ventured some ideas on possible elements of the plan. These may be criticised. National and international employment policies may have to be different from what we sketched above. But we very much hope that the initiative itself will be taken over. It is high time to act.

A commentary by Ignacy Sachs

A TIMELY INITIATIVE

The proposal to elaborate a new world employment plan, formulated by J. Tinbergen, J.M. den Uyl, J.P. Pronk and W. Kik and circulated on October 29, 1980 to UN and other international organisations constitutes a bold and interesting attempt to overcome the present impasse in the North-South dialogue and to move beyond the toothless international development strategy adopted last year by the United Nations.

This document rightly points out that the Plan should be prepared both for the industrialized and Third World countries, recognizing in this way the global and structural features of the present crisis. Furthermore, in sharp contrast with the nowadays fashionable neo-liberal theories, it clearly states that the restructuring of the world economy cannot be left to the working of market forces alone. A fair amount of planning, selective national policies, inter-governmental control of the long term investment policies of transnational companies and labour participation in decision-making processes will be necessary.

By advocating selective growth subordinated to employment targets rather than growth of material output as a goal per se, the authors indicate the pre-eminence of social over economic goals. From this point of view employment (and/or self-employment) constitutes a good first approximation, even though the matter should be complicated by making explicit the options between more output or lesser working-time and between further expansion of market economy and that of non-market activities and production for self-consumption. In this context, the emergence of an informal social service sector might play a role in the remodelling of the welfare states at present crumbling under their costs and bureaucratic inefficiency.

The resource, energy and environmental constraints are to be taken into account. The proposal hints at the possibility of creating a fairly substantial amount of jobs in resource and environmental management as well as in the fields of research directed to overcoming of these constraints.

As far as the industrialized countries are concerned, the proposal puts forward two major tasks:

- anticipatory structural readjustment of industries, and
- large scale international income transfers to Third World countries.

The latter could have an important multiplier effect on the industrial economies working below their capacity. The former should become a major instrument in the shaping of an optimum international division of labour, based on dynamic comparative advantage. The Third World countries should accordingly specialize in resource and labour-intensive industries, while the North should take up capital and knowledge-intensive production and service activities, while giving up the present neo-protectionist practices (ominously supported both by industrialists and trade-unions).

These views on the international division of labour, already expressed by Professor Tinbergen and his collaborators in earlier writings have raised

several doubts that remain unanswered in the present proposal. When and how will the Third World countries overcome their dependency on imports of knowledge and capital intensive goods and services from the North? How is the concept of dynamic comparative advantage going to be translated into practice? Who really has a comparative advantage in knowledge-intensive activities: the industrialized countries or such Third World countries as India? A plentiful supply of skilled personnel combined with a low wage-line should give to India a competitive edge in many qualified-labour-intensive services.

These questions show how difficult it will be to reach consensus on an international employment plan, not to speak of the controversies spurred by recent trends in technical progress, such as the introduction of micro-processors. As the authors point out in their conclusion, the national and international employment policies may end by being quite different from the ones sketched in the Proposal. What matters now, is to start the discussion on a new basis, i.e. recognizing that a meaningful world development plan - socially desirable, economically viable and ecologically sustainable - requires far-reaching changes in the national policies of both industrial and Third World countries. In the industrial countries employment and development ought to be addressed in the form of transition strategies covering such issues as changes in the patterns of time-use (including a substantial reduction of working hours and a more equitable distribution of the work load over the entire active population), spatial redeployment of economic activities and partial reconversion of the existing industries with a view to better satisfying societal needs and giving a fairer treatment of legitimate Third World interests. To be meaningful, these strategies should also consider explicitly the issues of disarmament and demilitarization of economies, at least as a measure of the social, economic and ecological wastefulness of the present maldevelopment practices and an indication of foregone opportunities for genuine development.

The process of elaborating a World Employment Plan may yield political and social results far more important than plan itself, cast in the form of quantitative targets as postulated by the authors of the Proposal. The idea of setting up for this purpose an independent secretariat capable of interacting with a broad range of social actors, including trade-unionists and representatives of the Third System, deserves therefore, the fullest support.

cont. de la p. 35

políticas: (i) una modificación estructural anticipada de las industrias en los países industrializados y (ii) enormes transferencias internacionales de ingresos para programas importantes de infraestructura en el Tercer Mundo. Se suministraría nuevos fondos para estos por una añadidura en los préstamos del Banco Mundial, estableciendo un eslabón con los derechos especiales de retiro de fondos del FMI, ahorros efectuados por la disminución en los beneficios de desempleo, y la reducción de los desembolsos en los países industrializados. Un comentario por Ignacy Sachs se encuentra al final de este informe.

IFDA DOSSIER 21 , JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1981

MARKINGS

"NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER: WHAT DOES DEVELOPMENT REALLY
MEAN TO WOMEN?" */

by Lucille M. Mair

It is for me a pleasure and a real privilege to have been invited to participate in this Women's Congress, and I should like to express my appreciation to the Global Community Network for their invitation and also my congratulations for their having undertaken this important initiative. The presence of so many concerned and committed women here this weekend bears witness to the extent that the concerns of this Congress are shared in California. It is also evidence of your interest in the work of the United Nations - especially its work for women, symbolized and carried forward by the World Conference which took place in Copenhagen in July, and also its work on restructuring the world economic system as symbolized, and regrettably most inadequately advanced, in the recent eleventh Special Session of the General Assembly. It is an expression of faith that your organizers have chosen to give a central place in the agenda of this meeting to the Mid-Decade Conference because the way in which sections of the media described that Conference is a symptom or a microcosm of the way in which much of the media, in this country and in others, has portrayed the United Nations itself, and the critical issues with which it deals. Your public cannot escape being conditioned by this portrayal. If you add to this disability the further disability of the way in which the media customarily portrays women, their cares and their concerns, you recognize that what we face - and what I, as a woman working in a particular place at a particular time, am deeply committed to doing - is the need to cure a double blindness.

*/ Address delivered to the Women's Congress, California State University, 4 October 1980. Lucille Mair is the Secretary-General for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women.

It is critically important, I believe, to understand the way in which these two blindnesses are linked, because in both cases--the work of the United Nations in international economic restructuring and the situation of women--our ability to see the reality behind the image in one case will enhance our understanding of the reality of the other; progress made in one cause can only help to advance progress in the other.

In both cases, the issue is control, and the controversy is about the sharing of power--between women and men, between nations. In the United Nations the demand for more equitable sharing of power, most urgently embodied in the demand for a new international economic order, is not merely an assertion of the right of one-country-one-vote. It is, rather, claiming the right to speak on behalf of the eight hundred million people who live below the poverty level (the majority of whom, incidentally, are women), and whose situation for the most part, is worsening. The demand is also, in the name of equity, for a say in those international institutions and policies which determine whether or not the majority of those eight hundred million people will have a fair chance of survival. What is asked, in short, is whether there is the political will to make the Charter of the United Nations a reality.

The analogy with the issue of women is clear. There is no argument about the fact that women constitute half--statistically, perhaps slightly more than half--of humanity. In the first five years of the United Nations Decade for Women, in the period between Mexico and Copenhagen, we have learned a great deal more than we knew in 1975 about that half. We have learned that women perform one-third of humanity's quantified work, and that increasingly this work is done not only in the household or on

the family farm, but in the factories and the plantations which produce for vital exports; in the offices which manage a nation's public and private business; in the hospitals and schools which provide a nation's social infrastructure. In Mexico, we sensed and stated the proposition that women are a factor which could sustain or change every existing system in the world's economic production or variety of political arrangements: it was perhaps scarcely more than an intuition then, but now that proposition is convincingly reinforced by statistical data which were not available five years ago; and that enhanced data base underlay the perceptibly greater confidence and sophistication of analysis which Copenhagen demonstrated.

The same data reveal--in many ways and at many levels--that women have remained relatively powerless. National statistics of productivity are still not totally clear as to the work women do even in the sectors governments consider important, and little if any attempt has been made to quantify how much these important sectors depend on the uncounted work women do at home. As a result, whether we are talking about the forward plan of an American corporation, which will affect the inhabitants of six American cities, or talking about a national development plan which will affect the inhabitants of an entire country, the tendency is either not to think of women in these contexts, or to think of them as a group to which any benefits will "trickle down". A world which has to face the fact that fully one-third of all its families are headed by women, the only identifiable source of economic support, has to question this thinking.

