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## ECONOMICS OF SOCIAL INJUSTICE

by

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### PART II

#### III. International initiatives towards greater symmetry

##### The linkages for diffusion of development

Related to most of the asymmetries which have been described are a series of international initiatives, some of which have matured into programmes which are ready for action. These are designed to move the total system in the direction of greater symmetry in the distribution of productive capacity, consumption benefits, technological capability and income and capital formation. The initiatives have been aimed at restructuring some of the critical mechanisms which link the developing and developed economies. Among the link-mechanisms selected for concentrated effort are international trade, the transfer of technology, adjustment and changes in the international division of labour and the transfer of resources through development assistance. Protagonists of the prevailing system had argued that these linkages offered the means for the transmission and diffusion of development through the efficient allocation of resources on a global scale. However, in the form they presently function these mechanisms have not been able to fulfil these objectives. In fact, their performance even during the period the world economy expanded at an unprecedented rate has seriously called to question their inherent capacity to act as instruments for the diffusion of growth in the present system. They have on the other hand contributed to a growing asymmetry and concentration of the capacities for development.

The ideology underlying the prevailing system has grown from the experience of the developed market economies during the last century and a half. It is an experience which demonstrated the successes that were achieved through the relatively free operation of the market forces - forces which provided opportunities to different social groups to use their capacities and their power within the structures that prevailed. It enabled minorities to accumulate surpluses and increase the capital stock in their societies in a manner which, over a long period of time, allowed the benefits to percolate to the large majority in their society. The ideology and the model it upholds enables us to identify the pattern of growth which the system has in fact followed. It is a pattern in which the concentration of development and the diffusion of development occurred in two stages which followed in sequence over the lifetime of several

generations. The increasing gap between the rich and the poor nations, the asymmetries of production, consumption and technological capability which had been accentuated during the last quarter of a century seem to indicate that the system as it operates at present at the international level is very much in the concentration phase. How and when is the process then to be reversed? The international development strategy for the Second Development Decade emphasized the need for what was described as a unified approach to development. It implicitly rejected the growth model based on a process of concentration which is followed in time by a process of diffusion. It reached out towards a strategy which combines growth with equity and avoids the social and human cost of the processes which the market system had followed. The new strategies of development therefore seek to take account of the full potential of the resources available to mankind today. In place of the slow diffusion of development from points of high concentration, these strategies seek to generate patterns of self-reliant growth in which the whole of society participates. Participatory development of this type has very clear implications both at the international as well as national levels. At the international level it calls for the transformation of the links which have hitherto determined the exchange between the developing and developed countries.

#### The trade link and unequal exchange

International trade links were expected to draw the backward parts of the economy closer to the centres and provide the dynamic for speedy development. However, the experience of developing countries in their trade with the developed world was far removed from their expectations. It could be evaluated from a few key indicators. The export income from primary commodities accounts for nearly 65% of the total foreign exchange earnings of the developing countries.<sup>19</sup> If petroleum is excluded, 34 major primary commodities which enter into the export trade of developing countries show an average decline of 35% between the years 1950 to 1972. In the period 1952 to 1972 the analysis made by the UNCTAD secretariat of the prices of 28 selected primary commodities revealed that the terms of trade of these commodities declined at an average of 2.2% per annum for the period. This would imply that for a given unit of commodity exports, its purchasing power in the world market in terms of manufactured goods steadily deteriorated at this rate. It has also been estimated that the decline in the purchasing power of commodity exports of developing countries at 1952 prices is the equivalent of an aggregate loss of nearly US \$82 billion for the period 1952 to 1972. The recent studies that have examined the pricing chain from producer price to the final consumer price indicate that the share of the final price which comes to the producer ranges from 10 to 15% in the case of primary commodities.

Developing countries argue that underlying the trade between developed and developing countries is a pervasive system of unequal exchange. More sophisticated theoretical positions on this question held that the international trading system operates in a manner which keeps wages and incomes in the developing countries at a low level through persistently low prices of primary commodity exports and steady deterioration in the terms of trade. The unequal exchange in international trade is most acutely reflected in the wide differentials in wage levels of the producer countries and consumer countries. If the

whole chain of production extending across national boundaries from the stage of primary production to the finished industrial product is regarded as one vertical system of production, then the returns to labour at one end in the developing countries are exceedingly low while the returns to labour at the other end are correspondingly high. Those who are at the higher end of the chain of production are able to enjoy the fruits of the cheap labour at the lower end. "Once a country has got ahead through some historical accident, even if this be merely that a harsher climate has given men additional needs, this country starts to make other countries pay for its high wage level through unequal exchange. From that point onward the impoverishment of one country becomes an increasing function of the enrichment of another and vice versa."<sup>20</sup>

The price relationship between primary commodities and manufactured goods has to be perceived within these inequalities and the structures of power which maintain them. The economic exchange that takes place between developing countries who are principally exporters of primary commodities and the industrialized countries who are mainly exporters of manufactured products takes place in a power structure in which the economic decisions are taken in the business centres in the developed world, and developing countries have negligible market power or bargaining strength. Such a structure enables the consumer countries to remunerate the processes that take place in their own countries at relatively high levels maintaining and improving the standards of living of the workforce of their own countries while they hold prices to the producers outside their countries at persistently low levels. It is no doubt correct that the international wage differences need to be explained partly in terms of the different levels of productivity in particular branches of industry as well as in the economics taken as a whole. But after such variations have been taken into account there would still remain a significant part of the differential which is not reducible to differences of productivity but is derived from the structures of economic domination which eventually decide on the rewards within the system.

From the position of the developing countries the response to this situation can take one of two paths. One path moves more in the direction of producer cartels and unilateral action; the other seeks forms of international cooperation to regulate the commodity markets and render the terms of exchange more equitable. The integrated programme which UNCTAD is proposing in the field of primary commodities has as its aim a series of international commodity agreements covering almost all commodities of major export interest to developing countries. These agreements will regulate prices within a negotiated range, which will be supported by means of stocking arrangements financed by a common fund to be jointly established by producers and consumers. In short, the integrated programme will attempt to restructure the world trade in primary commodities and by so doing protect and improve a vital source of income of the developing countries. The initiatives that have been taken in UNCTAD would be successful in reducing the inequalities only if they help to create a structure of trade in which the market power is more evenly balanced as between producers and consumers. Although such an outcome would depend a great deal on international cooperation between producers and consumers, it would require resolute joint action by the developing countries themselves. It will finally rest on the new countervailing power the developing countries can create by adopting joint negotiating strategies as to set in motion a genuine process of collective bargaining in the world economic system.

