



# Searching For New Developme Strategies

The Challenges of the  
Social Summit

Ignacy Sachs

MANAGEMENT  
OF SOCIAL  
TRANSFORMATIONS

POLICY PAPERS

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**The Challenges of the Social Summit**

Ignacy Sachs



WORLD SUMMIT  
FOR SOCIAL  
DEVELOPMENT

Copenhagen, 6-12 March 1995

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# Preface

**I**n addition to the three spheres of action on its agenda, namely the struggle against poverty, social integration and the creation of productive jobs, the challenge of the Social Summit at Copenhagen will be the relaunching of the debate on development at the very highest political level. The Rio Earth Summit, in June 1992, and the Cairo Conference on Population and Development, in September 1994, have already taken steps in this direction. The Beijing conference on Women and Development, in September 1995, and the City Summit in Istanbul, in June 1996, are to continue the process. However, the Copenhagen Summit will provide the most appropriate framework for rethinking about development in its totality, from a transectorial and transdisciplinary viewpoint.

In view of what has happened in the field of development over the past 50 years, one has to be particularly short-sighted to remain satisfied with the unimaginative and fatalistic attitude which maintains that "there are no alternative policies".

What is needed, on the contrary, are imagination and determination to innovate, search for new paradigms and implement new strategies of development. For there are other policies, other choices and other orientations possible.

This is precisely the thrust of the following analysis by Professor Ignacy Sachs, prepared on the occasion of the Social Summit in order to provide food for thought and underpin the proposals for the development policies that we would like to see inscribed in the Copenhagen plan of action. As one of the foremost international specialists on questions of development and an active participant in the major international meetings of the past quarter century, such as the Stockholm Conference on Environment (1972), the Rio Summit on Environment and Development (1992), and now the Social Summit, who moreover knows the intricacies of international institutions, Ignacy Sachs is well-placed to suggest new paths of exploration on the way to development.

His text of course expresses his own thinking, but it is also based on the results of a series of activities undertaken by UNESCO in order to prepare the Copenhagen Summit, with which he has been closely associated since Autumn 1993, as a special adviser to the Organization.

These activities which show the importance that the Organization attaches to development issues and its determination to play a central role in the implementation of the Plan of Action adopted in Copenhagen, comprised several parts. First of all, the Director-General of UNISCO convened a conference entitled "What happened to development", in June 1994, in Paris, where the problem was discussed in its totality.

Secondly, a series of regional conferences were held in order to discuss regional prospects for social development: in November 1994 for Latin America and Asia, December 1994 for Western Africa, and January 1995 for Eastern and Southern Africa. Most of these regional meetings were preceded by conferences at the national level.

Thirdly, two international meetings were organized. The first, in Bologna, Italy, held in December 1994, in collaboration with the University and City of Bologna, was devoted to the theme of "Public policies, peoples' actions and social development". The second, also in December 1994, was held in New Delhi, in collaboration with NISADS (National Institute of Science, Technology And Development Studies), and discussed "Science and Technology for Social Development".

Finally, in March 1995, at the venue of the Social Summit itself, the UNISCO is holding three meetings: a "Side Summit of the 9 most populous developing countries" involving Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria and Pakistan; a major international symposium called: "From social exclusion to social cohesion: towards a policy agenda", in Roskilde, near Copenhagen, organized within the framework of the MOST programme of UNISCO in collaboration with the ILO's International Institute of Labour Studies, the World Health Organization, the Commission of the European Union (D.G.XII), ORSTOM (Institut français de recherche scientifique pour le développement en coopération) and the University of Roskilde. This symposium is the culmination of UNISCO's preparatory work for the Social Summit, from which it is to draw the appropriate lessons and formulate guidelines for future actions. It will debate the following questions: From social exclusion to social justice; for a change in lifestyles in the North and South; from Welfare State to caring society; the public and the private: new partnerships among social actors; and making the cities liveable; finally a round table on "Poverty and Civic Participation", in collaboration with CROP (Comparative Research On Poverty) programme of the International Social Sciences Council.

*Francine FOURNIER*  
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*the Social and Human Sciences*  
*UNESCO, Paris, February 1995*

# Searching for new development strategies

**T**he United Nations has convened a World Summit for Social Development, in Copenhagen, in March 1995. The date is highly symbolic as 1995 marks the 50th anniversary of the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima, the end of the Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations. The Summit will therefore provide a special opportunity to draw up a balance-sheet, both positive and negative, of the past half-century and ask how it may be possible to influence the course of events over the next 50 years and achieve results that will be more satisfactory in terms of the two essential goals of the United Nations: peace and development.

## The past half-century

**T**he minuses of the balance-sheet outweigh the pluses since the period following the Second World War has been marked throughout by a succession of bloody conflicts waged on political, ethnic, even religious bases and by institutionalised violence, numerous violations of fundamental rights, the imposition of authoritarian regimes and sham democratic practices.

During the Cold War, the balance of terror between the two superpowers averted catastrophes such as a world conflict and consequent nuclear holocaust. The end of the Cold War has not permanently removed this danger but considerably reduced its probability. At the same time, there has been a big increase in the number of local conflicts. Our century is coming to a close with a new wave of genocidal acts in Africa, and in the very heart of Europe, which is thus experiencing a revival of the horrors of the two world wars, the extermination camps and the Gulags.



1. The main dates to be noted are  
1947: Indian independence,  
1949: the victory of the  
Chinese Revolution,  
1955: the Conference of  
Solidarity of Asian and African  
countries in Bandung,  
1960: African decolonisation.

At the same time, there have been two major upheavals at the geopolitical level: firstly, the decolonisation and emancipation of colonised and dependent countries<sup>1</sup>, and secondly the collapse of real socialism in 1989 followed by the break-up of the Soviet Union. To this must be added the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa in 1994 and the still uncertain hopes of lasting peace in the Middle East.

Decolonisation and the collapse of real socialism are two irreversible historic turning points with consequences and sequels that continue to weigh heavily upon our present world. Beyond exaggerated simplifications that seek to replace the bipolar pattern of the Cold War by a so-called shock of civilisations, it must be said that the search for identity is a fertile breeding ground for the rise of dangerously anachronistic forms of ethno-nationalism and fundamentalism. The Polish historian Witold Kula (1960) defined underdevelopment as a *coexistence of asynchronisms*. From this viewpoint, we may speak of a fairly widespread process of involution or underdevelopment that is simultaneous with the manifestations of globalisation whose economic and social impact, in its differentiated forms, both positive and negative, calls for in-depth assessment. To cast a uniformly positive light on globalization processes would smack of a theology of the market and cannot be part of any scientific analysis.

The period that we have just lived through has seen an unprecedented expansion of technological power, the production of goods and services as well as trade. Consumption patterns and lifestyles have been profoundly transformed for a majority of the inhabitants of the industrialised countries and a minority of those of the Third World countries, but the economic improvements indicated by growing statistical averages have not been broadly distributed. In as rich a country as France, a *societal fracture* is now creating a divide between the two-thirds constituting the winners and the third who are the losers and are increasingly excluded from the consumer society and deprived of their (nonetheless fundamental) right to work. In other words, France too has its "Fourth World" and the South is present in the North. The privileged minority in the Third World countries, on the other hand, form a presence of the North in the South without there being any territorially demarcated enclaves. The North and the South are in contact and are interpenetrating each other, especially in the big cities.

The world has shrunk because of the improvements in transport and, to an even more significant extent, because of the communications revolution<sup>2</sup>. These technical advances are the basis of the already-mentioned manifestations of globalisation that are occurring at an uneven pace in fields as varied as those of finance, economics, technology and culture.

We are living through a period of the *decoupling of the financial economy from the real economy* (Drucker, 1986) the consequence of which is the establishment of circuits of financial speculation that drain away capital which could otherwise have financed productive investment and helped create jobs. Transnational firms have become the main agents in the economy and in trade so much so that production and international trade statistics in the form of national aggregates have been made obsolete.

The media everywhere are propagating an identical picture of the good life based on unbridled consumption and the Hollywood dream. A small minority of men and women travel with ease all over the planet, to the extent that tourism and travel have become a major sector of the economy<sup>3</sup>. However, the majority of the inhabitants of our planet continue to live as if they were *glebae adscripti*. There is a striking contrast between the restrictions on the international mobility of labour and the increasing mobility of other factors of production.