The same reputable source--the International Labour Organisation--which provides the statistic that women perform one-third of the world's

counted labour also estimates that women earn less than one-tenth of the world's income for it, and control less than one-hundredth of the world's property. Speaking in a free market economy, there is perhaps no better definition of powerlessness. Those who have argued most forcibly for a change in economic relations between countries have cited the statistic that 70 per cent of the world's people get 30 per cent of the world's income; that, too, is a definition of powerlessness. Both statistics are not only cause for shame, but signposts to what must be changed if we are really serious about the future we intend to leave to our children.

Five years ago, in Mexico City, when for the first time in history the Governments of the world met in conference to speak about the concerns and the potential of women, they agreed that there should be a Decade for women, and that its objectives should be Equality, Development and Peace. At the time it was said by cynics that this represented a compromise among the world's three major political groups: that the West, inspired by its feminists, held out for equality, that the developing world set its priority as development, and that the East settled for peace. The world of 1980 has become so much more complex that I do not believe that remark would be possible today: we certainly did not hear it in Copenhagen. In five years we understand more clearly that those three goals are important not just for women, but for human survival, and that all of them are interrelated. The Mid-Decade Conference's agenda, its deliberations and its conclusions made this clear, viz., equality for women is indivisible from development, and both are indivisible from peace. And this gives us some measure of the distance we have travelled on our way from Mexico to Copenhagen.

And this has a lot to do with our growing perceptions of the world of 1980, a disturbingly more complex world than that of 1975 when we decided that there should be a United Nations Decade for Women. In the area that we designate as "political", there are so many areas of insecurity, so many flash-points, so many more than were on our international agenda 1975, above all, so much more questioning of our assumptions about the way the world is ordered--that each of us as an individual is being forced to rethink what may be reality, and what we can do to change it. In the matter of economics, the parallel global tension intensified by unprecedented recession, an energy crisis, and the mounting debt burdens of the developing nations has equally challenged everything we thought we knew about how our governments work to protect our hopes and our expectations. This is as true for countries whose names you may never have heard, as it is for you. And this wider, deeper awareness of where we and our world stand in 1980 gave an urgent, heightened dimension to our work in Copenhagen.

It determined the fact that we went to the Bella Center with Palestinian women, Southern African women, refugee women already inscribed, among other items, on our agenda: we left with additional mandates not only for rural women, elderly women, battered women, but for Bolivian women, Sahrawi women, women in poverty, and a significant ground-breaking mandate to implement the Decade's goals "within the framework of the United Nations efforts to achieve the New International Economic Order."

The much-misunderstood struggle in the United Nations for the New International Economic Order is too often represented as a set of unreasonable

demands made by those who cannot "make it" against those who have "made it". Something analogous in this country to the situation where the working taxpayer resents the welfare recipient.

It is a dangerous analogy. It is dangerous because it is impossible to extrapolate from a local situation to the world, and it is dangerous because by refusing to look at what the actual costs would be, it dishonours a legitimate proposal which has been made—with really very little rancour when one considers both the past and the present. It is not resentment which is involved, but survival, not to speak of justice. Behind the technicalities of the debate which still continues at the United Nations are issues that every woman who has ever wanted to have some say in her own destiny will understand. In essence, the fundamental questions are, viz.: Can we now have access to a power structure—international, national, domestic—which dominates our lives, but which we had no share in devising? Will there be recognition and promotion of self-reliance? Will credit be available? Can the existing rules or laws or institutions be changed? Will there be structural reforms and changes? Can we devise new mechanisms and get a share in their control—mechanisms which will not carry out vengeance on those who held absolute power before but will recognize the need and the desirability of working together for mutual benefit? How quickly can there be a real sharing of the skills, expertise, technology which alone can make equality have meaning? Can there be codes of conduct that are agreed? Can we, the powerless but productive, have it acknowledged that there is a cash value for what we produce, which we will be paid even if it causes inconvenience to those who pay? Will we be allowed to form

networks through which we can co-operate, without it causing suspicion and retaliation? And so on.

The voices of women in their dialogue with men are scarcely distinguishable from the voices of the South, in its dialogue with the North. And there is a curious irony in the fact that so many women of the North, passionate and articulate as they were in their presentation of the oppression of women, failed to make the intellectual? moral? leap across worlds, to identify with the cause of the South in so many fundamental aspects.

What really happened at Copenhagen?

I would like to say what--or some of what--I saw happening there. In a world of political and economic insecurity, 145 countries from every geographical area and every political persuasion, came to meet. It was the second such meeting and I think that this--and five years of experience in carrying out the decisions of Mexico City--had added more than I can say to the expertise and the assurance of the women who came to Copenhagen. Because the information, the data-base, was better, we knew not just more about other women, but even about ourselves. We had had a chance to refine our priorities; we knew some of the things that were most needed, and women said them even when it was a matter of saying that their own governments had set up women's ministries, or women's bureaux, but had not given them adequate funds or had not given them a place on the organizational chart which would allow them to have a say in national decisions.

These things, even when they were said publicly and for the record, got no publicity. What got publicity was political discord; not that

284 paragraphs of a 287-paragraph programme of action for moving forward to guarantee women's rights were unanimous, or that 33 out of 48 resolutions were approved without a vote by 145 countries with hugely different points of view, or that the vast majority of all that was proposed was agreed....far more, I suspect, than in any recent international conference, even those on a single issue, let alone in a conference which began with the premise that no issue on earth was not a "women's" issue.

I believe that Copenhagen set one thing straight. I believe that never again will it be possible to think that women--coming to confer together from all over the world--can be strait jacketed into discussing only social policy, or that social policy can ever again be described as the "women's issue". Women came to Copenhagen with the absolute conviction that they were involved in politics, national and international.

They had learned at the level of their country experience--in the years since Mexico City gave them the impetus (or gave it to their governments) to set up women's bureaux or commissions, or to enact laws--that none of these initiatives could "deliver" without political power. They had also learned that what happens to women, at least in our present imperfect world, is in large part a consequence of the economic situation of where those women live: that just as women in Detroit see their fate, their employment prospects, as linked to the fate of the auto industry, women in a developing country see their fate and their employment prospects as linked to a new international economic order, for the old "disorder" controlled by transnational corporations, had failed to meet their needs. They had also seen that women cannot be set aside from the historical forces which govern their lives: women in a revolutionary war must speak about

revolution, and if there had been a world women's conference in 1776, the women of America would have been preoccupied with colonialism ... and in 1812, most certainly with neo-colonialism. A liberation struggle had just ended victoriously in Zimbabwe when we met in Copenhagen and the presence of Mrs. Mugabe and her delegation dramatized the drive towards independence and racial equality which still engages millions of men and women today: a military coup took place in this hemisphere during the first week of the Conference, and instantly added a new item to the Conference's concerns.

In Copenhagen we disagreed on many things—though perhaps on fewer things than some media (or some governments) would have you believe. We had more hard facts to work on. We knew more about the progress of women in employment, in health, in education, in political participation; we knew more about how past conferences on specific issues like science and technology or primary health care, could skirt around the fact that women were not only beneficiaries but critical elements in changing the unsatisfactory present situation. We understood why governments could not totally agree on the troubled issue of refugees, nevertheless, we could still agree officially that women refugees had never been properly recognized as the majority of a category called "refugees", which was seen as an international crisis without being seen through the perspective of being female. We could still agree that the United Nations should give its attention in new ways to migrant women, and elderly women, and young women, and battered women and family violence, and we testified to our agreement in the resolutions which we adopted on these issues. We agreed that women should be given equal pay for work of equal value. We stated and restated that in all the current United Nations concerns—from sanctions

against South Africa to achieving of safe drinking water for the world, to the achievement of a New International Economic Order--women should be consulted and not merely benefited. Beneath all these vital issues, we agreed that there are common roots of oppression of women which spring from attitudes, and will ultimately only be removed if attitudes are changed--and that women are under a double burden because women are both productive and reproductive. But we also agreed that no amount of change within any country or group of countries will liberate women unless the international system can change as well because we recognized--without any dissent--that women cannot be looked at in isolation from the world's requirement of equality, development and peace: we reaffirmed that global inequities are inextricably linked with domestic inequities; that international development strategies which do not work for women do not really work for anyone.