Development through the international division of labour

In the prevailing system, the changes in the international division of labour which would have resulted in the distribution of greater manufacturing capacity to the Third World countries, would have had to come from superior competitive strength gained through comparative advantages. However, while developing countries created substantial industrial capacity for substitution of imports, the scope for industrialization based on the potential for exports to the markets of developed countries has proved disappointing. First, the free market did not exist in reality. A diversity of trade barriers and market impediments have prevented free access to the markets of developed societies. Attempts to induce a greater trade flow in manufactured goods from developing countries through the generalized system of preferences has had only a marginal impact. The forces operating in the system at present are not capable of bringing about significant shifts in production which could lead to a mere equitable international division of labour. Greater intervention in the international system is needed to achieve such an end. Pressure has recently been mounting to get developed countries to adopt more forward-looking policies of industrial adjustment. These policies need to be consciously designed for progressively transferring to the developing countries the industrial capacities in certain branches of industry in which developing countries are potentially more competitive. The international strategy proposed by UNIDO includes industrial collaboration agreements directed towards this end. While the proposal offers a constructive approach, the tasks of identifying the specific branches of industry and devising feasible mechanisms for their redeployment in the developing world are an immense challenge, and it cannot yet be said that the will to undertake these tasks has been genuinely demonstrated. The developing countries also seek to increase their capacity to process the raw materials now exported by them. This is an area where developing countries have some scope for unilateral modes of action and their resolution to pursue action on these lines has been expressed in the Dakar Declaration. Finally, the Third World sees the main potential for industrialization in a programme of economic systems of its own membership, widen and deepen the economic exchange among its own units and increasingly employ its natural resources to improve the well-being of its own population. But in all these areas we are still at the level of concepts, proposals and resolutions.

New frontiers in technology

International initiatives relating to the diffusion and transfer of technology have focused on several problem areas. One set of initiatives seeks to establish an international framework which will regulate the conduct of the suppliers of technology and make the terms and conditions more equitable to the recipient. These efforts are supported by a programme designed to develop a network of national and regional institutions which would enable developing countries to exchange information and experience, improve their bargaining power in the acquisition of technology from developed countries and collaborate with each other in the development of technology in the region. Another set of initiatives has been concerned specifically with the content of the technology acquired as well as developed in the Third World countries. At one end they have drawn attention to the need for a technology appropriate

to the factor endowments in the developing economies and the scarcities and surpluses of these factors. At the other end they have promoted the search for new and alternative technologies which can result in major technological transformations along new paths.

The field of technology offers plentiful scope for new modes of international cooperation through which the immense resources which have been accumulated by man can be deployed on the specific problems of the Third World. A few random examples could illustrate this potential. Much of the technology of the industrialized countries has been developed in a context where raw materials had to be transported over great distances, stored, and then used in further processing. Rubber latex had to be solidified into rubber and then sent through a mulching process for many industrial uses; coconut kernel had to be dried and converted into copra before extraction of oil; tea had to be turned into black tea. It is only recently that research efforts have been initiated to develop technologies for direct use of the resources in their raw state in the process of production in developing countries themselves. Again, the developing countries need technology which does not need to assemble human beings into large conglomerates of economic activity and massive units of production. The task of upgrading the quality of life in rural communities with high population densities calls for patterns of economic activity radically different from what we have witnessed in past patterns of development. These patterns need to combine labour-intensive small-scale production with high levels of productivity capable of yielding adequate household incomes. They have to find the appropriate mix of agricultural and non-agricultural activities which can provide these rural communities with a diversified economic base capable of sustained expansion. The technology that is needed has to be adapted to small human communities and small-scale units of production. It has to be aimed at intensifying the use of available resources, identifying new resources and uses of resources already employed, making physical labour more congenial without drastically reducing the absorption of labour. The efforts to harness solar energy, experiments to develop biochemical sources of energy, recent discoveries of uses for rubber seed oil including a high octane fuel, technologies which improve recycling systems and minimize waste, attempts to obtain new and cheaper sources of protein are all examples which meet some of the criteria of alternative technologies for the Third World.

The demand for a new technology in the Third World is also a demand for new modes of organizing the production of material goods and services, new forms of social and economic organization which can create communities where life is qualitatively superior, where the network of human relationships has not lost its personal quality in huge and massive conglomerates of activity, where there is a sane balance between work and leisure, between the rural and the urban, agriculture and industry, the man-made environment and the ecosystem in which it is placed. The developing economies which are as yet in the initial phase of industrialization are in a position to map out new alternative paths of technological growth for which the immense research capabilities in the existing international system could be harnessed. The life styles which can emerge from this process may have answers for some of the problems in developed societies.

The search for new technologies specific to the development needs of the Third World could give rise to fruitful programmes of international cooperation. The efforts in this direction are as yet of a sporadic and piecemeal nature. They need to move to the centre and become a major dynamic part of the global scientific and technological

effort. Mechanisms have to be found to gear part of the massive research capability of transnational corporations to this task. There might be scope for an international fund for the development and diffusion of technology which gives developing countries access to resources which would enable them to draw on the research capability of transnationals and other agencies. It could deploy funds for a global R and D effort directed to Third World needs and provide the incentives for the privately owned R and D systems to participate in it.

The linkages in skill and technology which were expected to transfer the processes of modernization to the backward countries have set in motion a substantial reverse flow through the brain drain. The first tentative efforts to examine possible approaches to the problem of the brain drain have been recently initiated at the international level. At the 1976 Nairobi conference UNCTAD received a mandate to examine the related issues. The brain drain constitutes a free transfer of fully developed professional skills from developing to developed countries. Developed countries do not have to spend any of their own resources for training and forming these skills. These savings constitute substantial net benefits they enjoy from the brain drain. It might be possible to work out a basis for compensating the developing countries and regulating the flow of skills from the developing to the developed countries in a manner which would benefit all parties involved in the transaction. Excess capacities available in the educational systems in developing countries for the production of skills which are in high demand in the developed countries might be put to profitable use if the developing countries could be adequately compensated for the transfer. Manpower being the one major resource in the developing world, the organized production of skills for export under appropriate systems of regulation and control could well be a mutually beneficial programme. Such a programme should be amenable to ready adjustments as and when the economies in the developing countries increase their capacity for the absorption of these skills.