Science and technology are very imperfectly controlled. Prometheus got entangled, to borrow a metaphor from Jean-Jacques Salomon (1984)<sup>4</sup>. The destructive power of technologies whose use continues to be subordinated to the search for short-term financial and economic profit has furthermore brought about the deterioration of the environment, the wise management of which has become an imperative for the world as was seen at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

Above all, scientific and technical progress has not kept its promise of widespread well-being for the whole of mankind. In 1930, Keynes expected that mankind's economic problem would be definitively resolved within a century. Man, for first time since his emergence on our planet, would then be able to face his real, his permanent problem: "*how to use his freedom from pressing economic cares, how to occupy the leisure, which science and*

*2. The almost exclusive attention paid to advances in the audio-visual sector has diverted attention from the second Gutenberg revolution which is taking place under our very eyes and is opening up extraordinary possibilities for the production of school books and textbooks. We refer to the very substantial drop in the cost of production of books printed on a large scale. Italian editions of 100 page books selling for 1,000 lire have been followed by English and then French editions of major classics of several hundreds of pages, selling for £1 and 10 francs.*

*3. According to Naisbitt (1995, pp. 132-133) tourism and travel provide employment to 204 million people throughout the world and correspond to 10.2% of the world's GNP. Nearly 11% of expenditure by consumers is allocated to tourism and travel. Naisbitt very optimistically puts the number of new jobs that will be created in these sectors up to the year 2005 at 144 million. Nearly half of these jobs correspond to the Asia-Pacific region.*

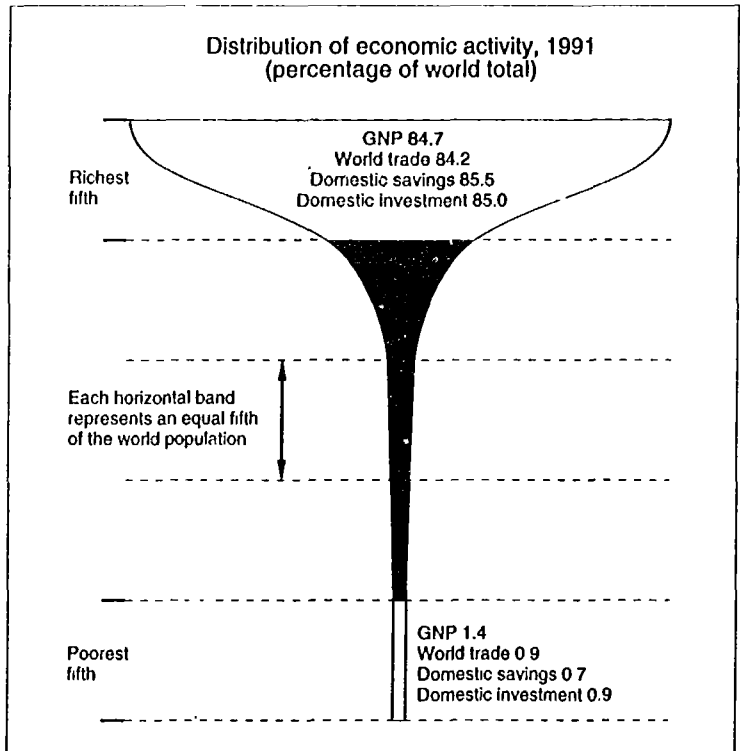
*4. See also, by the same author *Le destin technologique* (1992) and the essay by Giorgio Ruffolo (1988).*

*compound interest will have won for him, to live wisely and agreeably and well'* (Keynes, 1972, p. 328).

We henceforth have the technological ability to provide each and every individual with a reasonable degree of material comfort. According to World Bank data, the world's average per capita income was nearly \$4,300 in 1992. By comparison, the per capita income in the United Kingdom was \$4,593 in 1900 and that of the United States at the same period was \$4,096 (Maddison, 1994).

However, the inequality that characterises the distribution of incomes among different countries and within each country divests this statistical average of any meaning. In 1991, the richest fifth of the world's population appropriated 84.7% of the world's GNP while the share of the poorest fifth was limited to 1.4%. Within a span of 30 years, the disparity between the incomes of these two extreme groups went up from 30/1 to 60/1.

*From: UNDP World Report on Human Development, 1994.*



Even more significant is the fact, that in modern societies, *exclusion is gaining ground over exploitation*. The rich no longer need the poor. This is very probably why they tend to forget them<sup>5</sup>.

The increasingly unequal distribution of the products of technical and economic progress arises out of faulty social and political organization and not out of any scarcity of goods. It throws up a challenge to the political establishment which is incapable of making efficient use of technological power (Ruffolo, 1988). We are here at the very heart of the notion of *maldevelopment* (Sachs, 1984) which is not incompatible with economic growth, even at high rates. The fact of the matter is that growth and development are not synonymous. So long as huge social disparities persist, growth will be certainly a necessary but *in no way sufficient* condition of development, for the distributive and qualitative aspects cannot be overlooked. It is false to say that the exorbitantly high social and ecological costs of certain forms of economic growth are the unavoidable "ravages of progress".

Progress for whom?

This question will be touched upon at the Copenhagen Summit in the discussion of the three points on its agenda: the struggle against poverty, social integration and the creation of productive jobs. It is neither acceptable nor necessary that financial and economic progress should be paid for by structural unemployment and underemployment which are leading to increasingly widespread manifestations of social exclusion and poverty.

The way in which the agenda for Copenhagen has been structured, and this was also the case with the Earth Summit in 1992, is an implicit rejection of the economicist theories that make growth the central if not the only goal. It also tolls the knell of the belief that the benefits of economic growth will almost automatically spread to the whole of society. In the words of Louis Emmerij (1994), "*no one can question the fact that economic growth is, in the long term, effective in achieving social goals and combating poverty, but three to five generations may be necessary to reach this goal. In other words, the transition period will be humanly unbearable and politically irresponsible*".

5. *This is what has been denounced by Rajni Kothari (1993). For his part, Jacques Delors has said: "We are already living, alas, in a society that gets upset about injustice and from time to time takes part in televised charity shows, gives money and then for the rest of the time is complacent. This is ghastly but it is what we are increasingly threatened with". Interview with Le Monde, 15 November 1994. See also Marshall Wolfe (1994, p. 1) for whom the word "exclusion" indicates the superfluity of the excluded as opposed to their incorporation into the economy under conditions of exploitation and of the absence of all power. In a very recent and seminal work on the disintegration of the wage-earning society and to the metamorphoses of the social question, Robert Castel (1995, p. 22) prefers the term social disablement.*

6. On this subject, see the report by the UN Secretary General, "Development and International Economic Co-operation - An Agenda for Development", document A/48/935 dated 6 May 1994 as well as the Position Paper by the Director-General of UNESCO: Towards the Reparation of the World Summit for Social Development, UNESCO, 29 July 1994.

This is why it is necessary to deal with the five themes of peace, economy, environment, justice and democracy all at once, in taking social conditions as the starting point for efforts towards development<sup>6</sup>. The present text is far more limited in its aim. It seeks only to analyse those aspects of the problem of development that appear to merit special attention. In the following pages, after examining the world-wide social crisis with special emphasis on integration into the production process through employment and self-employment, we shall look at the search for new paradigms of development through the following issues: going beyond economicism, the need for a universal axiology, the relations between the economic, the ecological and the social, the democratic regulation of mixed economies, the redefinition of the role of the State, new forms of partnership among the different social sectors, science and technology in the service of social development and reforms in the international system.

### **The need for a new approach to development**

"Development is indeed, today more than ever, the common goal of humankind... We have, it is true, taken several decades to understand the complex nature of the process of development, whose social, cultural and even spiritual components cannot be ignored with impunity. ...it must first and foremost make room for an awakening of the full potential of the beings who are both its initial protagonists and its ultimate targets: human beings - and not only those alive today but also those who will live on earth tomorrow. Sustainable human development, that is the only acceptable definition of our common goal. ...UNESCO... has for a long time advocated a less narrow conception of development. It has therefore welcomed with immense satisfaction the intellectual processes by which the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in An Agenda for Development... says that peace is the "foundation of development", the other dimensions of the process being the economy, the environment, social justice and democracy. ...development is

a global process, a whole from which no element can be discarded - hence the need for an interdisciplinary and intersectoral approach. ...In the proposals I made with an eye to the Copenhagen summit I did in fact try to stress that means of "social adjustment" were needed. For instance, I highlighted the need (i) to strengthen endogenous capacities in each country, particularly through education, the sharing of knowledge, (ii) to encourage commitments to collective life, the practice of democracy and support for the values of peace and tolerance... (iii) to improve the development and the quality of life of rural areas... and (iv) to intensify every kind of action to safeguard and protect the environment. ...And while we seek to establish equity between continents, between regions and between categories within a generation we must not turn away from the duty of equity between generations, which renders us accountable to those who will follow us on this earth. ...For environmental matters and for matters concerning social justice and demographic evolution, the change of course calls for work to restructure in-depth attitudes, systems of redistributing wealth and modes of production and consumption - throughout the world. ...it is a long-term task, which is an added reason for beginning it now without further ado. ...When it comes to meeting the challenge of survival, there is no North, no South, no superior, or subordinate, no rich, no poor. ...It is up to us, together, to gather the knowledge, to find the wisdom that will save the vessel Earth from sinking."