We moved, therefore, logically from Copenhagen to New York, to the Headquarters of the United Nations where less than a month after the end of the Mid-Decade Conference a grim debate ensued on the global economic power system, focusing on the adjustment of those structures which support the imbalances which exist between North and South, and which underlie the persistent poverty of the majority of the world's population. Its fundamental objective was to achieve an acceptable level of human development through the instrument of an international development strategy appropriate to the Decade of the 80s. The priorities of Copenhagen, as expressed in one of its most important decisions (Resolution 47), synchronized with priorities of the special session in some of those key sectors on which national and international economic systems are constructed, and I quote

from the statement which I made to that special session as I conveyed the relevant conclusions from Copenhagen, designed to place women alongside with men in the mainstream of international development processes:

"Studies undertaken throughout the United Nations system between 1975-1980 and elsewhere on women's socio-economic status have served to bring to light disguised and/or hidden national and international factors which adversely affect development. These factors are closely interrelated fundamental roots of underdevelopment, such as that of inadequate access of developing countries to science and technology, unfair trade policies and inequitable distribution of financial resources within and between countries. Some of these factors critically affect, and are affected by women's economic roles in the areas of agriculture, industry, trade, science and technology.

It is possible today to understand even more clearly than before the interrelationships between key global economic factors, such as the international division of labour and the economic roles of women. Their status, too often one of inferiority and dependency, implying a vast reservoir of cheap, unskilled labour, is inextricably linked with a chain of economic relationships forged in the international market system: such relationships in agricultural production, in industrial development, for example, have been either undervalued or ignored in the past, to the detriment of past development strategies."

It is possible to say now, with a certainty which was not possible two weeks ago, that this will never happen again. Because of the great organizational, informational and conceptual strides which women the world over have made since 1975, because of the dynamic international interaction generated in these processes, further activated and consolidated in Copenhagen, women's analytical and political contribution to the world's developmental crisis has at last been recognized.

That special session of the General Assembly had two important mandates: one was to establish the procedures and agenda of the global negotiations to ensure movement towards global economic restructuring as of early 1981, and the other was to elaborate the third developmental strategy for the 1980s, the latter to a great extent dependent for its effectiveness on the progress of the former.

The session, with considerable difficulty, nevertheless completed its second mandate, adopted in draft form a developmental strategy, representing a kind of triumph for the international community, and unquestionably for the cause of women. This is expressed in three critical paragraphs of that draft--in its sections on its preamble, its goal and objectives and its policy measures which now ensure explicitly and integrally the incorporation of women into future developmental strategies.

But let us not celebrate too soon, for the greatest challenge still lies ahead. That strategy, although now accepted by the whole membership of the United Nations, remains a paper strategy, with no substance, no meaning, or any possibility of implementation and impact, until the nations of the North and South can seriously get to grips with the global negotiations on the establishment of a new international economic order which can distribute global power in just and rational ways. The second mandate of the eleventh Special Session remains sadly unfulfilled: no progress has been made on determining finally the procedures and agenda of those negotiations. The fundamental obstacle lies in the absence of a political will on the North to carry that process forward. The implications for women are profound. A Congress such as this is strategically designed to understand these implications and to face the challenge which they impose as we enter the second half of the Decade, the last critical period of our century.

INTERACTIONS

BRAVE AND ANGRY - THE INTERNATIONAL CONSUMER MOVEMENT'S
RESPONSE TO TNCs

by Anwar Fazal^{*/}

Several weeks ago, I received two reports - one from the USA and the other from Hong Kong.

The report from USA^{1/} concerned a popular TV series called "Edward and Mrs. Simpson" which had been bought from UK by a major transnational and screened in the US. To get value for money, this corporation screened together with this series, six 3-minute ads - 'Fables for Now' - in which famous dance troupes like the American Ballet Theatre dance out narrated fairy tales. I quote from the report:

"The fables described a society (pronounced 'you-sa') in which selfish environmentalists (portrayed by monkeys) and narrow-minded government regulators (who rub their hands together gleefully while planning new ways to increase their power) join forces to place limits on the good, benevolent and paternalistic animals - the elephant, owl, squirrel and other symbols of (the corporations) industriousness - that provide people with the 'vim and vigour' juice that it needs to survive. These good animals cannot do this with their hands tied by the monkeys (that's us) and regulators who want to abolish profits or bring business effectiveness to a halt, through regulation.

Along the way (this corporation) suggests a number of outrageous things: that oil spills are harmless, rare and easily cleaned up ..
... that growth can be unlimited, to name a few."

The report from Hong Kong^{2/} gave the results of a test on household insecticides done by the Hong Kong Consumer Council: 5 brands of the 12 tested by them were found to contain poisons exceeding the limits laid down by the British Insecticides Safety Scheme.

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^{1/} "Not Man Apart", Friends of the Earth, USA, April 1980.

^{2/} "Choice", Hong Kong Consumer Council, July 1980.

These five brands contained dichlovos (DDVP). Some brands also contained additional toxic chemicals that were considered unsuitable for household use. I was struck by the fact that one of these five brands was manufactured in Holland for the same transnational that was sponsoring the TV series in USA and undermining the credibility of environmental groups and regulatory agencies.

I checked the markets in Penang and discovered that the same brand was being sold in Malaysia, without any statement of its contents whatsoever.

This brainwashing of consumers in the USA and this wanton violence against the consumers in Hong Kong and Malaysia, and probably elsewhere, has been perpetrated by the Mobil Corporation - one of the largest transnationals in the world.

There was a time that transnationals could act like this without anyone being aware of the discrepancy. Now, however, they can and are being found out. There was a time when such discoveries by consumer groups were not possible nor did they have the ability to exchange and act on an international level. Now, some 110 of such consumer groups from nearly 50 countries in all continents at every stage of development, are members of IOCU, which is a non-profit, non-commercial, public interest foundation, based in the Hague, Netherlands. IOCU promotes consumer interests at the international level and provides a variety of services in the area of consumer information, testing and education.

Yet, it was only 10 years ago, at the 6th IOCU Congress, Baden, Austria, in June 1970, when IOCU seriously discussed the inability of our economic and political system to protect the consumer from abuses of market power, frequently practised both by international trusts and cartels and by transnational companies. The following month, IOCU's representative to the 49th Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) proposed "that the ECOSOC or some other United Nations body should develop appropriate international rules and machinery aimed at protecting consumers and indeed the whole economy from abuses in this expanded field of activity".

In August 1972, at the 7th IOCU Congress in Stockholm, IOCU called for the application of consumer protection laws "not only to the home market but also to exports and the activities of multinational companies".

THE CHLORAMPHENICOL CASE

As the first response to this call IOCU member organizations cooperated in a case study covering 21 countries. It was probably the first international consumer survey of its kind. The study illustrated in detail how a transnational company can and does market a drug abroad without such warnings of its dangerous, and even fatal side-effects as are mandatory in the home country.^{1/} The drug was chloramphenicol, and the company primarily involved was Parke Davies.

^{1/} International Consumer, Vol. XIV, No. 3 - Autumn 1973.

The results were shocking: you could buy chloramphenicol over the counter in many countries. Of the 55 brand packs we examined from 21 countries, not one warned against all the conditions in which its use was contraindicated. Many failed to warn against serious and possibly fatal side effects. Most extraordinary of all: there were wide variations in the warning given with the same brand produced by the same company in different countries.

THE CONSUMER VIEWPOINT

IOCU interests and position in the subject of transnationals were first fully articulated in November 5, 1973, when Peter Goldman, then President of IOCU, made a statement before a United Nations appointed "Group of Eminent Persons". His statement analysed some inherent contradictions between the global interests of transnationals and those of consumers, and I quote:

"From the consumer viewpoint, marked concentrations of economic power and severe imperfections of competition are always danger signals. Multinational companies in consumer goods industries have readily distinguishable features. These include high profits, and strong emphasis on marketing techniques and product differentiation as alternative forms of competition."

"... Substantial disparities exist in national rules concerning company taxation, and are sometimes deliberately and competitively created by governments anxious to attract foreign direct investment. By virtue of their structure and geographic spread, multinational companies are able to settle internal transactions at prices so fixed as to produce the largest taxable profits in countries with the lowest rates of taxation. Whatever the scale of this loss of tax revenue, a consequential loss is sustained by consumers whose national governments require to impose taxes on domestic goods, services and incomes heavier than would otherwise be necessary."

"Manipulation of transfer prices may be put to other uses besides maximum tax avoidance. When a multinational's subsidiary has a very large or dominant position in a domestic market, payments to other subsidiaries or to the parent organization for raw materials or semi-finished products can be artificially high, so inflating the final price to the consumer."

"Of more intimate concern to IOCU is the worldwide influence that may be exerted by multinational companies in shaping or distorting consumption patterns. They are normally held to offer advantages to consumers through increased choice and availability of products. Sometimes these goods have been developed less because the consumer needs them than because he can be induced, through excessive and wasteful advertising outlays, to buy them. In the most industrially advanced countries this is not desirable. In the less developed countries, the positive disutilities, economic and social, can be grievous."