#### A system of income transfers to the world's poor

In the sixties the international community conceived of "a partnership in development" which assigned a significant role to the net transfer of resources to developing countries in the form of development aid from the rich countries. Many of the expectations placed on this mechanism have however failed to materialize. The impact of aid itself on the process of transformation in the poor countries has been marginal. Aid flows themselves fell far below the original target of 1% of the income of rich countries. In fact they barely reached one-third of the target. With world inflation their real value further declined. Meanwhile, the external indebtedness of the aid-receiving countries mounted till the burden of debt servicing began to impose unbearable strains on the balance of payments of the poorest countries who now devote a substantial portion of their export income for this purpose.

The developing countries have repeatedly urged that the entire process of development assistance needs to be overhauled if it is to become a significant element in world development. Development assistance has to be organized as a consistent and comprehensive system on the principle that the world's poor are the responsibility of the international

community to the same extent that the poor in any given country are a national responsibility. In such a context development has to move away from a system based on bi-lateral transactions to one which is progressively institutionalized on a truly international basis. Such a system has therefore to acquire some of the characteristics of the income transfers which occur within national economies. It has to function on a more automatic basis through forms of international taxation, through compensatory financing mechanisms and through linkages to the international monetary system and the creation of international liquidity within it. All of these would have to operate automatically to provide the resource transfers to the developing countries when the necessary conditions for aid are fulfilled. A system of development assistance of this type would need to ensure that the income transfer would reach the poorest billion in the world, upgrade the quality of their lives and enhance their income-earning capacity. Another important element in such a system which would have immediate significance for developing countries is a scheme for the relief of indebtedness. Developing countries have emphasized that there is need for an international policy on relief of acute indebtedness. A system of development assistance would need to include measures which provide relief to seriously affected countries on the basis of internationally accepted criteria.

#### An international framework for migration

The demographic imbalances which have been discussed offer another area for innovative approaches and new modes of international cooperation. The world community may need to think in terms of international policies and conventions for planned migration which are assigned on the one hand to relieve the acute disequilibria in one group of countries arising out of intolerable pressures of population and limited resources, and on the other hand to bring about a better balance between population and resources in another group of countries that have problems of shortages of manpower. These measures again would have to be conceived clearly within an acceptable international framework in which a wide variety of complex problems could be sorted out, ranging from the integration of migrants in the countries in which they are received to the social and economic adjustments of the host countries. They would also be linked to the international movements of manpower which were discussed in regard to the brain drain.

#### The transnationals and the internationalization of production

The malfunctions which we are discussing are in the final analysis a product of the existing structures of political and economic power. The initiatives to establish a new international economic order would require an intensive process of collective bargaining between developed and developing countries at the international level and this process will eventually have to cope and contend with the prevailing power structures. These structures have themselves undergone a striking metamorphosis which renders many of the conventional approaches to their analysis ineffective and irrelevant. New and powerful actors have entered the world arena. These are the transnational corporations who constitute a superstructure which has grown above and across the nation states. They have acquired ever increasing control over the main levers which manipulate the world economic system - finance capital, production, marketing, technology. They have introduced an element of global management



which has radically altered the character of the market system through their intra-firm transactions and the entire network of transnational operations.

Theoretically, the transnationals have the capacity to carry forward the internationalization of production, allocating resources in a manner which should distribute productive capacity more evenly throughout the world. But within the present system their criteria of efficiency and optimality have predisposed them in the direction of affluent markets and the more efficient resource combinations which exist there. As yet they have had no inner compulsion to intervene in the present system to redirect a substantial share of the world's resources in order to enhance the productive capacity of the poor nations in terms of their own basic needs, expand effective demand in their markets and speed forward the process of capital accumulation in the Third World. The transnationals cannot be expected to do this as they are ultimately the creatures of the system created by the affluent countries. They function as the efficient instruments of capital accumulation for the rich societies and whatever development occurs in the Third World is a by-product or spillover of this primary activity.

This new transnational power has caused concern among nation states both rich and poor. It has altered their perspectives in various ways. It has reinforced the need for collective action on the part of nation states. On the one hand the developing countries have recognized that integrated structures of production and trade which have been created by the transnationals call for new strategies of joint action if they are to bargain successfully in their economic exchange with developed countries. The transnational corporate network has imposed new demands on their collective will. It has demonstrated the need for a genuinely interregional effort which transcends the regional and subregional approaches they followed in the past. On the other hand, both developed and developing nations have shown a desire to create an international framework to regulate the operation of the transnationals. If their full potential for internationalization is to be exploited so as to benefit the whole of mankind, the transnationals would have to operate within a framework which is truly international and be guided in terms of a global plan with social and economic objectives that are global. In the future design for world development a new role for multinational corporations, different from its present role of concentration and domination and more participatory in character, will be a crucial element.

#### IV. The new world order and the adjustments in developing and developed countries

##### The simultaneity of action at the national and international level

Restructuring the present system implies a more equitably distributed flow of resources and a circulation of technology, manpower and capital which encompasses the whole of the system. The present linkages, far from functioning efficiently for the diffusion of development, set in motion reverse flows to the centre and reinforced the process of concentration, whether they were through unequal exchange, the brain drain, tied aid or similar processes. What we have discussed so far relates to the structures of social injustice that prevail at the international level in the economic relations among nations. The removal of social

injustice at this level is meaningless if it does not lead to the transformation of structures within societies and the removal of injustice within them. The two are closely interlinked and mutually reinforce each other. Action at both levels has to be pursued simultaneously. The presence of injustice at one level must not be made an excuse for inaction at the other. The developed countries are not entitled to say that the international "house" cannot be put in order till the developing countries have put their houses in order. Neither is the reverse position tenable. But when this has been said the obvious national prerequisites for structural change at the international level need to be emphasized. The changes in the international relationships can occur only through fundamental readjustments at the national level in the developing countries on the one hand and the developed countries on the other.