*(Extracts from the speech given by Mr Federico Mayor, Director-General of UNESCO at the International Symposium "What happened to development?", UNESCO, Paris, 18-19 June 1994).*

## The widespread social crisis

**T**he Copenhagen Conference will be faced with a widespread social crisis which, in different forms and with different degrees of intensity is affecting (with few exceptions) the Third World countries, Eastern European countries and the former Soviet Union (today known as countries in transition), and even the industrial countries.

In the Third World, the poor, who are the victims of the underdevelopment of production capacities, have been joined by the new poor, who are the victims of a mimetic concept of modernity built by means of a transposition of the latest techniques coming from the industrialised countries. It is true that there is need for a selective use of such techniques. However, the indiscriminate opening up of the economies of the South creates the risk of intensifying the process of the dualisation of the economy and society with a resulting increase in the numbers of those excluded and a threat, in the long run, of social apartheid.

The countries in transition have to cope simultaneously with a threefold challenge. They have to stabilize their economies, create from scratch all the institutions necessary for the functioning of market-led economies and, finally, carry out a thorough restructuring of their productive capacities in order to increase their efficiency, competitiveness in international markets and performance in the management of the environment. In many respects, therefore, the problems of the countries in transition resemble those of the countries of the Third World<sup>7</sup>.

*7. In its analysis of the global economy published in its edition dated 1st October 1994, The Economist lumped together the economies of the Third World, the Eastern European countries and the former Soviet Union under the term "developing countries" as opposed to the "rich industrial countries".*

A transformation of this nature cannot be achieved without high social costs. However, the choice of a strategy based on the illusion that it is possible to achieve the instant establishment of capitalism and the sovereign rule of the market economy seems to have increased these costs and, furthermore, to have prolonged their existence beyond what is necessary. The worsening of social relationships, the deterioration of health, education and welfare services, the emergence of a high level of structural unemployment which will be difficult to absorb, the vulnerability of the countries in transition to the shock of a far too sudden opening up of their economies, the permissivity in regard to the practices of savage capitalism, are all so many factors that

weigh down on the negative side of the balance sheet of the great transformation, at least for the time being.

The most astonishing aspect of the social crisis is the deterioration of the condition of the industrial countries, after decades of fast economic and technical progress.

It might almost be said that we are seeing these countries slide into a Third World status. Indeed, the intellectual tools that were earlier fashioned to study the economic and social dualisation of the post-colonial countries and account for the phenomena of social exclusion and spatial segregation have returned in a big way to the heated debate, now going on in most of the industrialised countries. Unemployment, the precariousness of jobs and the various forms of exclusion resulting therefrom have become endemic. No one is hoodwinked by the euphemism "two-speed society". Marshall Wolfe (1994) distinguishes several forms of exclusion, relating to: the means of livelihood; social services, protection services and security networks; consumer culture; the process of making political choices; the bases of popular and solidarity organizations and finally the capacity to understand what is happening.

Events therefore are all running counter to what the optimistic theories of development led us to believe. What we are witnessing is not the disappearance of the traditional sector by the gradual transfer of its redundant labour force to the modern sector but the expulsion of surplus workers from the modern sector into the "informal", "grey" or quite simply "black" sectors of the economy, or even their pure and simple reduction to marginal status, condemning them to the pangs of enforced idleness and to the status of dole recipients - in some cases from the cradle to the grave.

At a time when we have greatest need of it, the Welfare State is under attack and is even being partially dismantled on the pretext of its excessive cost and bureaucratic unwieldiness and the supposed efficiency of alternative formulas, postulating the commodification of social services. It is true that the methods by which Welfare States function must change. However, it must not be forgotten that they are the only truly positive contribution that Europe has made to the world in the 20th century, being the result of a century and a half of social



struggle, and also of competition with real socialism at a time when the latter still enjoyed credibility in the eyes of a significant part of Western public opinion.

More than ever, the goals of full employment and of comprehensive and adequate social protection represent a basic part of the European identity. Instead of defending welfare entitlements and other social rights in their present form, it is necessary to place a thorough reform of the Welfare States on the agenda without, in any way, thereby relieving them of responsibilities and relying solely on market mechanisms. The direction that this reform should take is clear. Societies have to be helped to take responsibility for themselves, with the assistance of the State. This must be done through a search for many varied forms of partnership for the production of social services between users, the civil society represented by associations and the other components of the social economy (co-operatives and mutual benefit societies), administrative bodies at all levels from the local to the national and, finally, business firms<sup>8</sup>.

8. Cf. Laura Balbo (1994), "From Welfare State to Caring Society", contribution prepared for the International Conference on Public Policies, Peoples' Actions and Social Development organized by UNESCO, the University and City of Bologna, Bologna 2-3 December 1994.

The three points on the agenda of the Copenhagen Conference are closely interlinked. It would seem however that, logically, priority should be given to the implementation of proactive policies that strike at the very root of the problem by integration into the productive process through employment or self-employment. Policies of assistance in which the poor are cared for are certainly necessary, given the size and urgency of the problem of poverty. However, such policies by themselves will not bring lasting solutions. The excluded receiving assistance will continue to be excluded so long as they have not found a place in the economy.

Similarly, social integration which brings numerous cultural factors and forms of social organization into play depends to a major degree on the capacity to provide all the different components of the population, beyond their social, ethnic or religious differences and their level of education, with the conditions that will enable them to earn a decent livelihood by their work.

*The population explosion* is often presented as the main cause of the acute underemployment and unemployment prevailing in the countries of the South. However, this thesis needs to be qualified by a closer look at the population-development loop. So

long as the populations of the South have not acquired security in terms of food and social protection, have high infant mortality rates and continue to receive inadequate education, especially in the case of girls, it will be difficult to convince them that birth control policies are well-founded. Their partial rationality limited to the family unit, will continue to run counter to global rationality. The demographic transition cannot be achieved without social development based on integration into the productive process.

The priority that must be attached to the problem of employment and self-employment is all the greater as enforced idleness<sup>9</sup> is an irreversible form of destruction of human life, for time lost can be neither stored nor retrieved. The real challenge is to break the dynamic chain of unemployment and exclusion and replace it with the dynamics of employment (Brunhes, 1993). The scale of the problem can be seen from a reading of the available statistics and projections.

The ILO has prepared projections of the economically active population (EAP) for the period 1985-2025, which we shall use to assess the magnitude of the number of jobs that have to be created and are necessary to absorb newcomers to the job markets in the present decade and the next two decades without taking account of the need to absorb existing unemployment (ILO, 1986).

	1990	2000	2010	2020
Less developed regions	360	383	352	
More developed regions	29	11	- 0.4	
World	389	394	351.5	

Table 1. Increase in EAP (ILO projections in millions)

Indeed, as Table 1 shows, from 1990 to the year 2000, the active population should increase by 389 million and then, in the first two decades of the 21st century, by 394 million and 351.5 million respectively. Most of the new jobs to be created are like-

*9. Enforced idleness is quite the opposite of the revolution of liberated time released through advances in productivity inasmuch as this revolution implies a reduction in the heteronomous working time of people who have already been socialised by work. Ivan Illich (1977) and André Gorz (1988) have very well shown how this released time could be used for autonomous economic and non-economic activities and thus contribute to cultural enrichment and the fullness of life. However, the deliberately provocative title of Illich's book, Creative Unemployment, lends itself to confusion. For a discussion of the revolution of liberated time, see also Echanges & Projets (1980), Sachs (1984) and Aznar (1993).*

ly to be in the less developed regions: 92.5% of the total increase between 1990 and 2000, 97% between 2000 and 2010, more than 100% between 2010 and 2020, since during this latter period the EAP of the most developed regions will be reduced by 400 million.

The data do not take already existing unemployment and underemployment into account. About 30% of the world's active population is in this condition according to UN estimates. The absorption of this section would require the creation of very many additional jobs. According to the International Commission for Peace and Food, to ensure full employment, it would be necessary to create about a billion new jobs during the present decade (1994, p. 71).

According to the ILO data, the condition of the most developed regions appears to be comfortable at first sight since the annual growth rate of their EAP will be barely 0.49% during the present decade and 0.34% during the next decade. Creating some 3 million jobs a year should not raise any problems given that, according to World Bank data, gross investment in high-income countries in 1991 amounted to \$3,750 billion (as compared with \$1,010 billion for the rest of the world).

However, this does not at all represent the true picture. Instead of creating jobs, investment in productive capacities is tending rather to replace men by machines. In many branches of industry, the relationship between growth and employment is becoming a negative one. The race for competitiveness is resulting in rates of growth in productivity that are higher than rates of growth in production. To take only one especially telling example, between 1980 and 1992, Spain doubled its GDP without creating a single additional job. We are therefore in a structurally novel situation that is the result of a combination of several factors. We shall mention four of them.