"Particularly in less developed countries, and in respect of many manufacturing industries, consumers could gain if production and marketing were taken over by domestic enterprises supplying items and using technologies that reflected more appropriately their distinctive needs."

MORE SCANDALS

Since the Chloramphenicol Case Study and since the 1973 statement by the then President of IOCU, IOCU has continued its research and action on the marketing and promotional activities of transnational companies. A few examples:

CLIOQUINOL

Clioquinol is banned in Japan and the USA, but still millions of these tablets are sold every year throughout the world, marketed by many drug companies under many brand names. This alarming situation made IOCU to organise a worldwide survey on the availability and instructions for use of drugs containing clioquinol. Besides a survey on the availability in the form of a questionnaire, 107 different samples from 39 countries with 32 different brand names were obtained between August 1974 and January 1975, to compare the instructions for use.

The results were scandalous:

Clioquinol was available in at least 51 countries and in 39 of them without prescription. 15 samples came without instruction leaflets, carrying no or only the barest information on the packets. Recommended maximum dosages varied from 400 to 1500 mg daily, and the length of treatment, from 3 to 28 days. Contraindications and warnings varied tremendously. Many brands in many countries listed not a single one! None of them had them all! Some brands had widely differing, in some cases even conflicting, instructions in packets sold (and not necessarily manufactured!) in different countries. And again, it was in many Third World countries that the most inadequate instructions were obtained. One over-the-counter clioquinol drug sold in Malaysia, for instance, stated: "Even on prolonged intermittent administration, it is well tolerated by children and elderly people". No warnings were listed, and the maximum daily intake exceeded international recommendations twofold. One should keep in mind that all these drugs were freely available and rarely taken under a doctor's supervision and control!

The report^{1/} was launched by IOCU in 1975 with a press conference in Geneva. IOCU's member organizations - consumer organizations all over the world - helped to publicise the problem in their countries and to draw the attention of government authorities to these facts.

^{1/} "Clioquinol: Availability and Instructions for use", an international survey carried out for IOCU by the Research Institute for Consumer Affairs, London. Published by IOCU, The Hague. (July 1975).

An update was carried out in South East Asia early this year.^{1/} In May 1980, IOCU organised a press conference in Geneva to which the update shows that the basic situation has changed only marginally. Ciba-Geigy, the principal firm involved, was invited. The proceedings of this press conference are now available.^{2/}

IOCU is continuing this campaign and has developed an Action Register of Problem Drugs which will form the basis for a continuing campaign in the pharmaceutical area.^{3/} IOCU is developing an International Hazardous Products Warning Network - a kind of "Consumer Interpol" - to systematically collate and disseminate information on hazardous products.

INSULT OR INJURY

Another study that deserves to be mentioned is the enquiry into the marketing of British Food and Drug products in the Third World.^{4/} The Study was principally funded by IOCU and substantial help was given by the IOCU Regional Office. The Study cites many examples of disgraceful standards of advertising and marketing by UK companies in Third World countries. It mentions as particularly damaging the transfer of inappropriate or over-expensive habits or tastes; the playing in advertisements on nutritional fears and obsessions, and the creating of dissatisfaction as a sense of failure in people.

SWEETENED CONDENSED MILK

In 1979, the IOCU Regional Office conducted a survey on the promotion of sweetened condensed milk (SCM) in 8 Asian countries. We found SCM was widely promoted as a suitable infant food; and Friesland Holland (a multinational cooperative), the Australian Dairy Corporation (a multinational government corporation), Nestle and Carnation Company, USA, were directly or indirectly implicated in its promotion.

The survey found that all of these multinationals practised double-standards, promoting its use as infant food in one country and warning against such use in another.

It is significant that as a result of this IOCU campaign, changes to the labels have already been made by a number of the companies. The issue was a major controversy in Australia, where our member, the Australian Consumers' Association, campaigned on this issue, basing its campaign on the IOCU findings.^{5/}

^{1/} "Clioquinol in South East Asia" Foo Gaik Sim, IOCU Regional Office, April 1980.

^{2/} Geneva Press Conference on SMON, Proceedings.

^{3/} See "Dangerous Drugs", Wolfgang Howorka, IOCU Regional Office, 1979, which is based on this Register.

^{4/} "Insult or Injury", Charles Medawar, War on Want, UK, 1978.

^{5/} "The Baby Food Scandal", Choice, Australia. February 1980.

THE INFANT FORMULA ISSUE - A NEW PHASE

No issue demonstrates better the muscle of the international consumer movement than the campaign against the promotion of infant formulae. One of the highlights of the campaign was the public agreement in October 1979 by the principal transnationals to stop promotional advertising practices. What was outstanding about this campaign, which has implications for the whole direction and strategy of the consumer movement at the international level was that:

- (1) it brought together a variety of social and development action groups, each independent and yet acting in complete empathy and concert. Networking of this kind may be the model for other international campaigns;
- (2) we learnt a great deal about transnationals, their responses, their strength and their influence on political, governmental systems, and on the professions and the United Nations itself;
- (3) it was an issue that brought into sharp focus the dynamics of so-called "developed" world and "developing" world relations on consumer issues and how the third system, the citizens of the world, could unite and change the irresponsible and inappropriate technology that infant formula represents;
- (4) a new "organization" emerged during the event in October 1979. The International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN), which includes INFAC (Infant Formula Action Coalition), ICCR (Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility), War on Want, Geneva Infant Food Association (GIFA), among others, coordinates activities in the international arena;
- (5) we learned a great deal about the United Nations system - it provided the unique meeting of October in which the third system had a voice that really participated and was heard;
- (6) we learnt and are learning a great deal about international codes and regulatory machinery.

THE FUTURE

The international consumer movement moves into the 1980's with a new confidence and muscle in dealing with transnational corporations. The infant formula campaign, the worldwide concern about dumping, IOCU "Consumer Interpol" - an international hazardous product warning network - the increased research and action ability of Third World consumer groups, all these indicate that the international consumer movement is alive and well.

We need to strengthen our link and build new networks, to bring closer those who believe in value for money to the view that value for people is even more important, that it is not enough to talk about the cost of living, when it is the cost of survival that is the problem for most.

The infant formula issue shows how consumer groups can exert pressure both at the marketplace and at home and how necessary it is that consumer groups in developed and developing countries cooperate.

Concern for consumer protection at an international level must be a characteristic of every consumer advocate.

Only if the consumer movement is truly international and carries with it the same brave and angry spirit that moved the consumer advocates who laid the basis of the movement will we see real change. Only then will we see less violence, and less manipulation of the consumer. Only then also will it mean real things to real people.

IOCU's existence in some 50 countries, with one-third of its membership in the Third World, and its concrete activities such as the infant formula campaign have shown that the third system can work on consumer issues at the international level. We have shown we can provide a real response to the transnational corporations.

THE POPULATION FIX

by Frances Moore Lappé ^{1/}

Chances are, right now a woman is being processed in a family planning clinic in Chiang Mai, Thailand. After a 90-second interview, she will be injected with Depo-Provera, a dangerous, probably cancer-causing contraceptive which will make her infertile for three to six months. If not longer.

You may not have heard of Depo-Provera. After tests showed it was carcinogenic in animals, the Food and Drug Administration banned its sale in the United States. Yet, through a legal loophole, at least 10,000 American women -- mostly teenagers, welfare mothers and the mentally retarded -- are being subjected to Depo-Provera.

Worse, in more than 70 third world countries, millions of women are injected with Depo-Provera every year. And if its manufacturer, the Upjohn Company, and U.S. foreign aid agencies have their way, tens of millions more women will be lined up for the shot.

Depo-Provera is a powerful drug. It causes "menstrual chaos" which for some women means dangerously severe bleeding. Complete "menstrual cessation" follows after several injections. It makes women highly susceptible to infections, diabetes, headaches, depression and dizziness. And in many cases it causes long-term infertility and perhaps permanent sterility.

Since many third world women are breast-feeding or pregnant when they receive the Depo-Provera injection, the dangerous drug is passed on to their children.

^{1/} Institute for Food and Development Policy, 2588 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94110 U.S.A. (415) 648-6090.

It causes birth defects such as congenital heart disease, curvature of the spine, and, in the case of the female fetus, masculinization.

So why is Depo-Provera pushed on third world women?

