

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEVELOPMENT THINKING

FIRST INTER-REGIONAL MEETING ON
DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH,
COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

12th-16th September, 1976

- ADIPA - Association of Development Research and Training
Institutes of Asia and the Pacific
- CLACSO - Latin-American Social Science Council
- CODESRIA - Council for the Development of Economic and Social
Research in Africa
- EADI - European Association of Development Research and
Training Institutes

Copies of this document can be obtained from:

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Dakar (Senegal)
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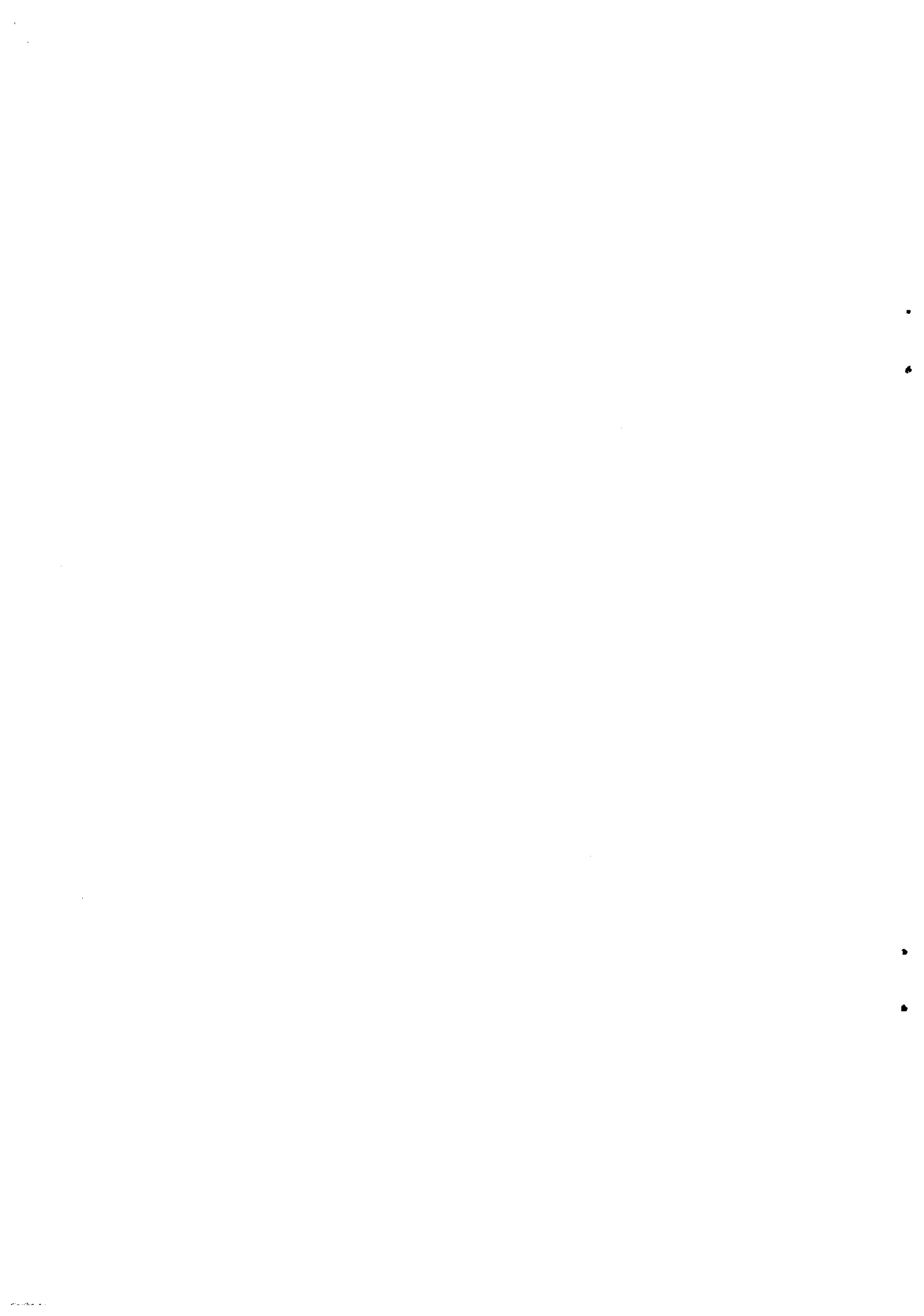
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Institute of Development Studies
University of Sussex
Brighton (England)

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FOREWORD

There have been over the years a number of Conferences of Directors of Development Research and Training Institutes organised by the OECD Development Centre, but it became apparent that, with the increasing number of institutions, these Meetings were becoming too large and cumbersome, and that a more suitable arrangement would be to organise a meeting of the Regional Associations (ADIPA, CLACSO, CODESRIA, EADI) rather than of individual institutes - though of course those attending would in nearly all cases have an institutional base. There were matters of common interest to discuss now that there were four Regional Associations, covering between them the majority of countries.

Therefore, a Steering Group* was convened to plan a First Inter-Regional Meeting on Development Research, Communication and Education. The Group felt that the Inter-Regional Meeting would be more productive if its size were limited, and it accordingly proposed to invite each Regional Association to nominate no more than 9 participants. The Group felt that the Meeting should discuss both substantive and organisational issues and that the themes should be the research and training needs, and the information requirements implied by the growing emphasis on collective self-reliance and by the search for new development strategies. This was the first Meeting designed specifically to discuss the possibilities of inter-regional collaboration.

The Meeting actually took place at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex from 12th to 16th September 1976. Besides the representatives of the Regional Associations, which formed the core of the Meeting, a number of persons were invited, as special guests, in view of their personal contribution to the problem of development; a few international organisations were also represented. A total of 65 persons attended the Meeting.

* Composition of the Group :
Chairman : Dudley Seers (IDS), Giulio Fossi (OECD Development Centre), Arne Haselbach (Executive Secretary of EADI), Richard Jolly (IDS), Antoine Kher (OECD Development Centre), Enrique Oteiza (Member of the Board of CLACSO), Robert Schiffer (United Nations University), Paul Streeten (Oxford University), Poona Wignaraja (Asian Development Institute, prominently associated with ADIPA). The Group was able to take advantage of the advice of a visitor to IDS, Professor Bablewski from Warsaw. Officials of CODESRIA were invited but were unable to attend.

It should be noted that the United Nations University had expressed a special interest in the Inter-Regional Meeting, as it is one of its aims to help in establishing "a worldwide network of advanced study institutes devoted to research, post-graduate training and dissemination of knowledge". This concrete interest was shown by the presence at the Meeting of the U.N.U. Vice-Rector, Human and Social Development Programme, who welcomed this opportunity of making contacts with the four Regional Associations (Annex 2).

The Inter-Regional Meeting was formally opened by Richard Jolly, the Director of the Institute of Development Studies, and Mr. Robert Porter welcomed the participants on behalf of the Ministry of Overseas Development. Mr. Jolly very opportunely mentioned the fact that the Inter-Regional Meeting was coinciding with the tenth anniversary of IDS* and underlined that this was an excellent occasion to review collectively the role of institutes as regards development, to take stock of the discussions, and look to the future.

This document contains the text of the various addresses given at the Meeting, as well as progress reports, papers submitted to guide the discussion, summaries of discussions, the list of participants and the programme.

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The Regional Associations and the participants in general are very grateful to the Ministry of Overseas Development and to the OECD Development Centre for their contribution, and to IDS for its generous hospitality.

* See IDS : The First Ten Years - A Review of the History and Activities of IDS from 1966-1976. Special edition prepared for distribution at the Inter-Regional Meeting, to be published in final form in the 1976 IDS Annual Report.



P A R T I

INTRODUCTION TO THE INTER-REGIONAL MEETING

By Dudley SEERS

This is the first meeting of the four regional Associations. We are here to discuss the possibilities of extending the co-operation which is beginning to grow up within each region : international co-operation on matters of common interest is now on the agenda. We must acknowledge with gratitude the resources provided by OECD, ODM and IDS which make this meeting possible.

The European Association is the youngest of the four and an interesting novelty in that it is a case of a "developed" region copying institutions created in the "Third World". We are aware that we have to earn acceptance as a new member of the club. In particular we have to avoid the paternalism which in the past has often marred the European approach to development problems. You will see while you are here that we are aware that development is a world problem and that some its roots lie in European institutions, such as business corporations, government agencies, educational establishments, etc. Indeed, Europe is by no means entirely part of the "core" of the world system any more, since it itself receives as well as sends technological, political and cultural influences. There are many countries within Europe which are clearly "developing" countries, and in fact Europe itself can be described as a core-periphery system, as will be suggested in the special seminar on Tuesday.

The clue to a healthier relationship is that it should be more symmetrical. Our institutes will welcome scholars from overseas to work in Europe on European problems and on European aspects of international problems.

This meeting is a descendent of a series of conferences which have been held over many years for directors of institutes, under the sponsorship of OECD. Now that the four regional associations exist, and there are so many institutes, it is logical to gather together associations rather than institutes. There is another difference. This is a meeting of the four executive Committees primarily to discuss practical tasks, rather than being primarily a conference at which professional topics are analysed.

But the plan drawn up by the Steering Group envisaged that the meeting would have theoretical aspects as well : it would be boring if we dealt only with practical mechanisms and in any case we need to discuss priorities before dealing with practical issues. A number of "think pieces" will preface discussion of co-operation in the fields of research, education (1) and communication.

(1) I personally prefer not to use the word "training" which applies more to teaching animals how to perform tricks rather than discussing with human beings, especially those from other countries, how to administer departments, implement research programmes or draw up development strategies.

The numbers attending this meeting have grown rather large - several agencies and individuals hinted that they would like to take part. In many cases the Steering Group decided to act on these hints (2). However, I must stress that the meeting is one of the four Associations and that those who do not belong to any association are guests.

We should not be too optimistic about the outcome lest we are disappointed. It usually takes years to build up a network of contacts sufficiently strong to enable joint work programmes to be planned and carried out. This is the first step along what may be a long road. But it is none the less a significant step.

(2) If I may make a counter-hint - many of the international agencies which asked if they could be represented at this meeting have not joined as associate members of any association, even in the region where they have headquarters.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEVELOPMENT THINKING

Keynote address

by

Osvaldo SUNKEL

The development of capitalism was at the centre of economic thought during the century that followed the publication in 1776 of Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations; it was the fundamental concern of classical political economy. During the last quarter of the XIX century and until about 1950, that concern, and political economy itself, were removed from the main stream of economic thought. Neoclassical economic theory, with its focus on the behaviour of individual producers and consumers in perfect or imperfect markets, and theories that attempted to explain the cyclical instability of capitalism, took over.

The subject of development only started to come back into economic thought in the 1950s, but now referred to the economic problems of the countries that had not become industrialised by that time. The economic development of underdeveloped countries, which is what we really have in mind when we now speak of development thinking, is a very recent subject in the evolution of economic thought. Hardly any book published before 1950 had the word development in its title, universities did not offer courses on the subject, special development institutes did not exist, nor did development experts. Technical assistance, as we know it now, only became a substantial operation with President Truman's Point IV Programme and the UN Technical Assistance Programme.

This first interregional meeting of the four Associations that represent hundreds of institutions devoted to development studies in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America shows the importance that development studies and activities have acquired in just over two decades. But the boom that our subject has enjoyed is in stark contrast with the crisis of the development process itself. One of the consequences has been a critical re-appraisal of development thinking and policies. At a moment when new policies, strategies and models are being proposed, it might be worthwhile to sit back and look at the development of development thinking. The interaction between development thinking and development practice over the last two decades may have important lessons for the future.

I propose to examine the evolution of development thinking over the last 25 years or so from three main perspectives: the nature of the economies that constituted the "object" of development thought since around 1950 and their international context; the nature of the economic thought that was available when development became a fundamental issue in the early 50s; and the ways in which development thinking reacted to the consequences of the development process itself.

Before embarking on this difficult task - a sort of sociology of knowledge of development thinking - I would like to point out that this exercise is not based on systematic research, but rather on my own and other colleagues' experiences; that this experience is essentially that of Latin America - and therefore of the overwhelming hegemonic presence of the United States; and that it is the experience of an economist. I should also add that I am not concerned here with the experience of countries that followed the socialist road to development.

Let me then start by referring to some of the basic structural characteristics of the underdeveloped economies around 1950 as well as to some basic changes that were taking place internally and in the international context.

Many underdeveloped countries were still colonies at that time, some had become independent recently, and some - most of the Latin American countries - had been independent for over a century. All were economically, politically and culturally linked primarily to one of the industrial countries to which they exported primary products and surplus, and from which they imported manufactures, human resources, investments, technology, institutions, ideas, values, culture.

The size of the sector that "consumes" these imports - the so-called modern sector - depends basically on three factors: the size of the total surplus generated in the export sector, the proportion of it that the local ruling groups manage to keep and consume or invest (the more they invest locally the more their productive base expands), and the degree to which the ruling groups exploit the rest of society both through the partial preservation of local institutions and culture as well as the partial destruction of them in order to generate an abundant supply of cheap labour. As a consequence of this, the national economy, society, policy and culture are highly heterogeneous, various kinds of socio-economic, political and cultural forms of organisation interact under more or less hegemonic capitalistic relations of trade and/or production.

The Great Depression, World War II, decolonisation and the Cold War changed in many countries the power balance within the ruling classes; the groups linked more closely to the traditional export interests were weakened, and new middle class sectors strengthened (professionals, small entrepreneurs, immigrants with entrepreneurial experience and skills, industrialists - where some industry had developed previously, artisans, new political leaders and groups). The basic objective of these new social groups was to generalise the consumption patterns and life styles that their elites had acquired through the importation of the life styles of the industrial countries (the "demonstration effect", as it was then called). In order to make this possible, the new social groups had to enhance their control over the foreign sector in order to capture a larger proportion of the surplus needed to finance increased consumption and investment. The State became in this way the active instrument of a new policy aimed at the local reproduction of the characteristics of mature capitalist countries: industrialisation, agricultural modernisation, infrastructure, social services, etc. The countries that had all these things were the developed countries, those that lacked them were underdeveloped, and development was the process of transition from one situation to the other.

This conceptualisation of development was furthermore intensely promoted from abroad, particularly by the United States, the new capitalist centre, as a foreign policy instrument in the context of the Cold War. The external support of the national ruling classes against any challenges from the left became an all important objective in the capitalist camp. Incidentally, this was not only the case in the underdeveloped world, but particularly in Europe. On the other hand the national ruling classes saw the US and Western Europe as guardians of their interests and as socio-political and economic models. The development of modern industrial capitalism in the underdeveloped countries became therefore the common long term aim of the ruling classes of these countries and of the US. This contributed frequently to an acceleration of the disintegration of the European colonial empires and to a further strengthening of the US as the capitalist superpower.

Let us now look quickly at the economic thought that was available around 1950 to help the policy-makers, experts and advisers at that time to make up their minds as to the most advisable policies for the development of the underdeveloped countries.

There was of course political economy, the locus classicus of the analysis of the emergence and expansion of industrial capitalism in Great Britain. But the writings of the founding fathers of the science of economics were considered to have been completely overcome by the scientific progress of the discipline, and had therefore been relegated as museum pieces to the history of economic thought. Their great analytical strength, the attempt to relate the operation of the economics of the market, the changing nature of social classes and the consequent redistribution and use of power, in the long term historical context of the emergence and worldwide expansion of industrial capitalism, was precisely what had been expurgated and replaced by "positive" economic theory. In the name of scientific progress, the socio-political dynamics of capitalism had been exorcised from economics, and we were in fact left with two main bodies of "pure" economics: neoclassical economic theory (including the comparative cost theory of international trade) and Keynesian macroeconomics, in its short and long term variants.

These bodies of thought corresponded closely to the needs and characteristics of mature capitalism: the efficient operation of individual firms and consumers in national and international markets, and the avoidance of cyclical instability with short term policies of full employment and long term policies of growth. But for underdeveloped countries, with the characteristics described above, the policies derived from these bodies of thought amounted to a programme of socio-political, economic and cultural transformation, since few, if any, of the assumptions underlying neoclassical and Keynesian economics were present. Or to be more precise, these assumptions only corresponded to a very limited and partial segment of reality: that more closely related to the export sector and the main cities. Money was not a universal means of exchange, it was used in urban and to some extent in urban-rural transactions, but rarely within or among rural communities. With the exception of some export activities, and the urban sector, there was hardly a labour market, as most people remained attached to rural communities of one type or another. The capitalist type of entrepreneur and enterprise was to be found mainly in the export sector and in trade, and some small-scale manufacture.

Basic social capital - roads, energy, communications, railroads, ports, etc. - was again only available to the export activities and main cities; these were in fact in better and easier contact with the metropolitan centres than with their hinterlands. Education was restricted to a small urban elite. Financial institutions - except some branches of foreign banks - hardly existed. The State apparatus was extremely limited in geographical scope and variety of operations, and had a weak and highly unstable tax base mainly in the foreign sector.

If theory did not correspond to reality, so much the worse for reality: it would have to be changed so that it would correspond to the assumptions of neoclassical and macrodynamic theory. Two main lines of thinking and policy emerged. On the one hand the conservatives - intellectual representatives of the old order - who maintained that the traditional specialisation in primary exports constituted the best "engine of growth", provided that the industrial countries achieved full employment growth. The benefits of specialisation and comparative advantage would then spread to the rest of society and development would eventually be achieved. This line of thinking was not very convincing to the new social groups that were emerging out of the old order and required a more activist development policy, based on industrialisation and State intervention. Although for different reasons and in different circumstances as those envisaged by Keynes, macrodynamic theory provided the rationalisation for an active role of the State and for a heavy emphasis on capital accumulation as the basis for economic growth. Growth models - including models of capital accumulation used in soviet planning - and the operational nature of macroeconomics in terms of social accounting and input-output analysis, provided practical instruments for planning.

Theories that were critical of the doctrines of free trade, and international specialisation, and that attributed underdevelopment to the lack of industrial development, provided the rationalisation for protection, investment in infrastructure and manufacturing and planning (Prebisch, Singer, Lewis, Mandelbaum, Rosenstein-Rodan, Nurkse, and others - none of them, interestingly enough, of Anglo-Saxon origin). The contrasts between the heterogeneous reality of underdeveloped countries, as described before, and the assumptions of neoclassical theory, provided the rationale for the policies of structural and institutional reform and modernisation: agrarian reform, educational reform, tax reform, the rationalisation of public administration and the creation of new financial institutions.

The expansion of education, industrialisation and the role of the State, as well as rural modernisation, would accelerate urbanisation, promote social mobility and diversify the social structure, widening particularly the middle and entrepreneurial classes, the indispensable social base of a modern capitalist society. The creation of modern bourgeois societies of this kind would in turn facilitate the development of political democracy, as practiced in Western Europe and the US.

Economic, sociological and political theories which gave an idealised version of the contemporary nature of countries that had reached the stage of mature industrial capitalism were transformed into a programme of capitalist development in the periphery,

into the ideology of development. Rostow's "The Stages of Economic Growth: a non Communist Manifesto" is probably the most extreme and explicit version of the new ideology. The "Alliance for Progress", the response of the new emerging elites of the US and Latin America to the Cuban Revolution and the establishment of a socialist State in the Americas, was the practical, operational expression of a full-fledged modernisation programme.

As mentioned before, the Cold War context, and particularly the Cuban Revolution, was a fundamental factor in the promotion of development and modernisation programmes in Latin America. But there were also other forces at work, of a more economic nature, that supported those efforts. The emergence of the US as the superpower in the capitalist camp, with its vast endowment of natural resources and its extremely dynamic and expanding industrial system, was beginning to change the nature of the international economic system built up by Britain and Western Europe in the XIX century. After World War II, the large expansion of overseas investment of the US is not so much in primary products, except oil, it is in manufacturing and related marketing and financial services. Institutionally speaking, this is the period of the phenomenal expansion of the Transnational Corporation. The Alliance for Progress, and development more generally, represented therefore the alliance of the new transnational industrial elites of the centre and the modernising elites of the peripheral countries.

For some years, in the early sixties, the national and international development efforts seemed well on the way towards accelerating industrialisation, modernisation, urbanisation, social mobility, decolonisation and political democracy in the countries that used to be called "underdeveloped" and subsequently became known as "developing" countries. Marx's dictum: "the country that is more developed only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future", seemed about to be proved correct.

But the development record of the 1960s and early seventies turned out eventually to be more ambivalent than the optimism fostered by the achievement of historically unprecedented rates of overall economic growth, industrialisation and urbanisation. Although accelerated economic growth was supposed to increase employment opportunities, it soon became apparent that unemployment and underemployment, particularly in the urban areas, was rising dramatically and creating staggering problems of urban poverty. Partly as a consequence of this phenomenon, and also due to the great concentration of existing and new wealth and skills in the hands of a small entrepreneurial and professional elite, income growth was also highly concentrated and income inequality accentuated. Although industrial expansion and diversification had gone quite far in many countries, the benefits associated with industrialisation in the developed countries were not to be found. Rather than leading towards a diversification of the export structure, primary product exports continued to predominate. Instead of contributing to the formation and strengthening of the local entrepreneurial class, the subsidiaries of transnational corporations took over the more dynamic industrial activities and larger scale enterprises. With growing foreign control of industry, capital-intensive innovations were continuously introduced, intensifying conspicuous consumption, waste of existing capital stock, and an increase in imports and foreign exchange requirements.

In the absence of structural reforms in the rural areas, which proved to be politically unviable, agricultural modernisation increased yields and productivity per man in the larger estates, generating additional rents for the landowning class, and contributing to the disruption and stagnation of rural communities and smallholders, thereby accelerating rural emigration. The same phenomena of "subsidiarisation", modernisation and expansion of the larger enterprises, and the consequent disruption, displacement and stagnation of the smaller national firms, with the consequent social polarisation, can be seen to a greater or lesser extent in every branch of economic activity: trade, construction, finance, transportation, mass media, sometimes even the State itself through association with foreign subsidiaries.

Increasing urban unemployment and social polarisation led to a stronger emphasis on "social" policies: attempts at introducing progressive taxation, increased government expenditure on education, housing and health services, special programmes in support of the urban poor, regional policies for backward areas. Given the underlying structural situation and processes which these policies attempted to redress, their effects were at best negligible, and at worst, a contribution to the negative trends enumerated above.

In terms of the aggregate equilibrium of the economies that embarked on these development programmes, the situation became increasingly dramatic in the early seventies. Governments had been expanding their expenditures and activities heavily, while their revenues continued to be derived essentially from a relatively stagnating and highly unstable foreign sector. Similarly, foreign payments on current and capital account rose rapidly with the increase in investments, consumption, foreign property and private and public debt, while the export structure remained essentially unchanged. Urban income and population growth frequently outran the increase in marketable rural production. These and other disequilibria fuelled internal inflation and balance of payments crisis, leading to heavy foreign indebtedness. The need to control inflation, to limit imports and expand exports, to control the urban poor and repress the rural uprisings has eventually led in many countries to severely deflationary policies and to authoritarian regimes. Development, rather than easing tensions and facilitating political democracy, has in fact aggravated socio-economic and cultural polarisation and accentuated political conflict.

Although development thinking in academic circles, particularly in developed countries, continues to be based to a large extent on the modernisation paradigm, as a consequence of the internal dynamics - or rather, statics - of the academic establishment, development thinking in Latin America, particularly among social scientists that were intimately involved in the practice of development planning, began to change radically in the mid 1960s.

To begin with, it became increasingly clear that there had been a reification of economics in development thinking almost to the exclusion of other social sciences. But if this was clearly the case, the solution - which had been practiced to some extent - was not to put the other disciplines side by side with the discipline of economics - a kind of interdisciplinary approach by aggregation. The problem went much deeper, it had to do with the static functionalist paradigm of all the modern social sciences: the study of the economic, social and political operation of a national society, given the structural-historical conditions of

modern urban-industrial capitalism. The problem of development, on the contrary, was increasingly seen to be the study of the socio-cultural change and interaction brought about by the expansion of the capitalist mode of production into semi and/or precapitalist social formations. Furthermore, it also became clear that modern capitalism itself was not static, that it was undergoing significant change under the influence of the new central role played by the transnational business sector, in symbiosis with the State, in the processes of capital accumulation, technological innovation and demand manipulation on a global scale. Development thought, therefore, quite simply, had to start addressing itself to the understanding of the contemporary dynamics of capitalism, both in its core and in its peripheries, in the relationship between them, and - last but not least - in its relations with socialism.

In other words, it became evident that the unit of analysis of development could not be the nation-state. Even if we obviously must concentrate on the particular country we are interested in, its historically peculiar national development process must be put into the context of the evolution of capitalism globally, and its local, internal manifestations. These have typically been the main determinant factors that have triggered profound processes of structural transformation. The establishment of colonies, the struggle against the colonisers, decolonisation, the development of primary product exports, foreign investment in local manufacturing, the effects of world wars and crisis, the transfers of foreign institutions and culture generally, these are all phenomena which play a central role in the historical evolution of every underdeveloped country.

Although they may have happened at different times, and may take different forms and shapes, these and similar phenomena constitute the common historical legacy of dependence of our countries. But the way in which they work themselves out and through the national and local society does of course depend basically on the nature of this pre-existing society and its reaction to the internal manifestations of external stimulæ. Therefore, there are common elements as well as great differences among the underdeveloped countries. An eurocentric or global perspective tends to stress homogeneity; national perspective, on the contrary, stresses heterogeneity and singularity. Both perspectives are biased, and must complement each other.

The growing body of literature in Latin America, Africa and Asia on the historical evolution of countries and regions, in the context of the development of global capitalism, is throwing new light on the real nature of the development process. Economic and social history has in fact received a great stimulus in the last decade as a consequence of the questions raised by the crisis of development, and comparative history has been a particularly useful exercise for a better understanding of the processes of formation of contemporary situations. It has not been a purely academic exercise, history for its own sake, but an essential instrument for the interpretation of today's events.

The reincorporation of the historical dimension into development thinking has had other highly positive effects. As far as economics itself is concerned, it has had the very healthy consequence of forcing the adaptation of the analytical, conceptual and theoretical apparatus of the discipline to the actual

historical reality, rather than the reverse. Traditional micro and macro theory is being reformulated in an effort to abstract relevant variables and relationships, and a corresponding effort is underway to develop the corresponding operational categories in terms of appropriate accounting frameworks.

The recovery of the historical dimension has also made it clear that the disciplinary specialisation of the social sciences under the functionalist paradigm has made them inherently incapable of grasping the nature of the development process. This is not to deny their usefulness and progress for the analysis of concrete partial situations, where assumptions and reality are not too far apart, but they inevitably become ideology when they are used to interpret the development of society as a whole.