The facts have belied the optimistic expectations of those who, in preaching the virtues of the permanent race for technological innovation (Riboud, 1987), promised a growth in employment in the modern services sector that would exceed the loss of direct jobs in factories through automation. Recent advances in office automation point to the same trend towards replacing men by machines in the tertiary sector.

The link between production and employment is loosening and intensive growth is taking precedence over extensive growth. As far as France is concerned, E. Malinvaud expects a growth rate of 3% in the long term accompanied by an annual 1% increase in employment and an annual 0.5% drop in unemployment<sup>10</sup>.

This major trend in the present phase of technological development goes hand in hand with a decoupling of the real economy from the financial economy whose explosive expansion marks the end of the 20th century (Drucker, 1986). As already pointed out, the capital that could have been invested productively is being diverted by the lure of spectacular gain to the gambling tables of the "global casino" that the financial markets have become. The sterilisation of this capital is slowing down the growth of the real economy.

The industrial societies, dominated by the ideology of consumerism, have been unable to take advantage of the growth in productivity to carry out the drastic reduction of working time, which is a social necessity. It is true that whereas work took up 200,000 hours in the lifetime of a Frenchman at the end of the 19th century, it now takes up only 70,000 hours (Rigaudiat, 1993). However, the objective conditions for accelerating this trend now exist. From Kropotkin to Gorz and Illich, not to mention Bertrand Russell and Keynes, many thinkers have made proposals for a revolution of liberated time and a reorganization of society enabling people to work less in order to procure work for all, to paraphrase the title of a recent book (Adret, 1993).

The present crisis seems to favour a resumption of this debate whose ethical and cultural dimensions go beyond the technical modalities of an initial reduction of working time. The implementation of a policy of the equitable redistribution of the socially needed work calls for a genuine cultural revolution and for profound institutional changes<sup>11</sup>. The situation can, however, be improved through a modification of the fiscal and parafiscal policies that increase the cost of labour through social security contributions. These contributions could be financed in other ways, for example by a tax on equipment or by an appropriately modulated VAT.

*10. Interview with Le Monde, 16 November 1993.*

*11. Nor are there any grounds for expecting a major creation of jobs through the replacement of wage-earning work by forms of workers' participation in profits (the notion of the sharing economy) as postulated by J. Meade (1986) or A.L. Weitzmann (1985). In this respect, see R. Brunetta (1994).*

The recent trends in economic thinking dominated by neo-liberal theories explains the inadequacy of employment policies and, more generally, of public policies concerning development.

The decline and then the collapse of real socialism have been interpreted as the green light for returning to an unbridled form of capitalism whose success is measured by rising stock exchange indexes and volumes of profits, and no longer by the creation of jobs. Stringent rules on adjustment of macroeconomic and monetary balances and on liberalisation have been laid down by the IMF and the World Bank, protecting the creditors of the debtor countries. Notwithstanding disclaimers by the IMF and the Bank, the austerity policies dictate heavy sacrifices on the part of the most underprivileged social classes<sup>12</sup>. Deregulation, privatisation and budgetary austerity have been used, with the pretext of curbing the excesses of statism, to restrict the field of action of States and buttress the position of large private companies, both national and foreign. The same strategy, barring a few details, has been proposed for the countries in transition towards the market economy.

*12. As Anizur Rahman Khan has prudently stated (1993, p. 67): it is very difficult to offer convincing proof that the programmes of adjustment have succeeded in protecting the interest of the poor.*

The failure of the industrialised countries to reduce unemployment despite the financial resources at their disposal provides a measure of the scale of the challenge facing the less developed countries. During the present decade, they will have to create 12 times as many jobs merely to absorb newcomers to the job market with a gross fixed capital formation that is four times smaller! One immediate conclusion needs to be drawn. It is quite unthinkable that the models of the North can be reproduced in the countries of the South. No longer can these countries, in the name of competitiveness and of integration into the global economy, accept the infernal pace of “creative destruction” that even the richest countries are unable to keep up with.

And yet this is the path chosen by the elites of the Third World. We can understand the vehemence with which Kothari (1993) has criticised them in his already quoted book, where he proposes that India should take an approach to development based on social empowerment, decentralised planning and job promotion, rather than on growth as such, an approach based on the development of the countryside and the expansion of the internal market rather than on giving excessive priority to exports.

Of his proposals, we would single out the emphasis laid on the need to consider employment as a key variable in development strategies. A finely tuned employment policy, prepared on the basis of field data, would therefore appear to be an essential part of the public policies to which we shall return further below<sup>13</sup>. While recognizing the seriousness of the situation, we feel that there is room for manoeuvre in this field, provided that a thorough review is made of the goals and methods of development. When Alice in Wonderland politely asked the Cheshire-cat to please tell her where she was to go from the place she was in, the cat replied: “*That depends a great deal on where you want to get to*”.

13. For more details, see I. Sachs (1994).

## Development Reconsidered

The already cited report by the International Commission for Peace and Food (1994), rightly considers the search for new development paradigms to be among the major priorities of the present time. East European statism has collapsed but there is no place for undiluted capitalism either. “*Rather than searching for a victor and vanquished, the urgent need is to find a successor that combines and synthesises the enlightened values of both systems*” (p. 154). The well-being of all individuals should determine social policy and the market economies should undertake to guarantee the right of every citizen to employment.

The Report adopts the UN Secretary General’s view that the most important intellectual challenge in coming years will be that of the renewal of development thinking. The world had sufficient experience and information to formulate an integrated theory of development seen as a social process centered on man as a whole and on all men. The Social Summit should set the ball rolling.

The task is a difficult one. It requires firstly recognizing the fact that there is a widespread social crisis which, as we have already seen, affects in different ways and with different degrees of intensity, every group of countries, including the industrialised ones.

*"Comprehensive, human-centred theory of development: An important shift in thinking has taken place from regarding development primarily in terms of economic growth to greater emphasis on the human welfare and development of people. But development is not only a set of goals or material achievements - it is a social process by which human beings progressively develop their capacities and release their energies for higher levels of material achievement, social and cultural advancement, and psychological fulfilment. A new theory is needed that focuses on the dynamic role of information, attitudes, social institutions and cultural values in the development process. An international effort should be initiated at the forthcoming UN Social Summit to evolve a comprehensive, human-centred theory of individual and social development that will lead to the formulation of more effective strategies to accelerate the development process."*

*From Uncommon Opportunities: An Agenda for Peace and Equitable Development. Report of the International Commission on Peace and Food, London, Zed Books, 1994, p.201.*

## ■ Going beyond economicism

Furthermore, this task makes it necessary to go beyond economicism which is still the dominant thinking and is expressed by the explicit or implicit acceptance of the trickle-down theory. According to this theory, it is the economy that rules. What needs to be done essentially therefore is to ensure the macro-economic controls that enable reasonable growth, and the rest will follow of its own accord. The benefits resulting from this growth will ultimately flow into the entire fabric of society and spread to the very base of the pyramid. The agenda of the Earth Summit and, even more so, that of the Social Summit implicitly deny the trickle-down theory, but the practice of many governments continues to be based on this theory and the most extreme neo-liberal currents of thought preach it openly.

Another element of mainstream thinking overestimates the importance of *competitiveness*, which has been raised to the status of a real ideology, based on a *superficial theory of globalisation*, presented purely in its positive aspects as if increases in financial,

commercial and technical flows always occur in such a way as to benefit each and every partner including the weakest. The concept of interdependence is often pushed to the fore in order to avoid any analysis of the degree of asymmetry, even domination, that exists in the relationships between strong partners and weak partners. The Report of the Lisbon Group (1993) has come out strongly against the ideology of competitiveness and has demonstrated its limits<sup>14</sup>.

As for globalisation, we may note first of all that it is occurring unequally in different fields. As historians have shown, the microbial unification of the world took place before the birth of the world market!

We have already pointed out that the financial markets, working round the clock and seven days of the week, put in motion monetary flows quite out of proportion to the needs of the real economy. The lure of easy, albeit risky, gains ultimately sterilises a substantive part of the resources that could have taken the form of productive investment. It is currently estimated that the transactions made on the international money markets amount to a thousand billion dollars a day. James Tobin's ingenious proposal, made as early as 1978, for taxing currency transfers at a rate of 0.5%, would bring in more than \$1,500 billion per year which could be used for international purposes. Despite the obvious advantages of this proposal and its adoption by the influential UNDP *World Report on Human Development* (1994, p. 75), there is no great likelihood of its being seriously looked at in Copenhagen, or elsewhere.

Globalisation is taking great strides in the field of *communications*. Identical television programmes are reaching all corners of the globe with a tendency towards a homogenisation of culture that is raising problems (Ortiz, 1994) and, even more seriously, paving the way for a *telecracy*, a term invented by the French daily, *Le Monde*, in the aftermath of Silvio Berlusconi's election victory in Italy.