Because U.S.-funded agencies such as the Agency for International Development (AID) and the World Bank see too many people as the cause of hunger. To them any device that reduces births, no matter how dangerous, is a good thing. At the same time, aid agencies help transnational corporations expand lucrative markets in the third world for their contraceptives.

To promote their products, drug companies hold medical symposiums in third world countries. In Bangladesh, after a World Health Organization official used one of these meetings to endorse Depo-Provera, the government upped its order from 20,000 to 600,000 doses.

Millions of third world women are seeking to emancipate themselves from the burden of closely spaced pregnancies. The tragedy is that U.S.-funded population control programs seem to be more concerned with speed and number than with the health of the women they target. Even before the Depo-Provera push began:

- AID got a 48% discount for unsterilized Dalkon Shields, then distributed almost a million of these deadly IUDs abroad to clinics with no sterilization facilities, even after they had been banned in the U.S.;
- dangerously high dosage oral contraceptive pills were sent by the millions for years after the FDA warned American doctors against using them.

We at Food First are outraged at these practices of U.S.-funded population control programs and we think we can make a difference on this critical issue. We know that, with your past help, Food First is having an impact. To share one example:

In April our Mexican colleagues telephoned excitedly to tell us that President Lopez Portillo, under pressure stirred in part by the Mexican adaptation of our World Hunger: Ten Myths, has called for a reversal in Mexico's food policies. The new plan calls for national self-reliance in strikingly Food First terms!

As our influence grows, so does our responsibility. We're determined to take on those issues that most directly attack the concentration of economic and political power at the root of needless suffering. Abusive population control programs are just such a problem.

So we've asked Stephen Minkin, an authority on health and population issues and an organizer of the national "Stop Depo-Provera" campaign, to write a handbook for action. Armed with Stephen's book -- we're calling it The Population Fix -- we'll be able to inform Americans how their tax dollars are being used to support programs that increase the suffering of the poor. We'll work with the growing numbers of health activists, church groups, policy makers and concerned individuals here and in the third world who are alarmed at dangerous, top-down strategies for birth control.

TECHNOLOGY: THIRD WORLD CAN CURE OR CONTROL DISEASES WITH PROPER DRUG POLICIES

An Inter Press Service Feature by Chakravarthi Raghavan

Many of the communicable diseases, those caused by protein/vitamin deficiency and a fair proportion of the metabolic disorders afflicting millions in the Third World can now be cured or controlled.

Thanks to the advances in drug research over the last three decades, effective prophylactic and therapeutic agents exist for overcoming many of the diseases.

However, as an UNCTAD study on the pharmaceutical industry points out, many of these are beyond the reach of the vast majority of the people due to a variety of factors.

"It is the responsibility of policy makers to see that fruits of these discoveries reach everyone who needs them", the UNCTAD Secretariat report adds.

The study is part of the sectoral studies by UNCTAD on "Technology Policies in Developing Countries", undertaken in pursuance of the mandate given at Manila to UNCTAD in June 1979.

The study says an overall policy, laid down by each country based on its conditions, would help procure, produce and supply vitally-needed drugs at reasonable prices, develop a self-reliant technology and reduce technological dependence and make optimal use of its own resources.

Each Third World country must adopt an overall technology policy and plan for the pharmaceutical industry. This involves formulation of a list of essential drugs by generic names, as called for by the World Health Organization, a centralised bulk procurement system, price control mechanism combined with incentives for production of essential drugs, and changes in the country's patents and trade marks system.

Drug production is at present concentrated to a large extent in the industrialised countries. The Third World share of output is only ten per cent of this; Brazil, India and Mexico account for one half.

The Third World countries as a whole import about 52 per cent of their needs. From a 800 million dollar drug import in 1968, their import bill went up to 1600 million in 1973, 2500 million in 1976, and is expected to be 4500 million in 1980, and 8500 million by 1985.

Drugs constitute 40-60 per cent of the health budget of the Third World, compared to 15-20 per cent in the industrialised countries. Judged by the state of health of the people, drug consumption is not fully adequate.

The importance of a proper policy for the pharmaceutical sector thus becomes crucial to any overall health policy in Third World countries.

After considerable debate and studies by experts, the WHO has come out strongly in favour of each country adopting a list of essential drugs based on generic names. WHO studies show that countries who have adopted the policy of essential drugs by generic names advocated by it already show favourable medical and economic results. Third World countries, the UNCTAD study advocates, should hence formulate an essential list of drugs by generic names on the basis of a national formulary. Countries with a centralised procurement and distribution system can forthwith adopt the list. Others with both private and public health sectors should start with the public sector and gradually extend it to the private sector.

Import of drugs should be mainly on the basis of generic names of essential drugs. A centralised bulk procurement system for drugs and chemical raw materials, with multiple sources of supply through open international tenders should be adopted. Experience of countries shows that this has an economic advantage.

Health service schemes and the drugs distribution system should be modified to ensure supply to the entire population. Countries could consider adopting a multi-tier system: a special cadre of para-medical personnel at different local levels working in cooperation with general physicians and specialists at the referral and central hospitals.

Unconventional methods of delivery of essential drugs could be explored, using rural school teachers, post-masters or a group of trained special rural pharmacists. Many countries in the 30s successfully did this to provide quinine to tackle malaria.

Steps should also be taken to integrate use of traditional remedies into the public health programme. Large numbers of patients seeking medical aid suffer from very common, mild and self-limiting illnesses. Treatment of these conditions is always by symptoms. For all of them, cheap and simple traditional remedies could be used with advantage.

Experts, with knowledge and experience in their formulation and use, should prepare a formulary of such drugs. To ensure uniform quality, these should be manufactured to standard specifications in a public sector unit, or if this is not feasible, in selected private sector units.

Newer and costlier drugs are not necessarily the best. In a recent clinical trial in Thailand for treatment of hookworms, it was found that bephenium, pyrantel and tetrachloroethylene all had equal clinical effects. Their cost ratio was, however, 13:8:1. Also, tetrachlorethylene is an old drug with known toxicological effects; the other two newer drugs are yet to be fully evaluated. Again fampicin is an effective drug for leprosy and tuberculosis. It costs one dollar a day to treat a patient. The much older and commonly-used dds, costs only one dollar a year and is equally effective.

The important discoveries and advances in drug research of the last few decades can easily be brought within reach of the millions in the Third World countries, and their ailments cured or controlled. This, however, requires basic changes

in the patent and trade marks system, as part of an overall policy by each country in the health sector, according to the study.

The patent system, the study shows, has been largely abused in the drug industry, either to prevent import of cheaper products or prevent local firms from starting production of similar products even when the patentee has not set up production in the country.

The UNCTAD study points out that more than ninety per cent of the drugs included in the WHO list of essential drugs are free of patents in any event.

The claim of the drug industry that the patent system creates a favourable climate for investment, transfer of valuable technology and that it acts as an incentive to inventive ability is belied by an analysis of the operation of the system in Third World countries, the study says.

The present patent licences in drugs have in practice been no more than special import permits, the majority of the patents are not exploited in the Third World countries.

To reform the system, the study suggests that Third World countries should exclude both pharmaceutical products and processes from the grant of patents. Alternatively, they should grant process patents only in drugs, and provide adequate safeguards to ensure satisfactory working of the patented process in the country.

Tied to the reform of the patent system in the industry is the reform of the trade marks system. Trade marks have become a source of market power in the industry. In 1974, the largest number of trade marks registered in the Third World countries was in the pharmaceutical sector.

Product differentiation through trade marks, and skilful advertising have enabled the transnational drug companies to obtain very high prices and secure consumer loyalty. More money is spent by the drug industry on advertising than on research and development -- 20 per cent on the former and ten per cent on research and development.

Both physicians and consumers need to be educated and oriented to support successful implementation of national health and pharmaceutical programmes, specially policies of essential drugs under generic names advocated by the WHO. The process of education must start at the medical schools, and should enable medical students to be aware of medical problems in their social setting.

Much of the information about marketed drugs is now conveyed to doctors by manufacturing firms through sales representatives and samples and mailed literature. It is important that doctors should correct information about the efficacy, scope, safety and usefulness of every drug, but it is debatable whether the present method is the best. In fact, many of the current mal-practices in drug consumption could be traced to the present methods of drug promotion and high-pressure salesmanship. Ideally, the information should be provided by professional bodies like medical associations in collaboration with drug administration, and absolutely independent of manufacturers.

Trade marks used on drugs are no guarantee of quality. The quality depends on and is assured by efficient drug control, and specially quality control and consumer protection laws and administration.

All single ingredient drugs are part of the pharmacopeia and their quality is controlled by quality control measures.