Even if not very satisfying, the analytical frameworks of classical political economy, and particularly of Marxism, do at least go in the directions required to analyse development: globalism and wholism. But at the same time - as indicated before - they require historical specificity, that is, the analysis of the structural characteristics of a society at a particular time and place, since these are the determinants of the functioning and development of that society. In other words, the mode of operation of a capitalist economy, even if we assume that the basic laws of capitalist development are unchanged, vary under different institutional arrangements and cultural traditions. And so does the historical evolution of particular societies, i.e. the process of structural change. Capitalist development is not, as macrodynamic growth models would have us believe, a cumulative process of mechanical dynamics where everything is determined by an unchanged set of initial conditions.

On the contrary, as the experience of anyone that has actually been involved in development policy knows, capitalist development takes place inside and in interaction with precapitalist and/or earlier capitalist formations. Its expansive nature requires a thorough reorganisation of society, with new social forces gathering the power and strength necessary to challenge the existing dominating groups and to take over the institutions that regulate the generation, appropriation and utilisation of the economic surplus. Economic growth implies changes in social structure, a redistribution of political power, institutional and cultural transformations, and this is a dialectical, conflictive process. Not only must there be structural and institutional change, but this change obtains through confrontation. The State, the main legitimated instrument of power and force, is therefore usually the crucial battle ground of the different social groups.

In other words, the State constitutes a central factor in the process of development, it is the basic political instrument of change. Particularly in underdeveloped countries, where it is the fundamental means of an increased participation in the surplus generated by the foreign sector, and of its allocation to the new social groups. The poverty of the social sciences, and particularly of economics, including classical political economy, in the treatment of the role of the State, has undoubtedly been one of the greatest weaknesses of development thinking. It is not surprising, therefore, that it has become such a fundamental concern in recent years.

The failure to perceive development as capitalist development, the ignorance of the history of capitalist development both in the centre and in the peripheries, the lack of recognition of the peculiar characteristics of contemporary capitalism, and the ideology of modernisation are some of the fundamental reasons for the surprise of development specialists with the results of development: economic growth with increased unemployment, growing polarisation and inequality, new forms of dependence, and authoritarian regimes. The ideological blinkers of the modernisation paradigm put all the emphasis on the positive and ex-post aspects of capitalist development, treating its end products - high living standards, moderate inequality, urban-industrial life styles, political democracy - as the means of development; the real history of capitalist development standing on its head. Capitalist development, as Schumpeter so aptly put it a very long time ago, is a process of "creative-destruction". It might perhaps be worth recalling that when Western Europe was becoming industrialised during the XIX century, a substantial proportion of its population did not only have to leave the countryside, but had to emigrate overseas.

Around 60 million people left Europe between 1840 and 1920, whereas its total population in 1900 was only about 300 million! Under present day conditions of rapid world-wide expansion of a highly innovative and capital intensive oligopoly capitalism, the destructive effects of development are particularly severe, contributing to further inequality and unevenness, both within and among central and peripheral countries.

Two decades of unprecedented economic growth in the capitalist economy has in fact also had some unanticipated effects on the industrial countries themselves, giving rise to strong internal criticism: alienation, consumerism, waste, concentration of power, destruction of the environment, bureaucratisation, the loss of jobs due to industries moving abroad, etc. The recent depression, strangely coupled with inflation, the international monetary crisis, the uncertainty with respect to future economic growth, the increasing inefficacy of Keynesian policies, the relative decline in the control over the world's natural resources and the increasing concern about their availability, the threat of socialism in Europe and the dependent countries, are all phenomena which contribute to cast serious doubt on whether the so-called developed countries really are the ideal model of development that they were supposed to be.

The so-called developed countries are themselves facing profound development problems, these problems are not only national but global, and they are not only economic, but also social, cultural and political. As a consequence, the concerns of the social scientists in the industrial countries are also beginning once again to focus on what was the central concern of classical political economy in the XIX century and of development thinking in the last 25 years: the development of capitalism.



PRIORITIES FOR INTER-REGIONAL CO-OPERATION

by Paul-Marc HENRY

I remember my first participation as President of the OECD Development Centre in the Belgrade Directors' Meeting in 1972, how extremely impressed I was by the free and easy manner which characterised discussion between representatives of about a hundred institutions from all over the world. Now it has become regionalised and in most senses today it is a world-wide meeting.

We are in 1976 and I think we have all been impressed since the Meeting in Linz by the speed of events as safely predicted there. The question of the dialogue between North and South has become one of the basic issues in the world today: we cannot say that there has been failure or success, but we can say that it is pretty difficult. As far as we are concerned we could look at the problem from the following point of view: how much have we contributed, in a positive manner to this dialogue, or haven't we contributed at all? Which is one way of putting it. Another way, which I think is more interesting would be perhaps to analyse the problem and present it along two parallel lines: one is to say that politically and economically Governments are engaged in a world-wide confrontation. The debate in Nairobi was very clear on this, there is a real confrontation. Now this confrontation is of a political nature, it expresses itself in economic terms and you know the list of claims put forward by the Group of 77, following the UNCTAD IV. This is not the subject of our meeting, but I think we should keep in mind that for the first time, Governments, as such, look at the process of consultation undertaken at various levels in the North/South Dialogue, as a process of confrontation. Who is responsible for that? It is too difficult to say; who should say 'yes' and who should say 'no', or should not go on saying 'no', it is not for me to say, although I have of course my opinion on this.

The fact is that more and more Governments are putting their claims in a very articulate manner and we have now, almost, a situation of conflict which reminds me very much of the wages problems in the 18th and 19th centuries. In other words, we are not really willing to discuss like members of the same community. We are opposing points of view with an increasing vigour and an increasing misunderstanding on both sides. Just to take an example, though this belongs to the field of social science rather than to the field of economics, nobody has been able yet to discuss properly the concept of indexation. It is as if the word itself were forbidden. One can talk about indexation, for instance when dealing with the relationship between wages, costs and prices; in some ways it exists within our own countries, but apparently is not allowed to exist elsewhere. Perhaps indexation is the wrong thing and might work against the interests of developing countries; but at least let us look at it. But this is the kind of problem among many others we do not want to consider. This is one field of relations, and this has a direct bearing on our discussions today.

I have a list of questions which, belong at the same time by their very nature, to the field of international contest or confrontation, or sometimes semi-collaboration, and definitely to the field of social sciences in one aspect or another. On some there is no confrontation but an agreed diagnosis. For instance, on urbanisation: after the Vancouver Conference I think there is a consensus that we are moving at full speed towards catastrophe and it is reassuring that at least we agree on that.

The population problem belongs definitely to the field of social science, and one could ask what is the impact of discussion, such as at Bucharest, on the serious work on population in the field of social science. I can say a few things here from the point of view of the Development Centre, because we are working on this together with many other people: on the whole, the impact has been positive. It is a very interesting case where you get simultaneously a position of confrontation and a position of semi-co-operation. This relates to my following point which seems to me to be a question extremely difficult to apprehend.

I am not so sure that we are all moving, in the same time and space. This is typical with the problem of population. I was reading, yesterday, an interesting statement by the Prime Minister of Laos, who said that his country is cancelling all campaigns for population control, because there are not enough people in Laos. The fact is, probably that they want more people to grow rice, so they can feed more people. I suppose it is logical; there we see a total view by a Government, completely reversed to what was discussed in Bucharest, but expressed in political terms. Many people will tell you, that the relationship between population and space, is not the same in different countries and depends on the development model. There are so many other delicate issues I could mention: urbanisation, population, loss of rural population, decrease in rural development etc. Some people get the impression that we are working on a very small or short time-frame: 20 to 30 years, two generations; other people think, like the Chinese for instance, that they have all the time in the world. Clearly in each situation the frame of thinking is totally different, depending on whether you work in China, Brazil or Singapore. So I wish, sometimes, when we talk about such questions, that we define our own time and space framework of reference.

This is important background because it seems that the relations are becoming more and more difficult at the political level and maybe also at the intellectual level. Recently I was attending a meeting at Unesco on Inter-regional Co-operation in Social Sciences; and read an interesting paper prepared by the Indian Council of Social Sciences at Delhi. In this paper, the author said that there is a breakdown of dependency relationship between centre and periphery in social sciences: this was about the argument of dependency of social scientists and according to the paper and the discussion, social scientists were all trained in the centre, applying to the periphery notions borrowed from the centre; therefore perpetuating an asymmetry to the general concept of social sciences. This argument, of course,

is to be taken very seriously because it corresponds to a much broader argument that the more incorporate in the economic field, the more that dependency is present in the poorest parts of the world. In other words, the greater the market, the greater the dependency.

The result is the strong reactions that we have seen and which are expressed under the general term of self-reliance. I read with great interest Mr. Oteiza's paper "Collective Self-Reliance, Some Old and New Issues", and I hope that the Development Centre will use it to stimulate OECD Member Governments into thinking about the importance of the issue. Self-reliance, if you look at it is, in a sense, the other side of the argument that more collaboration creates more dependency; conversely, less co-operation and more independence, which is logic and true. We have examples in South East Asia, Burma, Laos, and Cambodia, where self-reliance is pushed to the extreme consequence.

Going back to basic food production, satisfaction of basic needs and this negation, so to speak, of co-operation one can see that the roots are interesting and important. It is not just an accident, a fancy of a fanatical group of warriors, it is something else which is creeping back into a general concept. If inter-dependence does not bring the progress needed and the satisfaction of basic population needs, therefore we must do away with inter-dependence and find another formula. I am not the first one to say that of course, it has been said much more eloquently before.

Therefore, I should like to draw your attention to the parallelism between the two levels of discussion. The first is, I repeat, a confrontation on economic terms, whether the rich will accept what the poor have to say or not. The second question is at the level of the intellectuals, which I am afraid we all are, around this table. In fact, we are professional intellectuals, I believe; and that is not an insult. The question is: are the professional intellectuals that we represent, and the agencies which we belong to, sufficiently in touch with the basic claim by the masses for participation and self-reliance?

Transfer of technology - hard technology versus soft technology, Western technology versus native technology etc. - is another question which overlaps between political discussion and social science discussion. In this question the important issue is also the absorptive capacity of any given society. Who is going to study this absorptive capacity? The social scientists, without doubt. But are the social scientists in any country represented here, in a position to actually make positive suggestions for closer and positive association of the masses to the process of their own self development? Or are we, in relation to the masses, at the same distance as poor countries to rich countries? Various quarters argue that Governments of developing countries are not really in a position to talk about the basic needs of the masses, because what they really want is power, their own power, including internal power. So then, the problem among social scientists is the same as between Governments. Is our research really based on the crying needs of the masses?,

and I say the crying needs deliberately. Is it based on, or oriented towards the movement of self-reliance? Does that mean that we should have bare-foot social scientists just as we have bare-foot doctors? I am sure there are some, but maybe not enough.

I was not so long ago in Upper Volta working with the World Bank on the question of river-blindness and the settlement of populations freed from the disease from over-populated areas in the North. The question was, what would be the role of social scientists in relation to the re-settlement, and we had two social scientists as advisers in this project. It is interesting to see how the social scientists actually work around this re-settlement business - are they really in touch with the population? If so, do they ally with the population from outside, or are they participating with the population from the inside? And what age group are they talking about? Is it the young man of 20 who has his little motor-cycle who has no intention to push the old plough on the land? What are we talking about exactly? Who is going to talk on behalf of whom? And what authority does he have? Some governments would tell you that social scientists are no more in touch with the needs of the people than the politicians themselves. Maybe it is an irrelevant and impertinent remark.

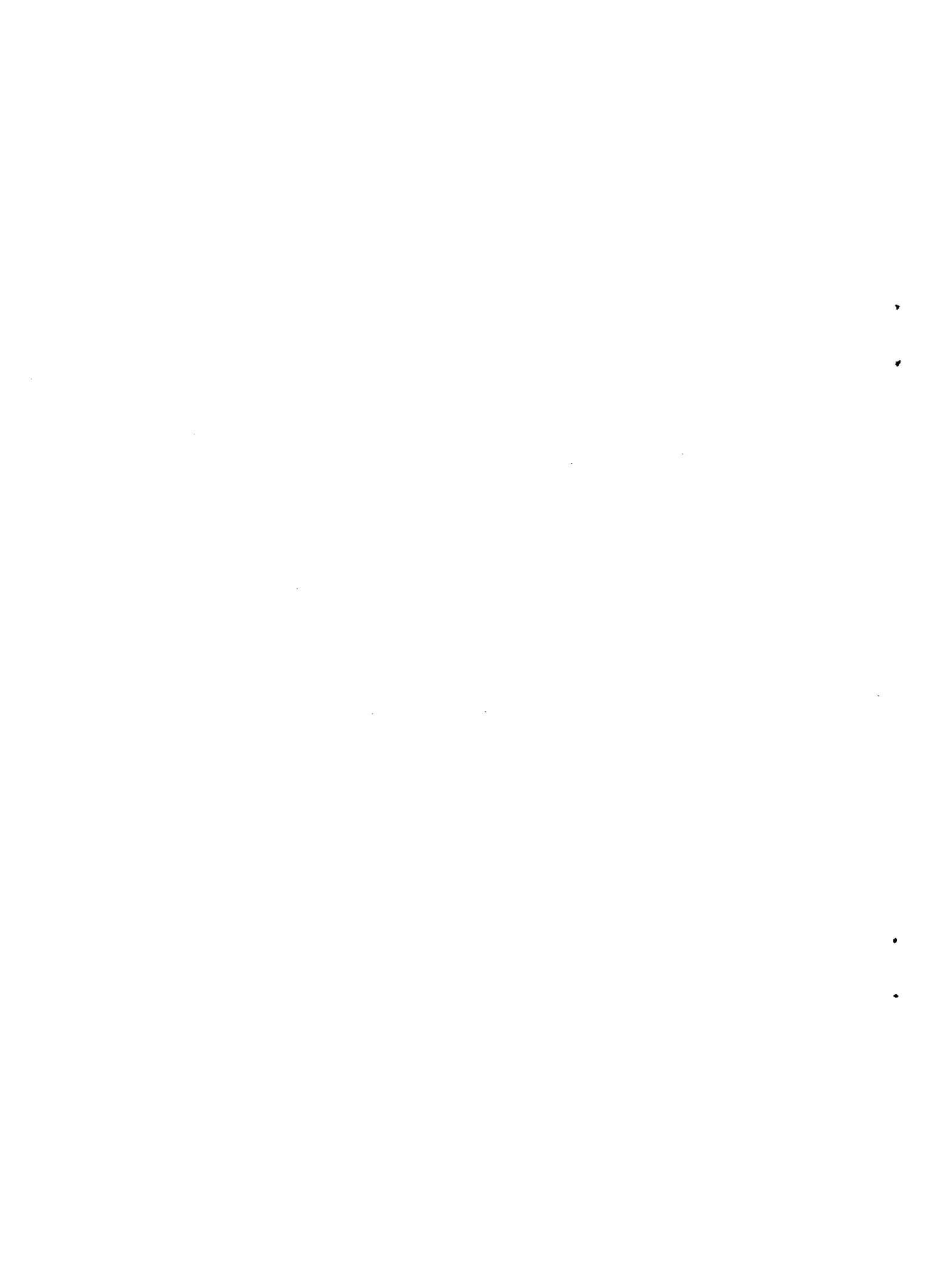
This leads me to tell you that the regional re-grouping is a wonderful and very positive effort; but it seems to me that now we should go a step further, and go deeper. Of course, pure scientific research groups do have to exist, and I agree that independence of research in relation to the social process is very important; however, in so far as Governments are asked how much social research can be used to assist them in what is called the difficult process of transition from one society to another, or promoting self-reliance, are we organised to help in this direction or not?

Having said this, I should like to come back to the question which is a very hard one: money. Every meeting, even this one, has to deal with the painful matter of finance. We must note that, today, the situation of research in the world is tragic, in India, for example, social research gets only a twentieth of what research gets in other fields. I do not know if this is true or not, but one thing I know is that OECD has published figures on research as a whole, every type of research: 95 per cent of money spent on research is spent in rich countries, including of course, the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries, not China. So there is 5 per cent for the rest. More than 75 per cent of research institutions in the world are situated in rich countries. This is far more important than what UNIDO has noted, which is that 7 per cent only of industrial capacity is now in the developing world. Therefore it seems to me that as long as we do not get from our respective Governments, that is internally for each government and externally on the world scale, more resources for research, we are talking in the air.

It seems to me that in the last few years, as much as we can be optimistic about our regroupings, working together in an almost world-wide network, in an exactly opposite process we observed a reduction of financial resources. As you know, many foundations have, for all intents and purposes, stopped their financing. We were told a few minutes ago that at least two organisations are working, thanks to Canadian assistance and which I hope will not be reduced. I know that my own country, France, has drastically reduced money for research and even for co-operation. I would not like to speak for other countries, but my general impression is that Governments in the general sense, are not paying enough attention to this, because as I mentioned before, we are not working within the same system of reference. Governments, it is well known, are now more and more hard-pressed for daily solutions, immediate answers, but it is even truer than it has ever been. I like to think that people in the 19th century who were in charge of Government had also time to read and think a little bit. I am convinced that now they do not. I would not say they are illiterate, I am sure they were well able to read before coming to Government, but once there, they become practically illiterate because they have no time, it is as simple as that.

We have a study in process in the Development Centre on the transferability of research results into decision-making. The study has been disappointing and shown that decision-makers are practically not using research results, except in a very limited sense, economic sense. The kind of research you are under-taking which points out certain basic trends, as well as basic needs, is not taken into account by government, and I hope I hear from my colleagues from government that this is not the case. They have to make a strong case to show that the various points made by social scientists during the last 10 years, which all goes in the same direction about population, urbanisation, destruction of the old world order, are always problems. Have the governments listened, have they changed their attitudes, have they modified their planning, have they devoted more resources... My answer is no, and I hope I am wrong.

To conclude, I wanted to throw a few ideas forward and be as challenging as possible, and today was the best opportunity with such competent persons around the table.



P A R T II

N E W D E V E L O P M E N T S T R A T E G I E S



THE OLD MODEL AND ITS ABANDONMENT

by Ricardo LAGOS

I

It seems rather presumptuous for me to attempt this endeavour about the old model with such short notice. (*)

For this reason, I shall try to be somewhat unspecific, so that to begin with, I shall not speak of a model, but rather of a vision.

The vision that I shall comment on, is that which was predominant at the end of the forties or beginning of the fifties as regards the development process. It is during that period that the vision emerges, a period characterised by the following:

- (a) From a political angle, there is a bi-polar world, with a good number of countries being yet colonies, and whose political institution is well represented by the creation of the United Nations.
- (b) In economic terms there are also two worlds: the developed and the "under-developed" one, under strong influence of the United States. Only during the sixties was this latter denomination changed to "developing" supposing it to be less pejorative, and introducing the idea of a more dynamic process. The agreements of Bretton Woods represent the major institutional achievements to reconstruct the world and to organise a monetary system that will allow the smooth functioning of that world.
- (c) As to the values of this vision, they were simple and almost naïve: to be a developed country was something "good" to which every country should devote its efforts. To be developed was to have the social system, organisation, economic structure and the standard of living of the United States which was the main prototype. Those values included a "democratic" political system along the lines of the United States and the United Kingdom.

II

What this vision implied was an extreme confidence in the fact that the process of development was almost a question of time and, given the "appropriate measures", it would become almost automatic. The gap that existed between rich and poor countries was only the difference in starting their development earlier or later. If we want to illustrate this optimistic line of thought, I guess that a good example would be to take

* Note by the Editors: Mr. Lagos was asked on his arrival at the Meeting to replace Mr. Hernando Cardoso who had not been able to leave Brazil.

Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth. In spite of it being published in 1961, it demonstrates this idea quite well: once a country reached the critical level of investment, the "take-off" would occur automatically.

This development would lead to a more egalitarian society, because the gains would be shared by all its participants. It was Kuznets who in his Presidential Address to the American Economic Association in December 1953, "proved" that after a stage of increasing concentration of income, the development process would produce the opposite effect; and to demonstrate this assertion, impressive data were used, in time and spatial series for different periods and countries.

To crown this vision, the political scientists made their contribution by showing how, as long as the development process is taking place, the sometimes not very democratic systems of government evolve to more democratic ones. Lipset's Political Man is to be remembered here.

Therefore the vision worked well.

III

Unfortunately, during the early sixties some minor inconveniences appear in this nice picture. Some of the tools or the assumptions that this vision took for granted, were not working very well. Apparently, it was necessary to introduce some adjustments. Let me mention a few of them.

The implicit financial flow from developed countries to the developing (now this is the right word) countries, to "aid" the process and to get better profits, was not running well. The answer was to create the Regional Banks.

The panacea of industrialisation (through import substitution) was coming to an end, given the size of the national markets. Several schemes of regional integration were attempted. (In Latin America, ALALC in 1959, the Central American Common Market in the early sixties and the Andean Pact in 1966).

Rostow, in his book, explained that in order to have the "take off" it was necessary to have first, the "pre-conditions for it", which meant to generate some structural changes in that particular society. Since many ruling elites were not prone to do that in a rapid fashion (or simply, did not want to do it at all) the Alliance for Progress was launched in March 1961. From then, if a country - at least in Latin America - wanted to be on good terms with the United States and get "aid" it should have land reform, fiscal reform, planning, to widen the access of the "masses" to better health and education etc.

The balance of payments in several countries (the most "developed" among the developing) was having some difficulties, primarily because of the nature of trade. To overcome this situation, UNCTAD was established.

IV

Nevertheless, notwithstanding these reforms, it was very clear that the vision was not going to be fulfilled. By 1975, the gap between developed and developing countries was wider and bigger than 25 years ago. Within each nation, in most cases, growth had taken place, but the rich had become richer and the poor, poorer. With respect to democracy, the set-back has been so notorious that it is not necessary to point it out.

But, worse still, the systems that in the past used to work, are now facing problems also: the international monetary system is in disarray; "stagflation" has appeared, defeating post-Keynesian and neo-classical recipes as well. Moreover, some new phenomena have reached important new dimensions, as in the case of the multinational corporations, which pose new problems and defy the traditional concept of sovereignty of the national states.

The effect of all this, has been to illuminate the inadequacies of the conventional economic theory, or even more, of traditional approaches of social sciences, to understand this new world that is emerging. This has led to a process of rethinking in social sciences that, for the moment, has attacked the "conventional wisdom" but which has been unable to formulate alternative theories.

V

But the vision has been eroded further because the developed societies that were the "models" to be imitated and the means for achieving it have been under attack from different sides. In this connection, developed country models are not accepted so readily now because of the following:

- (a) Second thoughts about the quality of life.
- (b) Excess "consumerism" that in turn has led to concepts such as "triage", that are an outcome of the "limits to growth". It has been "discovered" that it would be impossible for the whole planet to have the system of life of developed countries because resources for that "model" would become scarce.
- (c) Closely related with (b) is the danger of affecting the environment and biological balance has been associated with the kind of development that has taken place in developed societies.

With regard to the means of achieving development, several ideas have been under increasing doubts:

- (a) Industrialisation is not considered any more as a tool towards a more independent scheme; on the contrary, in many cases it has created a "new dependency" from the central countries.

- (b) Planning, as a technocratic tool, is not useful at all if it does not go together with the political changes and will to implement it.
- (c) Integration has caused only increasing markets for multinational corporations.
- (d) Political and structural changes are not likely to be implemented, by the existing ruling elites. Non violent or "balloting" roads to carry out these changes have not been successful because of vested interests, as shown by recent experiences.

VI

To sum up, the failures of the reformist and institutional arrangements (section III), the incapacity to solve new problems with orthodox theories (IV) and the "discovery" that the goal and the means to reach it were not what we thought (V) has led to an abandonment of the old vision (or model according to the meeting's organisers).

The consequences of this abandonment have been several:

- (a) It has become increasingly clear that problems of development cannot be dealt with within the boundaries of a given society, but mainly in its interaction with the rest of the world. Central and periphery schemes have become quite attractive for many social scientists.
- (b) The insertion of developing countries in the international economic system, trying to reproduce the modes of development of the most advanced ones has not been successful. On the contrary, that kind of growth has led to an increased concentration of income, making social unrest deeper. It goes without saying that this is to a large extent responsible for the growing number of authoritarian and repressive regimes that we have now in Third World countries. It has been the study of this insertion that has strengthened the so called "dependency theories", as well as the increasing power of multinational corporations.
- (c) As the values and life styles of developed societies are under dispute, the search towards new ideas in this field are beginning to surface. A good example may be found in the recently published study Catastrophe or New Society? A Latin American Model(1) where the authors assume a new model of society with a per capita income of \$1,200, but which can solve the basic needs of its inhabitants. This is an interesting departure, especially for those countries that have growth, but not development, as is the case of several Latin American countries. In fact, that region had, in 1975, the same gross domestic product as that of Europe in 1950 and both regions are far from each other in development structure.

(1) Research carried out by The Bariloche Foundation, San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina; published by the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada; 1976 (IDRC 064-e).

- (d) Finally, the abandonment of the old vision has made many theories obsolete. To help to create the new ones should be one of the aims to which the four regional Associations should direct their endeavours and efforts.

CRITERIA FOR ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES

by V.M. DANDEKAR

1. I have been asked to make an introductory statement on the Criteria for Alternative Strategies of Development. This could mean no more than a scheme of classification of alternative development strategies. But, I presume, its purpose is to help identify areas of inter-regional co-operation in communication, education, and research which will promote and strengthen national search for new development strategies.

2. Development strategies may be distinguished by the objectives, ends, or meaning of development. They may also be distinguished by the means employed to achieve given ends. This will give us two-fold criteria distinguishing different development strategies.

3. We may recognise three different kinds of objectives or ends of development: (a) growth of per capita GNP in the established sense; (b) raising of the minimum living standard to be assured to everybody or almost everybody; raising the bottom, let us say. It differs from (a) in its concern for and attention to the distributive aspects of development; but the two do not differ in their understanding and assessment of what is 'good life'; both accept, more or less, the established meaning. In contrast, the third category (c) questions the established meaning of 'good life' and seeks to examine critically the content of GNP and distinguish that part of it (i) which is positively beneficial to 'good life', (ii) which is merely incidental to the first, and (iii) which is positively detrimental to 'good life'. It aims to enhance (i), minimise (ii), and avoid (iii) as far as possible.