The post-war period was marked by an expansion of trade and technological exchanges that was greater than the economic growth rates, and therefore also by an opening up of economies. Once again, the picture needs to be qualified, since the degree of opening differed greatly from one country to another. In par-

*14. See also Ricardo Petrella (1994). Contrary to R. Reich (1992), Paul Krugmann (1994) is, among American economists, the one who has most clearly seen the danger of giving excessive importance to competition for external markets to the detriment of the fundamental question of the development of the domestic market.*



ticular, continent-sized countries compensate for relatively low levels of foreign trade by internal trade. The place of the United States in world trade is a result, not of a high degree of opening up, but of the size of its GDP.

Certain ideologists of globalisation like John Naisbitt (1995) strive to show that the advance of globalization gives an increasingly significant advantage to networks of small partners which enjoy a degree of flexibility that States and large firms do not possess. There is some truth in Naisbitt's approach when he speaks of the retreat, in terms of identity, of the nation-state towards what he calls "the tribes". According to him, one of the aspects of the global paradox is precisely the fact that the more universal we become, the more tribal we act (p.24). In the course of his explanation, the author underestimates the increasingly dominant role, in the world economy, of the transnational corporations which are constantly increasing their power while the influence of States gets blurred and while international institutions have practically no way of controlling the practices of these companies.

The ultimate thrust of his book lies, however, in its unexpected extolling of the advent of the age of individualism marking the end of politics as we know them, and hence in its minimizing or even its elimination of the State's responsibility with respect to its social functions, notably as regards employment. "*Now with the electronics revolution, both representative democracy and economies of scale are obsolete. Now everyone can have efficient direct democracy.*" (p. 47) The communications networks are supposed to take care of this.

15. Dollfus has written: "A new form of exclusion arises with the world economy and market: the exclusion of the "useless", of those who cannot or do not wish to sell their abilities and their labour force, who, because of their poverty, do not have purchasing power that is sufficiently worthwhile for the market. "Useless" individuals are localised in entire regions of the world as well as right within societies that are considered to be prosperous" (p. 9).

Yet, as Olivier Dollfus (1994) has stressed, the system that produces the World-Space creates forms of participation in as well as exclusion from the process of globalisation<sup>15</sup>. Furthermore, globalisation is based on a vision that underestimates the variety of historical experiences and the plurality of humankind. This is why in most places it is arousing its contrary, namely the development of particular issues. In reality, as Bertrand Badie (1994; see also Badie and Smouts, 1992) has persuasively shown, we are moving towards a New World Disorder because of a threefold break marked by globalisation, the crisis of the nation-state and the end of bipolarity. Today's forms of opposition are no longer ideological but cultural. The present-day world is characterized

by the failure of three fetish concepts of modern international relations: sovereignty, territoriality and security. Insofar as nationalism is being weakened in favour of micro-communalism and macro-social forms of solidarity (*inter alia* of a religious type), the “international” order enters a stage of crisis.

Another characteristic of dominant economic thinking is that it considers itself to be universally valid. This actually gives it an *ahistoric* and *atopic* character. In practice, this amounts to denying a field proper to the theories of development and to maintaining, in the face of all evidence to the contrary, that the mimetic transposition of the experiences of the industrial countries to the rest of the world constitutes the right path to development. The prohibitive social costs of the structural adjustment policies applied uniformly throughout the planet are once again denying this claim without there being any change in the practices of the international organisations based on the “Washington consensus”<sup>16</sup>.

The plurality of the paths is more than ever on the development agenda. The development strategies must take account of certain *specific characteristics common to several countries* (for example large countries and countries rich in natural resources as opposed to small countries and countries poor in natural resources), thus making it possible to establish certain heuristic typologies<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, they must account for the *singular features of each country*:

- the *historical and cultural* context, it being necessary to understand development as a dynamic process<sup>18</sup>.
- the *ecological context*, since climatic and biological diversity, when well interpreted, yield a potential of resources that can be used for development without destroying the capital of nature, the link between natural diversity and cultural diversity being very close. After all, an important aspect of culture is the knowledge that a society has of its natural environment<sup>19</sup>;
- finally the *institutional* context, in the broad sense of the term, reflecting the organization of human society.

In the face of the multiple paths of the past, present and future, what can be expected of a theory of development other than a

16. *For an analysis of the most striking characteristics of policies based on the principles of the Washington consensus in the Indian context, see: Deepak Nayyar (1993) and Lance Taylor (1994). See also Christian Comelieu (1994).*

17. *These typologies should serve as a referential system for an examination of concrete historical cases and must not be taken as a set of boxes in which different countries may be separately classified.*

18. *The historian and the developer have much in common, except that the historian interprets the past which has already taken place while the developer seeks to influence the course of the future. The interdisciplinarity and comparative approaches of the kind practised by historians contain precious lessons for the developers.*

19. *“Resourcefulness” is a key concept in eco-development.*

comparative analysis of accumulated experiences, both positive and negative, capable of stimulating the social imagination without delivering ready-made models for all that.

We feel that a normative discourse is indispensable in order to specify a mobilising *national project* that is based on an explicit axiology, recognizing the living burden of the past but oriented towards the future. A project of this kind will accessorially have a very important function of serving as a criterion for the assessment of policies proposed and of paths taken. The notions of rationality and efficiency lose their precision when there is no strategic planning oriented towards the medium term and the long term. Without repeating, yet again, the errors of comprehensive planning made by the centralized economies it is necessary, on the contrary, drawing upon all the lessons of past failures, to undertake flexible, dialogue-based<sup>20</sup>, context-related and contractual planning.

20. *The Polish economist J. Hausner (1995) speaks of the "negotiated strategy" among the social agents. The experience of French planning has the same thrust.*

## ■ The search for a universal axiology

In a world where, as we have seen, particular cultural identities are assuming increasing importance, the question is whether it is possible to set up an axiology on the basis of certain universal principles.

21. *Here is a truly Gandhian question that applies, nevertheless, primarily to the industrial societies and is found also in a somewhat different form among certain Catholic thinkers; see in particular the Encyclicals of John-Paul II (1994). This question has raised a sharp debate in Sweden (see What Now? 1975).*

22. *For a selection of his writings, see Economic & Humanism (1986).*

Our answer would be affirmative, in the light of the debate inaugurated by the Stockholm Conference in 1972 and resumed by the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. We feel that development, in the full sense of the word, should have a social purpose justified by the ethical postulate of intra-generational solidarity and equity, taking the form of a social contract. While the social disparities between nations and within nations have only increased, everything needs to be done to reduce them. This requires privileged groups to ask the question: "how much is enough?"<sup>21</sup>. The development of man as a whole and of all men can become widespread only through the building of a *civilisation of being in a balanced sharing of having* to quote L.J. Lebret<sup>22</sup>. By contrast, the extrapolation of the current major trends can only accentuate the drift towards social apartheid.

Furthermore, development requires *ecological prudence* in the name of inter-generational solidarity expressed in terms of a natural contract (Serres, 1990).

Finally, at the instrumental level, *the principle of economic efficiency* is a necessary one. However, it must be measured by the macro-social yardstick and no longer solely in terms of profitability at the firm level.

Furthermore, two other principles may be mentioned: cultural acceptability without, for all that, abandoning the idea of change in the name of respect for tradition and territorial balance<sup>23</sup>.

Development is thus seen as a pluridimensional concept<sup>24</sup>. This fact is reflected in the abuse of the adjectives that accompany the word "development": economic, social, political, cultural, sustainable, finally human<sup>25</sup>, to mention but a few. It is not too soon to spare ourselves all these attributes by concentrating on a redefinition of the content of the word "development", based on the proposed hierarchical structure where the social is in control, the ecological is an accepted constraint and the economic is reduced to its instrumental role.

Beyond semantics, a far more formidable problem as regards practice is that of bringing into harmony goals which, at first sight, may appear to be contradictory and hence lead to painful trade-offs.

## ■ The economic and the ecological

The debate on development and the environment has concentrated essentially on the characteristic situations of a zero-sum game. In the course of this debate, there has been no sufficient exploration of win-win situations which nevertheless exist and could have increased if a search had been made in this direction. The examples that could be given are those of the various cases of recycling, the so-called regenerative agriculture and especially the energy strategies that considerably reduce the consumption of fossil energy and at the same time save financial resources<sup>26</sup>. The same reasoning can be applied to other resources. The members of the Factor 10 Club call for a

23. For more details see I. Sachs (1993).

24. Henri Bartoli's work (1991) on the multidimensional economy starts with a reference to Blaise Pascal's view that not only it is impossible to know the parts without knowing the whole, but also to know the whole without knowing specifically the parts.

25. It is unfortunate that the UNDP has chosen the word "human" rather than "humane".

26. In this respect, see notably the pioneering book of Goldemberg et. al. (1988) and the work of Benjamin Dessus (1995).