### Self-reliance and countervailing power in the Third World

The present structure of power cannot be changed through the goodwill of developed countries. Developing countries need to create new and adequate countervailing power for themselves. The collective and national strategies of developing countries have been the subject of intensive debate and discussion. They have found expression in numerous declarations and resolutions. The main thrust has been in the direction of collective self-reliance. In the short term the developing countries have recognized the need to consolidate their joint negotiating positions and strengthen their collective bargaining power in their economic exchange with the industrialized countries. In the long term a firm and enduring basis in collective self-reliance has to be established through structural changes and internal transformation of the developing societies themselves. These processes, however, need to be set in motion within each society without delay and be accorded the highest priority. The process of transformation has to follow a self-reliant pattern of development. In such a pattern the systems of production will be geared primarily to the satisfaction of the basic needs of the population. Such a strategy has far-reaching implications for the entire structure of international economic relations. The output of goods and services will be aimed principally at raising levels of mass consumption and will therefore rely largely on domestic markets. It will promote the maximum use of domestic resources and influence the choice of technology in the direction of greater technological self-reliance. It will foster systems of production, structures of income distribution and patterns of demand within the Third World countries which will vastly expand their internal markets and create the objective conditions for the rapid growth of trade and economic co-operation among themselves within a framework of genuine partnership and equal exchange. In this process it would help to liberate developing countries from an almost exclusive dependence on the prevailing unequal exchange within the North-South relationship.<sup>21</sup>

### The new perspectives of the developed societies

While the Third World dimension of the New International Economic Order has been articulated with some degree of clarity in the strategy of self-reliance and countervailing power, the discussion of the national and collective adjustments needed in the developed societies has been less specific and is still in an exploratory stage. The perspectives in

the developed part of the world however go beyond the fundamental economic issues which are the central concern of the developing nations. The ideological and moral impulses behind the concept of the new economic order have helped to bring together various other major strands in the contemporary international debate on mankind's future. They have helped to focus on the links between the economic structures with which the new order is specifically concerned and the larger structures which contain them. Beyond the economic structures there is the ecosystem which is experiencing the acute stresses of unbalanced and unabated economic growth during the last two centuries. At another level there is the politico-military system which continues to amass weapons of destruction and multiply its capability for the annihilation of mankind several times over.

The saner and more rational adaptation by man to his environment requires changes in the prevailing pattern of resource use and a re-ordering of human wants. These changes point to new styles of living which eliminate the over-consumption and waste which are rampant in the rich societies and which enable these societies to strike a new balance between work and leisure, between employment and recreation, between activity and learning, between material and non-material wants. For the first time in human history, the affluence of the industrialized societies has given men the freedom to develop new and flexible combinations of these basic elements which can vastly enrich the quality of living. The search for qualitatively richer life styles in the developed countries could easily become complementary to the adjustments in the economic structures envisaged in the New International Economic Order. There are intrinsic links between environmental protection and a more equitable distribution of industrial capacity in the world, between higher prices for exports of developing countries which reflect true social costs on the one hand, and the reduction of wasteful consumption and more rational management of the earth's resources on the other. Changes in life style could mean a rapid increase in the share of the service sectors in developed economies which could thereby release areas of production to developing countries to enable them to increase their share of the world's manufacturing capacity. It is these linkages and complementarities that thinking groups in both developed and developing countries need to explore in greater depth.

The other aspect of change relates to disarmament. Military expenditures are estimated to absorb approximately US \$300 billion annually, the equivalent of nearly half the aggregate income of the Third World. It is more than 10% of the aggregate income of the industrialized countries. The armaments sector contains the immense surpluses available in the world economy which could be released for increasing the well-being of the human population as a whole. Current military expenditures are expenditures which in the last analysis are incurred for the production of waste. The enormous expenditure which is devoted for multiplying man's capability for total selfdestruction is the ultimate irrationality of the prevailing international system. If these resources are released for production of other goods and services they would facilitate a host of basic adjustments in various parts of the international system which have been already discussed elsewhere in this paper. Within such a combination, undue pressures need not be exerted on the living standards of the developed world in order to enable the international system to

improve substantially the purchasing power as well as productive capacity of the developing countries. As in the case of the developed societies themselves where through collective bargaining between different social groups and better sharing of the national product, the national economies were able to move to higher levels of output, so with the changes in the international system, an improvement in the purchasing power of developing countries and a more equitable sharing of the world product would provide new impulses for the growth of the world economy and bring benefits to both the developed and the developing countries. The New International Economic Order therefore need not be a zero-sum game in which the gains of the developing countries are offset by the losses of the developed countries. For one thing the measurement of gains and losses has to include the more fundamental changes which affect the quality of life on this planet. For another, an integrated response on the part of the international community to the crucial issues which concern the survival and development of the human race may well enable the New International Economic Order to yield a positive sum with gains to all parties.

#### V. Scope for social action by non-governmental organizations

Finally a word about the scope for social action by non-governmental groups which are concerned with the international issues of social justice. The concept of a new international economic order and the framework into which the concept has assembled various issues which have hitherto received independent treatment have been able to provide a clear focus for the activities of these organizations. The scope of their main activities encompass three important elements. They are engaged in a special task of educating the public on the various issues that have arisen. Through this process of conscientization of the affluent minority in the world they could perform a valuable role in reorienting the policies of governments in the developed countries and enlarging their perception of the problems of developing countries so that they respond more positively to the needs of the Third World. Their efforts at development education could focus on the major writings which in recent times have analysed the human predicament and explained the rationale of the changes that are desired in the international system. Some of the relevant documents such as Only One Earth<sup>22</sup>, Mankind at the Turning Point<sup>23</sup>, the RIO Report<sup>24</sup>, Employment, Growth and Basic Needs<sup>25</sup>, the Secretary-General's report to the UNCTAD conference at Nairobi, What Now?<sup>26</sup>, the Cocoyoc Declaration<sup>27</sup>, the Dakar Declaration<sup>28</sup>, Self-Reliance and Countervailing Power<sup>29</sup>, could be popularized, studied and discussed at various levels to impart high visibility to the crucial issues relating to the international problems of development and sustain the pressures needed to activate the international conscience and will to action.

The second element in the programme of the non-governmental agencies is the organized action they are able to mount in regard to the international conferences that have a major decision-making role in regard to the key international issues. These include the series of meetings that would be convened under the auspices of UNCTAD on the integrated commodity programme, the code on the transfer of technology, a code on restrictive business practices and so on; the North-South dialogue in the Conference for International Economic Cooperation in Paris; negotiations that would be initiated under UNIDO for industrial

collaboration agreements; the Law of the Sea Conference; the World Conferences that are being planned on water resources, science and technology, and other major themes; the proposed Special Session of the General Assembly on Disarmament.