The twenty per cent now spent on promotion of brand name drugs, ultimately paid for by the consumer, is a waste of money. Brand name drugs often have a plethora of unnecessary and often irrational formulations. The multi-vitamin preparations and tonics are examples; the brand name ones contain more dosages than the body can absorb and will only be excreted, but the customer pays for it.

Third World countries need not be helpless. They have several options.

They could withdraw brand name protection to pharmaceuticals and replace brand name drugs by generic names. But they can maintain trade marks to identify the origin of the product. At least the national formulary, government procurement, and social security drugs should only be by generic names.

Alternatively, countries could withdraw brand names of existing drugs in phases -- starting with the obligatory use of generic as well as brand names and gradually moving to exclusive use of generic names only.

A third alternative would be to grant brand name protection but with adequate safeguards -- with provision for revocation of a trade mark or its compulsory licensing, suitable taxation of trade marks based on economic criteria, and regulation of the licensing of foreign-owned trade marks.

As part of their overall policy, in countries where the industry is not state-owned, governments should institute price controls for drugs to ensure supply to users at "a fair price".

A selective price system, starting with essential drugs, would be the most practical approach. To promote higher production of essential drugs and counter possible negative effects of price controls, special economic incentives should be given to producers of essential drugs.

In implementing national drug policies regarding generic names, only those new drugs should be registered which, considering the balance of efficacy, safety and cost, have some distinct advantage for the country.

There should be clear guidelines on the information to be furnished when registering a new drug.

In addition, there should also be guidelines for clinical trials to test new drugs. Such clinical trials are needed in developing countries, since the clinical data covering population samples of different ethnic groups have to be obtained before new drugs are introduced.

But trials in Third World countries should not normally be allowed for new drugs originating in industrialised countries unless adequate clinical data exist confirming their safety and efficacy. There would, however, be a need for exceptions in the case of drugs for treatment of tropical diseases.

WATER AND SANITATION FOR ALL?

AN EARTHSCAN BRIEFING DOCUMENT

The United Nations has declared the 1980s an International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade. It aims to achieve clean water and adequate sanitation for all Third World peoples by 1990. But will the Decade raise unrealistic expectations? And does clean water automatically bring better health? This briefing document looks at the problems involved, how they are being tackled, and by whom; and discusses the prospects for achieving the Decade's goals.

Millions die every year from diseases caused by unclean or inadequate water and by insanitary conditions. Third World children are hit hardest by these conditions. Every hour, between 1000 and 2500 children under five in developing countries die simply because they do not get clean water to drink or enough water to be properly washed. Diarrhoea - caused by lack of clean water and sanitation - directly kills six million Third World children each year.

Global targets for the Decade. The water decade was proposed in March 1977 at the UN Water Conference, held at Mar del Plata in Argentina. Governments approved then the recommendation that they should "adopt programmes with realistic standards for quality and quantity to provide water for urban and rural areas by 1990 if possible". The conference declared that "all peoples have the right to have access to drinking water in quantities and of a quality equal to their basic needs". To fulfill this promise, 1.8 billion people in developing countries will need to be reached with clean water during the Decade, and 2.4 billion with sanitation.

What are the costs? How the Decade will be paid for depends on the level of service. House connections of water supply cost \$50-100 per head; waterborne sewage (flush toilets), \$80-100 per head. But standpipes cost only \$10-25 per head, and latrines or pit privies \$5-10 per head. The World Bank estimates that the total costs of clean water and sanitation for all by 1990 would be in excess of \$600 billion (1978 US dollars). It also estimates that by using cheaper and more appropriate technologies the costs of the Decade could be halved.

The bulk of this sum will have to be raised by the Third World countries themselves. But at least one fifth and perhaps one third of the total capital investment will have to come from external aid. This means, assuming that low technology options are chosen, that some \$6-10 billion will be needed as external assistance every year of the Decade. This contrasts with the world's 1980 arms bill of over \$500 billion, or nearly \$1 million spent on arms every minute.

Water supply and sanitation: some problems. Water supply technology is often transferred without any serious consideration of its appropriateness to local conditions. This has led to serious maintenance problems, and often to disproportionately high costs. Maintaining Third World rural water supply systems is as important as constructing new ones. In many Third World cities, water pipes dating from colonial times are overloaded, rusted and leaky, and the capital required for maintenance is not available.

In rural villages, community participation is essential to maintaining clean water supplies. But projects are often undertaken without any reference to what the community feels it needs. And, although most aid officials state that water programmes will fail without community participation, few people seem to know what it means and how it can be achieved.

Many Third World governments are also unaware of, or do not wish to consider, alternative technologies for water supply. They remain convinced that reservoirs, pumping stations, household taps, flush toilets, sewers and sewage treatment plants provide the only solutions to water and sanitation problems. Yet there are other interesting technologies available, such as bamboo water pipes, 'ganats' (horizontal, gently-sloping tunnels that tap underground water by exploiting the natural gradient of the land), rainwater harvesting, hand pumps, slow sand filters, and coconut fibre/burnt rice husk water filters.

Rural sanitation is an even more intractable problem than providing and maintaining rural water supplies. The numbers of rural people without access to adequate sanitation seems to be going steadily up: 1100 million in 1970, 1425 million in 1980. One problem is the conviction that piped, waterborne sewerage is the only solution. Although the high-rise centres of Third World cities certainly require sewerage systems, they are rarely practicable for rural areas. Yet there are available several well-tried technologies that provide low-cost alternatives to either expensive sewerage systems or the pit latrine. According to the World Bank's water adviser, "no one design is better than another from the health standpoint. The principal objective of a conventional water flush system is to provide a higher level of convenience, not health."

Should water be free? Rural water supplies at the moment are subsidised by the government in almost all Third World countries. They regard community water supply as a vital social service that must be provided free or cheaply by the state. But if 1.5 billion people are to be served, and another billion will be needing water because of population growth by 1990, governments cannot hope to subsidise water supply for everyone. The attitude that water supply should be free essentially ends up meaning that the poor and under-privileged will not be provided with water for a long time to come. Fixing a charge for water use has also proved to be difficult. In some countries, all villages are charged the same water-use rate. Because the poor tend to use less water than the rich, the poor villages end up subsidising the rich ones.

Does clean water supply mean better health? Existing evidence indicates that the relationship between improved water supply and improved health is very complex. Clean water supply does not necessarily bring better health. And, in some circumstances, improved water supplies can increase health risks - when

there is, for example, lack of proper drainage, or contamination by storage or transport in dirty containers. In addition, one cannot assume that availability of a water supply or excreta disposal system will ensure its use. Many factors influence the acceptability of water supply and sanitation systems: health and general education, bathing and laundry practices, dietary habits, climate, and economic factors.

What can the Decade achieve? It is apparent that health education is extremely difficult to organise. And sanitation programmes seem inevitably to lag behind water supply programmes. It is therefore clear that the activities of the Decade will not result in a major reduction in water-related diseases. However, a WHO expert points out, "clean water supply by itself will not bring health unless it is supported by other elements like sanitation; but it will not be possible to bring health without clean water. In other words, clean water supply is not sufficient for health, but it is a necessary precondition for it."

The full length of this briefing document is 106 pages. It is written by Anil Agarwal and edited by Jon Tinker. It is available in English, French and Spanish from Earthscan, 10 Percy Street, London W1P 0DR, England.

TOTAL WARFARE AGAINST ILLITERACY IN NICARAGUA

by Marcos Arruda ^{*}/

Says the young peasant to his literacy brigadista's mother: "You know, I am not ignorant any more. Now I know how to read. Not perfectly, but I already can do it. And you know, your son is not ignorant any more either. Now he knows how we live, how we eat, how we work, and knows the life in the mountains. Your son, Ma'am, has learned to read from our book."

ANOTHER TRIUMPH

"The People's Dawn", title of the literacy handbook adopted for the National Literacy Crusade (NCL), is the best description of what Nicaraguans expect of the Sandinista revolution.

The Crusade, which ended last August with a massive celebration in Managua, was a gigantic effort to give continuity to the insurrection that overthrew Somoza and the National Guard. It was a mass mobilization campaign, this time aimed at less visible enemies: illiteracy and obscurantism. It was likewise directed toward enhancing the critical participation by the people in the

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building of a new history of Nicaragua. The Sandinista Front again showed an impressive sense of opportunity in unleashing the people's enthusiasm immediately after the triumph of the insurrection. This allowed them to achieve a priority target: the effective integration of peasants and workers into society, armed with the tools of reading, writing, counting and a critical consciousness of their own strength and potential power.