27. For more details and notably for recommendations on policies to be followed, see the *Carnoules Declaration* reproduced in *Development Alternatives Newsletter*, Vol. 4, No. 12, December 1994 (New Delhi).

The starting point 0 corresponds to a "normal" situation of a steady growth rate with a moderately positive economic growth rate and the rate of deterioration of the environment that corresponds to it. What interests us are the variations of these two rates.

tenfold increase in the average productivity of the resources in the industrial economies, in the next half-century, as a prerequisite for sustainable development on a world-wide scale<sup>27</sup>.

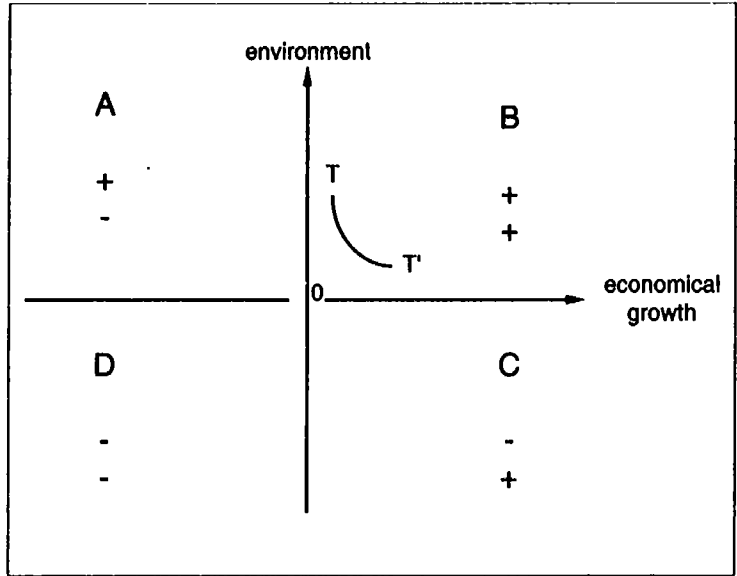


Figure 2.

The general situation is summarised in Figure 2. The quadrant D represents "hell". The quadrants A and C correspond to zero-sum games. In the quadrant A, the improvement of the state of the environment comprises economic costs that are expressed by a de-acceleration of growth. The quadrant B is that of the positive-sum game in which the win-win cases occur. At a given time, with the existing technical and organisational knowledge, all the win-win cases may be represented by a curve TT'. The problem is to shift the curve TT' to the right and upwards.

## ■ The economic and the social

The agenda of the Copenhagen Conference brings into play the relationship between the economic and the social while the earlier pattern tacitly assumed that the economic and the social went hand in hand. Given the current magnitude of jobless

growth and the resultant phenomena of exclusion, the relationships between the economic and the social are shown in Figure 3.

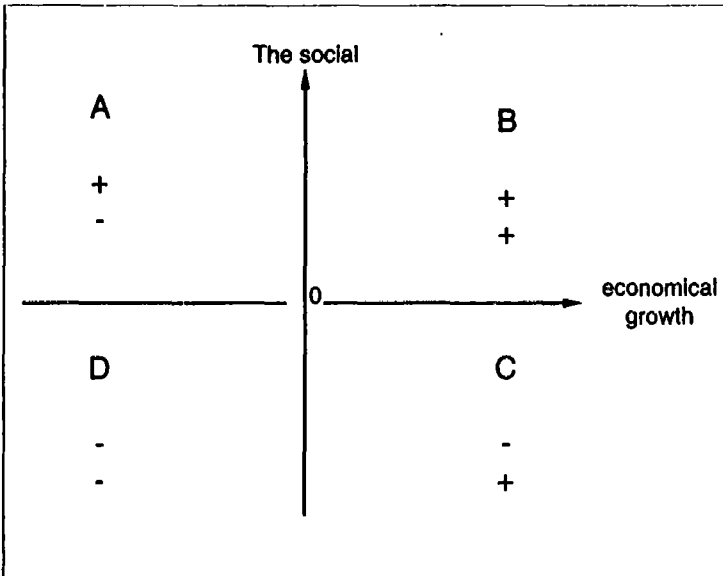


Figure 3.

The quadrant D, which is unfortunately largely present in the current situation, is the one where the reduction of growth leads to marked social deterioration. The quadrant C corresponds to growth going hand in hand with the reduction in employment and the resultant social degradation. The quadrant A represents the rare situations where economic deterioration does not destroy the micro-social fabric characterized by great cohesion. The quadrant B is, once again, that of the positive sum game within which there are the win-win cases.

But we must now turn to the *triple-win (or win-win-win)* situations which enable progress on all three fronts together: the economic, the social and the ecological, and therefore bring about development in the full sense of the word.

We propose that the term “development” should be reserved only for these cases by opposition to the different forms of mal-development or of lopsided development. All the relevant situations are summarised in Table 2.

	The economical	The social	The ecological
1. Savage growth	+	-	-
2. Socially benign growth	+	+	-
3. Environmentally sustainable growth	+	-	+
4. Development	+	+	+

Table 2.

## ■ The democratic regulation of the mixed economies

To achieve triple-win solutions, we have to *rethink the institutional framework* in which development is conceived and achieved. Once the two extremes of the pure market economy (a liberal utopia in the etymological sense of the word) and of the centralized economy are set aside, all the real situations that exist in the world belong to the category of *mixed economies*, characterized by a wide variety of labour, commodity and service markets, in which there operate private profit-making firms, public undertakings and more generally States at all levels, from the central to the local, the different agents of the social economy (co-operatives, mutual benefit societies, associations and non-profit-making private organisations) and all the groups engaged partly in non-market economic activities carried out in the households<sup>28</sup>. For Shigeto Tsuru (1993), the mixed economy is the only mode of production that is still in the race. Jean Saint-Geours (1992) has gone a step further and refers to "mixture" as a characteristic of our societies beyond the economic field.

28. *The extra-market economy should not be mistaken for the "informal economy" which is a part of the market economy.*

Of course, the mixing of the public and private sectors can take many varied forms. Quite significantly, the search for new forms of articulation between the different social agents concerns nowadays practically every country of the globe, given the vacuum created by the collapse of real socialism, the crisis in the Welfare States and the more than modest balance-sheet of development/maldevelopment in the South.

The problem is located at the level of what Paul Streeten (1989) calls the *mesoeconomy*, as the neo-liberal theories have overestimated, firstly, the role of macro-economic controls (of course necessary, but in no way sufficient) and, secondly, that of the microeconomic activity of the entrepreneurs. Now, in many places, even today events are all taking place according to a pattern that contradicts the one set forth by Schumpeter: the initiative and the risks are taken by the State, while privatisation at a discount subsequently benefits a class of entrepreneurs who have nothing Schumpeterian about them. The three central questions are:

- What State, for what development?
- What content should be given to democracy beyond mere compliance with the rules of the game of representative democracy?
- How to achieve new forms of partnership among the State, the civil society and the business world so as to enhance and bring out the full potential of local initiatives and citizen actions?

These questions shall be examined in turn.

## ■ What State?

For several reasons, the current debate on the State addresses the wrong questions. Its starting point is the opposition between the State and the market whereas any market must be regulated by the State, especially if it is desired that the market economy should also fulfil a social function. The criticisms made against statism, which rightly lash out at its excesses and the weight of the bureaucracy, oversimplify the problem by calling for *less* of the State whereas the real point is that the State should be more efficient and at the same time cost less. It is fashionable to concentrate on the State failures and overlook the market failures, at times equally numerous, as the market is incapable of grasping the long term and the interests of society. It is legitimate to propose a reduction of the role of the Entrepreneurial State, especially when the public sector consists of firms nationalised at a time when they were bankrupt and



29. *In this respect, see the books by Chalmer Johnson (1982), Christian Sautter (1987) and Robert Wade (1990), the already cited articles by Deepak Nayyar and Lance Taylor and the presentation by Robert Delorme (1955) of the approach put forward by the so-called evolutionary economics school.*

30. *The search for new forms of education in citizenship and of the learning of social roles from the primary school stage are additions to the many, so-to-speak classical functions of education and training in development strategies. See the already mentioned document by the Director-General of UNESCO prepared for the Copenhagen Summit (cf. Note 6).*

when the State, by intervening, furthered the particular interests of some private groups having close links with the establishment. However there still remain the functions of the developmental State, as in the example of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan<sup>29</sup>, and last but not least the functions of the Regulating State. The challenge in the years to come will be to find truly democratic forms for the regulation of the mixed economies. This brings us to the second question.