4. Development that has taken place in the now developed countries mostly belongs to (a) and some to (b). Though there now exists a large and growing body of literature on the subject, there is room, I believe, for further analytical and empirical research, education and communication in as to what extent is there an essential conflict between (a) and (b) and how much scope and room there is for harmonising the two.

5. A searching examination of the content of development, as implied in (c) above, is still largely confined to philosophical speculation and some good-humoured criticism of some of the more obviously ugly aspects of development in the established sense. A more serious and systematic research, earnest education and candid communication are needed. At one end are political-philosophical questions as to who should decide, and how should he decide, what is 'good life'; what is desirable, what is wasteful, and what is positively harmful in the development in the established sense. At the more practical end, there are important, but so far neglected, areas of analytical and empirical research. Having identified certain aspects of development as wasteful or harmful, the questions to ask and answer are: could we avoid any of the wasteful or harmful aspects of development and at what cost? Or do they constitute the unavoidable price of development that must be paid?

6. From the ends-criteria, we may next turn to the means-criteria. Considerable research is available and is in progress on such details of means or instruments of development as: (a) balanced versus unbalanced development; (ii) capital-intensive versus labour-intensive technology; (iii) import-substitution versus export-promotion; (iv) physical planning with price-market mechanism and fiscal and monetary policy instruments; etc. One may, if one prefers, recognise these as criteria distinguishing different development strategies.

7. Alternatively, we may choose certain broader means-criteria to distinguish different development strategies. Here we focus attention on the politico-economic power structure which determines and directs the development process in a country. On this basis, we may distinguish three major categories: (a) development strategies largely determined and directed by the governments of the countries; (b) development strategies monopolised and dominated by big business; and (c) development strategies operated within an essentially decentralised and diffused power-structure.

8. Besides the development in the Soviet Union, the post-war development in many developing countries belong to the category (a). Nevertheless, they differ widely in the extent of governmental domination of the economy and control of the development process. It will be useful to distinguish them by such criteria as governmental share in the ownership of productive assets, employment, and national expenditure. The governments also differ greatly in their power-base. An in-depth study of the power-base of the governments of these countries and the manner in which it governs the development strategy and interacts with the development process will be extremely useful. Education and communication in this area must of course remain confined within permissible limits.

9. Development in most of the capitalist countries and the post-war development in many countries belong to the category (b). The influence of big business on the national development strategies and of the international corporations on the development strategies, particularly in the developing countries, have long been suspected and alleged. Hard and rather ugly evidence has surfaced recently. There is danger of a certain intellectual cynicism growing around this subject resorting to easy escapism and concluding that everybody seems to be in the business, some big, some small. But this is a vital matter because it undoubtedly affects the development strategies. There are several questions to research into. For instance, it will be worthwhile, though somewhat heroic, to research into how big business influences their respective national governments; how, through their governments or more directly, the big business in the developed countries influences the international, particularly the financial, institutions; and how through the good offices of their national governments and of the international agencies, or more directly, the big business influences the governments of the developing countries. A less heroic research proposal would be to enquire whether some of the wasteful and harmful aspects of the established development process, if any, are a

direct consequence of the influence of big business on the development strategy. All such research proposals will require inter-regional co-operation and communication. I am afraid the problem will be who will finance such research.

10. The category (c) listed above, namely, development strategies within an essentially decentralised and diffused power-structure, avoiding, on the one hand, too much government and, on the other, too much big business, is by and large utopian. There are only a few serious writings on the subject and few of them show a competent grasp of the techno-economic dynamics of the established development process. This is not to suggest that the development strategies distinguished by these criteria and considerations, should be dismissed as mere utopia. It only emphasises the need to undertake a thorough analysis of the techno-economic and political dynamics of the established development processes and to enquire how far the prevailing concentration of political-economic power in the hands of the governments and big business is unavoidable; and whether trying to avoid it, will necessarily involve considerable, if not radical, redefinition of the ends of development and the meaning of 'good life'.

11. Research in alternative strategies of development is indeed an enquiry into alternative, but politically feasible, definitions of ends of development and an exploration in alternative paths to reach given goals. The crucial question to answer is whether there are indeed alternative paths or whether there are only alternative goals; and whether, given the goals, the distinctions we seek to make between alternative strategies are likely to prove superficial and transient.

AN ANNOTATED AGENDA FOR THE DISCUSSION ON
"NEW DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES"

by

Ponna WIGNARAJA

1. INTRODUCTION

At no previous juncture in history have men and women been more aware of the potential available for satisfaction of their needs, not only in narrower economic terms but in wider social and human terms. And yet, the strategies that are being pursued by rich and poor nations alike seem to be leading to a dead-end, both from the point of view of national perspectives, as well as global order.

The development process as it has been unfolding in the past quarter century has multiplied the problems of both the rich and the poor countries, as well as those of individuals within each. Affluence has not resulted in the improvement of the quality of life for people in rich countries, on the contrary it has alienated them from their societies, polluted the environment, wasted resources and generated fear and uncertainty regarding their basic values. The inability to manage their economic systems and the frustrations of youth are the clearest manifestations that even in developed countries some fundamental changes are required. In poor countries, not only have the larger masses who are poor got poorer, but they are increasingly becoming unfulfilled and restive without access to elementary necessities for life such as food, clothing, medical facilities and even safe drinking water. In both groups of countries where the creativity and potential of people is unlimited, life still lacks a fullness, resources continue to be misused and major social and political contradictions remain unresolved.

The question before this Conference is "Can social scientists, through the power of ideas, do something about this situation?"

Before social scientists can even communicate it is essential that they have a common frame of reference and sufficient information. It is clear that the development framework which has influenced the process requires basic rethinking. The rethinking process itself requires new kinds of information and retraining of the very actors in the process as well as new educational methodology. All this in turn requires a great deal of research. It may not even be the kind of research that involves conventional fact finding and analysing of the facts. It may require researchers to initiate change, reflect upon observations, initiate further action and so on.

In any event, this is not the kind of research that can be done only by individuals or even by individual institutions. A collaborative effort by the linking together of like-minded individuals and institutions will make the effort richer. The infrastructure for collaborative research of which we are all a part has only recently been established.

A second question that needs to be asked is - can this machinery be harnessed for this purpose?

If the answer is in the affirmative then it is necessary that there be some agreement on what development we are talking about and who are the beneficiaries. Secondly, it is not merely the objectives of development on which agreement is required but also on the process - both at the national level and its international dimensions.

Once there is broad agreement on a feasible alternative, even in the form of an idealised construct, we are in a position to see what kind of information is required, what kind of education and training is necessary and what kind of research should be undertaken as the process is initiated and unfolds.

2. THE OLD FRAMEWORK

The framework that has influenced the development process in the past quarter century assumed that development was a problem of "developing" countries and placed great reliance on "economic" factors. It assumed that rapid economic growth could take place if there was central planning and control of the economy as a "top down" process, with emphasis on industrialisation, modernisation and urbanisation. Internal capital accumulation would be assisted by inflows of foreign capital and technology. The cumulative benefits of this kind of growth in the modern sector were expected eventually either to "trickle down" automatically or at best be handed down in an administrative fashion to the large numbers who are in the rural areas. Material well being would ensure human happiness.

This framework found support from many quarters including leaders and elites in developing countries, as well as developed countries of the West and centrally planned countries. Whatever the explanation for the support, this framework permitted continuation of the existing power structures and international economic relations.

Social scientists everywhere, including those in developing countries, assumed that "developing" countries had a great deal to learn from "developed" countries, and were quick to lend their support to such a model of development and provided the intellectual justification for a kind of highly centralised technocratic planning. A great deal of "sophistication" is proving to be a matter of trivia in the present context of human misery and lack of fulfilment in all countries, irrespective of whether they are rich or poor.

A fragmented bureaucracy and highly trained technocrats in developing countries with "technical assistance" from the international community tried to make the model work "efficiently" without questioning its relevance in the context of developing countries or stopping to wonder whether "bureaucratic" and "technocratic" solutions would not by themselves only help to get to the wrong objectives faster. The "Widening Gap" and results of the Green Revolution, in helping the rich get richer and making the poor get poorer has indicated the limitations of this "technocratic" approach.

Apart from the model's relevance for poor countries, the "realities" of the quantity and quality of foreign aid and transfer of technology to supplement indigenous capital, the factor in short supply and weak internal mobilisation efforts, made the assumptions regarding possibilities of rapid growth in the model of little operational value. There is sufficient evidence from the World Bank and other U.N. studies to confirm that, by any standards, neither the quantum of aid nor its quality nor the kind of technology transferred from developed to developing countries were sufficient or appropriate. Apart from the apathy towards aid in most developed countries today, a growing body of opinion supports the view that the earlier kind of aid-giving and technology transfer is a thing of the past and may have helped to create "soft" societies and increased the poor countries' dependence. Further, the multinational corporations which were the main instruments for the transfer of technology extracted high prices for their know-how and equipment, and the "borrowed", highly capital-intensive, import substituting technology which was implanted had little relation either to real factor endowment, particularly labour or to the existing technological stock in poor countries. The entire process was wasteful and the contradictions too many.

The Pearson Commission came to be established in 1968 by the World Bank to inquire into the realities of the international development assistance efforts of the 1950s and 1960s and to set the effort in the perspective of the modernisation efforts in poor countries. The Pearson Report judged that "The widening gap between developed and developing countries has become a central issue of our times". To resolve this they recommended that developing countries should achieve a 6% rate of growth per annum, a reduction of trade barriers by developed countries, an increase of private foreign assistance and a resource transfer of 1% of GNP from developed to developing countries. It was clear right from the outset that the Pearson Commission had underplayed the magnitude of the world crisis that was looming and "soft-pedalled" the extraordinary privileges of the rich countries in an attempt to reinstate the earlier "one world" myth. Their view of development itself was set within the old framework described above and made no attempt to go beyond it.

Several conferences and studies done within the United Nations system and in academic circles have analysed the magnitude of the "crisis" in development and its national and international dimensions. There is now a great deal of consensus on the causes of failure, even in its own terms, of the earlier development strategy and the depth and nature of the social and political problems that confront rich and poor countries. There is also an acceptance that causal factors for the crisis are to be found not merely in the poor countries, but also in the rich countries and in the actual workings of the global system.

3. THE DEBATE OF THE EARLY '70s

A major fall-out of the Pearson Report, however, was the initiation of a debate on the "solutions", mainly between groups of social scientists who wished to go beyond the report and the narrower techno-economic notions of development and

look into the social and historical realities that lay behind the old framework of development. As the debate proceeded two groups became clearly identifiable. The first group were the Reformists who argued with a great deal of conventional theoretical support that a modified framework of economic development can still be made to work "efficiently" if (a) distributive or social justice is built into the objectives, (b) there is an element of popular participation in an essentially top down planning process and (c) the UN's New International Economic Order would ensure a continuous process of transfer of an appropriate proportion of the income from rich countries to poor countries.

The reformist position continues to be based essentially on conventional development thinking which assumes a conflict-free social framework for change. Further, even with the social justice tilt, it still considers the development process as mainly an economic exercise, subject to allocation of scarce resources. Despite evidence to the contrary there is still an assumption of the "One World" myth which will permit under existing conditions an orderly and continuous process of income transfers from rich countries to poor. Underlying all this is the further assumption that the problem of development is mainly in the developing countries and that a consistent set of "policy packages" based on technocratic considerations can be evolved, ranging from structural changes to investment decisions to employment opportunities, which can be carried out from "the top" with the "good will" of the international community.

The second group, who for purposes of this discussion may be called Fundamentalists believe that a redefinition of the philosophy and objectives of development, a total mobilisation effort and fundamental institutional changes suitable to the current realities is long overdue. They believe that this redefinition of development should be attempted by evaluating actual historical experiences of rich and poor countries, rather than by continuing apriori theorising in terms of narrow categories of economics abstracted from other environments.

The main contention of the Fundamentalist approach is that people are the world's greatest asset. Bringing out their creativity and their potential is the means, as well as the end of development. A strategy of development which does not look upon people as an asset in development can only lead to a dead-end. Hence, conditions for social and economic progress are simply those which release the energies and creativity of the people and transform surplus labour into the means of production. Reforms based on "distributive justice" alone is too weak a prescription to achieve this. Further, bureaucratic redistribution can even thwart the initiative of the people.

Three documents which have been circulated to this meeting have elaborated on the Fundamentalist position.

The Report of the United Nations University Expert Group on Human and Social Development contests the Reformists approach and states categorically:

"Development is fundamentally not about index numbers of national income and its growth; it is not about savings ratios and capital coefficients; it is about, by and for human beings. Development must therefore begin by identifying human needs. The objective of development is to raise the level of living of the masses of the people and to provide all human beings with the opportunity to develop their potential. This implies meeting such needs as continuing employment, secure and adequate livelihoods, more and better schooling, better medical services, cheap transport and a higher general level of income. It also includes meeting non-material needs like the desire for self-determination, self-reliance, political freedom and security, participation in making the decisions that affect workers and citizens, national and cultural identity, and a sense of purpose in life and work.

A development strategy guided by the goal of meeting the needs of human beings everywhere, in both poor and rich countries, not only leads to a different composition of products and techniques from that simply transferred from already industrialised countries; it also reduces the demand that rapid urbanisation makes on scarce capital and scarce natural resources. By raising the level of living of the poor people in the countryside, it may reduce the pressure to leave the land and to expand direction and composition of international trade, encouraging more self-reliance and trade among developing countries. Starting with similar types of society, groups of developing countries can more readily produce for one another what they consume, and consume what they themselves produce. But all this depends upon countries opting for a way of life and a style of development that gives priority to satisfying the needs of the large number of poor people, and gives the highest priority to those most in need."

The Dag Hammarskjöld Report prepared on the occasion of the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, made a major contribution to the debate. Its main theses were stated as follows:

"The international crisis is that of a system of unequal economic relations between a few dominant countries and the majority of the dominated."

"The crisis in institutions results from their maladjustment to a world undergoing rapid change."

"The situation cannot be properly understood, much less transformed, unless it is seen as a whole: in the final analysis the crises are the result of a system of exploitation which profits a power structure based largely in the industrialised world, although not without annexes in the Third World."

"Development of every man and woman - of the whole man and woman - and not just the growth of things, which are merely means. Development geared to the satisfaction of needs beginning with the basic needs of the poor who constitute the world's majority; at the same time, development to ensure the humanisation of man by the satisfaction of his needs for expression, creativity, conviviality and for deciding his own destiny."

The authors of the U.N. Asian Development Institute's Study entitled "Towards a Theory of Rural Development" have looked at the options mainly in terms of the Asian context and the compulsions for change therein and stated the options for Asian countries as follows:

"The conventional growth model, with or without its reformist component, may perhaps succeed in achieving material progress for a length of time in some Asian countries where conditions seem favourable. These 'non-classical' conditions include massive inflow of foreign resources, favourable resource/man ratio and a viable partnership between the national and international bourgeoisie. But such countries (e.g. South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore) constitute but a small proportion of the population of developing Asia.

For the bulk of Asia, the above constellation of conditions is neither existent nor foreseeable. Were the conventional model to succeed, they must rely on the 'classical' conditions of capitalist accumulation such as frugality, innovativeness, access to home market and the political and military power to create international markets conducive to industrial growth at home. Due to the demonstration effect, the bourgeoisie of Asia have ceased to be frugal. In most countries they have, in addition, taken on a 'comprador' character meaning among other things that much of their consumption expenditure is on foreign rather than domestic goods; this has created the paradox that the bourgeoisie in these countries by their high consumption expenditure on foreign goods is denying the possibility of the expansion of their own market and future accumulation, and is also contributing to the worsening of the balance of payments. Where restrictions on imports are being imposed (e.g. India) the defrugalisation of the bourgeoisie and its directly adverse affects in the possibility of capital accumulation remain. This, coupled with the size of the population in relation to profit-maximising technology which is ever-growing in capital intensity, makes it questionable whether the system can carry its large population on its back. As for innovativeness and access to foreign markets the countries are trapped in a global framework which neither makes local innovativeness attractive nor offers opportunities of the colonial type for seizing external markets.

In view of these realities the conventional growth model hardly offers a viable option today for most of Asia. The compulsions of accumulation itself therefore requires that a different strategy be sought."

They then proceeded to elaborate their development philosophy and objectives around five core concepts which stand inseparably together:

- (1) Man as the end of development - which is therefore to be judged by what it does to him;
- (2) De-alienation of man in the sense that he feels at home with the process of development in which he becomes the subject and not the object;
- (3) Development of collective personality of man in which he finds his richest expression;
- (4) Participation as the true form of democracy; and
- (5) Self-reliance as the expression of man's faith in his own abilities.

Whatever the manner in which the issues have been formulated, by the protagonists the very sharpness of the debate of the last few years has helped to clarify the basic issues which social scientists should face up to. The compulsions for fundamental rethinking and change are there and it is not necessary to prolong the debate, though its echoes will be heard for a long time to come.

4. GUIDELINES FOR A NEW STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT

It is now increasingly being accepted by both practitioners and theoreticians that such a new conceptual framework is necessary for re-thinking the critical interrelated phenomena affecting development everywhere and helping in understanding the nature of the new driving forces for change that are emerging all over the world. This rethinking must reflect not merely a reform of the old framework of economic development, functioning more "efficiently" with distributive or social justice built into the process, but a redefinition of the philosophy and objectives of development in human terms and a total mobilisation effort suitable to the ecological and technological reality as well as the potential. Redistributive or social justice is simply not the issue.

The redefinition should be attempted by evaluating the historical experiences of developing and developed countries, rather than by continuing with apriori theorising in terms of values or processes abstracted from other environments. Country specific sub-models would evolve, when attempting to operationalise the new framework, as development is endogenous. An alternative framework consisting of a new set of objectives and a new process is, however, a necessary precondition if the sub-models themselves are to be relevant and politically valid. A supportive international framework would also have to be evolved in the proper sequence. Before such an international order could emerge however it may require an initial de-linking from existing global relations and a re-entry on new terms with new institutions.

The challenge to social scientists everywhere is to see the situation as a whole, to identify the elements on which there is agreement, and to see whether a broad new conceptual framework is not already beginning to emerge. The elements to be included in such a conceptual framework could be tested against the following criteria:

- (1) The statement of the objectives of development in terms of fundamental humanistic values rather than in narrow techno-economic terms.
- (2) The setting in motion of an accumulation process, within a realistic assessment of the natural resource endowment and the available technological potential which still meets the felt needs of people.
- (3) The need for mobilising communities - national and international - to tackle their respective problems and demonstrate that the fundamental and long term interests of the majority of the world's people are not opposed.

A. The new objectives

The main objectives of an alternative approach can be briefly summarised. People are the world's greatest asset. Bringing out their creativity and potential is the means, as well as the end of development. A strategy of development which does not look upon people as an asset in development can only lead to a dead-end.

People must be de-alienated and must feel at home with whatever process is initiated, it must progressively satisfy their needs and they must participate in decisions that affect them.

Self-reliance and the development of the collective personality of men and women naturally follow as a corollary of this new strategy which is characterised by the innovative genius of the people in shaping their development. It is an expression of their faith in their own abilities. This implies elimination of dependency relationships irrespective of whether they are of a national or international character and developing through a country's own effort. Self-reliance is not to be confused with a narrow concept of self-sufficiency or autarky and elements of necessary interdependence can be expected to flow from the process as it unfolds.

B. The new process

To achieve these objectives, the conditions for social and economic progress are simply those which release the energies and creativity of the people and transform their labour into the means of production.

A social transformation of enormous magnitude has to be envisaged. There is in this sense no easy way to bring about the structural changes required which themselves have to be supported by an integrated process of total mobilisation, involving the transformation of labour into the means of production, fullest utilisation of local natural resources and the systematic development of appropriate technology. For most countries this is also the only viable method of accumulation leading to faster economic growth. There is now sufficient

historical validity for this process of mobilisation. Further, this process of mobilisation can be consonant with the objectives stated above.

Further elaboration on these three elements of the mobilisation process is in order.

(i) Transformation of labour into the means of production cannot be achieved by the mere offering of employment contracts. People have to be stimulated to work through collective participation in production. The capital fetishism must give way to the fullest utilisation of labour power.

(ii) Local resources would not be allocated and distributed through the dictates of the "market-mechanism", but in response to satisfaction of the felt needs of the people. This implies a new product mix and the satisfaction of local needs as far as possible by optimal use of local resources, with gaps being filled by surpluses exchanged first with neighbouring areas, thereafter with more distant areas and so on.

(iii) The technology involved would not be an outright transplantation from other environments, but one which integrates human development with available local resources. In other words, the strategy of technological choice would be related to the basic social philosophy and the resource position. While the process would start from the existing level of technology and improve upon it, sophisticated technology would also be used and would reinforce the linkage between the two to achieve the objectives.

For this process of mobilisation to be effective it implies a leadership rooted in the people that trust the people, participatory democracy, decentralisation of decision-making and a continuous self-correcting mechanism which the people themselves will devise. This is the essence of a democratic ideal. Except those decisions which involve the vision of the society and matters relating to the larger issues of social transformation, all other decisions of a detailed nature can be taken with direct involvement of those affected. It implies a system which differentiates between the larger issues of planning and those of a smaller detailed nature, that can meaningfully harness the potential energies of the people and give shape to their initiatives. A precondition for all this is the raising of mass consciousness and awareness and the building of real community organisations.

This strategy has far reaching implications for the basic values of society and life styles of elites in rich and poor countries alike. Major readjustments and institutional changes will be called for. The development of individual societies and a readjustment of international relations are organically linked and adjustments at the national level would require commensurate changes in international organisation.

Development has not been looked at as a total process and the technocratic approach which has influenced thinking and action for the past quarter century, has fragmented the process into narrow specialisations. It is necessary now to get an overview and a total approach if social scientists are to respond to the needs of the times.

In order to keep the discussion sharply focused at this meeting and to make it unnecessary for a re-examination of several issues which must now be taken as basically resolved the following agenda is suggested. It would permit first a discussion of a new framework which is natural, moral and provides an alternative driving force for change under present conditions. From this discussion could stem the kind of information and investigations required to understand the process of change and responsiveness to change stimuli, the educational process necessary to raise people's consciousness and the research support that would be necessary to refine the concepts and generate social action.

DRAFT AGENDA

1. A new development strategy
 - (a) The objectives - what kind of development and for whom?
 - (b) The mobilisation process
 - i. Raising mass consciousness
 - ii. Sharing decision-making power
 - iii. Conflict identification and resolution
 - iv. Transformation of labour power into means of production
 - v. Use of local resources
 - vi. Development of appropriate technology
 - (c) The global de-linking and re-linking process
2. The education process - an instrument in the mobilisation process - its role in raising mass consciousness, releasing the creative energies of people and problem-solving.
3. The new information base and action research support for gaining knowledge of responsiveness to change-stimuli and social action.

P A R T III

C O L L E C T I V E S E L F - R E L I A N C E

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THE NEED FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC ORDER

by H.M.A. ONITIRI

We have to remind ourselves why we need a New International Economic Order.

The first thing that comes to mind is that we have a new political order in the world, though it is not permitted everywhere. If you read the newspapers every day, you know that in a large area of Africa, the new political order is still to be established and there is going to be constant unrest and killings and demonstrations for many years to come. But for a large part of the world the evolution of the new political order, since the end of the second World War, certainly demands the establishment of the New Economic Order. This was the whole basis of the establishment of the United Nations' First and Second Development Decades, and, in fact, it is the need for this new order which underlies some of the activities that research institutes are pursuing. I think there seems to be sometimes a misunderstanding of the implications of the old economic order and the problems and difficulties which it has left behind.

The other day, at MIT in Boston at a Conference on the New International Economic Order, the discussions turned on the role that the Organisation of Primary Commodity Markets should play. There were discussions on the role of prices in international trade, the role of prices in allocating resources and the role of prices in ensuring that the producers in developing countries are not inhibited from expanding their activities through export control and other regulations. One statement aroused the excitement of some of us to the extent that, it was stated that raw materials are not so important for the development of developed countries; they can manage adequately with far less and design substitutes instead. This was very strange because this was in Boston, where as you know, the Boston Tea-Party took place during the bi-centennial celebrations of American Independence. Several of us pointed out that many rich countries seem to have lost track of the sense of their history, because it is exactly the same fight for independence in the United States, which led to a new economic order bringing America to the stage it is, that many developing countries are engaged in.

Again, the gap in living standards that was opened up by the old political order has sometimes been under-estimated. When we read about drought in the Sahara, or flooding in Bangladesh, it rarely occurs to us that one basic problem in these areas is that the level of infrastructure is very low. When this is so, the gap that exists cannot be filled by marginal policies, supplying foreign assistance, debating it every year and so on. This requires a Marshall Plan type of operation to reduce some of the major imbalances in the infrastructure that contribute to the present gap in living standards; we want to impress upon the world that this gap exists and that structural as well as marginal changes in policy are required to fill it.

Therefore, the first argument for a New International Economic Order is that we now have a new political order and, within the new political order, it is important that the economic failures of the old political order should be redressed.

The second point, and many people believe this, is that international peace and security are best guaranteed and safeguarded by a New International Economic Order. Since we now live in a world which has become smaller, thanks to communication and which is becoming even smaller because of rockets and satellites, for each country to think that it can protect itself in its own shelter by its own arms is like living in a fool's paradise. It is only the existence and creation of an atmosphere of fairness and justness in politics, as well as economics, that international peace and security can best be safeguarded. So, it is for the advanced countries to promote greater equality in the world, and therefore to remove some of the strains and stresses which threaten the peace and security of the globe. Sometimes this message does not register until a crisis has happened and I think it is most unfortunate that it takes such a crisis for a major power to develop any policy at all towards the whole continent. Within the framework of the New International Economic Order we should continue to press for actions to be taken, which will make panic measures unnecessary. We should not wait for events to happen before we start to take action to redress them.

The third point has to do with structural changes in the world economy. Since the new political order started to unfold after the Second World War, and since the United Nations First Development Decade was announced, the world has not been standing still. Many structural changes have taken place which have made the situation of the developing countries much worse than it was. If you look at the trade metrics, which show trade between various areas of the world, you will find that, unlike the situation immediately after the Second World War, the really dynamic element in international trade today is not the trade between developed and developing countries, it is not the exchange of manufactures from developed countries for primary products from developing countries: it is the trade among the developed countries themselves. This means that the poorer countries which were supposed to be the peripheral countries have been thrown even further out into the periphery, and makes measures, such as are listed in the international economic order, more necessary.