The third element is the collaboration which can be established between the network of non-governmental agencies in the developed world and similar groups and organizations in the Third World. The groups acting together could give clearer definition to the complementarities that exist between the aspirations of the Third World and the new quality of life which is sought in the developed world. They could inquire in depth into the intrinsic links between the adjustments which are essential in the developed societies for their own well-being and their search for new life styles on the one hand and the changes in international economic structures which help to transform the developing societies on the other. Committed groups in both parts of the world interacting and cooperating with each other in this manner can perform a valuable function. They are powerful reinforcements which are needed in the struggle to chart the frontiers of a new human society.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 19 The data in this paragraph are taken from the UNCTAD documents on the Integrated Programme of Commodities.
- 20 Argury Emmanuel, Unequal Exchange, A Study of the Imperialism of Trade. Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1972.
- 21 Self-Reliance and Countervailing Power, Report of the Interregional Seminar on the New International Economic Order and UNCTAD IV, Colombo, March 1976.
- 22 Op. cit.
- 23 Mihajlo Mesarowic and Eduard Pestel: Mankind at the Turning Point, Hutchinson and Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1975.
- 24 Op. Cit.
- 25 Op. cit.
- 26 What Now, The 1975 Dag Hammarskjold Report on Development and International Cooperation, 1975.
- 27 The Cocoyoc Declaration - Development Dialogue 1974, No. 2.
- 28 Declaration issued by The Conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials, Dakar, February, 1975.
- 29 Op. cit.

A SOUTH EAST ASIAN PERSPECTIVE ON PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

by ACFOD REPORTERS

How to do it

Active participation of increasingly more people in the development plans of countries is coming to be regarded as a major criterion of development. A Study/Action Pack produced by Third World First, a group in Oxford, defines development as "related to the dignity, quality of life and share in the decision making process to which everyone is entitled".

Travelling in S.E. Asia, visiting rural development projects, talking to people about development, it is inevitable to think and reflect on people's participation in decision making in some of these countries.

While in the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, we could not help feeling that the governments of these countries consider themselves to be the sole "proprietors" of the national will. They seem to think that they know what is best for the people and are doing their best to deliver the goods in the best possible manner. Any opposition to the governments or to members of the government is regarded as a "betrayal" of the national will.

Although governments claim to represent the people, they are not ready to let the people speak for themselves. In all these countries the ruling elite is becoming more and more intolerant of any kind of dissent.

The Press - A responsible press facilitates some kind of people's participation by providing a forum for dialogue (although no doubt it is only the elite which participates in this dialogue). By curbing the freedom of the press, introducing strict laws of censorship, the highly centralised and authoritarian governments are not allowing even an elementary dialogue, let alone participation. These governments are losing touch with genuine public opinion and the aspirations of the masses. "1975 was a bad year for the press and for freedom of expression, since the new tough governments (Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore would fall into this category) are becoming increasingly impatient with dissent and criticism. They are desirous of making the media into another tool of development and progress, their main function being to inform people what the government wants from them, instead of a method (however unsatisfactory) of imparting information to the public and to the government or of 'defending' the public interest". (Derek Davies, Far Eastern Economic Review).

Worker/Peasant Organisations - Workers' Unions and Peasant Organisations are institutions which represent the interests of these groups and which further people's involvement in decision-making (but even these do not voice the interests of the tenant and landless peasants, casual labour, etc.). The freedom of unions and peasant organisations has also been curtailed in all these countries. Some of them have been co-opted and others artificially reorganised for the purpose of controlling them better. In Malaysia, only one union is allowed in one industry. In the Philippines workers are not allowed to form unions. (This is listed in

official advertisements as one of the advantages the Philippines offers to foreign investment). In Indonesia 14 peasant organisations have been forced to merge into one government-controlled organisation. No other peasant organisation is allowed to exist, we were told.

Subversives All - Most governments do not like students, priests and others to go to the rural areas and work with the people in anyway which "incites or agitates" them. In Indonesia even political parties are not encouraged to canvass support in the rural areas. Apparently, government control through local officials and village leaders is such that no one can work in the villages if the authorities have the slightest suspicion that the work could lead to the questioning of official policy. All such work is regarded as subversive or as communist activity. Branding as communist any project or anybody trying to improve the lot of the poor is really the best compliment the governments can pay the communists. This means no non-communist looks into the problems of the poor to anything like the same extent. The communist phobia of governments seems to have increased markedly after the liberation of Indo-China in 1975.

University faculty members and students constitute a major section of intellectuals in all societies. They, among others, provide some commentary on the social, political, economic and cultural scene of the nation. They study various aspects of the society and provide some basis for judging the situation. So long as these intellectuals carry out research which is not relevant to genuine social problems, they are tolerated and even rewarded. As soon as students and faculty members start taking an interest in the problems of workers and peasants, in the investment pattern, in the hold of foreign powers on the national economies, etc., then the axe comes down hard on them. In the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore, students are not allowed to form unions. In some countries many students and faculty members have been in jail for years - without trial.

Lack of Credibility - Granted that such freedoms are not very relevant to the basic problems of the poor. If the freedom of the press, of free speech and freedom to organize, etc. are curbed so that the real issues can be tackled, the governments cannot be criticized. Any sacrifice is worth it, if it leads to the improvement of the lot of the masses. But the people who criticize the governments do so because they doubt the sincerity of the governments to change the socio-economic and political structures to create a more just society. The life styles of many of these leaders (Rodriguez is the one most cited), their bank accounts and property, the charges of corruption against them, etc. do not indicate a genuine desire to work for the poor. People are denied these freedoms so that a small group may have the freedom to amass wealth, so that it can remain in power unchallenged and may continue to collaborate with the foreign multinationals, etc.

The various rural development programmes these governments have introduced have ostensibly been introduced for the people, yet neither the politicians nor the bureaucrats think it necessary to consult the recipients. The elite in the rural areas swallows most of what goes into the budget for rural development. It is the same elite that controls the cooperatives, farmers' associations, self-help groups, local government institutions, etc. At almost every level of life in S.E. Asia,

(outside Indo-China perhaps) all participation of people in development has, it would appear, been effectively dispensed with.