## ■ Appropriation of all fundamental rights

Respect for political rights alone is not sufficient to define a democracy in the full sense of the word. The effective exercising of all political, civic, social, cultural and economic rights should be extended to the entire population, especially to those who are now excluded from enjoying them. These include the right to individual and collective development and, of course, the right to work or to self-employment that provides a decent livelihood earned in dignity. As we have already pointed out, only integration into the productive process is capable, in the immediate future, of striking at the roots of exclusion. Assistancial policies are of course very necessary, given the predicament of the unemployed and the excluded, but they do not provide, by themselves, a lasting solution. While there is no question of abandoning income-redistribution policies, it is the income distribution which is inherent to the mode of production that should be the primary focus of our attention.

Beyond measures relating to employment, it is urgent to provide the dispossessed and marginalised populations with the means by which they can more efficiently claim their rights. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to promote education in citizenship<sup>30</sup>, namely to:

- raise the consciousness of all populations (children, young people and adults) and notably of groups discriminated against (women, children when applicable, cultural minorities) about their rights and duties;
- train them as regards action they can take when their rights are not respected or violated: how to get organized, where to

look for effective aid, whom to call on at the practical and moral levels, how to mobilise public opinion.

At the same time, to ensure real, day-to-day participation by populations in the decision-making and management process, it is necessary to carry out an in-depth analysis of the institutional context and of the relationships among the social agents concerned, namely the organized civil society (citizens' associations and social movements), the social economy, government authorities at all levels and the world of enterprise. Special attention has to be paid to:

- institutions that play a mediatory role between the populations and the State beyond those of representative democracy alone (ombudsmen, forums and consultative councils, advocacy planning, forms of institutionalised co-operation between governmental bodies and citizens' associations);
- the practices of direct democracy (referenda, opinion polls, interactive media);
- positive discrimination policies (and their often perverse effects).

## ■ New forms of partnership among the social agents

Participation plays a major role in the rhetoric of development. However, the reality often takes the form of strategies elaborated at the central level and imposed from above. It is necessary to rehabilitate the opposite approach favouring bottom-up initiatives, notably as regards the identification of the real needs of the population and of the hierarchy of urgent needs<sup>31</sup>. This means strengthening the ability of the populations to assume responsibility for a large part of the decisions that concern them, in a word, their *empowerment*. Two dangers however need to be avoided.

Firstly, there are knowingly manipulated ambiguities around this concept. John Friedmann (1992) has rightly made empowerment the cornerstone of the search for alternative development

*31. This brings us back to the debate on "basic needs", their weak version prepared by the authorities and their strong version when it is the concerned parties that establish the hierarchy of these needs. In this respect see B. Wisner (1988) and the fundamental contribution by A.K. Sen (1986) to the theory of the satisfaction of needs showing the multiplicity of forms that could come into play (entitlements).*

strategies. However, it should not be forgotten that this very same word was frequently uttered by President Reagan and, coming from him, it meant that the State was giving up certain of its responsibilities and passing them on to the local government institutions. A weak interpretation of the concept lies at the basis of the community program proposed by A. Etzioni (1993). The same type of ambiguity hovers over the concept of subsidiarity cherished by the European Commission. A decision that can be taken at a lower level ought not to go up to the upper level. But then the question is who is to take a decision on this point.

Furthermore, it would be vain to expect that the complexity of today's world would make it possible for us to be satisfied with a mere juxtaposition of a multitude of local strategies. The linkages among the spaces of development, from the local to the regional, national and transnational levels, constitute a major area of concern for political action. The present imbalance in favour of the central level and its incapacity to think out strategies that are finely tuned to local contexts makes it necessary to encourage initiatives from the bottom. And yet, such initiatives need to be harmonized and assisted by making available to them critically necessary resources that cannot be mobilised on the spot.

In other words, public policies and citizens' actions need to be harmonized. This major theme for the Social Summit was debated in the International Conference on Public Policies, People's Actions and Social Development organized by UNESCO in December 1994 in collaboration with the City and University of Bologna. The conference reviewed several specific examples of the linkage between citizens' movements and State policies, notably the programme of the fight against hunger and for citizenship in Brazil<sup>32</sup>, the solidarity programme in Mexico, the role of citizens' organisations in the struggle against exclusion in Poland. It also discussed the prospects ahead following the end of apartheid in South Africa and European research on the reform of Welfare States, with a view to establishing a "caring society"<sup>33</sup> through partnership among the parties concerned. The development of the social, educational and health services, as well as of the services related to making use of the time released from work provides a vast field for the setting up of new structures of partnership among users, citizens associations, local government authorities and private firms.

32. *One of the first measures taken by Brazil's new President, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, was to set up an ambitious programme called "Solidarity Community" based on the principle of partnership between the State and citizens' movements.*

33. *In this respect see the study by Laura Balbo presented at Bologna (see Note 8), the recent work by Pierre Rosanvallon (1995), and for the antecedents of these debates, the study prepared by the Secretariat of Future Studies in Sweden (M. Lägergren, et al., 1984). The growth of the third sector in the world has been the subject of a set of reports organized by Civicus, World Alliance for the Participation of Citizens (see for Latin America, Rubem Cesar Fernandes, 1994 and for Eastern Europe, E. Les, 1994).*

## **MOST/Management of social transformations: A New Programme of UNESCO**

MOST (Management of Social Transformations) was created by UNESCO in 1994 to promote international comparative research in social transformations and development. Its aim is to contribute to a better knowledge of these processes and, at the same time, highlight the relevance of research in social science to policy decision and formulation.

MOST concentrates its activities on the management of change in multi-cultural and multi-ethnic societies; the study of the cities as the sites of accelerated social change; and local management of economic, technological and environmental transformations. In the follow-up to the Social Summit, its new focus will be on issues related to the fight against social exclusion and the policies of social cohesion.

The programme is steered by the Intergovernmental Council formed by 33 States and the Scientific Steering Committee of 9 international researchers, appointed on an individual basis.

This area is a particularly promising one for the countries of the South and the East where the general level of wages is presently low. Indeed, since the “productivity” of teachers, nurses or social workers is approximately the same in every country in the world, in absolute terms the cost of producing such services in these countries is low in comparison with their cost in countries where the average level of salaries is high. With a slight modification at the margin of allocation of resources to social services in the broad sense of the term, it would therefore be possible to obtain a substantial improvement in the quality of life in the poor countries. Instead of awaiting prosperity in order to begin developing social services, it is necessary on the contrary to hasten to do so immediately.

The final Round Table in Bologna was devoted to urban experiments in Italy. It showed the wealth, variety and scale of the concrete experiments carried out at the municipal level. The cities whose almost infinite diversity has been so well brought out by Italo Calvino (1974) are indeed the crucible for the emergence and shaping of new forms of citizenship. In this field, Italy has been a stupendous laboratory for centuries. The development of urban citizenship will be necessary if we truly wish to make our cities liveable in the 21st century. This goal will not be a greater burden on our economies, especially in the industrial countries, than the cathedrals were in the Middle Ages. The urban crisis needs to be treated on a priority basis. It is also in the urban framework that the question is being raised, in all its stark reality, of the inter-ethnic, inter-cultural and inter-religious relationships that are a source of numerous conflicts and endemic violence especially in situations where the mixing of different social and cultural groups is overlaid on a context of social exclusion<sup>34</sup>.

34. *The UNESCO programme on the “Management Of Social Transformations” (MOST) concentrates its activities of research and of proposing new policies specifically on these questions (see box on MOST).*

## ■ Science and technology in the service of social development

Technology is a key variable for the bringing of social, economic and environmental policies into harmony. The question is whether it is conceivable to put a brake on the present dominant trend in which technological progress means jobless

growth and the role that could be played in this field by the reorientation of scientific research.

This question was put to researchers at the International Conference on Science and Technology for Social Development organized in Delhi in December 1994 by UNESCO and the National Institute for Science, Technology And Development Studies (NISTADS). They were asked in particular what was the potential contribution by science and technology to the three aspects of a potential development strategy centred on the exploration of three sources of employment which are briefly described here below:

1. The working of economies is presently characterized by the wasting, in varying degrees, of energy, water and other natural resources. Considerable progress remains to be made in the recycling of wastes and materials. Moreover, a more methodical maintenance of equipment, structures and installations that

Special Issue of the *International Social Science Journal*  
No. 143, March 1995

## **Measuring and Evaluating Development**

This number of the ISSJ, thematic, quarterly journal published by UNESCO, that presents the state of research in different disciplines and interdisciplinary fields of the social sciences, has been prepared for the occasion of the Copenhagen Social Summit.

International specialists such as P. Streeten, I. Sachs, D. McGranahan, R. Petrella, M. Rose, M. Cernea, S. El Serafy, M. Popovic and P. Pinheiro examine the following questions: how to measure and evaluate development; how to take the social and cultural dimensions into account; the respective places of the quantitative and the qualitative; the advantages and drawbacks of synthesizing indicators and ranges of disaggregated indicators; the role of ecological accounting. These issues are analyzed in relation to environment, social policies, human rights and democratisation.

would prolong their useful life is one way of saving capital. These activities, which are major sources of job-creation, are self-financing, at least partly so, through the saving of physical resources and of capital that they bring about.