The fourth reason why we need a New International Economic Order is that there are certain global problems which need to be tackled, and can best be dealt with through international co-operation such as is outlined in the New International Economic Order. The problem of population can be singled out as one such problem as was demonstrated at the United Nations Population Conference. In a situation in which three quarters of the world consumes only about 20 per cent of world product and raw materials and in which one quarter of the world consumes about 75 per cent, it is

extremely difficult for the developed countries which consume most of the resources to argue that population was growing too fast for world resources. To bring up a child to the age of 10 in Britain or the United States requires 20 times as much resources as bringing up a child to the same age in some of the most backward areas of the world, and that is if the child lives to that age; it would probably die before that time. So when you have this kind of situation, for the virtue of a population policy, which admittedly should be a necessary component of any development strategy, to be preached by the developed countries, concern must also be shown for the welfare and livelihood of people in the developing countries. It is this mutual concern and within that framework of co-operation that the message about population can register with the developing countries. The same is true of environment, and of so many other issues that form part of the global problems which can be tackled together.

Having said this, one could look at some specific areas of policy to see why action in these areas would be necessary. If one takes the area of living standards, oil prices have in recent years demonstrated a few major facts. The first is that the resilience and flexibility of the former colonies of the advanced countries are far greater than they themselves suppose. Of course, there are problems of income policy and government policies but the economy is indeed flexible, partly because of the rapid change of technology. Although the rise of oil prices led to problems, these were very likely only problems of short-run adjustment, problems of a monetary nature which were solved in light measure by recycling. But the important thing that came out of the crisis was that with very little effort, and any really noticeable fall in the standard of living, the developed countries are in the position to reduce the consumption of natural resources. If one calculates the amount of money that was saved by the measures that were introduced during the oil crisis (like notices saying that you must remember to switch off lights when you go out of the room, or that you must reduce the temperature of your radiator by a few degrees) it would run to millions and millions of dollars.

So in examining the structure of the economy of the advanced countries, one could say that they could maintain present living standards just by doing away with a few frills and saving much more of world resources. I believe it is the responsibility of research institutes in developed countries to do more research in this direction and to convince their Governments and population that a lot more resources can be transferred to the have-nots of the world without any noticeable fall in living standards.

The second area of policy has to do with disarmament and it is interesting to see that it is one of the items that is being considered by some of the Associations and some research institutes in Europe. A large proportion of world resources is devoted to armaments which become obsolete, sometimes even before they get out of the factory. A new strike bomber is designed, and before the first prototype comes out it has already become outdated because the other side has developed weapons which could cope with it. A new MIG is

designed, but before it begins to be used, it has fallen into other hands. Where is that going to end? For the same people to complain that world resources are getting short and therefore population must be curtailed, is like a group of drugs addicts preaching the virtue of not drinking.

Thirdly, I think an essential component of the New International Economic Order which has not been widely accepted in developed countries is the establishment of targets, and this is one of the unfortunate experiences of current international discussion. If one takes the example of the 25 per cent target established in the Lima Declaration, it shows a situation in which about three-quarters of the world account for only 8 per cent of world industrial production, and the Declaration is that this should be brought up to 25 per cent, by the year 2000. This is resented and rejected; it dramatises the whole failure of international discussion to pass on the message of the meaning of the New International Economic Order to the rich part of the world. Many countries have stated their reservations about this target. In fact, if one works out the implications of the 25 per cent for the poorer sections of the world, it will amount to very little anyway in terms of employment, but at least it will make it possible to make a start and provide some industrial infrastructure which will enable them to provide some of their requirements without substantial expenditure on foreign exchange.

But it would be wrong, in considering the international economic order, merely to point a finger at the developed countries. No matter how much resources are transferred to the developing countries, no matter what improvement takes place in the terms of trade, the impact on the development of the developing countries would be small unless certain internal and regional changes took place. This is a fact. If you take a country in my own part of the world, like Chad, Mali, or the Republic of Benin, what amount of money could be transferred, what improvement in the terms of trade could be brought about which would have an impact on their development, without their becoming part of larger economic groupings. It is extremely difficult unless, as in Singapore and Hong Kong, the whole economy is based on commerce and assembling products manufactured elsewhere.

So I should like to emphasise that an essential component of the New International Economic Order is and should be the extension of economic co-operation and integration among the developing countries. Unfortunately this is an area where not much progress has been made, where even those economic integration examples which appear to have been successful, are now breaking up. Talking again about the requirements of the developing countries, the whole approach to planning will have to change in the direction such as defined by the United Nations Research Institutes for Social Development, who have been working on the redefinition of the purpose of development, the whole orientation of the framework for economic planning in the direction of a more unified approach, which takes into account the needs of the poorest sections.

In my view, action is necessary at all levels so that the international economic order might be a reality. I should like to end by suggesting that while there are areas where the institutes in developed and developing countries need to co-operate in order to produce meaningful research, there are other areas where institutes in developed countries have a comparative advantage over those in the developing countries, without which the New International Economic Order cannot be a reality. On our side, we would expect our richer brothers to use their resources in assisting to build up the capacity of institutes in the developing countries so that we can provide a better infrastructure for research on our own problems.

NATIONAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE

by

Jacques de BANDT

In this paper I propose to examine a few aspects of the strategy of self-reliance [for want of a suitable French translation and to avoid the use of terms which have their own specific content, the term "stratégie de l'auto-développement" is used in the original French text], i.e. a national and/or collective strategy whereby developing countries seek, in a general way, to acquire independent capabilities which make them self-reliant and, accordingly, enable them to satisfy their basic needs and, by so doing, avoid a typical situation of dependence.

In this connection, I should like to draw attention to the frontal attack by Osvaldo Sunkel, who referred to the largely utopian - or even romantic - character of a strategy which not only fails to give sufficient consideration to the socio-political aspects of the realities of underdevelopment but also inadequately explores the economic conditions, exigences and constraints entailed by such realities.

This paper will briefly attempt to:

1. define the content of such a strategy of self-reliance as set out in a number of publications; and on this basis;
2. provide a clearer picture of the problem by focusing attention on what seem to be the essential aspects of this strategy;
3. indicate a few problems which arise when attempts are made to implement this strategy.

Before going any further, it should be pointed out that I shall not deal with what is nevertheless an important aspect since I shall not dwell on any diagnosis of the existing factual situation. There is sufficiently broad agreement that the present system (the old "model") is inadequate for solving problems of underdevelopment, i.e. to ensure that the allocation of resources is in fact optimised with a view to satisfying basic human needs.

However, my views are strongly influenced by my conviction that assertions concerning the collapse of the world economic system, the crisis of capitalism, etc. are very largely illusory.

The economic system, based on continual tension between resources and needs, is essentially a complex set of power relations. To ignore this basic fact, on the pretext that the old order is collapsing and may be making way for a new one, would imply a utopian cast of mind from the outset.

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That being said, my examination of the content of the strategy of self-reliance, as it has emerged from various publications and discussions, shows that it consists of many elements among which the following may be distinguished:

1. The satisfaction of basic needs

The first basic idea highlights the need to clarify individual value systems in particular countries and to gear the socio-economic system to the satisfaction of basic needs. This implies:

- a negative process: cutting down or eliminating imitative processes in scales of values, price systems and life styles;
- a positive process: the identification (i.e. not only defining and locating needs but also defining an independent system of weighting the various needs) and satisfaction of basic needs.

2. The mobilisation of own resources

The second dimension of the strategy of self-reliance consists of the systematic utilisation or optimal exploitation of one's own resources which therefore have to be mobilised, the idea being to do the job oneself rather than have it done by others, even if it is done less well at the outset. One must never take the easy way.

For example, as pointed out in a paper by B. Minhas, food aid to India provided an easy solution which influenced economic policy and in the long run reduced the country's own capacity to satisfy food requirements.

3. The collective dimension

The third idea is to mobilise the resources on a collective basis, i.e. to establish and organise solidarity among developing countries, an idea which is sufficiently clear in itself to require no further explanation.

4. The acquisition of independent capabilities

The fourth idea is set in a more dynamic perspective, i.e. to acquire and develop independent capabilities in terms of expertise - the evaluation of needs, constraints, solutions - and in terms of know-how.

In other words, the aim is to build up human capital, but a specific type of human capital devoted to the exercise of strategic functions within the socio-economic system.

5. The adaptation of methods

The fifth idea relates to methods used, i.e. the whole range of methods governing organisation, management and production on which the operation of the socio-economic system is based.

Such methods have to be reviewed and adapted to the specific nature of the milieu, i.e. to a set of traditional, socio-psychological and cultural elements.

6. Self-sufficiency

The sixth idea to be found, although less systematically, calls for self-sufficiency (at any rate so far as the satisfaction of what are regarded as basic needs is concerned) and independence of external supplies. Depending on the case, the idea of self-sufficiency is more or less explicitly combined with the collective dimension.

7. Bargaining power

The seventh idea usually linked with the strategy of self-reliance, calls for an increase in the bargaining power of developing countries especially, of course, when this strategy is defined on a collective basis.

8. The division of labour among developing countries

One final idea is found, though admittedly less systematically, namely the organisation of an international division of labour among developing countries based on their natural resources or comparative advantages.

This idea is in many cases combined with a marked regional dimension, although it is not generally limited in this way.

This list of the various elements which are usually considered to be involved in the strategy of self-reliance calls for the following comments:

1. The ends are confused with the means in many cases.

The fundamental aims of development are to ensure that basic needs are satisfied and to develop independent capabilities whereby this can be done with increasing efficiency.

Self-reliance is in fact a strategy designed to achieve these aims, possibly one among other alternative strategies. It is therefore a means.

The basic requirement is therefore to examine the viability of this strategy - which, in the last analysis, only has significance in terms of costs (opportunity) - in the light of existing constraints and alternative solutions.

2. There are complementary relationships between the eight elements listed.

For example, the mobilisation of own resources is regarded not only as a means of maximising the satisfaction of basic needs but also as a means of acquiring the required capabilities. It is necessary to do the job oneself in order to become capable of doing it better or more often.

The complementary relationships provide the dynamism of the activity, notwithstanding the fact that both the relationships and the various elements differ and apparently do not necessarily all have to co-exist. For example, it is obviously only possible to satisfy basic needs if this is made an explicit priority.

Once this has been done, however, alternative means of achieving this objective may be devised:

- a first solution consists in ensuring self-sufficiency;
- a second solution is to organise a division of labour among developing countries;
- but a third solution might also be to improve the terms of trade by changing the balance of power.

Lastly, the elements listed may not be sufficient. For example, it may be impossible to satisfy basic or essential needs without changing income distribution in the countries concerned.

I conclude that, from a certain standpoint, the strategy of self-reliance as analysed above is neither a coherent whole nor a set of elements constituting a necessary and sufficient condition for achieving the assigned objective.

3. Some of the elements listed are mutually exclusive, in the limiting case at any rate. Thus, the idea of self-sufficiency - which is finally no more than autarky - is incompatible with the determination to adjust the balance of power, unless, of course, self-sufficiency is to be restricted to a number of selected fields.

Again, likewise in the extreme case, self-sufficiency is incompatible with the collective dimension. No-one seriously envisages complete collective self-sufficiency among the developing countries.

All these comments clearly suggest that it is necessary to deepen the analysis to be able to determine the relationships between the various elements and accordingly define the operational content of the strategy of self-reliance.

* * *

In the light of these various elements of which the strategy of self-reliance seems to be composed, I should now like to try to reduce this strategy to its bare essentials.

The main features of the international system are:

- First, increasing interdependence, consistent with the de facto integration of world space, as a result of a number of hard facts and developments (the geographical distribution of natural resources, the growth of means of

communication, the international division of labour, etc.). It should be pointed out that interdependence is here understood to mean technical and physical dependence and not reciprocal forms of dependence which would be balanced.

- Second, an unbalanced power structure consisting of national powers on the one hand and transnational powers on the other.

Furthermore, the international economic system - like any economic system - is based essentially on confrontation. The structures of power and appropriation are grafted on to the basic confrontation between needs and resources. Accordingly, the international system is a system of confrontation between economic agents and groups of agents.

Given this situation of interdependence and confrontation, what we are looking at is a growing nationalism at the level of economic policies which is the result of two types of developments:

- First, the areas in which governments intervene are gradually expanding, especially as regards structures of activity and, more generally, the allocation of resources; the nation is clearly the operational field of action.
- Second, there is increasing resistance to constraints which are imposed from the outside and limit the degree of freedom and choice; in many countries there are any number of examples of the determination to substitute their own, i.e. national, criteria and objectives for the exigences imposed by the international system.

These developments are reflected in a general trend to break away - at least partially - from the network of inter-dependencies and, accordingly, from confrontation.

The strategy of self-reliance forms part of this trend, the essential factor being the rejection of forms of dependence. On the strength of this background description, it is suggested that the strategy of self-reliance may be reduced to the following four essential aims:

- (1) First, to modify the models for decision-making to ensure that decisions are based on individual value systems, objectives and criteria.
- (2) Secondly, so far as priority objectives are concerned, to assign top priority to the satisfaction of basic needs which are to be given the necessary weighting.
- (3) Thirdly, to ensure that basic needs are in fact satisfied, i.e. the aim being not only to maximise this satisfaction but to guarantee the maximum satisfaction of basic needs.

- (4) Lastly, to develop the independent capabilities and individual methods required to ensure that domestic needs are progressively satisfied.

Let us scrutinise these aims more closely with a view to throwing light on any problems which may arise.

The first two aims (the model for individual decision-making and the weighting of basic needs) are clearly problems of domestic strategy at national level, which is primarily where the national dimension of the problem is to be found.

Any attempt to achieve these two aims depends on the internal structure of the decision-making authorities, i.e. the interests on which the government machinery depends and which are, depending on the case, bound up to a greater or lesser extent with transnational interests. At least three patterns may be found:

- (1) The decision-making authorities have strong external connections, in which case the first aim (the establishment of individual criteria) is precluded.
- (2) The decision-making authorities are a privileged group appropriating the surplus, in which case the second aim (the satisfaction of priority needs) is precluded.
- (3) The decision-making authorities are supported by the mass of the population and can accordingly pursue the first and second aims.

As regards the third aim (the actual satisfaction of basic needs), the definition of these needs - and consequently any quantitative data - may be disregarded for present purposes.

It is not enough to assign a significant weighting to basic needs to be able to satisfy them in the short term, or even necessarily in the long term. Depending on the case, it is in fact necessary to take account of both the non-availability of certain indispensable natural resources and the (opportunity) cost of self-sufficiency.

Whenever national self-sufficiency is found to be impracticable or too costly, foreign trade remains necessary. Where such trade is with developed countries, achievement of the aim (satisfaction of basic needs) calls for systematic action on the terms of trade by means of the collective acquisition of increased bargaining power.

So far as essential goods and services are concerned, as long as developing countries cannot be self-sufficient, the aim will be to improve the factorial terms of trade by achieving a better balance of power.

As already indicated, the aim is not to seek complete self-sufficiency, but only self-sufficiency in fields considered to be essential from the standpoint of satisfying priority needs.

Problems may arise in this connection insofar as the evaluation of priority needs and the degree of self-sufficiency may show more or less substantial variations from country to country.

However, aside from these problems, which can be resolved by appropriate means of establishing solidarity, the development of bargaining power in this case clearly seems to complement the strategy of self-reliance insofar as it is impossible to eliminate some degree of external dependence (on developed countries) in the process of satisfying basic needs.

On the other hand, where the trade is between developing countries in the context of collective self-sufficiency or within the framework of the division of labour among themselves, it must be asked whether the problem would be radically different.

Where the trade relates to natural resources based on each country's different resources, or agricultural products or manufactures based on more or less decisive comparative advantages, what trading system will make it possible to prevent changes in the terms of trade and consequently - but in this case among developing countries - disequilibrium in trade relations, i.e. external dependence?

The alternative formula of self-sufficiency (national) to the extent that it is possible, i.e. not unduly costly, clearly again gives rise to all the problems of the allocation of scarce resources which arose in connection with import substitute policies.

Even if these cost/benefit analyses of alternative allocations have to be recalculated in relation to the adjusted scales of value, it will still be necessary to know what level of excess costs, i.e. the value of other basic needs foregone, a country is prepared to accept to satisfy its basic needs on its own.

Lastly, as regards the fourth aim (the development of independent capabilities and individual methods), what is essentially involved is the acquisition of knowledge and know-how, i.e. the accumulation of expertise, training and experience. This is certainly also where the collective dimension of the strategy of self-reliance assumes full significance. I should like to stress this briefly by taking as an example the field of action that seems to me both the most important and the most appropriate for a collective strategy, namely the field of technology in the broadest sense. In fact, quite apart from their individual significance from the standpoint of the development process, it seems to me that the mobilisation and sharing of technological resources and the build-up of technological expertise must provide the operational basis for a collective strategy. That being said, I shall confine myself to the following three brief comments:

- In fields in which external dependence is inevitable or accepted (in the medium term), owing to various reasons with a bearing on costs, the exceedingly lengthy processes of R&D etc., the stress continues to be laid on an increase in bargaining power with a view to modifying the terms of trade.

As in the case of trade in agricultural products and manufactures, a change in the balance of power as a result of collective action is still indispensable as a complementary factor in a strategy of self-reliance. Such a change involves the introduction of monopsonistic elements in the negotiations undertaken by countries receiving technology.

- An initial approach to the problem, which would no doubt make it possible to reduce dependence on technology very substantially, is for countries to acquire expertise in their own right. A sound assessment of technology should make it possible to take account of the various dimensions of the problem. As regards an objective defined in particular socio-economic terms in the context of equally particular physical and technical constraints, technology can do no more than provide a specific solution. It is therefore necessary to shift the emphasis from the strictly scientific and technical aspects of the problem to its specific socio-economic aspects.

This brings us back to the first of the four basic aims of the strategy of self-reliance, namely the definition and adoption of individual scales of value and criteria. In this connection, stress must be laid on the urgent need to develop independent expertise as opposed to what, for simplicity's sake, I shall call the transnational systems of "experts" which, in practice, bring to bear all the criteria and decisions adopted by a whole range of interest groups which influence the data for technological choices (see: "Knowledge elite" by O. Sunkel).

- Irrespective of the adoption of specific criteria for decision-making, the development of technological expertise will be achieved by the accumulation of both experience and individual technological resources. In both cases a process of collective mobilisation is no doubt the most effective approach. However, such an approach still has to be analysed in greater depth to arrive at specific proposals for forms of co-operation.

This problem is clearly of a general nature and beyond the limited scope of this paper. In view of the complexity and specific character of the various problems arising in each case, it is necessary to undertake a systematic investigation of sources and methods of co-operation.

* * *

Finally, I should like to set out a few rather general conclusions:

1. The strategy of self-reliance seems to be primarily a strategy of internal development. In a world of confrontation it is necessary to be strong oneself.

It is therefore necessary to examine the specific possibilities and limitations of such a strategy.

2. The fundamental concept of this strategy is somewhat indeterminate. It seems to rest on two apparently conflicting philosophies of action at the same time: the first is an inward-looking philosophy which enables one to avoid complying with performance demands based on external criteria that one refuses to accept: the second is a voluntaristic philosophy in that by deciding to act independently, one decides to confront the situation and overcome the most powerful constraints.
3. There is unquestionably some degree of ambiguity about the external aspects of this strategy, although this may be partly due to the fact that our thinking in this field is still highly abstract.

The first aspect relates to the relative emphasis to be put on self-reliance, i.e. an idea of independence, and on the action to influence the balance of power with the developed countries.

Irrespective of questions of degree, the emphasis on self-reliance - according to possible or desirable levels of independence - requires that the action to influence the balance of power be regarded as simply a complementary factor of a somewhat provisional nature. However, is not this concept largely illusory?

The second aspect concerns the absence of any clear idea of what an operational system of trade among developing countries might look like.

4. In the last analysis, the most important thing is to acquire independent expertise and know-how. Is this not, in fact, the definition of development itself? It is in this connection that, while stressing the collective dimension of the problem, no time should be lost in devising mechanisms for an effective and efficient form of co-operation.

AN ANNOTATED AGENDA FOR THE DISCUSSION ON
COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE

by

Enrique OTEIZA

1. INTRODUCTION

In the paper on Collective Self-Reliance (CSR)(1), distributed for this meeting, a general presentation of the topic is already given. This includes an annex which provides a description of the content of a selection of key documents that have appeared in the last two years and which directly or indirectly deal with the subject matter of this annotated agenda.

Presented here are some aspects of CSR that are particularly relevant for the discussion of the way inter-regional academic co-operation should be re-structured in order to contribute positively towards this alternative development approach. It is not necessary to elaborate there the grave shortcomings of the "old model" - dependent capitalism - and the "old international economic order", as both these related theses will be covered during the meeting as well as by Ponna Wignaraja's annotated Agenda on "New Development Strategies" (See pp. 35-44).

It is important to keep in mind, before embarking on some of the questions that Collective Self-Reliance, as the notion is interpreted here, appears as an alternative type of development approach, implying (i) the severance of existing links of dependency operated through the "international system" by the dominant countries; (ii) a full mobilisation of domestic capabilities and resources; (iii) the strengthening of links-collaboration with other underdeveloped countries; (iv) and the re-orientation of development efforts in order to meet the basic social needs (not just the minimum) of the peoples involved.

The full mobilisation of capabilities and resources is understood as meaning that the most valuable asset is people; their creativity and labour, but not only that, also their capability to participate fully in the social, political and economic decision-making at all levels and places, through adequate political systems. Mobilisation is not, therefore, interpreted in an authoritarian hierarchical way, but rather in a participatory more egalitarian fashion.

As for natural resources, the idea is that they should serve first - be processed whenever necessary in the country of origin - and used to satisfy the basic need of the population of the territory from which they are extracted, then if there

(1) Francisco Sercovic and Enrique Oteiza, Collective Self-Reliance, Some Old and New Issues, July 1976.

is a surplus, the needs of the neighbouring countries, and so on. Natural resources from underdeveloped countries, particularly food and non-renewable natural resources must not be produced or exploited in order to satisfy the demand of remote consumer societies.

Collective Self-Reliance implies and incorporates at least some elements of earlier ideas concerning development such as autarchy, self-generated and self-sustained development, new forms of intra-Third World integration and association, and independence. It does not imply breaking up the world into isolated, xenophobic states.

Reviewing the literature, there is total agreement in the inadequacy of the "old model" (dependent capitalism) in terms of its inability to overcome underdevelopment, while in some of those works the old model is considered a fundamental cause of the perpetuation of underdevelopment.

There is also wide agreement that the emphasis given to foreign capital and imported technology from "developed" countries to the detriment of local labour, creativity and accumulation, has been a key element in a structure of exploitation, international and internal marginalisation, and inequality.

Consequently, in CSR - according to some writings? emphasis is placed on the mobilisation of internal resources with the clear objective of eliminating poverty - according to some documents - or satisfying more ambitious but not "consumistic conspicuous" basic needs.

There seems to be a consensus also among those who have been developing this new approach, that autarchic schemes cannot, for the vast majority of the underdeveloped countries, provide a solution in terms of overcoming underdevelopment. The difficulty lies in the necessity to avoid the risk of archaic stagnation. Several forms of collaboration among underdeveloped countries appear as a common feature of all the proposals. These include different types of regional integration; producer associations among countries exporting the same commodities; co-operation in industrial projects, education and technology; etc.

All the works reviewed list a large number of proposals and recommendations dealing with changes in the international order that has existed for the last decade. These include improvement and stabilisation of the terms of trade and access to markets, to re-dress the balance towards a more equal exchange for underdeveloped countries; control of foreign investment in general and multinational corporations in particular; control of transfer of technology and support to Third World countries local creativity; multilateralisation of lending mechanisms, improvements in the terms of loans, and an increase in the availability of untied financial resources; reform of international organisations, particularly intergovernmental banks, making them more universally representative and democratic.

Apart from the important fact that there is a very significant area of convergence in what begins to look like the rudiments of an alternative development strategy, it is nevertheless clear that a lot of work is required to clarify further

some fundamental aspects of this new approach. Collaboration between research institutes and researchers with an adequate orientation, both in Third World countries as well as in developed ones, could help in mobilising the important collective effort that is required.

In terms of teaching and communication, the CSR alternative requires specific action in order that these activities contribute towards the education of people and the diffusion of information needed in the process of generating the required knowledge (theoretical framework; strategic aspects; notions useful for the formulation of policy; operational and instrumental know-how, etc.). Furthermore, the basic philosophy of CSR has in itself deep implications with regard to the way academic activities in underdeveloped regions are to be conducted. Mobilisation of internal resources means establishing the conditions for indigenous creativity with regard to relevant appropriate knowledge in terms of development. Collaboration with other underdeveloped countries or regions is in itself a part of a process of relinking through creating networks and other mechanisms of co-operation between underdeveloped and developed countries and regions.

2. CSR AND RESEARCH NEEDS

There is a great necessity to do research and in general creative work in relation to alternative development approaches like CSR. Still some fundamental questions of this approach are far from clear, while operational aspects which are important at the time of implementation have to be worked through. In the following paragraphs, therefore, several themes that require collaborative research efforts are presented for discussion by the working groups.

(a) Viability of CSR alternative development approach

Traditionally, development models and strategies have been analysed in terms of their economic feasibility. If several alternatives are feasible in terms of some limited economic criteria (i.e. economic growth; availability of sufficient resources internal and external; adequate "climate" for obtaining the external investment; balance of payment and indebtedness situation; characteristics of the labour force abundance, cost, quality, docility; etc.), then they are supposed to be indifferent otherwise and it is for the "policy maker" to decide which alternative is going to be selected. Of course this type of analysis and assumptions are not particularly useful when development alternatives mean breaking away, to a significant degree, from the existing international system of relationships, economic and otherwise (delinking), transforming social structures in the underdeveloped country and establishing co-operation with other countries following a similar path (relinking). In a process as complicated as that the question is not so much short term economic considerations - though this may also require some attention - but economic viability in the longer run so that the type of development aimed at is obtained instead of archaic stagnation. This requires furthermore the analysis of socio-political viability, both internal and international.

Viability includes the question of initiation of a process of development of this nature (what social forces in the underdeveloped country can put the process into motion), and sustainment over time. Initiation requires socio-political forces strong enough in the underdeveloped country to produce the changes required by a CSR approach while sustainment necessarily must take into account intra and extra-national factors. A CSR approach may not be viable because of lack of support by some developed country or countries, or it may fail because of aggression (overt or covert) from a foreign power (developed). Also it may be stopped by a coalition of internal and international forces.

Research is needed to clarify better the conditions of emergence, or initiation of a CSR development process, and those related with its sustainment over time; both are required for the existence and success (viability) of the alternative. This has been up to now a very neglected area in most of the works on the alternative approach.