"there go my people and I must follow them  
for I am their leader" - Gandhi

We all seem to have discovered the magic phrase. This time we really seem to have found it; declaring repeatedly at seminars and workshops that at last we have it. It is People's Participation! The phrase, the concept, the factor eluding us for so long is now trapped in our heads. It is 'people's participation! Now it is up to us to pet this phrase, to write it in different ways, discuss it and see to it that it becomes a BIG word. We will make sure that it remains a concept, a topic of discussion, a subject for workshops. This is the only way to please everybody. The people, the masses are pleased (or so we think) because they are suddenly being talked about. The elite, the upper class is pleased to see that it is only being talked about. They don't mind being discussed. They have experienced similar sentiments being expressed over the years in the context of community development. In that too the people were to be mobilised, they were to be involved, power was to be decentralised and democracy programmed to be 'grass-rooted', cooperatives, peasant organisations, village development committees were formed. All these institutions were to be for every body. Huge amounts of funds were channelled into these institutions and programmes. But the elites took care to take full control of these channels. They saw to it that nothing percolated downwards, or at best only a trickle seeped through. In fact, with the help of these channels the better off people became like the sea. The little rivers and small channels of poorer people also started to flow into the sea. The sea became bigger; the rivers dried up.

We Will See to It! - Now governments seem to be realizing that it won't work this way. They are being told that they have to make the people participate. So, government representatives are busy passing resolution after resolution that people have to participate; yes, they have to be made to participate. "We will see to it that they participate"!

New projects and programmes will be formulated by international agencies. Some governments will make fresh attempts, fresh gestures, use fresh vocabulary. The same old governments and the same old bureaucracies will use all these fresh things and pledge their support to these new programmes. To be sure it is yet again the international agencies and national governments who will be doing the planning. They will be the ones to be planning people's participation. Those people who have seen to it that less and less people participate are suddenly wondering why so few participate. Those people who grabbed the benefits of the development industry are sitting in conference halls, with serious faces, wondering why the benefits do not trickle down!

Rules of the Game - Most governments have devised programmes at one time or another to involve people. The rules of this game of involvement were, however, not defined by the people. The rules were such that only a few could participate. Whenever more people tried to participate on their own conditions, they were either co-opted, neutralized or declared 'subversive'. Most of our countries have graves of



people's movements, people's movements which were gunned down by the elite; participation that was simply shot down.

Thirty Five Dollar's/Day ! - Some of those who are talking about people's participation are going further and saying 'socio-economic and political structures have to change'. Another resolution is passed with an overwhelming majority - 'socio-economic and political structures have to be changed'! (After the resolution is passed the per-diem is distributed. For Bangkok the rate is 35 dollars - which is equal to three to four months income of a farm labourer)! Yes, the structures have to be changed. Those who are getting 35 dollars per day for talking are saying the structures are oppressive, they have to be changed. They say they will go back home and try to change these insufferable structures. International experts drawing 35 dollars per day in addition to a monthly salary of 1500-2500 dollars promise to help the governments in changing the structures, in overhauling the system. But it is only a promise after all, not a commitment to action.

If all these ladies and gentlemen, who are talking mouthfuls of the phrase "people's participation" don't already know, they should know that people's participation will mean conflict, struggle, it will mean bloodshed and violence, because it will mean transfer of power, privileges and benefits unless of course another Gandhi arrives on the scene to effect the miracle that never did work even when the first Gandhi was at the helm of non-violence. Let us take the example of an average village in Asia. It is not a harmonised community by any stretch of imagination. There are the rich, the middle level, the small and tenant farmers and landless peasants. Their problems are the money lenders, landlords, middlemen and all their accomplices. If this mass of people is to participate in a meaningful way the first thing they will want is deliverance from all these exploiters. This will not happen just by wishing it to happen. The elite has not consolidated its power only to put it on a platter and present it to the masses. It (the elite) will resist giving up its power till the very end. In fact, history tells us they will not give up power, it will have to be snatched. Now I must be sounding like a communist ... the KGB must be behind me, or worse still China. In fact now it can even be Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia. I should be declared "subversive"; my writing "against the national interest".

Will those of us who are talking about peoples' participation help the people to snatch away power from the elite, from the hands of our friends, our relatives, damn it from our own hands. Will we? What in our behaviour, our past actions is it that will make the people believe we are no more on our own side - even after pocketing 35 dollars per day for TALKING in a seminar ...!

(From The Asian Cultural Forum on Development Newsletter, May/June 1976 - In CHURCH ALERT No.12, 1977).

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CIAR SEMINARS FOR 1977 - for the promotion and renewal of religious life in Latin America will take place as follows:-

For Superiors in English in July and August in the English Antilles  
in Spanish in October and November in Santiago, Chile  
in French in November and December in Haiti

Write: CIAR, Calle 78, 12-16 Apt. 101, Apartado Aereo 90710, Bogotá/Columbia.

RELIGION IN BRAZIL TODAY

In the large towns, there are two parallel phenomena. In the first place a very strong thrust of African religions: spiritism, animism, a very fatalistic religion without any social concerns. These religions are tolerated and even indirectly supported by the civil authorities; thus, their place of worship is often declared as being of public utility. Their nature, in fact, does not lead them to raise social questions which might embarrass these authorities. Alongside these religions, the Protestant Pentecostalism introduced by the Americans is developing.

The Church is making a great effort today to differentiate herself from the Afro-Brazilian religions. In fact, throughout their history, these religions, which entered Brazil with the slaves, have assimilated numerous elements of Catholic practices, particularly numerous devotions and the cult of saints. In this way, certain Catholic devotions are very often practised only on the basis of an animistic faith. The Church now wishes to define herself clearly as being different from animism, preaching a liberation based on the Resurrection.

The Government does not attack the Church openly, but it creates administrative difficulties for her, from which it is not always easy to emerge due to the circumstances. Then too, there exists almost everywhere - and present in numerous activities of the Church - a more or less secret police. There have also been kidnappings of bishops, killings of priests, always carried out by extreme rightist movements, tolerated by the Government. Officially, these crimes are generally attributed to the left-wing movements, communist in particular.

One may wonder, then, what the attitude of the Church is to the Government. The governing body of the National Conference of Brazilian bishops is opposed to it, but most of the bishops are not. Likewise, the clergy does not have one unified line of work and attitude.