The Crusade was an impressive victory. During four months more than 80,000 people were trained as literacy animators. They included primary, high school, urban and rural teachers; high school and university students; and workers. Part of the training consisted of a census of the population which established the illiteracy rate at about 55 per cent (75 percent of these in the countryside). By March 1980, the Crusade was launched, very much along lines of the popular insurrection of the previous years. Brigades, squads and battalions were formed and the "literacy warriors" were dispersed throughout the country. They were connected to the nerve center of the Crusade - the General Headquarters in Managua led by "Companero" Fernando Cardenal, S.J. - by means of a transmitter-receiver radio system. By channelling technico-pedagogical and logistic guidelines as well as personal and family messages, this two-way communications system served an indispensable political, organizational, psychological and emotional function to both the brigadistas and their families.

This phase of the war waged against illiteracy and obscurantism lasted five months. Practically everyone in Nicaragua was directly or indirectly shaken by the Crusade. A true cultural revolution was in the making: students, teachers and workers were hosted by the peasant families and villages and learned by experience how the largest and poorest sector of the population lives and works. "The literacy Crusade taught us two things", the mother of three brigadistas (20, 18 and 14 years old) told me in Managua. "One, what our own children are capable of doing and becoming. Two, what our country is like and how gentle and poor our people are in the countryside." This woman, like most parents who visited their children/brigadistas during the five months of the Crusade, had herself been a guest of the peasant host families. "The first thing I asked the peasant lady in whose house my daughter was now living in Palacagüina was 'how many children do you have?' to which she answered, shyly but firmly, 'I had nine, but now I have ten.' My daughter now has two families..."

The whole country was kept informed daily of the Crusade's progress. The target was to reach September 1980 with a total of 500,000 newly alphabetized persons. Already by August 15, the date on which most of the literacy brigades were received back in Managua by a roaring crowd, 406,000 persons had passed the test in Spanish and were given literacy certificates. Since then, another 60,000 persons belonging to national minorities have become literate in Miskito and in English.

Why was Nicaragua, unlike other newly independent countries (particularly in Africa) capable of waging a successful massive literacy campaign? The reasons are both objective and subjective. On the one hand, the structures of mass organization and mobilization created during the popular insurrection offered a concrete foundation upon which a massive campaign could be built. High school and university students, urban and rural teachers and workers could be made available to animate the Crusade at a relatively low cost. Spanish, the vernacular language of the great majority of the population, could be easily

learned and immediately utilized to improve the life conditions and the level of participation of the majority of Nicaraguans in the creation of a new society.

Even more important, the mystique created by the triumph of the popular insurrection was and is still vibrating in the air. The triumph engendered a new cohesion to national unity and to the cultural identity of the Nicaraguan people. The question was to deepen these achievements. The Sandinistas in turn, have shown firm determination from the outset to be consistent, in words and in action, with the promise of making of the Sandinista revolution a "People's Dawn". They are conscious that training the people of Nicaragua in the exercise of political power includes the fundamental requirement of developing the people's capacity to master the power of knowledge.

ANOTHER CHALLENGE

But this is just the beginning. The victory against illiteracy and obscurantism gave birth to a new challenge. First, some illiteracy still remains. The illiteracy rate was reduced from 55 to 13 per cent, so the immediate target confines to be eliminating illiteracy completely. Such an effort includes the alphabetization of the four main ethnic minorities in languages other than Spanish - Misquitos, Sumos and Ramas of Central and Eastern Nicaragua in their respective dialects and a small number of illiterate Blacks in the Southeast Bluefields region.

Second, we all know by experience that acquired skill is retained and developed only if it is put into use in people's daily life. Nicaraguans know that a regression into illiteracy would be a dangerous setback because it would discredit the Sandinista endeavour to actively and consciously engage the whole population in the planning and the actual construction of a new Nicaragua.

The great challenge, therefore, is how to plan and implement the process of permanent education of adults in such a way that the people's daily activities include the vigorous development of their capacity to create new knowledge. The Nicaraguan leadership sees quite clearly that adult education is an essential part of national reconstruction. In fact, the Sandinista aim of an independent, self-reliant and participatory society is only possible if a process of adult education, coherent and consistent with that social aim, is set in motion. The problem now is how to plan adult education in such a way as to allow the people to break out of the shell of the traditional elitist and fragmented schooling inherited from the capitalist past.

For Nicaragua today, the future is like a House of Mirrors. The images of a desired society of justice, equality and participation are numerous and varied but if one wants to lay hands on the one source of those diverse images, one has to find the correct path leading to that unique source.

The dilemma is whether to organize adult education as a process whereby adults are slowly led into the traditional - although reformed - school structure, or to organize it as a new path of permanent education which is inherently non-elitist and which evolves pari-passu with the development of non-elitist economic, political and social structures and relationships. The first alternative is the only one attempted so far in non-capitalist societies. The second, therefore, is still a dream, something to be invented. Indeed, a dream, which is part of the all-embracing dream of a society of justice, equality and participation.

The first path would entail preparing the adults to go from a non-formal instruction in basic skills related to their individual and communal lives and their productive activities toward the institutional school system, passing through a stage of accelerated primary education. Since selectivity and fragmentation of knowledge about reality are ingrained in the nature of this traditional system, we should not evade the question of whether or not the Somozista school system can be effectively reformed to the extent of becoming a coherent and consistent instrument for the building of a Sandinista society. If the answer is no, then following this first path will inevitably lead to one of the mirrors reflecting the image of a society of justice, equality and participation, and the challenge of this unreached utopia will remain.

The rebelliousness, courage and imagination of a pioneer are prerequisites for the second alternative. Indisputably, the Nicaraguans have proved to possess a true pioneer spirit, seen in the originality of their insurrection against Somozismo, in the creativity of their war against illiteracy and obscurantism and in the innovative ways through which they are building a new society. Education will be a non-elitist, permanent and ever-changing process to the extent that it is a function of and a response to the economic, political and social needs posed by the construction of a Sandinista society. It must be a process whereby the dualities of school/community, study/production, teacher/student, intellectual labour/manual labour are gradually overcome; a process whereby the whole society and each and every one of its new institutions and forms of economic, political and cultural organization become forges of knowledge creation, places of learning by living and doing; a process whereby the people themselves, by means of the exercise of practice-theory-practice, develop the capacity to think critically and to consciously transform their world, crucial pre-conditions for the establishment of an effective people's democracy.

Even though the first layer of bricks for the building of a new Sandinista education has already been laid by the successful literacy crusade, a non-elitist, revolutionary process of education cannot spring to life all of a sudden, or merely by the virtue of a government decree. It demands political clarity, creativity and a continued and patient endeavour involving the society as a whole. It demands a high degree of cooperation between the Vice-Ministry of Adult Education and other Ministries which are involved in the formation of cadres for the various tasks of the national reconstruction, in particular the Ministry of Planning. Moreover, it demands active participation by the Sandinista Front and, most important, by mass organizations, whose task of organizing workers and peasants was enormously facilitated by the Crusade.

A NEW PATH TO KNOWLEDGE

Having learned to read, write and count, the people of Nicaragua are now ready to be trained to create knowledge in other fields. They urgently need to improve their health and hygiene, their housing, their productive capacity, their ability to make economic decisions, etc. These are all activities which have been inaccessible to the masses and it is a goal of the Sandinista strategy for the period 1980-84 to reverse this condition. This strategy envisages the blossoming of a new mode of life based on a decentralized, self-reliant and participatory concept of development.

The literacy Crusade organized and mobilized large numbers of people, in particular the youth, around a mystique. The mystique compensated for the continuing social burdens carried by Nicaraguans, especially in the areas of

health, housing and food distribution. The Crusade also generated a set of dynamics which have greatly enhanced the possibilities of overcoming these deficiencies. A high official in the Planning Ministry referred to what she calls the "by-products" of the literacy Crusade: the availability of food increased and diversified; new roads were built; the distribution of income was affected to the benefit of rural workers and peasants; and, very important, productivity increased. This all means that the Crusade was partially self-financed or, seen from another angle, that the external financial support given by the World Council of Churches, the Swedish International Development Agency and other institutions and solidarity groups was ultimately converted into fuel for the reactivation of the Nicaraguan economy.