(b) The problem of delinking from the international system - economic, cultural, political, military - in order to break away from the dependent capitalistic type of connection that characterises the way underdeveloped countries are inserted in that system, and the relinking in terms of the creation of an alternative balanced connection with other underdeveloped countries, needs also to be worked out further.

The Dag Hammarskjöld Report(1), for instance, says in this respect: "Minimise dependence, maximise independence and optimise interdependence, in the context of qualitatively different relations with the centre economy countries"..... and continues:

"There is a minimum degree of links required to sustain the development process".

"There is a maximum degree of links beyond which no effective sovereignty can be maintained".

"There are affirmative links which reinforce self-reliance".

"There are regressive links which weaken self-reliance".

The same report in a different part stresses the need for self-reliance in food, in order to move away from a form of aid which is uncertain in terms of supply and costly in terms of political domination.

In the discussions in a CSR Seminar(2) Nurul Islam proposed the following decision rule regarding the question when to delink: "Where a Third World country has strong individual or collective bargaining strength, it should remain connected with the international system. Otherwise delink from it".

(1) The 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report, What Now, page 69.

(2) Collective Self-Reliance Seminar organised by the Third World Forum, Lima, February 1976.

The linkages in the international system are very many: economic (trade, investment, other financial flows, migrations, transactions on technology, complex package deals with transnational, transportation, etc.); cultural (mass media, news agencies, training, TV and radio, multination, books, etc.); political (treaties, domination through aid, corruption, destabilisation, ideology etc.); military (treaties, arms trade, training, aid, invasions, covert actions, etc.).

It seems clear that even analysing the limited economic dimensions with regard to how much, how and where to delink and relink, does require a lot of research and in general intellectual effort.

(c) If the New International Order is related to the alternative development strategy implied in CSR, then much work is needed to see how the two movements can be made compatible at least intellectually. Both NIO and CSR proposals recommend a long list of changes in the international system, though in the case of the NIO most of these relate to elements of a new international economic policy - in trade, investment, technology, transfers, etc., - only.

The possibility of making the NIO a process of change of the international framework within which CSR delinking and relinking can take place, at least theoretically, in a favourable way, is certainly an open intellectual challenge. This does not mean that by working out coherence among the two sets of proposals problems in the real world are going to be solved automatically (this would imply falling into naive illuminism), but at least an effort should be made in order not to add confusion.

(d) Shortage of adequate food (quantitatively and qualitatively) is a serious matter as soon as we move out from conventional market considerations (the poor cannot generate "effective demand" because they do not have the money) into the satisfaction of the basic needs approach. This includes problems of production (agricultural and industrial), storage, reserves, transportation, creation and diffusion of knowledge, international trade, aid, social organisation of the rural areas including land reform, education, etc. CSR aims at making each underdeveloped country as self-sufficient in food as possible, complementing the strategy with collaboration of a balanced type of exchange among underdeveloped countries, if possible neighbour-regional integration. This is a huge area of research that involves many disciplines in the natural and social sciences different combinations of these and their reintegration in an interdisciplinary approach.

(e) Similar things can be said in CSR with regard to urban and regional problems (urban and rural), that includes again explicitly the universal satisfaction of basic needs in terms of housing, infrastructure (sanitary, transport, energy, communications, distribution channels, etc. - both in cities and in rural areas). There is a clear lack of adequate response from development research organisations to this whole dimension of the development problem, particularly if decision making, political dimensions and cultural elements are taken into account.

(f) The same can be said for health and educational requirements in a CSR basic needs approach and the research efforts related to this area of development.

3. CO-OPERATION IN RESEARCH

CSR not only creates a number of very specific and important requirements in terms of research effort, but, furthermore, implies by its very nature a new way of conducting this research.

The nature of the problems to be studied, their novelty as objects of intellectual effort and their complexity which cannot be properly tackled within the boundaries of a single traditional discipline, requires new knowledge instead of the transfer or the application of knowledge previously existing in "central countries". This removes the automatic superiority from the academic institutions in developed countries and creates a challenge to research groups and researchers located in the Third World regions, as well as in developed countries, which share a concern for the need to generate an alternative development approach of the type that CSR proposes.

It is therefore clear that the magnitude and nature of the research effort required demands a new form of academic collaboration. This question will not be developed here as a paper dealing with new forms of collaboration(1) has been distributed, only it is important to keep in mind that in this case the delinking-relinking process, implies re-structuring or creating collaboration at the intra-regional and inter-regional level within and between Third World regions and developed regions (OECD countries, COMECON countries).

4. CSR AND DEVELOPMENT TRAINING

The problem of how to provide an alternative to dependence-oriented types of training is enormous, if one takes into account for instance that OECD countries provide approximately 30,000 scholarships yearly to students from "developing" countries, and more than 90% of these scholarships are tied to the condition of studying in the "donor" country, for the most part in conventional courses not oriented towards a CSR approach to development.

Collaboration will be needed to improve the quality and content - in terms of relevance for CSR - of the courses already given in many places in underdeveloped countries. A very special effort should be made with regard to graduate education where dependency on OECD countries for the training of university

(1) "New Forms of Collaboration in Development Research and Training", by: Samir Amin, Giulio Fossi, Richard Jolly, Enrique Oteiza, Poma Wignaraja; International Social Science Journal, Volume XXVII, No 4, 1975, UNESCO, Paris.

professors and researchers is still too heavy. Some efforts are already being made(1) and proposals exist(2).

Special attention should be given to the question of how to re-orient scholarship systems so that scholarships can be used in significant numbers in the Third World regions and a discussion of the role of training programmes in "developed" countries and eventually their redefinition in terms of content and perspective.

5. CSR AND COMMUNICATION

The new knowledge required in a process of development of the CSR type, demands effective communication between the research institutions, researchers, policy makers, persons in charge of implementation, and in general social groups involved in the countries undergoing the process as well as in the rest of the underdeveloped countries.

A lot of collaborative effort is required to develop this type of communication, even at the much more limited level of the research groups interested in contributing to this effort. Co-operation might also be useful for the required research with regard to the more complex social communication aspects, not only for studies that may unveil the powerful mechanisms of domination existing in this field, but to provide a better knowledge of what to do in the cases where alternative development options are open.

It would be particularly useful to discuss the possibility of developing feasible programmes between the regional associations in order to ensure a proper circulation at least of published material between academic institutions. The more difficult action in this field is to obtain adequate circulation of materials produced in the Third World regions, inside those regions as well as between them. Translation of basic materials should be undertaken, especially from Spanish and Portuguese into English and French in order to facilitate the publication and circulation of this information to the other regions.

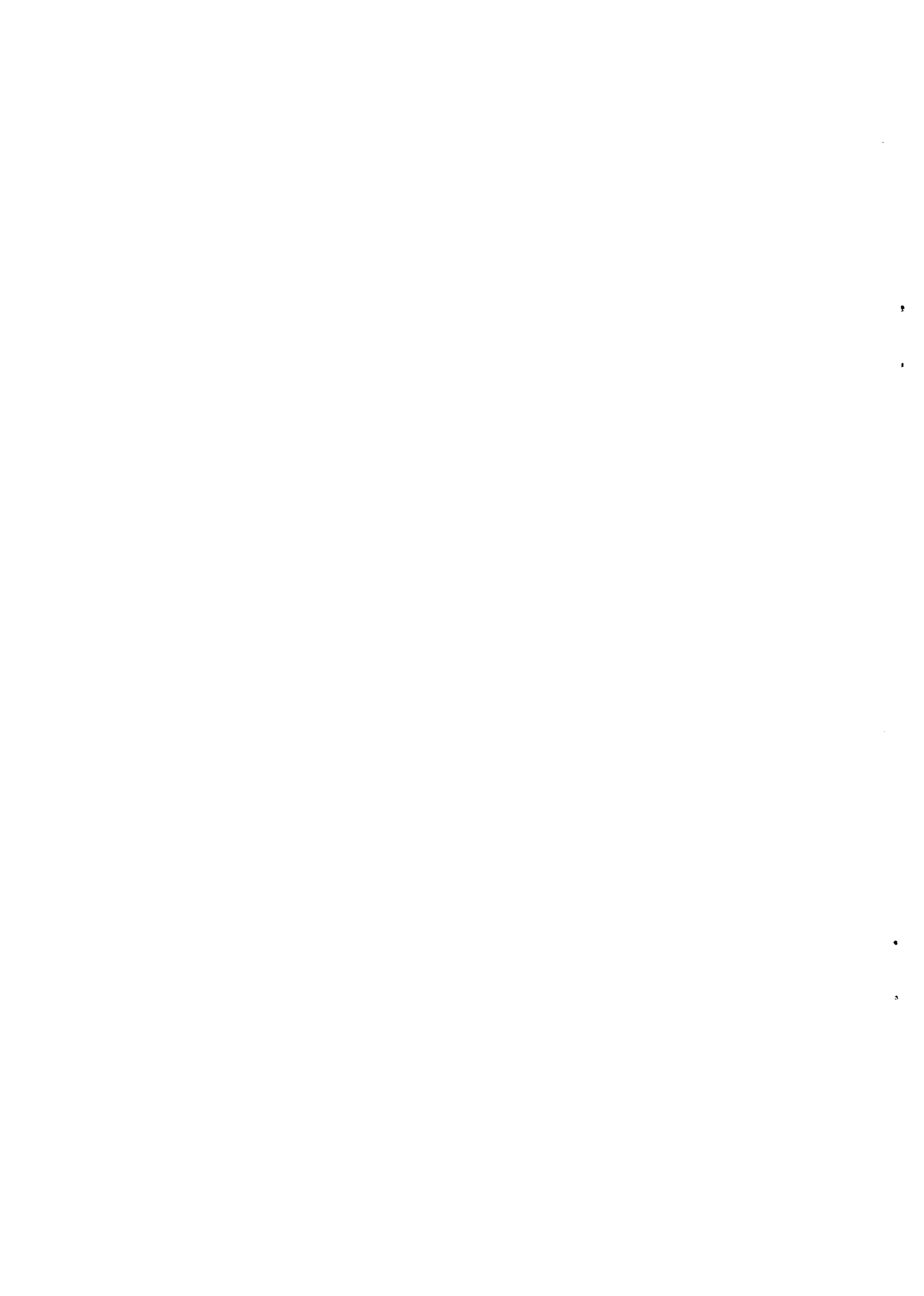
A systematic exchange of publications and information between research institution libraries located in the Third World regions, could be of help as a way to overcome the present lack of communication.

Regional associations may also be able to develop a different level of academic communication by the exchange of students and researchers-professors in balanced programmes. Communication by allowing meaningful personal and group contacts through periodic relevant meetings of different kinds can also be tackled as a matter to discuss between regional associations.

Only a well established network of communication can provide sufficient possibilities for fast accumulation of knowledge indeed for the CSR approach in present world circumstances.

(1) Jorge Graciarena, La Enseñanza de las Ciencias Sociales en America Latina, Editorial Paidós.

(2) Ibidem: "New Forms of Collaboration in Development Research and Training".



PART IV

INTER - REGIONAL CO - OPERATION



INTER-REGIONAL CO-OPERATION

Introductory Statement by Enrique OTEIZA
Chairman of the Session

I. INTRODUCTION

Let us begin this session by reintroducing the topic of inter-regional co-operation in the light of the discussions that have taken place in the past days. In the first part of the presentation I will refer to the framework within which this type of academic co-operation takes place. In the second, I will report to you briefly on the main questions discussed during the sessions of Working Groups 1, 2 and 3, chaired respectively by Mr. Kher, Mr. Mandi and Mr. Faaland.

Immediately after these opening remarks, I will ask the three Chairmen of the Working Groups to add their comments with regard to the sessions they presided, and then proceed according to the agenda.

II. THE FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH INTER-REGIONAL CO-OPERATION TAKES PLACE

1. A first consideration to be made is that inter-regional co-operation between Associations in underdeveloped and in developed regions is fundamentally different from co-operation between associations in underdeveloped regions.

In the case of co-operation between Associations in underdeveloped regions with their counter-parts in developed areas, the problem is one of traditional imbalances in decision-making and in the academic flows which constitute the links. The main concern is not so much with a lack of connections - there may be too many of the wrong nature - but with the creation of new forms of collaboration which are more symmetrical and equitable, breaking away from academic imperialism or different forms of dependent relationships.

As to co-operation between Associations in underdeveloped regions, the main problem is to establish it. Due to a number of reasons related with the way in which the international system of relationships has developed historically, there are almost no academic links and exchanges between Latin America, Africa and Asia. Collaboration can be started afresh in this case, aiming at having balanced types of programmes, equally fruitful and relevant for all the partners involved in the relationship. Funding agencies and international organisations are partially responsible for not having facilitated this type of co-operation, in spite of their big and complex programmes.

2. As social scientists we should also bear in mind that the imbalances in academic co-operation to which we have referred in the previous paragraphs, are but a part of a fundamentally imbalanced world in terms of the distribution of wealth, income and power between regions and within them. International flows

are in many cases of an unequal exchange nature, while structures of production of goods and services are distributed in quite an imbalanced fashion in the different regions.

This broader inequitable framework should not be taken or accepted fatalistically as an insurmountable constraint when trying to improve academic co-operation, but it should be kept in mind in order not to be over voluntaristic or naïve when dealing in our limited area of concern (which is nevertheless of significance).

The nature of the problem we are now discussing is not an abstract one up in the clouds, it is a very concrete and real one. It deals with how to establish new forms of academic co-operation in order to tackle adequately the very complex development problem, first of all intellectually in terms of creating the new knowledge required and then in being close to implementation so that this knowledge can be connected and improved.

3. It is important to keep in mind also that we are not speaking of inter-regional academic co-operation in general, but in relation with the possibilities and limitations of the existing regional Associations (ADIPA, CLACSO, CODESRIA and EADI). These Associations are in themselves networks of research and research and training institutes located in the respective areas. They cannot operate therefore as if they were single unitary organisations; their decision-making organs include general assemblies.

Furthermore, the Associations are still new and relatively weak. Their representativeness in the respective regions is variable and reflects in different degrees how far the process of regionalisation of the social sciences has taken place. There is always a big effort to be made at intra-regional level and this should occur 'pari-pasu' with a redefinition of inter-regional schemes of co-operation.

4. With regard to the question of how to tackle inter-regional co-operation there are several fundamental options. One is the one to which we have been referring in previous paragraphs, namely redefine academic co-operation between underdeveloped and developed regions with the aim of establishing a more balanced relationship, while fast developing links between underdeveloped regions (presently almost non-existent).

Another fundamental option, that was proposed in some of the Working Groups, is to stop inter-regional co-operation, to cut academic links with developed regions, in order not to be distracted away from the fundamental task of analysing and thinking throughout the problems posed by the challenge of overcoming underdevelopment. Silence, creative silence, was considered to be a basic requirement of the task of creating the urgently needed new knowledge (indigenous thinking against the danger of transfer of inadequate ideas and approaches). This alternative, though easy to justify on many grounds, seems difficult to implement due to the fact that there are a large number of international organisations and governments of developed countries permanently implementing very many multilateral programmes involving welcomed or unwelcomed forms of co-operation.

Finally there exists the alternative of maintaining the type of relationships that has been in existence in the past decades. It will imply the maintenance of a status quo in terms of letting dependency relationships stay as they are. This alternative looks also not very realistic, as the regional Associations in underdeveloped regions have been organised in view of contributing to change previous forms of connection with the developed world.

5. There are several reasons why co-operation at regional level, as it has been organised by creating the regional Associations, is fruitful. By articulating independently within Africa, Asia and Latin America, social scientists - including those devoted to development research and education - and the institutions to which they pertain have been able to perform a regional science policy function, previously in the hands of outside organisations. Priorities and new orientations have been defined, which have served the purpose of establishing new forms of collaboration. Furthermore, these forms of organisation have contributed towards a faster accumulation of relevant knowledge, as it has been already clearly the case in Latin America. These have also permitted an improvement of the bargaining position vis à vis academic financial agencies, whether national or international, allowing for a better balance in academic exchanges to be achieved.

6. As to forms of collaboration, it is important to be open to innovation and flexibility in order to obtain a satisfactory balance. Trial and error is then unavoidable, thus it will be of use to keep track and evaluate experiences and to transfer applicable knowledge between regional associations.

7. The discussion during past days suggests that not only form should be changed in the search for a balanced type of inter-regional cooperation, but content as well. There seems to be a high degree of dissatisfaction with the concepts, strategies, models and theories that have been produced in relation to development problems during the last three decades. Approaches equating development with economic growth or modernisation have already shown their limitations in terms of their inadequacy for solving the problem of eliminating poverty and overcoming socio-political marginalisation for the vast majority of the population in the Third World.

As a consequence there is a growing interest in contributing to the intellectual and practical effort to improve alternative development approaches. These new areas of concern concentrate around the generation of alternative development strategies; collective self-reliance; the understanding of processes of change; longer-term normative development models incorporating social change as well as an explicit definition of the objective in terms of basic needs satisfaction of all members of society. Obviously a tremendous collective academic effort of research, analysis, theoretical elaboration, and close examination of concrete experiences (i.e. China, Tanzania) will be needed.

III. REPORT OF MAIN LINES OF DISCUSSION COVERED DURING THE THREE WORKING GROUPS' SESSIONS

I will now try to present a brief report of the main lines of discussion covered by the three Working Groups, as they were summarised in the Meeting of their Chairmen and myself held last night. Taking into account that my presentation will be brief and somewhat indirect as a means of reporting results to today's plenary session, I will ask later on the Chairmen of the Working Groups, Mr. Kher, Mr. Mandi and Mr. Faaland, to make whatever comments and additions they think

In the three Working Groups there was some discussion about the so-called 'old' and 'new' model, as a continuation of the arguments that were put forward during the plenary sessions. With regard to the 'old model', it was identified with the economic growth and the modernisation conceptions of development. These development approaches were considered, not only too narrow, but furthermore costly in terms of having actually misled development processes in several real world cases. The point was made, nevertheless, that it was not clear what proportion of the failure is attributable to the 'old model' and what to its wrong application. Failure has been interpreted as economic and socio-political processes that have failed in eliminating poverty and marginalisation for large proportions of the population in the countries where the old model was applied.

In relation to the 'new model', it was interpreted as referring to development strategies and theories alternative to the 'old model'. It is therefore an alternative approach to the dependent capitalistic approach resulting from the application of the purely economic growth or modernisation theories (old model). There was general agreement that the existing knowledge shaping around the 'new model', whether collective self-reliance, alternative strategies, new international order, or other versions, needs substantial intellectual effort. The prevailing attitude was more one of confronting a difficult and important challenge, in terms of research, teaching and advice, than embarking on a paralysing critique of the new model's present weaknesses.

Also with regard to the 'new model' it was considered that productive work could be carried on by studying the following aspects: relationships between the notion of collective self-reliance national development strategies and the new international order, in terms of verifying their compatibility as well as examining whether the latter imposes restrictions on the former; viability, both economic and socio-political, and conditions of existence for alternative development strategies; careful analysis of all aspects of these alternative strategies; analysis of specific problems such as the nature of the present crisis at the centre of the capitalist countries, sectorial ones, etc.

The discussion around the 'new model' has important implications for research needs and priorities, as well as with regard to the way to organise new forms of collaboration which are adequate for tackling this challenge.

There was also discussion in the Working Groups on what should be done in education in order to make it more relevant to the future needs in relation with development problems. A main concern was frequently expressed with regard to the need of establishing closer links between research and education. Because old ideas about development are being considered unsatisfactory by an increasing number of those working intellectually in this area, there is a danger that while fast progress may be attained through research in improving knowledge related to the 'new development model', education may lag, remaining attached to the old one. Accumulation and fast improvement of knowledge can be better served if this danger is avoided and adequate connections are established between research and education.

With regard to communication, there was full agreement that the activities involved should be interpreted in a very broad way, including the needs in terms of libraries, documentation systems, publication, distribution of published and unpublished materials and documents, face to face exchanges such as meetings, etc. This broad field of activities should include communicating those doing academic work in the field of development with those taking decisions, defining policies and implementing activities, plus the general public - public opinion, mass media.

The idea that communication activities should be designed so that it properly supports the needs of the groups just mentioned, was emphasised. It should not be allowed to become a bottleneck in itself nor to distort information by uneven or partial coverage. It should be fast in incorporating new knowledge, otherwise through its own lag may be backing the 'old model'.

Participants from ADIPA, CLACSO and CODESRIA, made the point that communication services and facilities are extremely biased in favour of the 'centre'. For example, the most important African or Latin American library collections are outside those areas; the information systems are not equally accessible to underdeveloped countries because of location of facilities, cost of access and technological barriers.

Concern was expressed also in relation to the role to be played by regional associations as well as by individual social scientists, in terms of the difficulties presented by the current world situation with regard to underdevelopment (massive poverty and marginalisation in large areas of the world, and the causes behind this pervasive process). Dissatisfaction with both intellectual contribution to the development problem and real recent historical performance are a source of anguish and moral concern.

In the case of most Latin American countries, reference was made to the fact that scientists and intellectuals which are critical of any aspect of present social processes in the region are violently repressed and persecuted. A distinction was made between the situation of social scientists committed with the lot of the majority of people in the society of their concern, and the so-called technocrats, who are ready to work acritically for governments of any type. The former were considered more intel-

lectually and scientifically inclined with regard to development problems and the latter more technically and applied-oriented. Some opinions were expressed that this division between real social scientists, critical and committed, and technocrats, is not always clear cut. Some people move back and forth between these two roles, and so-called technocrats though many times limited in the possibilities of expressing their views freely, are not always socially and politically uncommitted. Nevertheless, there was much concern for the deterioration of conditions for development research and teaching due to severe repression, particularly in Latin American countries.

I shall now ask the Chairmen of the three Working Groups to complement or correct my presentation with their own comments.

BRIEF COMMENTS BY THE CHAIRMEN OF WORKING GROUPS

Working Group No. 1: Antoine KHER

Mr. Chairman: you have given a perfect summing-up of the discussions and conclusions issuing from our three working groups. You have moreover done so with an admirable breadth of vision which I would hesitate to detract from in any way.

However, if you will allow me, Mr. Chairman, I would simply like to stress before the Plenary Session that the African participants in my group have expressed a "need for silence". What does this mean? It means - for the Institutes of the South and more particularly for the African Institutes, which feel this need more conspicuously - to be able to meet between themselves, without any intervention by the Institutes of the North, for a certain length of time, in order to reflect autonomously upon what action they should or should not take on their chosen development objectives and methods. Some have spoken of an armistice or truce of God in which, the meetings, exchanges of opinion, and all the "to and fro" between North and South should come to a halt.

Working Group No. 2: Peter MANDI

Mr. Chairman: I would like to make certain comments, not because you did not summarise the whole meeting's attitude but because every group has its special character and I suppose it is instructive to raise here some questions.

First, in our group, as, I suppose, in the whole of the community of social scientists who work on development problems, we see that something is changing, and we are in a changing period when a lot of questions are not yet clear. What are these problems? I suppose we reached a certain stage of very justified criticism concerning our dealing with development problems, and not only in science but in practice rather. We have certain common ideas in what way we want to go, what goals we want to attain, but these goals are perhaps not always well defined and not consistent among each other. What is even less clarified is how to reach these goals, and I would not want to repeat what you have just said. The special contribution of our Working Group was perhaps that we urged scientific analysis of a lot of problems which could help to clarify these lacks in the thinking on alternative development strategies. We realise that it has not to be repeated much that the macro-economic point of view is not enough and cannot be enough, that it has to be in integral part of development thinking, but because the world is an inter-disciplinary system, science has also to be, and development is also something which moves on an

inter-disciplinary line. What is very important in this respect when we in the end, would like to come to practical decisions and try to change the existing situation, is to study the power relations which exist in national economies, be these national economies in the Northern or Southern part of the world, and in international relations of all kinds. I do not go into detail, because our Rapporteur will comment on this analysis of topics which we have done in our discussion.

My second point concerns the role of social scientists. We did not have to reject the idea that social scientists should have no role, because nobody was of the opinion that our role is unnecessary (as you mention it is not always suicide because it can be a career or so if you don't want to play a role). But it is a very complicated situation, and it is quite true that in the long run, science as science has an immense role to play and I do not have to argue here that social science has a major influence on thinking; in the long run and in the short run also. I should like to stress only one point, which may be relevant for our special meeting: we are now at the turning point of the power relations in social science; if we count North/South balance of social science. It is plain evidence that in Africa and Asia, the bulk of today's 30 and 40 years old social scientists started their studies in the early fifties. Now the first of the big generation's, big in number and big in quality are also present and this means that in development science, the situation will change in the next 10/20 years, fundamentally. It does not exclude European and American scientists from this way of thinking; but they will have such partners who will be in the front line of responsibility for development problems, because they will know this society, which we shall never know in the way they do. Therefore, here is a new situation. I do not say that in inflation, research or finance in general, there will be such a change in the social sense; certainly developing countries' scientists will come into their own in natural science and other types of science. But this problem is a special problem of development and will have quite a different character. There will certainly be controversies in many cases and there will be riots also. This is the way science moves and I suppose it is quite impossible to make silence in science. These two words are very similar, but only by chance. So silence in science in international relations is impossible.

We may decide not to meet but it does not matter if our articles and books are going around the world, and if we influence each other. We are influenced by scientists who died before our birth, so why should we not be influenced by scientists who live with us in the same world, even if we do not meet. Why not meet and have personal contacts also, though that is not the crucial question. But certainly we should have organised contacts, we should know the thinking, the results of work of people who are involved in the same field.

Now, I suppose that by chance, or good will of the Steering Committee, our Working Groups became a little community in the last two days and a small part of the whole science world, where people were together and had many common views. That was a good feeling, I suppose not only for me, but for others also, and I know quite well that we shall never come together in that form, never any more in our lives; perhaps this feeling that we want to achieve common goals will remain with us.

Working Group No. 3: Just FAALAND

Mr. Chairman: I shall be brief. Your own summary covers the main points that were raised in our Group, perhaps not by chance since you yourself participated and made most of them.

Let me just say one thing. There was some discussion of the forms and the needs for a continuity of inter-regional contacts. There was no proposal of silence, but the equivalent of that in terms of perhaps the initial thinking through of what new departures in development strategies are needed, should be done in camera by those who feel they have something definite to contribute and are very anxious to do so, and that those who are less committed to moving ahead with that kind of analysis should stay outside the chambers where it is being discussed. This was in fact suggested, but perhaps not as something one had to take a decision on, but it reflected the fact that to give firm contours to strategy, particularly this difficult strategy that we are talking about for years to come, one needs to do preparatory work, to do analysis specifically directed to formulate such strategies.