(In *CECRONICA*, C.I.C.M., No.3, 1977)-(Claude Letarne, taken from Scheut-CICM)

BRAZIL - Church attacks violence

... The escalation of the tension between Church and State in Latin America's largest country (pop. 110 millions) was dramatically revealed late last year in a forthright declaration put out by Brazil's Conference of Catholic Bishops in which it brought the Government sharply to task for engendering the "deep roots which serve to create and bring about a climate of violence". The 17 page document is the subject of intensive debate within the country and internationally. We are grateful to *Latin America Press* (Vol.8, No.47) for the translation of major excerpts of this remarkable witness:

A Pastoral Letter To The People of God - "Violence breeds violence. Violence against political prisoners is committed by soldiers and police. The perversion of the police force is obvious. Recent attacks are classified as terrorist organization activity on the Latin American continent. One manifestation of mili-

tary political terrorism on the continent was the arrest of 17 Catholic Bishops in Quito, Ecuador, on August 13.

Who should be blamed for the wave of perversity which has grown to alarming proportions? Or, what is behind all the crimes in our country which have reached a degree of refined cruelty?

The pernicious and ominous practice of labelling bishops, priests and lay-people as subversives and agitators, when they defend poor and humble people, prisoners and victims of torture, contributes to crime, violence and highhandedness. In view of the incidents, which are shocking to public opinion, we cannot blame just the low-ranking policeman who pulls the trigger of the revolver or this or that policeman or soldier.

We must search for the underlying causes which act together to create a climate of violence. Among the principal causes of violence we stipulate the following:

The poor are deprived of justice; poor people are defenceless; they fill the goals, where torture is frequent; they are imprisoned on charges of not carrying identification papers or taken under arrest in police dragnet raids; only the poor are arrested on charges of vagrancy.

For the powerful the situation is quite different. There are criminals who go unpunished because they are protected by the power of money, prestige or influence. The society that protects them becomes an accomplice to this kind of injustice. This double treatment suggests that in our society money, not people, is the source of rights.

A recent meeting of the Bar Association in Bahia gave expression to the concern of lawyers over this state of affairs. They said that penal law is the law of the poor, not because it is their guardian and protector, but because it brings to bear its force and vengeance exclusively on them.

#### The Impunity of Police Criminals

The crimes of the famous Death Squad - whose operation in several States of the Federation has been confirmed - are notorious. It is publicly known that several assassins among the police were arrested and punished according to the law.

But the matter is a serious one with regard to police accused of the crimes of murder, corruption, trafficking in drugs and white slavery who are never brought to trial because high officials protect them on the allegation that they are valuable elements for the repression of political crimes.

Justice is thereby hindered from fulfilling its duty to assure the principle of equality of all people before the law which is basic to any civilized society.

#### Unfair Land Distribution

The unfair distribution of land in Brazil dates back to the colonial period. However, in recent times the problem has become more acute because of the financial incentives for agribusinesses.

As a negative result, in addition to the unchecked real estate speculation going on in the interior of the country, big companies equipped with legal and financial resources do away with small operators by expelling Indians and homesteaders from their lands.

These small landholders - squatters and homesteaders - who have difficulty in getting even an identification card, cannot get title to their land or give proof in court of their right to use the land. Hence they are expelled to more remote places, even to neighbouring countries. Or they become nomads doomed to wandering the highways.

If they resist, conflicts arise of the kind which are multiplying in the Amazon and Mato Grosso regions.

Others move to nearby cities, causing a vast internal migration which is swelling urban population. They have to live in miserable slums in a sub-human existence until they are swept further away, as areas in which they settle are taken over for real estate speculation or for urban development. In the cities they suffer degradation from low wages. Human services for them are of miserable quality or totally lacking.

#### The Status of Indians

Indians, especially those in the Amazonian region, are losing vast areas of land to ranchers and homesteaders - some of whom were expelled from their land by powerful companies. What is happening today is a repetition of what happened to the Indians in the southern part of the country at an earlier time.

In this framework the Indian Statute becomes a dead letter. If the Indians survive they are exploited as cheap labour, or they go to the edge of the cities, or, hungry and suffering, they wander along the highways that cut up their reservations.

The guardianship of the State, which makes them partially incompetent before the law, hinders the Indians from becoming subjects of their development and destiny. The process of surveying the Indian lands is slow. The problem is aggravated by the profits available to those who exploit mineral and forest wealth.

The introduction of a development process with vast financial backing has laid whole tribes open to extermination. This happens when highways are opened up without prior planning or respect for the first inhabitants of the area. Some INCRA (National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform) projects are of this kind.

Thus it is not surprising that Indians become ashamed of their race and try to hide their origin, calling themselves Bolivians or Peruvians in order to be accepted by a society that rates itself superior.

#### National Security and Individual Security

We have already said that the principle of equality of all people before the law is the foundation of any society that pretends to be civilized, and the secu-

... rity of each citizen is thus an essential condition for the internal security of a nation.

The Constitution now in effect affirms that all power comes from the people and is exercised in their name.

A contrary thesis maintains it is the State which grants freedom and human rights to citizens. This goes along with the principle that inspired the idea of national security, has guided the Brazilian government since 1964 and has given origin to a political system which is increasingly more centralized and with proportionally less participation by the people.

To place the State - the government - above the Nation means overvaluing state security and undervaluing individual security. This means reducing people to silence in a climate of fear.

Without the people's participation and expression the programme, projects and official plans, whatever their excellence and economic or material success, readily lead to corruption. They are not justified unless they correspond to the needs and aspirations of the people.

The ideology of national security placed above personal security is spreading throughout the Latin American continent, just as it has in countries under Soviet rule.

Inspired by this ideology military regimes claiming to fight against communism and promote economic development, have declared an anti-subversive war on all those who disagree with the authoritarian view of the organization of society.

Besides brutalizing its agents, training for such a war creates a new type of fanaticism and a climate of violence and fear. Freedom of thought and expression are sacrificed and individual guarantees are suppressed.

This doctrine has led military regimes to fall into the characteristics and practices of communist regimes: the abuse of power by the State, arbitrary arrests, torture and suppression of freedom of thought.

Our struggle must not be against persons; they all deserve our love. Our struggle is against enslavement by sin, hunger and injustice, for which people, often unconsciously, are responsible.

Organized civil forces do not want to yield to small and weak people who are in the majority. It is only the great and powerful, who have rights. The ordinary man should have only what is strictly necessary to keep him alive to serve the powerful.

It would be well for justice to punish the murderers of Fr. João Bosco, not because he comes from an important family, but so that police agents would not be disrespectful to or torture anyone - as they tortured our sisters Margarida and Sentina - nor go on spreading terror among the ordinary people. It would be well for João Carneiro and his partners in crime to be arrested and sentenced, not to avenge the death of Fr. Rodolfo and the Indian Simão, but so that land stealers might understand that the arm of justice weighs on them, too.