2. In rural areas, the decisive battle for jobs will be fought around the future of the small farms. The small farm is destined to disappear in the long term, if we extrapolate from the presently observed dominant trends of technical progress in agriculture. However, provided that it is properly managed, the new phase of the green revolution makes it possible to envisage the modernisation of agriculture for the benefit of the small farmer. It may be added that a better use of available agricultural land is in the interest also of the industrialised countries inasmuch as they might wish to avoid being turned into urban archipelagos in a rural desert.

Furthermore, efforts should also be made to create non-agricultural rural jobs, which can be obtained in two ways:

- through the growth of biomass-transforming agro-industries and through the substitution of fossil fuel energy by bioenergy;
- through the redeployment of industries and tertiary activities, made possible by advances in telecommunications and the growing importance of flexible specialisation.

3. Finally, we must mention the classic case of public works where technical choices are not dictated by international competition. The needs in terms of infrastructure are especially urgent in countries whose systemic competitiveness leaves much to be desired. So long as this competitiveness has not been improved, piece-meal investments to increase productivity in firms will, to a large extent, be lost.

The discussions in Delhi concentrated above all on the first two aspects. The papers presented by the participants showed the importance attached in the world's two most populous countries (China and India) to the devising of development strategies heavily geared to the creation of rural jobs, both agricultural and industrial, and also characterized by the saving of scarce resources such as agricultural soil and water. In both cases, the goal is, as far as possible, to reduce city-country migrations. Hyper-urbanisation, as in Latin America, would lead to an economic, social and ecological disaster.

A great many Indian studies, as well as field experiments undertaken by the ASTRA group of the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore, the Swaminathan Foundation in Madras and the Development Alternatives Group in Delhi, to mention only a few of them, have shown that it is possible to use biotechnologies in very small family farms<sup>35</sup>, to design integrated village systems for the production of food and energy from the biomass<sup>36</sup> and to create industrial jobs in the countryside with exceedingly low investment and reasonable productivity. The pioneering experiments, as yet small in number, carried out by Development Alternatives have resulted in the creation of sustainable jobs in small companies, dam construction work and soil and water management requiring, in certain cases, barely \$200 to \$300 per job created.

The Chinese program SPARK for the spreading of modern science and technology in a rural environment has, according to the paper presented by its representative, already helped create one hundred million non-agricultural rural jobs. Ashok Jain, Director of NISTADS presented a very fine analysis of the prospects for decentralised modern industrialisation in India in the light of the experience of the *terza Italia*<sup>37</sup>.

The importance of the Delhi meeting lies in the fact that it has shown the existence of a current of thought and action that runs counter to the dominant tendency. This enables a certain degree of equanimity to be maintained when contemplating the extremely complex challenges that face the densely populated countries of the South. This message can be clearly seen in a major collective work on science, population and development organized by V. Gowariker (1992), suggestively entitled *The Inevitable Billion Plus*.

The condition of success is that research in the countries of the South should not be made subservient to the dominant modes in the laboratories of the North and that there should be no passive waiting for the transfer of technologies developed in other latitudes and other contexts. The ambition to leapfrog the industrial countries in certain fields of research is quite legitimate. This is why it is the strengthening of local capacity in terms of science, technology and the training of highly qualified cadres that is the essential feature of development strategies based on the ability to think independently and carry out national projects.

35. *On the prospects and dangers of the growth of biotechnologies for the countries of the South, see notably, Biotechnology Revolution in the Third World (1988), Ahmed (1992) and Sasson (1993).*

36. *On this subject see Moulík (1988) and Sachs and Silk (1990).*

37. *For an analysis of the determinants of the success of the Italian experience in decentralised modern industrialisation, which has brought wealth to North-East Italy, see notably Bagnasco (1988), Pyke, Beccatini, Sengenberger (1990) and Pyke, Sengenberger (1992). Trigilia (1992) examines the reasons for the failure of the mimetic transposition of this model to Southern Italy.*



The authors of the already mentioned report of the International Commission for Peace and Food, consider as viable a strategy to provide a billion new jobs in the countries of the South within barely 10 years (pp. 198-199). This proposal generalises from the results of a study proposing to achieve full employment in India in one decade, thus raising the entire Indian population above the poverty threshold (op. cit. pp. 122-124). To achieve this end, it would be necessary to create 100 million new jobs, including 45 million in agriculture, 10 million in rural agro-industries and 45 million rural and urban jobs due to the multiplier effect of increased consumption by the rural masses, agriculture being both a source of food and biomass and an outlet for industrial products and services. According to the authors of this strategy, which has been incorporated in India's VIIIth Plan, the country could achieve this spectacular result without resorting to external resources other than direct investment by agro-industrial firms. The condition for this however is that the country should be able to export its agricultural surpluses without any hindrance of its access to the markets of the industrial countries. The report therefore sharply criticises the agricultural protectionism of the developed countries and suggests a world strategy of development of the South through the expansion of its agricultural or forestry exports. At present, 58% of the economically active population in the countries of the South, namely 1.1 billion men, women and children, work in agriculture whereas there are only 35 million working in this sector in the industrial countries. This entire reasoning is based on a controversial assessment of the potential of agriculture for the future. According to the authors of the report, the availability of soil and water for agriculture could easily be doubled at the planetary level and productivity per hectare could also be very considerably increased.

What may be retained from this surprisingly optimistic exercise is above all the idea that, contrary to a very widespread prejudice, agriculture could be an engine of growth in development, at least in certain countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, provided that the efforts are concentrated on labour-intensive crops and on a careful management of soil, micronutrients and water using knowledge-intensive techniques.

A complement of this strategy consists in exploring biodiversity and cultural diversity to find new resources and manage them in

a socially useful and ecologically prudent way so as to increase the capacity of the ecosystems on a lasting basis. This requires making simultaneous use of knowledge accumulated by populations and of the conquests of modern science<sup>38</sup>.

## ■ Reforms of the international system

This analysis would be incomplete without mentioning the need to rethink the working of the UN system and of the Bretton Woods<sup>39</sup> institutions to create an international environment that is more propitious to development, notably by recalling the fact that equity in international relations requires that the rules of the game should be biased in favour of the weaker partners. This principle was complied with when the UNCTAD was created. Will this be true also for the future World Trade Organization.

What can be done to give to social movements and citizens' associations a role more active than the one that they presently have in the working of the major international organisations. In the context of the Copenhagen Conference, two aspects of this question need to be raised. Firstly, the associations could take on the responsibility of preparing citizens' reports on the world's social condition, following the example of what was done for the environment in India. Secondly, it is necessary to think about the creation of an institution enjoying unquestionable moral authority, to which citizens' organisations could appeal, alerting in this way public opinion about violations of political, civic, social, cultural and economic rights and thus influencing the functioning of governmental and intergovernmental institutions.

*38. This goal is being pursued by the UNESCO South-South co-operation programme for environmentally sound socio-economic development in the humid tropics. See Perspectives Sud-Sud, No. 1, October 1994, information letter by UNESCO.*

*39. On this subject see notably Holland (1994).*

## Development, for whom?

The title of the March 1995 issue of the *UNESCO Courier*, published on the eve of the World Summit in Copenhagen, sets the tone. It is a cry of alarm. Exclusion affects all societies, rich as well as poor. What can be done? It is not enough to help the poor materially as Mrs Aung San Suu Kyi, the Burmese democrat and Nobel Peace Prize winner, has emphasized in an unpublished document. She goes on to say that they must be given enough power to enable them to change the way they see themselves. The authors of this issue propose to rethink the economic, social and political crisis to which the present development model has led. At the same time as a new understanding they propose new ways of combat. All converge on a democratic takeover of their powers by those who had struggled. To eliminate poverty, the ultimate form of dispossession, to put economic growth back in its right place; and to give the civil society the strong initiative of which it is capable. This issue will make an important contribution to the discussion on social development.

*UNESCO Courier, March 1995*

## By Way of a Conclusion

**B**y its vocation, its past and its potential, UNESCO is destined to play a major role in the co-ordination of research and in the implementation of new paradigms and policies of development. One step that could contribute to this goal has been the creation of the MOST programme within the Organization in 1994.

Among the subjects that we have mentioned, there are some on which work is already going full steam ahead, notably as regards education and culture where two international commissions have been created by UNESCO<sup>40</sup>. Others need to be taken up in collaboration with other international organizations, governmental institutions and communities of researchers. The most immediate task will be to establish a detailed follow-up of the implementation of the recommendations of the Social Summit in permanent interaction with citizens' organizations and to prepare a programme of activities corresponding to the priorities that will be set in Copenhagen.

*40. The International Commission on Education for the 21st century, presided over by Jacques Delors and the World Commission on Culture and Development set up under the chairmanship of Javier Perez de Cuellar.*

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