A similar point came up in relation to what really each group of institutes, each region, could best do in this situation, of our widely ranging needs for research and analysis, education and communication. It was interesting that in that discussion, some people who emphasised the need for specialisation in this, came from the South and used the terminology of comparative advantage, and stressed that one should rest on that a bit more than we do today: this was a rather unusual kind of argumentation in respect of intellectual exchange when one is so much aware that it has limited validity when it comes to economic and other development. But anyhow, the point was made, and the main thing, that I would like to relate is that on both these issues and others, where we sharpened up the debate, thanks to sitting together for a couple of days, I think it all came out in a much clearer balance than each of us started off with; that we were able to find formulations that really reflected ways of going about common effort in this field.

So, if the experience in our Working Group tells us something, it is that it is valuable to have a continuing dialogue; that perhaps that could be a missing element in the international intellectual debate, unless we take care: we have established regional organisations and have done so for good reasons. But we may have to take care that it does not mean that we split up into separate instead of inter-linked intellectual groups. I was glad Mr. Chairman, and found it very appropriate that early on this morning we had the presentation from the United Nations' University Representative as being one additional, central and increasingly important element in making sure that we do not end up each in our own region.

REPORT ON COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES

by : Michael ROGERS
Kate WILD
Bogodar WINID

1. INTRODUCTION

All three groups showed some reluctance to discuss the communication/information problem. In the few cases where specific suggestions were made in relation to the problem, those suggestions are included in this report. But the rapporteurs have gone further; they have attempted to point to areas where social scientists working within the network of associations and institutions can assist in the development of an information base adequate to support their research needs.

2. ACTIVITY FOR THE ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTES

Comments that were made focused primarily on the relatively non-controversial area of communication of information among institutes and associations. This information would constitute a resource which could be shared among the institutes and could comprehend :

- information about development education and training facilities in the four regions ;
- early warning of projects that are under consideration ;
- information about on-going projects, collaborative or otherwise ;
- information about theses completed in development fields ;
- information about the travel plans of researchers in the various institutes so that they would be able to combine seminars and lectures with other activities.

In some cases the information should be contained in directories or bulletins of the Associations. In other cases a more informal news-sheet could be the medium. There was some consideration of the extent to which information exchange should be formalized.

Much developing country information is contained in private collections and public archives in the developed world. There are mechanisms for retrieving this material and making it available in the countries which it concerns. However, EADI should encourage the release of this material to the countries concerned.

Two areas of possible cooperative effort were identified :

- the development and application of a code for foreign scholars which would control the removal of information from a country ;
- the identification of key works in particular regions and their translation into other languages for global use.

There was little discussion of the implementation of the proposed information exchange. It was the rapporteurs' impression that there was not an awareness of the need to build into the institutions and associations the necessary skills or resources, or of the need to programme for information activities of this kind. A sine qua non of any information activity is that it has a stable and continuing base. Many information exchanges have collapsed because no explicit provision was made in the programme and budget of the institution, and the tasks were seen as additional low priority jobs for people whose primary interests lay elsewhere.

Institutions also have a responsibility to build an adequate information base for their own researchers. To do this they need to establish links with other institutions in relevant areas, and to keep track of information initiatives at the international level - e.g. DEVSIS, SID's Development Reference Service, and Unesco social science information programme. Participants in two of the three groups recommended that the institutions should give serious consideration to the DEVSIS proposal.

3. NEW APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

Many of the new agenda items for research explicitly asked for "new" types of information to more fully illuminate the structural characteristics of the present situation. In some cases social scientists can assist in making this "new" information available :

- the United Nations Commission on Transnational Corporations is considering recommending that national governments legislate for such corporations to release national accounts for their operations ; the United Nations should also be asked to make available international and national data. The research community could encourage governments to respond positively ;
- there is a need for the development of new statistical data in Third World countries (e.g. social indicators) ; the research community could assist governments and international organisations in their formulation and in the development of the machinery for their collection ;
- in order to facilitate broader participation in decision-making, research results could be made available in local languages and in the appropriate form.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE MEETINGS

The rapporteurs felt that the working groups paid scant attention to the communication/information issue because it was seen as a discrete operational matter rather than as an integral part of ongoing research and the transformation of research results into action.

If future meetings of the associations are to be held with this subject on the agenda we recommend that discussion be based on a preliminary information strategy worked out by the associations either separately or jointly.

Some of the questions that the associations might want to explore are :

- the relationship between social scientists and their governments, and the community of international organisations in which their governments are represented ;
- the relationship between social scientists and the information community in their own countries ;
- the information that can be drawn from the international arena ; and that which must be identified, collected and processed locally ;
- the popularising of social science findings in appropriate languages to ensure community participation.

5. GENERAL COMMENTS

Participants occupy positions in the highly developed part of the information network and therefore probably can obtain, fairly easily, information about the work of their peers and that of the major international organisations. This is not true of the majority of research workers in developed or developing countries. Nor is it true of many of these responsible for taking decisions at the national level. And it most certainly is not true of the many institutions and individuals (including institutes outside the associations) involved at various stages of the development process.

If the social sciences include these kinds of activities, social scientists have a responsibility to assist with the development of an information base which is geared to the needs of the less mobile members of their community.

Information programmes must be institutionalised. They cannot be dependant on what individuals know. They require a certain stability and continuity and an institutional base. They require an allocation of admittedly scarce resources. Until there are viable institutional bases capable of coping with current and future production of information, there can be no firm basis for research, decision-making, or effective information collaboration and exchange.

REPORT ON EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

Consolidated report by W. CARMICHAEL, R. LAGOS and A. REMILI
presented by Abderrahman REMILI

The discussions on education led to a consensus on:

- the need for an expansion and re-orientation of social science education in developing countries;
- the establishment of a new basis for co-operation with priority for the development of training capacity in the Third World.

I. EXPANSION AND RE-ORIENTATION OF EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

A. Expansion

As a corollary to the prevailing pattern of inequality and dependence in the present world order, the quantitative and qualitative inadequacy of the educational programme in social sciences is a serious obstacle to the preparation and implementation of a new development policy.

The expansion of social science education should be pursued with due regard to the financial and human constraints involved and the importance of intra-regional and inter-regional co-operation, especially at the highest educational levels. The financial assistance agencies should increase their support for high-level educational activities in connection with development analysis, the inadequacy of which has created a serious bottleneck in all developing countries. They should not insist that their study grants be used only in developed countries. For the use of study grants the choice of institutions in developing countries should be primary.

B. Re-orientation

The educational system in developing countries is too frequently a projection of the system prevailing in the industrialised capitalist countries as far as curricula, methods and even teaching staff are concerned. It can only help to perpetuate underdevelopment if it continues to be used as a vehicle of unsuitable development models and useless analytical instruments. The teaching methods reflect little or no connection between curriculum content and the lives of the students as members of the community.

Curricula content should be re-oriented with a view to eliminating unsuitable elements and introducing syllabuses which offer students an opportunity for practical thinking about underdevelopment and the means by which it can be overcome.

There should be a multidisciplinary approach to development; this should include comparative instruction in social history.

In view of the rapid evolution of the social sciences in their impact on the aims and problems of development and for other reasons of efficiency, educational curricula should be designed to associate students in research work and should include training attachments and fieldwork.

II. A NEW BASIS FOR CO-OPERATION

1. A regular inventory of social science curricula in each region should be undertaken by regional institutions (orientation of training, syllabus content and other useful information).

2. The quality of social science education can be improved by using teaching staff from other regions. Exchanges of personnel might be initiated by regional associations, especially those in the Third World. For this, regional associations could collect and circulate information on teaching staff available for varying periods (regular annual courses, seminars, short courses, lectures) within a given region or even for work in other regions, as already programmed by CODESRIA and CLACSO.

3. The teaching material (books and articles) essential for the success of an education adapted to practical needs might be selected and made available in the working languages of each continent. This joint venture might be initiated by regional associations.

4. Exchanges of experience and combined research might be planned at all levels by regional research associations on the educational mechanisms already existing in developing countries (evaluation of structural reforms, methods and content; informal education; investigation of educational experience linked with research and production; the role of the university in maintaining economic inequalities).

5. A critical evaluation of social science education institutions in developed countries should be made with a view to re-orienting their curricula or redeploying their activities towards the three developing continents.

REPORTS ON RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Working Group No. 1: Rapporteur - L. SABOURIN

1. INTRODUCTION : APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

Set in motion with an ingenious exhortation to silence and reflection, quickened by discourse of the kind that put one in mind of the graceful wheeling -predictable but so elusive- of the lark as it soars into the sky, the deliberations of Working Party N° 1 on the subject of research nevertheless concluded with recommendations that were harmonious to a degree yet varied in hue - somewhat like the rainbow which we all saw last evening and which might almost have been laid on by the organisers, with true shrewdness and foresight, to crown our discussions. From development to creation is but a step. Moreover, even last century the Littré dictionary listed over thirty meanings of the term "development", including that of creativity ! The new Robert dictionary now gives more than fifty ! It is in no way surprising, therefore, that it should sometimes be difficult to agree on the nature, direction and research priorities of development, when the term "development" itself denotes a whole cosmology.

In this cosmological universe of development or, if you permit the neologism, in this "developmental cosmology", research is of key importance, not only because of its use a priori and a posteriori in forecasting future trends and evaluating past experiences, but also because of its function in the strategic formulation of new theories or models and, above all, in the devising of policies, programmes, procedures and arrangements to resolve national, regional and international problems. With this perspective, the conceptions of research, the ways in which it is envisaged, are bound to differ. Whereas some prefer a pragmatic approach geared to closely circumscribed and very specific situations, others want a global approach which brings the traditional context into question at national and world level.

From the Working Party's discussions, I have singled out three major themes which I shall deal with in turn : first, new parameters of research (which, for my purposes here, I shall call the thesis) ; secondly, constraints on research into development (the antithesis) ; and finally, areas for research action (the synthesis).

2. THE NEW PARAMETERS (THESIS) OF RESEARCH

First of all, the new parameters of research, which I shall discuss in terms of types of behaviour and situation : strategic fallback of the institutes of the South and innovative action by the institutes of the North.

(b) Research Priorities

It is recognised that the sectors identified some years ago as priority areas by a number of international bodies remain so. These are :

- . rural development
- . education for development
- . urbanisation
- . income distribution
- . demographic and health problems.

But several participants stressed that the institutes might look more closely at questions connected with :

- . transfer of science and technology
- . commodity exchanges
- . international transport
- . insurance
- . tourism
- . food problems
- . non-formal education
- . mobilising the masses
- . ways of influencing the research community and governments.

(c) Specific Sectors

Several recommendations were put forward concerning specific sectors and research arrangements. Special mention should be made of the suggestion that a code of behaviour be drawn up for researchers in foreign countries. Training and education in developing countries is another question that should be tackled right away, along with a comparative analysis of the costs of research in different environments. A better dissemination of research findings is desired, hence the importance attached to the translation of certain works and the establishment of a list of publications regarded as fundamental by the regional Associations.

Finally, the institutes of the South would like their opposite numbers in the North to do more to inform their countrymen of the need to arrive at a more equitable world order and therefore to make the developing countries' point of view better known.

5. CONCLUSIONS

These, in summary, are the main points that have emerged from our work. Admittedly, these observations and conclusions are highly simplified, but they do represent numerous challenges which, I hope, will be taken up by all those concerned with development research, and first of all by those whom Paul-Marc Henry so aptly calls "the professional intellectuals". And they will have to get a move on if they want not only to have a career, but also to do a really useful job and fully vindicate the African proverb which says that if you did not run, nobody would follow you.

Working Group No. 2: Rapporteur - B. NASRUDDIN*

1. STATE OF THE ART OF DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

- The gradual abandonment of the old metropolitan model concept of development - the disillusionment not only with the model but with the social scientists who are glued to the model and who occupy privileged positions in the power structure in Third World countries. On the other hand, there is growing alienation and marginalisation of social scientists who are critical to development policies that appear to be integrated with the transnational capitalist system. This point has been well brought out by CODESRIA in our Group discussion.

- The present position calls for rationalisation and reorientation for new concepts and methodology on development research within the context of collective self-reliance.

- This process must lead to a search for the indigenisation of methodology.

- A question has been raised whether such an effort is feasible in view of limited capabilities and resources of research institutions in developing countries. Research capability, as pointed out by Mr. Oteiza this morning, depends upon development knowledge and this in turn rests solidly on the adequacy of institutional institutes to turn out capable researchers. The linkage between research capability and the quality of educational institutions is recognised. We are happy to report that CLACSO is exploring and helping to create centres of educational excellence in Latin America to produce reoriented social scientists for the region. Likewise in the Asian region, educational centres in India, Philippines and Japan, etc. could be a supportive base for building indigenous research capability.

2. THE ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE N.I.E.O.

We began this discussion with a sombre note on the vacuum of development rethinking - it is only rather recently that the notions for the abandonment of the economic growth development model have been articulated. Essentially however, it remains to this day that there is still a big gap in development rethinking.

There is now an opportunity for us to make a critical and scientific analysis on the spectrum of problems brought about by the development process. From a hindsight, we know that the failure of the industrialisation and economic growth model has been due to a positive absence of an analytical framework for identifying the positive and negative factors of the development model.

(*) The present text is based on the notes which the Rapporteur used for his oral presentation.

The group therefore urged that before we structure alternative strategies of development, an intermediate step is necessary to make a scientific study of the implications of the problems and limitations of development so that we are in a more viable position to influence the substantive emergence of a New International Economic Order. A simple illustration would help to understand the problems brought about by development which needs to be studied.

The role of the transnational capitalist system through the infusion of Western technology in the development process has led to the disintegration and destruction of indigenous modes of production in developing countries - e.g. the mechanisation of agriculture, while benefiting big farmers have ruined farming technology of small farmers.

The point is that development, from this standpoint, has been a de-skilling process. In developing international strategy of development, the process of development from the national standpoint has to be fully understood. The Group also questioned the adequacy of development indicators at present used and further research in this subject is warranted.

In short, the Group is of the opinion that:

(1) We need to develop an analytical framework which would identify the key constraints on the development process, both the constraints internal to the developing countries (including social, political and economic), and those arising from the working of the international economic system. Without a sound analytical framework, any set of policy proposals (e.g. for a New International Economic Order) is unlikely to be viable.

(2) Second, we need further clarification of the new concepts basic to our perception of a New International Economic Order and Collective Self-Reliance - the implication of the delinking and relinking process.

(3) A new field of research is opened up as follows.

3. FOCUS OF RESEARCH IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The priority areas of research, apart from the intermediate step of the need to re-examine the problems brought about by development, would have to be based on the notion of the delinking and relinking process within the context of collective self-reliance - the severance of dependence from the transnational economic system and the elimination of economic domination by rich countries, and regional development. We are convinced that the Manila Declaration provides a whole series of priority areas for immediate research possibilities to realise the objectives of Third World development.

High on the list of priority research topics would come:

- a) Channelling of finance and investment from rich developing countries to poor developing countries. How do we work out a mechanism for channelling investment of capital surplus from one developing country to another.

Implications of these concepts:

- Concept of NIEO implies reduction or elimination of economic dependence.
- Concept of Collective Self-Reliance implies a) co-operation among LDCs to improve their bargaining power vis-a-vis transnationals (e.g. through producers' association), b) new mechanisms to expand trade and financial flows among LDCs.
 - . monetary or financial arrangements
 - . channelling investment
 - . preferential trade arrangements
 - . joint investment/production

- b) Another important area for research is in the field of development and transfer of appropriate technology. Appropriate technology research and the creation of technology within the context of collective self-reliance would involve considerable saving of capital financing. The creation of appropriate technology is a re-skilling process - an appropriate counter-measure to the de-skilling process brought about by imported technology of the economic growth development model.

With respect to experiments on alternative development strategies, the Group felt that a comparative study be made on efforts to change development strategies on the Collective Self-Reliance basis and the benefits derived and constraints imposed by the system. The policies, mechanisms and techniques used to achieve development objectives should be fully studied.

In all these research efforts, the important consideration and limitation is the scarcity of research resources, both manpower and finance, and therefore a basic methodology must be worked out which research would answer common group interest.

4. NEW FORMS OF COLLABORATION IN RESEARCH

Mechanism for regional collaboration would have to be worked out by regional institutes. It is important that in the first place, the ties between regional associations and their members are in the first stage being strengthened, as the strength of a regional association depends on the support it derives from its members.

5. CONSIDERATIONS

- Reorientation of research - both from developing and developed countries.
- Strengthening of research capability in institutions - with strong institutions to be identified and through their help to train core of researchers among members of regional associations.
- Determination of research priorities of regional associations.
- Collaboration between research organisations e.g. CODESRIA/CLACSO, CODESRIA/ADIPA.
- Joint studies on impact of research on decision makers and Government.

Working Group No. 3: Rapporteur - M. VINICIO TRISTAN

In general, participants in Working Group No. 3 expressed a variety of opinions regarding both research topics and new forms of collaboration. Some opposed views were also reflected in relation to the participatory action of researchers in social sciences to bring about the changes needed for development.

During the discussion on research topics it was suggested that the old type concept of research, in particular the technocratic type which benefits the old model of economic development, should be substituted for a more inclusive concept in which the knowledge of aspirations of the people and their basic needs should be more relevant. Research on historical processes of social and economic change should also be stressed as opposed to the old technocratic type of research. In this sense it was suggested that there is a need of evolving a coherent strategy in research regarding development by:

- asking the basic question of what are we aiming at when speaking of development;
- then making an historical analysis to find out both what has been or has not been done regarding the goals of development and what are the national and international constraints that prevent their achievement; and
- finally, to find out feasible ways to produce the changes needed, that is to say to define the new strategy.

This new strategy, it was suggested is the dividing issue among social scientists.

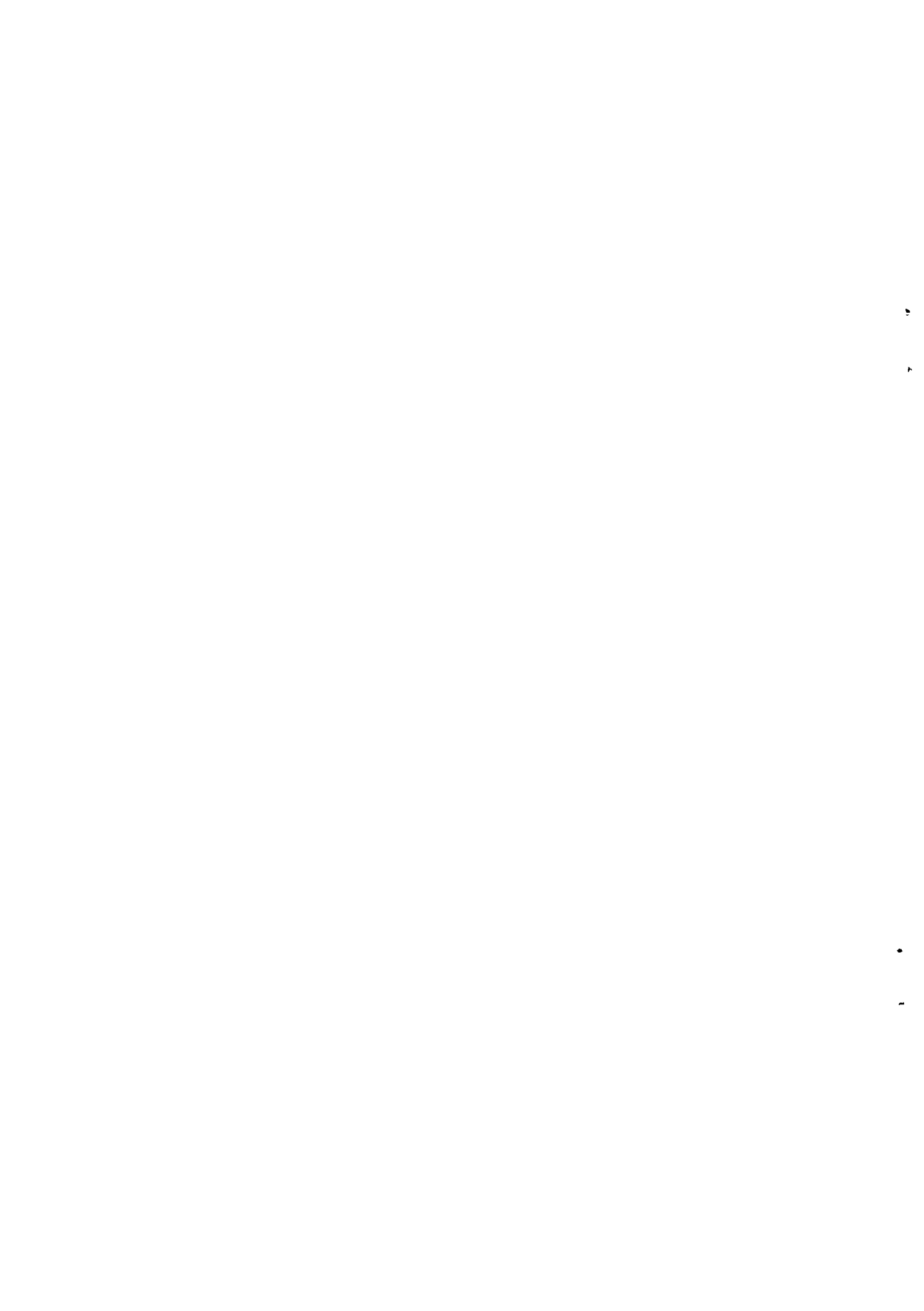
About the programme on priority research topics, it was said that since they were presented as general headings they did not tell too much about their content. However, it was suggested that regional Associations had shown certain common aims in relation to the areas of research. The technological dependency and the basic needs and life style issues were examples of the common interest in research. Other issues like self-help participation, adjustment policies, arms-military and multi-national corporations are also of a high relevance for all regional Associations. It was also suggested that the self-reliance concept demanded an approach such as to study concrete country situations and a continuous analysis of international situations which would yield a framework of analysis compatible with the approach to development studies.

On several occasions, and in various forms, it was suggested both that researchers must keep finding out local, national, regional and international constraints for development and their links and taking this approach as a suggestion to divide research labour among institutes by taking advantage of the comparative advantage that each institute has in studying concrete country situations. However, it must be pointed out that this concept of "division of research labour" was only talked of in generalities and it was not discussed with any deep concern.

In relation to organising research and collaboration in that field, it was suggested that institutes from developed countries, should continue to assist the developing countries through educational training and, in this way, enlarging the potential of research resources to get rid of dependence. At the same time, assistance would yield a broader participation of people doing research on development topics. It was also proposed that institutes in developed countries should emphasise their research, preferably in a co-operative manner, on the problems of developed countries that relate to underdeveloped countries (for example, problems of technology and technological dependency, trade relations and patterns, etc.). Institutes of developed countries should also, it was suggested, invite researchers from developing countries to participate on an equal basis in research regarding problems of developed countries so that the collaboration would be more balanced and there would be a recognition of the need of collaboration as a result of interdependence of world economy (in particular, it was stressed that research on the activities of multinational corporations and distribution of income among rich and poor countries' corporations and distribution of income among rich and poor countries were topics in which this type of collaboration was necessary).

In relation to the assistance from institutes of developed countries in the training of researchers from underdeveloped countries there was a deep concern that this assistance can produce a brain drain from the poorer countries to the richer ones. It was suggested that there were alternative means of assistance that would prevent such results. Dutch experience of establishing through the development institutes, projects and centres of research in several parts of the world could be an alternative that may prevent brain drain from poor countries.

Finally participants stressed the need of regional meetings of social researchers to broaden participation, exchange ideas and form research groups.



CONCLUDING REMARKS
BY DUDLEY SEERS, CHAIRMAN OF THE STEERING GROUP
OF THE INTER-REGIONAL MEETING

We are coming to the end of our discussion on arrangements between our four Associations for cooperation in research, education and communication - which will in many cases be cooperation between institutions or individuals rather than associations.

There has been a good deal of progress compared with similar meetings in the past. Frankness used to be stifled by excessive politeness - not politeness due to courtesy so much as to a rather paternalistic atmosphere. At this meeting some participants, especially from Africa, have come out with the need for a period of "silence". I interpret this as conveying two linked ideas. One is the importance of "self-reliance" in professional work, without heavy ideological pressures from abroad ; the other is that time is needed to enable social scientists to reflect carefully on the fundamental basis of the questions which are being analysed and the concepts being used. These are important and welcome contributions.

Secondly, the meeting has been more practical than any which have gone before. This will be obvious from the report which will be issued, but I can tell you now of some quite concrete results. A joint session has just ended between the Presidents and Executive Secretaries of the four Associations, together with the Steering Group of this meeting. CODESRIA has invited the other three Associations to send representatives to Cairo at the time of their General Conference of their Association, at the beginning of November. We decided that an ad hoc group would be formed to discuss in Cairo future arrangements for contact and co-operation between the Associations, including the finance and organisation. This committee would consist of three from each Association, together with one member each from OECD and the United Nations University. The agenda will include items which have been recommended as important areas of cooperation in the reports which have been heard earlier today :

- (i) The "untying" of technical assistance scholarships (paper to be prepared by CLACSO)
- (ii) Data needs suggested by new-research priorities, including statistics on the operations of multinational corporations (CLACSO) - with an annex on DEVSIS.
- (iii) Contributions by the Associations to the UN conference on science and technology in 1979 (CODESRIA).
- (iv) Access by researchers from overseas to material in the archives in metropolitan countries (EADI)

- (v) A coordinated register of on-going research covering the four associations (OECD).
- (vi) A possible common framework of analysis (report on an UNCTAD/UNU meeting).
- (vii) "Interface" issues (ADIPA).
- (viii) New forms of collaboration in development research and training-Towards a code of conduct (paper already prepared).

At Cairo we shall try to work out practical ways of taking action on these key issues which have arisen at this meeting.

The cooperative and constructive atmosphere of our discussions is shown by these results. Various bilateral and private arrangements have also been made in the last few days, for cooperation in research projects. We can clearly draw upon a general willingness of social scientists from all parts of the world to devise ways of cooperating in work on the complicated human problems of the closing years of the 1970s.