Now, other steps must follow and the Vice-Ministry of Adult Education seems to be opting for a flexible, non-elitist adult education capable of responding to the needs and demands of the Sandinista reconstruction. Adult education in basic health and hygiene, "economic literacy", basic notions of agriculture - including chemistry, biology, phytopathology and hydrology - are some of the areas which the government planners tend to consider as social priorities. The idea of using the experience of the literacy Crusade as a basis for organizing a National Health Crusade (NHC) is now on the forefront. The basic concept behind this idea is that when a people are organized they have, to a large extent, the power to "produce their own health". The NHC, therefore, will aim at establishing an equitable health system for all via a preventive and curative, health and hygiene education campaign on a massive scale so that Nicaraguans themselves can care for a minimum of 60 per cent of their own health needs, with only secondary institutional help.

The current financial constraints, however, demand that the needed resources for the NHC not be drawn from the national budget. It is true that the economic achievements of 1980 are quite substantial: the GNP increased by 19 per cent in real terms, the rate of unemployment dropped below the estimated 7 per cent projected for the year, the production of basic foodstuffs reached a level which makes self-sufficient a realistic goal for 1981, and the external debt was renegotiated in terms largely favourable to Nicaragua. Nevertheless, the available capital for investment is scarce. This explains why the government is determined to achieve 20 per cent GNP growth next year with the same level of financial resources which were available in 1980 and without plans for large investment projects other than in the energy sector (the Sandinista energy plan foresees that in 1984 the installed geothermal and hydroelectric capacity will satisfy 60 per cent of the country's needs, rising to 80 per cent in 1988). In the face of the expected constraints, now aggravated by the perspective of a harder US foreign policy stance toward Central America as promised by Ronald Reagan, the 1981 Nicaraguan government policy is one of great economic discipline. "Austerity and efficiency" are the slogans for the coming year. At the same time, 1981 is to be "the year of health and productivity". Health, therefore, is to become the axis of the social project of the 1981 Economic Plan.

Nevertheless, this can only become possible if external resources - untied from any conditions other than their use for the improvement of life conditions for the majority - can be found.

"The literacy Crusade is like the source of a river of popular knowledge which no one will stop", said Alicia, a young brigadista. This statement reflects the firm determination of Nicaraguans to go on with the struggle to build a new Sandinista education. But they can only succeed if certain conditions are met. One is that they decide not to empty the political momentum and the innovative experience accumulated through the NHC into the turbid waters of the traditional school system, which is structurally rigid, compartmentalized and elitist. Full-scale implementation of the NHC would be a first expression of such a decision. Secondly, they must find the ways to develop the tremendous revolutionary potential launched by the Crusade into a full-fledged cultural revolution embracing the creation of an educational system capable of generating and consolidating new values and behaviours and of helping people exercise and master the power of knowledge. Finally, they must succeed in integrating the effort to build a new Sandinista education with the overall process of reconstruction, so that a new education unfolds as an integral part of the Sandinista revolution.

MATERIALS RECEIVED

The papers listed below have been submitted to the IFDA Dossier for possible publication. Mention of a paper does not mean that it will not be published at a later stage, but it was thought that in the meantime some readers may wish to obtain a copy directly from the author.

LOCAL SPACE

- . Institut Masyarakat Berhad, Kuala Juru, a people's cooperative (9 Lorong Kucing, Pulau Tikus, Pulau Pinang, West Malaysia), 28 pp.
- . Jean Claude Hamelet, Projet de création et de fonctionnement d'un Atelier d'innovations sociales (8 rue de la Gravelle, 91370 Verrières le Buisson, France), 7 pp.
- . Praful Naran Soni, On self help in a site and services project in Kenya (University of Nairobi, Kenya), 15 pp.
- . Anil K. Gupta, Interventions for developing tribal societies, some conceptual issues (Indian Institute of Public Administration, Indraprastha Estate, Ringroad, New Delhi, India), 11 pp.
- . Cyrus Mechkat et Jelal Abdelkafi, Urbanisme, quelle formation (Ecole d'architecture, Université de Genève, Suisse), 13 pp.

. République du Sénégal, Ministère de la Santé Publique, Participation des populations à l'effort de santé publique. Principes et directives méthodologiques (Médecin-Chef de Projet, Postes de Santé PIKINE, B.P. 10.015, Dakar, Sénégal).

. Ph. Langley, A note on power relations in a micro-region of S.W. Cameroon (Regional Pan African Institute for development, Box 133, Buea, Cameroon), 23 pp.

NATIONAL SPACE

Reza Najafbagy, The need for a new perspective on administration and management training in less developing countries (Foundation for Business Administration, Poortweg 6, Delft, The Netherlands), 12 pp.

. Abdellah Boudahrain, Quelle sécurité sociale: hier, aujourd'hui et demain? 4 pp., et Problèmes des soins de santé au Maroc et dans certains pays en développement, 6 pp. (13 rue de Madrid, Casablanca, Maroc).

. Tihomir Djokanovic, One approach to selecting type of industrialisation in Third World countries (Faculty of Economic Sciences, Belgrade University), 17 pp.

. Arnold K. Ventura, Obstacles and avenues to social enlightenment in Third World countries (Scientific Research Council, Box 350, Kingston 6, Jamaica), 40 pp.

. Jacques Sallois, Réflexions sur l'avenir du travail (35 rue Henri-Barbussa, Paris V, France), 16 pp.

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. ¿QUE ES EL CETTEM?

El Centro de telecomunicaciones para el Tercer Mundo es un foro de individuos, organizaciones, y grupos mancomunados que trabajan para facilitar el acceso equitativo al espectro electromagnético y las telecomunicaciones. Aboga por el desarrollo de políticas, normas y proyectos que establezcan estructuras democráticas y justas de participación en la esfera de las telecomunicaciones. Es una entidad internacional no gubernamental, sin fines de lucro, legalmente incorporada en Costa Rica, con actividades a escala mundial.

El CETTEM identifica, selecciona y distribuye documentos, informes de investigación y experiencias de interés para el Tercer Mundo en materia de telecomunicaciones. Su Centro de Documentación se convierte progresivamente en una memoria institucional al servicio de gobiernos, organizaciones e individuos auténticamente interesados en la solución de los problemas que procura resolver el CETTEM.

En las naciones del Tercer Mundo hay personas altamente capacitadas, firmemente comprometidas con estos objetivos, y deseosas de compartir sus conocimientos e influencia. Junto con grupos y asociaciones existentes, el CETTEM facilita la articulación de estos elementos estratégicos para asegurar el alcance de las metas comunes.

. IEPALA

El Instituto de Estudios Políticos para América Latina y África es una institución civil, de carácter privado, con personalidad jurídica propia, ajustada al Derecho español (Ley de Asociaciones de 1964), sin fines lucrativos. Esta planteado como un servicio ideológico y político a los procesos de liberación de los pueblos dominados y, lógicamente, como una contribución a la lucha anti-imperialista. IEPALA es una instancia independiente de cualquier grupo ideológico, político o religioso; independencia militante comprometida con las luchas de los pueblos.

Sus objetivos:

- . Abrir un espacio en el que se garantice el análisis y discusión científicos sobre la realidad actual de los países dominados y sus causas histórico-estructurales.
- . Estudiar y dar a conocer la estructura y mecanismos del imperialismo, así como estimular el compromiso eficaz para su superación.
- . Promover el desarrollo de la conciencia colectiva e individual en favor de la liberación de los pueblos.
- . Contribuir a la potenciación de una amplia red de solidaridad política entre todos aquellos que se identifiquen con la causa de los oprimidos.
- . Profundizar y extender un proceso de contra-información, que intente vencer o neutralizar las corrientes que, sobre la realidad de los pueblos de África y América Latina, son lanzadas por las redes de comunicación dominantes. (Villalón 3-1º, Madrid 1, España).

. INTERRELATIONSHIPS between people, resources, environment and economic growth are the object of work being started by the United Nations Environment Programme. Using a "systems approach", this activity will seek to show how actions directed at one of these development variables affect the others and give rise to feedback effects. The policy objective is to identify "critical points of leverage" - ways of exploiting these interrelationships positively, to promote a people-centered development process. Contributions from third system people or institutions will be sought. Those who feel that they may be able to contribute are invited to contact: Pablo Bifani, UNEP, P.O. Box 30552, Nairobi, Kenya; telex: 22068; cable: uniterra)

ERRATA

Two mistakes have distorted the meaning of Alvaro Bunster's paper, 'Human rights: bases for a new system of safeguard' (IFDA Dossier 20), P. 4(84), line 1, 'lift' should read 'line' and line 24, 'determination' should be followed by a full stop and the following phrase should be inserted 'And since the principle of self-determination', between 'determination' and 'besides'.