A N N E X 1

SUMMARY PROGRESS REPORTS ON THE ACTIVITIES
OF THE REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

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SUMMARY PROGRESS REPORT
ON ADIPA's ACTIVITIES, 1975-76

Association of Development Research and Training Institutes
of Asia and the Pacific

by Agustin KINTANAR

1. BACKGROUND

ADIPA is an association of Development Research and Training Institutes of Asia and the Pacific (formerly called the Asian Association of Development Research and Training Institutes) which was formed in 1971 by a group of research and training directors to fulfill the need for a formal organisation among researchers and trainers in the economic development field in the Asian region. As with its sister Associations in Latin America (CLACSO), Africa (CODESRIA), and Europe (EADI), these directors felt the need to provide a forum for social scientists in Asia engaged in development research and training activities, a forum wherein to meet and to coordinate their work and to share their common experiences. ADIPA has at this time (September 1976) some 100 member institutes which makes it one of the largest associations of social scientists in the region.

As laid down in its Charter, the short-run objective of the Association is to promote research and training activities in Asia through closer cooperation among institutes in the field of economic and social development. Its long-run objective is to build in Asia and the Pacific the infrastructure for research and training in this field.

2. COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH

As decided during the Second Biennial Meeting held in Canberra in August 1975, ADIPA is pursuing collaborative research among its members as one of its activities for 1975-77. Out of fourteen topics which were identified during the Meeting for possible collaborative research, six topics are being actively pursued. These are :

- 1) Small Industry Entrepreneurial Development : A Comparative Study
- 2) Application and Diffusion of Technology in Developing Countries
- 3) The Redistributive Impact of Government Policies on Income
- 4) Urban-Rural Relationships : Regional Development Perspectives
- 5) The Economic Rationality of Family Size
- 6) Barriers to the Diffusion of Technology in Rice Growing.

The Small Industry Entrepreneurial Training Institute (SIET) hosted the first pre-research meeting under the sponsorship of ADIPA last July 5-9, 1976 on its campus in Hyderabad, India. Participants from the Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya ; Integrated Development Centre, Soong Jun University, Seoul, Korea ; the Bureau of Business Research, University of Dacca; Development Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra and the Management Development Institute, New Delhi discussed with the staff of SIET, the hosting lead institute the general outlines of the collaborative research and the approaches, methods and procedures to be followed by the researchers.

After intensive discussion a Work Schedule was agreed upon. Several collaborative research project proposals were formulated after consultation among participants. A copy of the project proposals was transmitted to IDRC of Canada for possible funding through the good offices of Dr. Jacques Amyot who participated in most of the deliberations as observer from IDRC. The participating institutes pledged substantial local resources in terms of the staff members' time and other facilities towards the joint effort.

With the Investment Advisory Centre of Pakistan as the lead institute, participants in the "Application and Diffusion of Technology" project are scheduled to meet in Karachi, Pakistan, 20-24 September, 1976. At the moment, there seems to be a wide disparity in the perceptions of prospective collaborators of the substantive contents of the project. As intended, it is expected that the pre-research meeting will help narrow down these differences so that a comparative study may be attempted at a later date. Depending upon the results of this meeting and the availability of funds, another collaborative research project under the joint auspices of the Science and Technology Policy Program of IDRC and ADIPA might be launched.

In addition to the groups headed by the SIET and the IACP, there are several other groups planning to hold their own pre-research meetings. For instance, the National Council of Applied Economic Research in New Delhi is organising a meeting with the Institute of Economic Development and Research, School of Economics, University of the Philippines, and the Institute of Economic Research, Seoul National University, to be held in Bangkok on 25-28 September this year on the topic of "Redistributive Impact of Government Policies on Income".

The group headed by the United Nations Centre for Regional Development in Nagoya, Japan, is also planning to hold another meeting in Bangkok sometime in November on the topic of Urban-Rural Relationships while the Development Study Centre, Australian National University, is convening in Canberra a seminar on "Social and Economic Support of High Fertility" on 16-18 November 1976. Another group headed by Dr. Shinichi Ichimura of the Southeast Asian Studies Centre in Kyoto is planning a meeting of prospective collaborators in a study of "The Barriers to the Diffusion of Rice-Technology" sometime in December, also in Bangkok.

During pre-research meetings such as those being planned, it is expected that collaborative research proposals can be evolved for possible funding by governments, foundations and international funding institutions.

3. OTHER ACTIVITIES

Aside from its collaborative research activities, ADIPA continues the publication of Directories of Research and Training Institutes in Asia and the Pacific, the publication of selected bibliographies and the listing of ongoing projects in the region. It has plans for collaboration in training in the field of development economics and collaboration in the publication of a journal to serve as an outlet for articles and reports on findings of collaborative researches by members. Meanwhile, ADIPA publishes a brochure and a newsletter describing its activities.

4. MEMBERSHIP

Since the Canberra meeting, membership in the association has been growing very fast. Prior to August 1975, there were only some forty (40) members. Membership rose to sixty (60) after August, 1975 and to eighty (80) in March, 1976. There are now some one hundred (100) members as of September, 1976 and membership is expected to increase to one hundred and twenty (120) by the Third Biennial Meeting tentatively scheduled for April 25-29 in Bangalore, India.

5. FINANCING

The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada has been the main source of financial support of the Association. Subscription fees account for a minor portion of its resources. Other friends of the Association give substantial contributions towards the activities of the Association such as the holding of its biennial meetings.

6. THIRD BIENNIAL MEETING

The Program Committee has chosen three topics for discussion during the Third Biennial Meeting, namely :

- 1) Alternative Development Strategies, with Dr. Puey Ungpakorn as invited speaker
- 2) Integrated Rural Development, with Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao as speaker and
- 3) New International Economic Order, with Dr. Mabub ul Haq as invited speaker.

In addition, progress reports on several collaborative research projects of the Association will form the substantive part of the General Meeting. Several presentations by local scholars of India on some of the development problems and experiences of India are also scheduled.

In the business portion, three members of the Board of Management and officers of ADIPA will be elected. It is expected that a Work Programme for 1977-79 will be evolved during the meeting. Reports on New Approaches in Urban/Rural Development and New Directions for Development Research will be discussed by the body for possible adoption in the respective work programs of member institutes.

7. NEW DIRECTIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

This Inter-Regional Conference on Development Research, Education and Communication could provide useful inputs to the discussions of the regional associations. For instance, the results and recommendations of this conference could serve as guidelines to the panel to be set up on this topic during the Third Biennial Meeting. After discussion in the context of Asia and the Pacific, it is possible that the New Directions for Development Research being discussed during this conference would be incorporated into the Work Programs of some member institutes. We are listening and waiting for the results.

SUMMARY PROGRESS REPORT ON

C.O.D.E.S.R.I.A.

Council for the Development of Economic
and Social Research in Africa,

by

Abdalla S. BUJRA

1. OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of the Council are clearly stated in its Charter. Africa has learnt from its own experience as well as from the experience of the Latin Americans and Asians, the importance of organising social sciences for the social and economic development of the continent. CODESRIA's main objective therefore, is to activate concerned African social scientists to undertake fundamental as well as problem-oriented research, and to challenge the existing orthodox development theories which have led Africa to stagnation and underdevelopment. They must produce new ideas, an alternative and relevant perspective to our development problems in the African Continent. In order to achieve this ultimate objective, CODESRIA is breaking down linguistic and geographic barriers between African social scientists, is defining the priorities and problems to be researched and is organising African social scientists into collaborative research teams, etc.

2. BRIEF REVIEW OF CODESRIA'S ACTIVITIES, 1973-1976

Conferences and Workshops

- a) Two conferences have been organised and a third one will take place in November 1976. These are :
 - 1) Africa and the EEC. Held at IDEP, Dakar, 1973.
 - 2) Population, Research and Development, Lome, 1974.
 - 3) Industrialisation and Income Distribution in Africa, Cairo, November 1976.

- b) A number of small workshops or seminars of about 15 to 20 persons have also been held ; these are :
 - 1) Population, Resources and Environment, Accra 1975.
 - 2) Interdisciplinary Approaches to Development Planning, Khartoum, 1975.
 - 3) Registration of Vital Statistics, December 1976.

The aim of these conferences are two-fold. Firstly, to assemble African specialists on a particular field and to evaluate the state of research in that field. The proceedings of the conferences and workshops are published and sent free of charge to all African research institutes. Secondly, and more importantly, these meetings aim at setting up interdisciplinary and multi-national co-operative research teams with a co-ordinator for each team, or working group.

3. MULTINATIONAL WORKING GROUPS

At the General Assembly of February 1973, a number of themes were selected with co-ordinators who were required to set up a research team (W.G.) composed of people from different regions and from different disciplines. The themes and their co-ordinators are as follows:

| <u>Themes</u> | <u>Co-ordinator</u> |
|---|---------------------|
| 1) Rural Development | Prof. Dikoumé |
| 2) Sociology of Development | Prof. Bujra |
| 3) Landlocked Countries | Prof. Samir Amin |
| 4) Economic Co-operation and Integration | Prof. Baza-Luemba |
| 5) Population and Development | Prof. de Graft J. |
| 6) Interdisciplinary Approaches to Development Planning | Prof. Remili |
| 7) Monetary Problems | |

In October 1975, two additional themes were added.

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| 8) Africa and the New International Economic Order | |
| 9) The Public Sector and Development in Africa | Prof. I. Abdul Galil |

For 1977 and 1978, we are adding four more themes.

| | |
|---|-------|
| 10) Science, Technology and Development | |
| 11) Education and Development | |
| 12) Multinational Corporations | |
| 13) Economic History | |

These themes have been chosen because the Council believes they require urgent attention and therefore research. These are the priorities of the Council which we hope will also be the priorities of African research institutes.

Over the last three years, it was possible to set up the following teams or working groups on :

- 1) Sociology of Development (urbanisation)
- 2) Rural Development
- 3) Population, Resources and Environment
- 4) Interdisciplinary Approach to Development Planning.

Two more groups are to be set up this year on :

- 5) Industrialisation and Income Distribution in Africa
- 6) Registration of Vital Statistics.

4. NATIONAL GROUPS

In addition to the above type of groups, CODESRIA has started setting up National Groups in each country. The idea behind this programme is to get a small interdisciplinary team of young social scientists to review and evaluate the development process of their country. CODESRIA helps these groups in the form of preparation of their manuscripts and of publishing their books. Seven such groups have been set up in Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, Zaire, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania. It was intended to set up more of these groups.

5. NETWORKS OF INSTITUTES

CODESRIA is in the process of identifying specific institute to adopt one of our priority topics and make them also their priorities. In addition to people doing research on that particular topic, the institute will collect information on past and on-going research on that topic being undertaken elsewhere. This information will then be distributed in the form of bulletin, etc. to all other institutes in Africa. Each "focus" institute will, in its turn, establish its own network of institutes doing research on the particular topic.

6. DATA BANK

The main purpose of this programme is to undertake surveys of on-going and completed research and publication in Africa. This data is then classified and published as CODESRIA's Africa Development Research Annual. So far, one volume has been published, and the second one is in press. These two volumes cover the period from the mid sixties to 1972. An extensive survey is now under way to collect data for the period 1973 to 1976. We expect to publish two volumes on this data in 1977.

7. INFORMATION AND PUBLICATIONS

It is felt very important to provide useful information to all institutes about each other. This is done through CODESRIA's bi-monthly newsletter Africana. A detailed informational write up on two research institutes (one Anglophone, one Francophone) appears in each issue of the quarterly Journal. The newsletter and other material are sent to 235 training centres and research institutes in Africa, and about 150 institutes outside the region.

Besides providing information, CODESRIA has its own journal, Africa Development, which provides a forum for discussion of development problems and for publication of research findings.

8. STUDENT AND STAFF EXCHANGE WITHIN AFRICA

CODESRIA is now working on a programme to encourage graduate social science students to do their studies within the continent, preferably outside their own countries.

Similarly, we are working on a programme to encourage African social science lecturers and researchers to visit and work in other than their own Universities or Institutes for periods of varying lengths.

9. COOPERATION WITH OTHER REGIONS

1) ADIPA and EADI

Cooperation between the four regional Associations should be better structured and systematised as a result of this meeting. Relations with ADIPA are minimal and consist of exchange of some documents. Relations with EADI were on a similar basis until recent discussions with the Executive Secretary on ways and means of strengthening relations between the two organisations.

2) CLACSO

With CLACSO however, specific programmes have been developed, some of which are being implemented :

- (a) The normal exchange of newsletters, journals and other publications has been going on for sometime.
- (b) CODESRIA/CLACSO publication series. The first book in this series is Oscar Braun's International Trade and Underdevelopment which has been published in Spanish, French and Italian, and is expected to be out early 1977. CODESRIA is doing the technical work of putting it into English.

CODESRIA has suggested to CLACSO to translate and publish in Spanish Walter Rodney's book, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.

- (c) A CODESRIA/CLACSO Afro-Latin American Programme has been submitted to donors for funding.

The programme envisages three elements :

- (i) comparative research on similar problems : eg. the use of oil funds for development, the copper industry, etc.
- (ii) Exchange of staff between the two continents.
- (iii) Exchange of graduate students.

The aim of the programme is not only to promote mutual understandings but eventually to have Latin American studies, (taught by Africans) in Africa and vice-versa.

3) BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES

CODESRIA is developing important relations with African studies institutes in Sweden and West Germany through the help of SAREC and the FES. As a first step CODESRIA is sending its documents and bulletins to the major Swedish and German institutes concerned with development studies.

4) NORTH AMERICA

CODESRIA has recently compiled a list of 60 major African studies centers in the U.S.A. and is sending them its documents, bulletin, journal etc. This is in expectation that they will become Associate members and that by linking them up with some African more advanced institutes, the quality of U.S. African studies programmes can be enriched.

5) CONSULTATION WITH AFRICAN INSTITUTES

CODESRIA's Secretariat has written to 25 major African research institutes requesting them to submit to CODESRIA suggestions concerning cooperation between African institutes and those in the four regions. In particular, detailed suggestions of cooperation in the fields of research, training documentation, staff and student exchange were requested. On the basis of reaction from these institutes, the Secretariat will prepare a paper for the attention and comment of the other regional associations.



PROGRESS REPORT ON CLACSO

Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales
(Latin American Social Science Council)

by

Francisco DELICH(*)

1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

CLACSO was set up in October 1967 by a number of social science research centres in the Latin American region. Its main purpose is to contribute to the development of the social sciences in Latin America and to the strengthening of the institutions dedicated to research and training in those sciences in the region.

CLACSO is governed by a General Assembly made up of representatives of the Member centres. The General Assembly appoints an Executive Committee of 18 members for a period of four years, in which a balance between countries of the region and disciplines of the social sciences is intended to be obtained. An Executive Secretary is elected by the General Assembly also for a four-year period.

The objectives of CLACSO are to:

- improve and stimulate scientific communication within the region and co-operation among the Council's member centres;
- promote basic and applied research in the different fields of the social sciences, and research and training projects of particular importance to Latin America;
- assist in the mobility of social scientists within the region, and to contribute to a better use of the human academic resources available in Latin America;
- promote the study of Latin American integration;
- develop academic co-operation with other areas of the world, particularly Asia and Africa.

2. RESEARCH IN COLLABORATION

CLACSO's key instruments for developing collaboration in research and other collaborative activities on a regional basis are its Working Commissions. These are decentralised multinational groups correlating the efforts of institutes participating in programmes of common interest. Each Commission has a group leader

(*) Mr. Delich is the Executive Secretary of CLACSO, which was represented at the Inter-Regional Meeting by Mr. Enrique Oteiza, Member of the Board and former Executive Secretary of CLACSO.

or co-ordinator, usually a social scientist dedicated to the field of interest of the respective group. To date the following Working Commissions are functioning:

- Science, Technology and Development
- Urban and Regional Development
- Education and Development
- Studies on Dependency
- Rural Studies
- Economic History
- Integration and National Development
- Population and Development

Besides these Working Commissions, several Working Groups have been established, in order to tackle problems which appear to be important but are just beginning to be considered under a collective approach by Latin-American social scientists and centres related to CLACSO. To date the following Working Groups (which may later develop into Commissions) are functioning:

- Cultural Development
- Political Studies
- Labour Movements
- Employment, Unemployment
- Alternatives to Latin American Development

3. SPECIAL REGIONAL PROGRAMME IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

The urgent need to raise the standards of graduate training in the social sciences in the region, drove the Council to promote the organisation of the Latin American Programme of Graduate Training in the Social Sciences, the purpose of which is to establish a regional system of advanced studies in those sciences, by developing new courses and better articulating the existing ones.

Bearing in mind the different stages of development achieved by the social sciences in the various countries of the region, it was decided that the initial efforts were to be concentrated in those cities in Latin America where a significant accumulation of academic resources already existed, extending both the participation and benefits of the Programme to the whole region. Thus, Working Groups were established in those cities that are to be the basis of the regional system: Mexico, Santiago, Rio de Janeiro-San Paolo, and Buenos Aires. These groups, which are formed by representatives of the high-level social science research centres and institutions of each city, are in charge of elaborating and organising the respective local programmes based on the academic, financial and institutional resources available in each case.

As an association that nucleates most Latin American centres undertaking social science research and teaching activities at the post-graduate level, CLACSO has assumed at the request of its members the role of co-ordinator of the Programme. Whilst the Working Groups in each of the five selected cities elaborate their programmes along the lines they consider most suitable to the available academic resources and local prevailing orientation, CLACSO is to provide the linkage between the Groups in order to ensure the interchange of ideas and experience (as well as of students and professors) which is essential for the Latin American nature of the Programme.

4. MEMBERS

Membership of the Council is open to those Latin American centres and institutes, public or private, which carry out activities of research or research and training in any branch of the social sciences, and which autonomously decide their own research policy. To date 65 Latin American centres have joined as members.

Honorary membership of the Council is open to those autonomous international institutes and centres located in Latin America which undertake research or research and training in the social sciences and study problems related to Latin American development and integration. They will be invited by the General Assembly on the proposal of the Executive Committee. To date there are four Honorary Members.

The Council's Executive Committee may invite to participate as collaborators national and international organisations and associations, public or private, and persons of high scientific distinction interested in the development of social sciences in Latin America. To date there are two Collaborating Institutions.

5. FINANCE

The Council finances the activities of its Governing bodies and Executive Secretariat with Latin American resources, consisting mainly of the annual contributions of its members, income derived from the Council's assets and donations, legacies, subsidies or other funds.

Activities carried out by CLACSO's Working Committees and Groups, as well as specific projects developed within the Council, may be financed by resources both from Latin American or other origin, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

6. REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CLACSO co-operates, at the regional and international levels, with various organisations, some of which also support financially some of its activities. Among others, these are the Economic Commission for Latin America, the UN Latin American Institute for Economic Development and Planning, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Third World Forum, UNESCO, the OECD Development Centre, the International Social Science Council, the Ford Foundation, the International Development Research Centre of Canada, the European Council for Social Research on Latin America

in London, etc. CLACSO also has regular contacts with sister associations in Europe, Asia and Africa. With the latter, CODESRIA, a specific programme is being developed for (a) the exchange of information, (b) the publication of studies in a CODESRIA/CLACSO joint series including appropriate translations, (c) a comparative research programme on problems of common concern, and (d) exchange of staff and students between the two continents.

SUMMARY PROGRESS REPORT ON

E.A.D.I.

European Association of Development Research
and Training Institutes

by

Arne HASELBACH

1. ESTABLISHMENT AND OBJECTIVES

After more than two years of preparatory work, EADI was founded on the 12th September, 1975, in Linz, Austria. Initiated by common consent of institutes in all parts of Europe, this step towards intensifying and institutionalising co-operation among institutes and individual researchers working in the field of development is already beginning to show first results.

Less than a year after its establishment, the Association today comprises 100 institutes and 60 individual scientists from 19 European countries. EADI's Secretariat is located in Vienna.

The European Association aims to promote research and training activities in development, as approached through the social sciences and interdisciplinary studies.

EADI shall pursue these aims by promoting contacts and collaboration among its members. At the same time - and equally important - it shall further and facilitate exchanges, working contacts and co-operation between its members on the one hand and regional associations, research and training institutions and researchers in Africa, Asia, and Latin America on the other.

The Association will hold itself at the disposal of those institutions and researchers with a view to facilitating their access to sources of information and the instruments of work and research available in Europe.

In order to ensure that this inter-regional co-operation will be useful for the Third World, the constitution of EADI provides for ex officio membership of representatives of the African, Asian and Latin American regional associations in the Executive Committee of EADI.

2. MODES AND AREAS OF OPERATION

Less than a year having elapsed since the inception of EADI, it is only natural that this can be but an interim report. If the initiatives here presented are already quite numerous, this is so because EADI is much more a process of intensification of co-operation than an institution; a process that started with the first discussions aiming at its creation; a process in which initiatives are taken, some of which come to fruition whilst others, despite many attempts at reactivation, have to be

abandoned; a process the results of which - even up to now - have already proved its usefulness and which has considerable potential for the future.

So far the major part of activities has been devoted to the improvement of the inner-European co-operation. The modes and areas of co-operation with the regional associations of Africa, Asia and Latin America will be discussed at this Inter-Regional Meeting and could lead to an almost world-wide network of co-operation.

A. Documentation

A Task Force was originally set up with a view to examining the problems of information and documentation exchange both among members of the association and between them and the regional associations, and with submitting proposals for improvement.

This led to the creation of a Working Group on Documentation and Information which outlined a work programme for the near future. Members of the group have reported on the state of documentation in their respective countries, discussed the feasibility of specific tasks included in the work programme, and selected a few for priority attention.

European Register of On-going Development Research Projects

It is most important that research in progress should be surveyed and publicised at frequent intervals in order to increase efficiency and prevent possible duplications in European development research.

Pioneering efforts were performed in this field by three institutions:

- the OECD Development Centre, which for many years past has included reports about on-going research projects in its Liaison Bulletin;
- the German Foundation for International Development (DSE) with its presentation and documentation, since 1966, in its published series Entwicklungsländer-Studien, of current and completed research undertakings on problems of developing countries; and
- the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, which publishes its Development Studies - Register of UK-based On-going Research since 1970.

EADI is not proposing to substitute these efforts by a centralised European one, but trying to ensure that on-going research in as many countries as possible will get documented in such a way that interested institutions all over the world would know who is working on which specific issues at any given moment.

Two initiatives have so far been taken towards this end. The University of Antwerp's Centre for Development Studies has just published a Register of Research Projects in Progress in Development Studies in selected European Countries, September 1976, which includes information on countries that do not so far provide their

own registers; and the Association Française des Instituts de Recherche sur le Développement (AFIRD) is preparing a roster of research in progress in France, to be published before the end of 1976.

Further Tasks in the Field of Documentation

Improving documentation of research in progress is an important task of the working group "Documentation and Information".

The group proposes in addition to promote information exchanges especially regarding available publications, information on publications with selective circulation and grey literature, the compilation of a catalogue of all relevant European institutions, calendars of relevant meetings and events, a survey of training facilities for documentation officers from developing countries and the interchange of documentation experts.

B. Collaboration in Training

The promotion of collaboration in the training in development theory and practice of experts from developing countries and from European nations constitutes an essential part of EADI's mandate.

The agenda of the Working Group on Training includes improvements in mutual information concerning on-going and projected training programmes and courses, exchanges of experiences and of views pertaining to specific training problems, and the elaboration of proposals for inner-European and inter-regional collaboration and the implementation of such proposals.

A preliminary survey of training activities of EADI member institutes was recently published in the EADI Bulletin 2/1976. The possibility of drawing up a European register of training programmes and to approach suitable institutions willing to participate in this project is being discussed.

Besides specific tasks aiming at improving mutual information and expanding collaboration among the training institutes, the problem of selecting optimally suited locations for particular programmes is becoming a central issue in the deliberations of the working group. On the one hand there are arguments in favour of conducting a larger part of total training activities in developing countries and reasons for carrying out specific courses in particular developing regions, while on the other hand some programmes might more advantageously be held in Europe. A number of institutes are presently re-locating some of their courses in certain developing countries. Coming to grips with this problem, which could also contribute to the strengthening of institutions in the developing countries, will be one of the main points of the discussions touching on the nature of inter-regional collaboration with the sister associations in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

C. Collaboration in Development Research

The European Association is faced with two basic problems of delimitation in respect of its research activities, both of them connected with how one sees the objectives of development research.

Inasmuch as research aims at making a contribution to a better understanding of the processes of development, the only feasible strategy is a multidisciplinary approach. Although members of EADI are mostly social science oriented, a course of action is indicated that transcends the social sciences; natural science and technology oriented research must be mobilised to the extent that it is willing to collaborate in such multidisciplinary effort. For the purpose of the practical work of EADI in the domain of development research, it follows from this basic stance that the composition of groups working on specific problem areas should include all those disciplines which the subject matter under consideration and its relation to the overall development process indicate. The second basic problem concerns the definition of the concept of "development" and its geographical delimitations. In other words, should EADI concentrate on research pertaining to problems in developing countries only, or should the European Association assume the role of an institution concerned with the development problems of the world as a whole, regardless of whether they arise in the industrialised world, in developing countries or in the relationships between states or groups of states, and regardless of whether they are caused endogenously or exogenously.

These questions were answered on purely pragmatic reasoning. The fact being established nowadays that problems which affect developing countries are only partly caused by internal factors, it was decided that EADI could not confine itself to problems in developing countries. On the other hand EADI does not aspire to co-ordinate research on all conceivable problems affecting development in industrialised countries. Consequently, the Executive Committee has decided that for the time being, equal attention should be devoted to the relations between industrialised nations and developing countries, and to problems in the developing countries.

Modes of Collaboration in Research

A progressive conversion of the prevalent and long established concurrence of development research into a common effort must be cautiously tackled and brought into operation step by step. After a preliminary survey of requirements it became obvious that a number of different mechanisms for collaboration in research must be evolved to meet distinctive types of needs. Such mechanisms may have to be changed in the light of accumulated experience. Until such further experience becomes available, the following types of working groups, reflecting diverse requirements, were instituted.

(1) Preparatory Groups

Where there are members who voice their interest in intensified collaboration in a certain problem area, or if the Executive Committee decides to launch an attempt at such intensification, one member, or a small group of members, will be requested to undertake the necessary enquiries and soundings.

At this stage is that potential participants for the Group are found, suggestions for first steps are elaborated and circulated and after contacts with interested researchers,

the problem area to be covered is clearly circumscribed and a programme of work adopted. If sufficient interest has been established, a proposal for setting up a permanent group and a draft working programme is submitted to the Executive Committee for comments and/or approval.

Depending on the kind of co-operation envisaged Problem-Oriented Working Groups or Co-operation Research Groups will be instituted.

(2) EADI Working Groups

Co-ordination of information is still largely lacking in development research. Researchers working in a particular field are therefore genuinely in need of a regular and more rapid flow of information on the work done in their fields of interest within other institutes. To serve this need problem-oriented EADI Working Groups are being created to spread information about their own field of work on a continuous basis by such means as circular letters or information bulletins to their members and other interested persons. Supplementing this, they can arrange working meetings, seminars and conferences thus affording opportunities for discussions, the establishment of contacts, and exchanges which might eventually lead on to co-operative research efforts.

As these problem-oriented working groups are primarily intended to maintain and speed up the flow of information, they are open to all interested members of the Association.

(3) EADI Co-operative Research Groups

Besides, the European Association aims at stimulating and/or facilitating collaborative research programmes and projects. The more so as the development problems to be tackled far exceed available research capacities, because many investigations necessitate empirical field work in more than one country, and because co-operative exertions can effect savings in resources that are, in any case, rather limited.

In a first phase the Co-operative Research Groups with these ends in view try to find a common approach in dealing with their subject matter; they plot their common problem, co-ordinate proposed research methods, lay down a working programme and a time schedule, agree on a division of labour and try to secure the required finance. Later phases include the actual carrying out of the detailed research, the necessary harmonisation at all stages, and finally the publication of the results of their co-ordinated work. In view of the objectives of Co-operative Research Groups, which necessitate agreement on many lines, it is necessarily up to the discretion of one Group to decide, who should be invited to participate in its work. In order to make the Co-operative Research Groups useful to all members, the EADI Bulletin regularly reports on the state of their work.

Initial Priority Areas for Research Co-operation

When deciding on the problem areas that should be given priority by EADI, the following points must be considered: have sister Associations in Africa, Asia and Latin America or their member institutes indicated their interest? What work is presently being undertaken by European institutes? Have members voiced readiness to launch or to participate in a group on a specific issue? And, last but not least, which problem areas of importance for the development of the Third World and the world as a whole that have been largely neglected would justify or necessitate scientific investigation?

Following a survey conducted by Professor Dudley Seers, President of the Association, it was decided that EADI continues some of its earlier efforts and that the feasibility of a number of new groups be investigated. The full list of problem areas either in progress or under investigation presently includes the following:

- Migration and Development
- Adjustment Policies
- Appropriate Technologies
- Income Distribution
- Transnational Corporations
- Women and Development
- New Commodity Policies
- Economic Integration and Development
- Rural Development
- Consumption Styles
- Inflation and Monetary Problems of Developing Countries
- Public Administration
- Manpower and Education
- Aid Quality and Quantity
- Regional Disparities and Regional Planning
- National and Cultural Identity
- Europe, the Mediterranean Region and the Middle East
- Arms and the Military in a Development Context
- Tourism and Development

D. EADI Publications

- The EADI Bulletin is published three/four times a year in English and French.
- The New International Economic Order and Development Research and Training Institutes in Europe, Report on the General Conference of EADI, Linz, Austria, 11th-13th September, 1975, Ed. Arne Haselbach, EADI, Vienna, 1976, 133 p.

3. PROSPECTS AND OUTLOOK

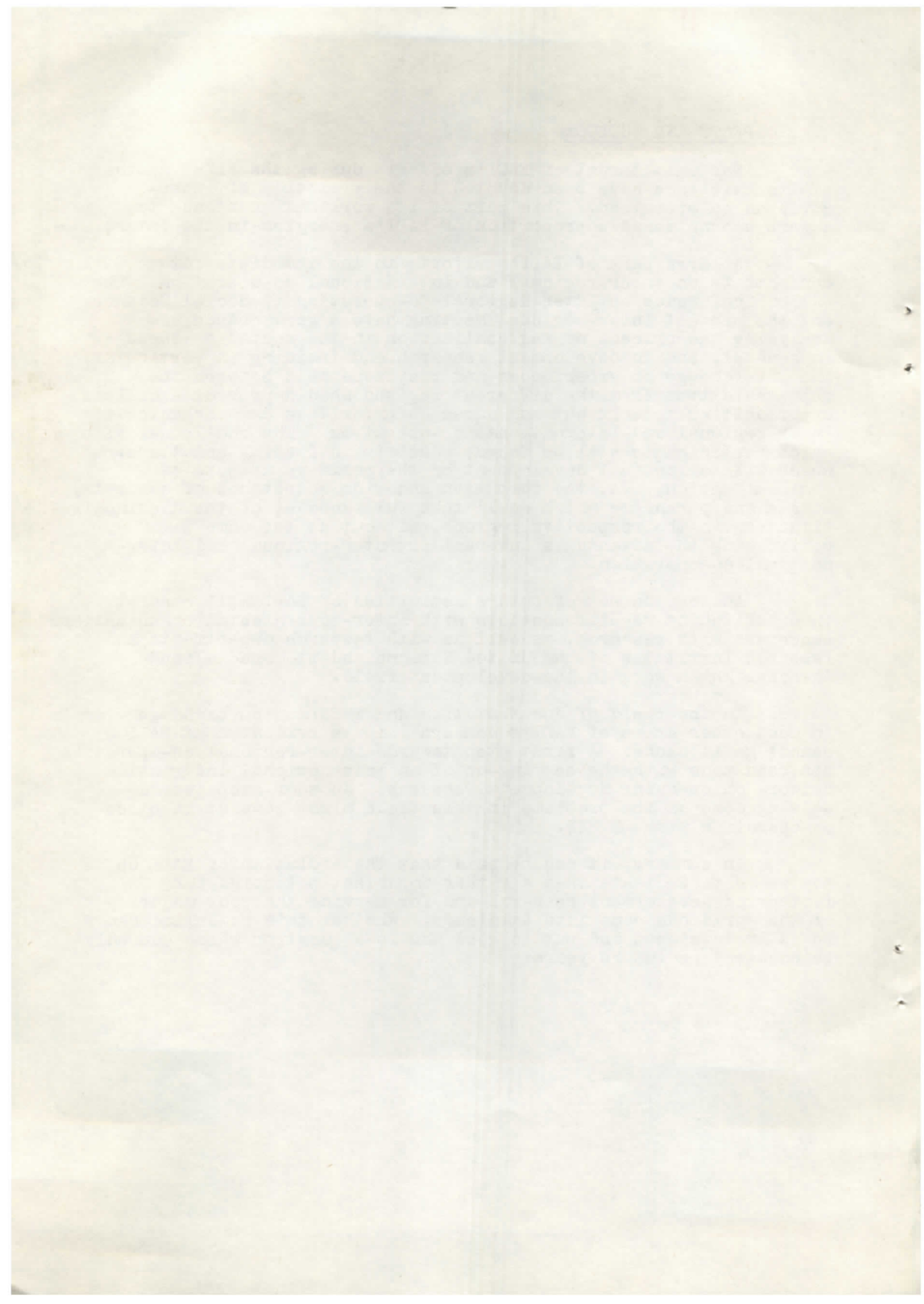
The main thrust of EADI's efforts during the first months of its existence have been devoted to the promotion of inner-European co-operation. This part of its work will continue to absorb a considerable proportion of EADI's energies in the future.

A large part of EADI's efforts in the immediate future will concentrate on inter-regional and international co-operation. The UNESCO Conference on Inter-Regional Co-operation in Social Science and the present Inter-Regional Meeting have a good chance of analysing the process of regionalisation in the social sciences in general, and in development research and training in particular. The interchange on experiences and positions held between the representatives from the different regions should provide excellent opportunities to work out and agree on priorities and mechanics for inter-regional and international co-operation. The challenge, with which participants will be faced, consists in finding solutions, which will allow full development of the positive aspects of regionalisation, i.e. the formation and wide acceptance of concepts, models and paradigms which would take full account of the distinctive situation in the respective regions, without at the same time sacrificing the advantages inherent in inter-regional and international co-operation.

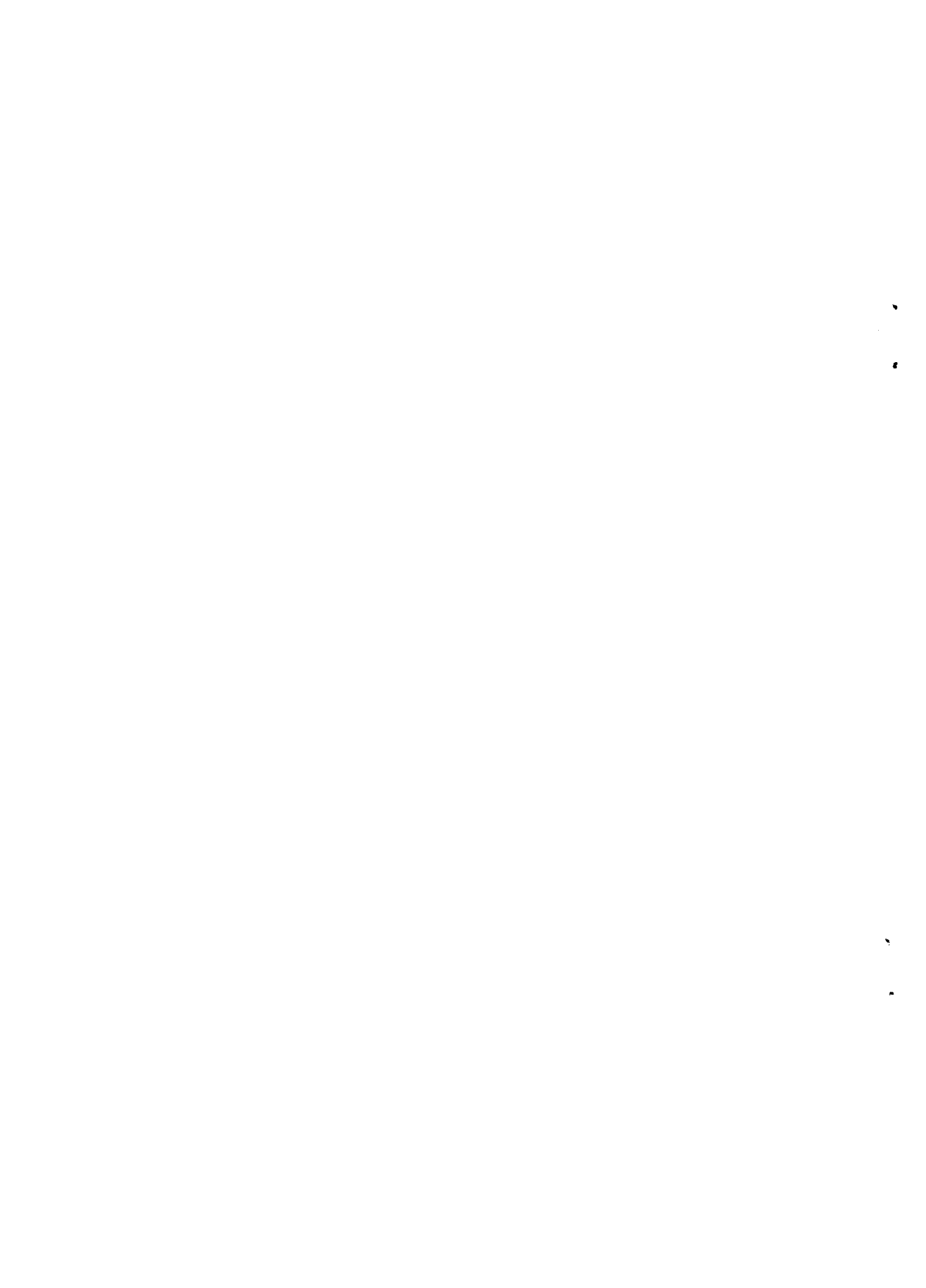
Another aspect of future activities of EADI will consist in establishing regular contacts with inter-governmental organisations concerned with research, as well as with research departments and research institutes of the United Nations and its specialised Agencies which work in the development field.

In the field of documentation and information exchange - as in most other areas of EADI's concern - it is evident that EADI cannot go it alone. A first step towards inter-regional co-operation has been made with the setting-up of an international information network on on-going development research. Another step towards solving some of the problems in this field might consist in close co-operation with DEVSIS.

In summary, it can be said that the evolution of EADI up to now seems to indicate that a rather important potential for furthering development research and for serving the poor majority of the world has come into existence. Whether this potential can be fully developed and put to good use is a question which can only be answered in future years.



A N N E X 2



PRESENTATION OF THE WORK PROGRAMME
OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY *

by

Kinhide MUSHAKOJI

Thank you Mr. Chairman for allowing me to present to you very briefly the activities of the United Nations University. I shall talk in more detail on the Human and Social Development Programme, which is more closely related to your concern and for which I am responsible.

According to our Charter, there are two major aspects which are of interest. The first one is that we have to address ourselves to the burning global problems, and among these: world hunger, the management of natural resources and human and social development. The other aspect is that the University should be a network of institutes, groups and researchers. The idea is clearly formulated in the Charter that there are isolated researchers around the world, specially in the Third World countries, and the mandate of the University is to relate them so as to break their isolation and allow them to work together. Now this can mean many things and until quite recently we were unable to be more specific about the role of the University. We used to say that "the UNU has no students, has no campus and so it is not like other universities"; this was a negative definition. But now, at last, we can give the University a positive definition, thanks to the experts who helped us last year, to begin with Dudley Seers who participated in two of our expert meetings, and also the representatives of the four regional Associations who kindly accepted to participate in one of our working group meetings and so helped us formulate our programme. Then we had another expert meeting followed, at the end of June, by a Council Meeting which accepted our proposal about the Human and Social Development Programme.

Besides the global problems and the network idea, the specificity of the UNU lies in the fact that it has to face several contradictory exigencies, one is that we should be academic, but as our academic freedom is guaranteed we need not shy away from politically delicate problems. We are a global University, but we have to address ourselves to local problems through the network. We have to serve the world research community in an interdisciplinary manner, but this should not make us just a conventional kind of University. We should be innovative and encourage new approaches to problems, especially of development, and in that sense we are trying to develop our own programme, our own network on the one hand, while on the other hand trying to serve the world academic community, which means in practical terms - in relation to the four regional Associations - we will ask some of your members to become associated institutes of our own network. We shall try to have a kind of horizontal relationship with your regional bodies, so that we can get your advice for the development of our activities.

* Transcribed from tape recording without editing by the author.

As regards our network, we received varied advice from our experts and we are trying to follow these lines: the basic idea is that we should try to look into development, not only in terms of economic development, though the economic aspect is very important, but of human and social development. We are trying to define human and social development in terms of satisfying needs, material and non-material in a self-reliant manner. So on this basis and in addressing ourselves to these problems, the idea is that the University will not, like other UN organisations, try to present a unified view of the problem or unified solution, but rather provide a forum where divergent views can be discussed, debated and fought against each other in a constructive manner and among other such ideas about development. We are trying to combine and engage various approaches, for example, the dependency approach; the centre/periphery approach - emphasising the centre and the periphery; the eco-development approach - emphasising the relationship between development and the eco-system; the emphasis on grass-root participation as opposed to the technocratic approach to development; the endogenous approach to development as opposed to a mere emulation of Western models; and several other such approaches. Of course, these approaches may not fit to each other, the eco-development specialists may not be aware very strongly of the dependency problem and those who are interested in grass-root participation may not be interested in ecology; so we need to have constructive dialogue and this is how we want to build a kind of intellectual open forum, in the service of development, human and social.

In concrete terms this means the following programme, in the field of Human and Social Development. From the list of topics which we were to address ourselves according to our experts, we selected "technology and development indicators", and we tried to rationalise this choice, which was in a sense not very rational at the beginning, in the following way. Since we are trying to address ourselves to the problem of satisfaction of needs and self-reliance, technology should be considered as a means to reach such a goal - self-reliance, self-reliant technology and technology in the service of basic human needs. Indicators should not just be thought of in narrow statistical terms, but rather as a measurement of various aspects of a society in terms of the goal it wants to reach and the processes it wants to follow. In that sense, rather than address ourselves to indicators alone, we decided to tackle the goals, processes and indicators in evaluating what development goals are, if we want to make them satisfaction-oriented and self-reliant.

To these two major concentrations (technology; goals, processes and indicators) we have added other topics: development and human rights, which would focus on the non-material need aspect of society; and advanced training for planning and administration of development. The idea is to have a dialogue with the practitioners about the three topics and with the training programmes or education programmes. As stipulated in our Charter, we will build networks, especially for the isolated researchers, not those already in the international circuit of academic exchange, so that from the beginning, we are in the

centre/periphery context. The University has a mandate to start working from the periphery and gradually reach the centre, not start with the centre and reach the periphery. We are applying this criteria for technology, where we have asked Dr. Onitiri to organise our network (especially with the Regional Associations of institutes in the Third World). We are asking Dr. Onitiri to address himself to the problem of the North/South technology transfer versus South/South exchange and how the capacity to generate technology in the Third World can be intensified by South/South co-operation. So this is one aspect of the periphery to centre approach another, which also applies to another programme related to technology in the rural sector, where we are trying to put an emphasis on rural technology. There we are asking Dr. Amilcar Herrera of the Bariloche Foundation to build a network which would involve, for example, solar energy research in Niger, or the Barragas programmes in the South Pacific region etc., research and development efforts in the rural area and the agricultural sector. We are asking Dr. Chandra Soysa of the Marga Institute in Sri Lanka to organise a programme on endogenous technology development which will be concerned with the problems of nutrition, habitat, health care and other traditional technologies which could be exchanged in different parts of the periphery of the world; in this we hope, through Dr. Soysa, to get also the co-operation from the Chinese scholars who are working in this field. There is another programme concerned with the Japanese experience of technology transfer both as recipient and donor country, not in terms of economic growth but of human and social development, and how it must meet human needs both in Japan and in the recipient countries of Japanese technology transfer.

We are asking Dr. Johan Galtung to organise a network to deal with the problem of goals, processes and indicators but trying to break the tendency, which is prevailing now, to have data collected in the periphery and processed in the centre. We want to change this situation by building a network which would promote a programme where the researchers in different parts of the world would talk with planners on different levels, not only on the Government level but also with concerned citizens, to find out about their goals and the processes they want to follow for their own development.

In our dialogue with these various networks, we will try to address ourselves to the problem of national identity and cultural specificity, the cultural aspects of development. For this we are asking a specialist to guide us. The second aspect, related to technology, and also to goals and processes, is the problem of life-styles, especially in the industrialised countries, and we are asking Dr. Ignacy Sachs to give guidance about this. Then on the training and education of the planners, Dr. Dudley Seers has been invited to guide us in finding out how to correlate all these elements and help researchers at the training institutes who are trying to associate with the UNU.

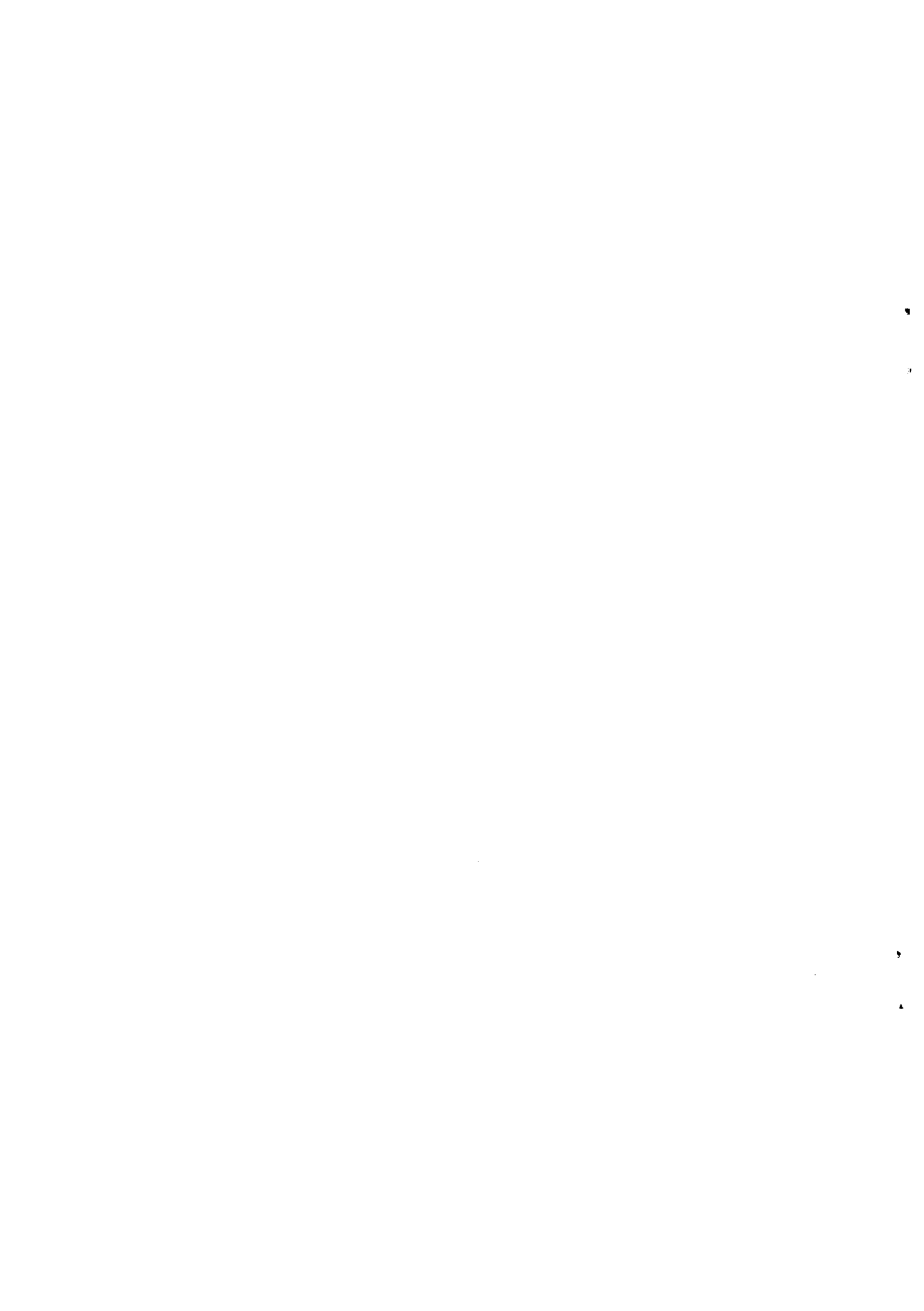
This is the network idea which we have developed now and perhaps we shall call upon some of you to help us in organising these networks. This, however, is only part of our operation: we have to form our own programme to build up the respectability, the academic image, of the UNU to show that we are trying to open a new path in the field of human and social

development. We have to serve the world academic community in general on the basis of these network activities and this is where we want to be responsive, we want to listen rather than to tell what people should do. We want to listen to the academic community, what the University should do and be in the service of the academic community, which means perhaps your four regional Associations, in the field of development, and this is why I thank you for this occasion to tell you what we are trying to be.

ANNEX 3

PROGRAMME
and

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS



PROGRAMME

FIRST INTER-REGIONAL MEETING ON DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH,
COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION

Sunday, September 12

- 15.30 Inaugural Session. Chairman: Ismail-Sabry Abdalla
 Welcome by Richard Jolly and Robert Porter
 Introduction to the Conference by Dudley Seers
- 16.00 Keynote address by Osvaldo Sunkel: "Development of
 Development Thinking"
 Brief discussion
- 17.30 Summary Progress Reports on research groups and other
 activities of the African, Asian, European and Latin
 American Regional Associations by the Executive
 Secretaries:
 Abdalla Bujra for CODESRIA
 Agustin Kintanar for ADIPA
 Arne Haselbach for EADI
 Enrique Oteiza for CLACSO
- 19.00 Concluding Remarks for the Session
 "Priorities for inter-regional co-operation"
 by Paul-Marc Henry

Monday, September 13

Theme of the day - NEW DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Chairman: M.L. Qureshi

9.10 PLENARY SESSION

Introductory statements on

1. The old model and its abandonment,
by Ricardo Lagos
2. Criteria for alternative strategies,
by Vinayak Dandekar

10.10 Introduction of an annotated agenda for guidance of the discussion in the three Working Groups, by Ponna Wignaraja.

The document will review critically some existing reference studies on the subject such as "Partners in Development" (the Pearson Report), "Human and Social Development" (Report of the United Nations University expert group) and "Towards a Theory of Rural Development" (ADI).

11.00 WORKING GROUPS

All participants will be assigned to one of the three Working Groups, allowing for geographical and disciplinary mix. In each group the three areas of inter-regional co-operation to be discussed are:

Communication, Education, Research

Groups should aim to cover adequately the three areas.

Each group will have one Chairman and three Rapporteurs, each one responsible for one of the three areas, communication, education, research. Rapporteurs are expected to make their presentations in written and oral form on the final day.

14.30 Working Groups re-convene

18.00 Meeting of Chairmen of Working Groups and Rapporteurs under the chairmanship of the Chairman of the Programme Committee, to discuss the proceedings of the day.

Tuesday, September 14

Theme of the day - **COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE**

Chairman: Bogodar Winid

9.10 PLENARY SESSION

Introductory statements on:

1. The need for a new international economic order,
by H.M.A. Onitiri
2. National and collective self-reliance,
by Jacques de Bandt

10.10 Introduction of an annotated agenda for guidance of
the discussion in the three Working Groups,
by Enrique Oteiza.

The document will review critically some existing
reference studies on the subject such as "What now?",
(Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation), and "Collective self-
reliance" (Third World Forum).

11.00 WORKING GROUPS

Participants will resume discussion in the same
Groups but within the framework of the day's theme,
with the same Rapporteurs, and on the same format
as for Monday's discussions.

14.30 Working Groups re-convene

18.00 Meeting of Chairmen of Working Groups and Rapporteurs
as on Monday

20.15 Special open seminar

"The European Core and Periphery", by Dudley Seers

"Impact of Oil on British and Scottish Development",
by Paul Kesterton

Chairman: Bagicha Minhas

Wednesday, September 15

Theme of the day - INTER-REGIONAL CO-OPERATION

Chairman: Enrique Oteiza

9.10 PLENARY SESSION ALL DAY

Presentation of the United Nations University Work Programme, by Mr. Kinhide Mushakoji, Vice Rector

Introduction on inter-regional co-operation,
by the Chairman

Reports from Working Groups Rapporteurs and discussion
of future action towards inter-regional co-operation

9.30 Rapporteurs on Communication Activities

11.00 Rapporteurs on Education Activities

14.30 Rapporteurs on Research Activities

17.00 Special Meeting of Presidents and Executive Secretaries
of the four Regional Associations

18.00 Plenary Session re-convenes for:

"Conclusions arising from the meeting and a
discussion of future perspectives for inter-
regional co-operation",
introduced by Dudley Seers

* * * * *

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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