Yet simple punishment of criminals cannot solve the conscience of officials as long as the socio-politico-economic system continues to create a social order which is characterized by injustice and fosters violence."

(Taken from ONE WORLD, No.23, 1977).

SISTERS IN BRAZIL - Over one hundred Brazilian parishes have been assigned to religious women and the number will continue to increase. These are located primarily in the outskirts of cities and in the Amazon region.

(Taken from BULLETIN, Series 5, No.4, 1976).

THIRD WORLD THEOLOGIANS MEET - Dialogue Leads to Action

An ecumenical dialogue of Third World Theologians was held in Dar-es-Salaam in August 1976. Participants: 11 Roman Catholics, 10 Protestants, 1 Coptic Orthodox. Among the participants were Missa Malasuriya - Asia, Ngindu Mushete - Africa; Enrique Dussel, Gustavo Gutierrez, Beatriz Couch - Latin America.

Position papers were presented covering aspects of socio-political and cultural analysis, evaluation of presence of the Church, and the theological approach of each continent.

President Nyerere, addressing the participants, said the issue of the moment in Africa to-day is one of oppression and exploitation. He hailed the evolution of the theology of liberation by the Latin American Church as an awakening to the true realities of life because they had discovered that even with independence and Christianity, exploitation and oppression still prevailed.

To promote the doing of theology in the context of Third world socio-political-economic-religious and cultural realities, the group decided to form an Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians. Its aims - "The continuing development of Third World Christian Theologies which will serve the Church's mission in the world and witness to the new humanity in Christ expressed in the struggle for a just society." Objectives:-

1. sharing with one another the present trends of interpretation of the Gospel in the different Third World countries, particularly bearing in mind the roles of theology in relation to other faiths and ideologies as well as the struggle for a just society.
2. promoting the exchange of theological views through writings in the books and periodicals of the different Third World countries.
3. promoting the mutual interaction between theological formulation and social analysis.
4. keeping close contacts as well as involvement with action oriented movements for social change.

The membership of the association is for those born and normally serving in one of the Third World countries and for members of the dispersion from Africa, Asia and Latin America involved in some form of doing theology.

The next meeting in Accra, Ghana, in December 1977, will be an All Africa Consultation of Theologians and other Christians.

From RELEVANCE, No. 7, 31st January, 1977  
(A dossier on Inculturation)

— C. 1. No one, not even the best anthropologist, can tell beforehand what forms a culture will adopt for its own. Should priests wear Roman collars, tie or saffron robes. Only the liberated natives can tell, because the decision is theirs.

2. The future ecclesiastical culture in a country will most likely be a synthesis of sorts, made up by the blend of thesis and antithesis, the impact of the foreign missionary on the native culture. Inculturation should seek to reconsider rather than exclude the foreign culture's contribution. But such contribution should enrich rather than suffocate the growing native culture as it easily can do without knowing.

3. Theology should be taught in seminaries as something still to be made by the seminarians themselves, rather than as ready-made clothes for them to put on.

4. Foreign missionaries should undergo a period of training where they work in a non-authoritative position, preferably under a native of the place, preferably under a layman upon whom they are truly dependent. As a certain Korean nun said: 'How can you understand anybody if you are always upperstanding him?' Of course, what is here said of foreign missionaries can well be said of all priests undergoing training.

5. Since language is of extreme importance in freedom of expression and moreover is itself formative of one's thought systems, the native language should be the normal medium for all religious exchange. — pages 18 - 19.

— G. Conceptions of inculturation will be sadly lame if the economic aspects of the question are not taken into account. Large scale and prolonged dependence on foreign funds, so characteristic of the Catholic churches and movements in India (and perhaps in the rest of Asia and in Africa), is often due to habits of thinking, planning, and understanding things in terms of what is or has been in Europe or America, and due to lack or neglect of concrete local responses to concrete local needs and possibilities. Economic dependence often brings with it spiritual dependence; we seek to oblige and to please: we lay aside our critical instincts and qualms of conscience; our imagination becomes atrophied and our thinking becomes a copy of that of our kind and generous donors. And we construct buildings, start institutions, initiate projects, and open aid programmes which ill-fit the social landscape, mock our cultural traditions, isolate us from our people, and succeed in presenting the church and the Faith as foreign and culturally-nationally alienating.

Is it not an essential part of acculturation that the church and the society live within the political and economic life of the country, benefit from its merits and suffer from its defects like, and along with, the rest of men; plan and work within the limitations of our actual situation; dissociate ourselves from exploitative structures; and seek

to offer services which respond to actual needs and not to a priori imaginings of our own? That will call for a radical rethinking of our life-style, apostolic involvements and patterns and programmes of training. It will lead us to lay greater stress on the life of the heart, on the quality of relationships, and the nature and thrust of the social structures which will result there from.  
 — page 72.

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CIAR SEMINARS FOR 1977 - for the promotion and renewal of religious life in Latin America:-

- For grassroots religious in Bogotá, Columbia, April 25 - May 25
- For formation personnel in Quito, Ecuador, May 30 - June 26
- For religious who work in educational ministry and with the marginalised in Lima, Peru, June 13 - July 16

For further information write: CIAR, Calle 78, 12-16 Apt.101, Apartado Aereo 90710, Bogotá, Columbia. (Mission I. n.63)

ROME SUMMER SCHOOL (International and Ecumenical) 23rd June - 5 July on "Christian Faith and Humanism". Fees 1.500 Lire per lecture. For all enquiries and bookings please contact: Miss M. Orrell, Secretary for ROCESS 1977, Via del Plebiscito 107, 00186 ROMA, Tel: 6783109.

CATHOLIC MEDIA COUNCIL - next Advisory Board Meeting on 12th May in Aachen, Germany, from 10 a.m. - 5 p.m. It will be a kind of workshop on Social Communications Media in Latin America, in particular with regard to the Radio Schools.

XI World Day of Social Communications, Sunday 22nd May 1977 - in accordance with "Inter Mirifica". The purpose is to call upon Christians, and others, to reflect, on the basis of a given subject, both on the immense possibilities that these communications offer and on the responsibilities they imply.

Subject: "Advertising in Social Communications" - its advantages, dangers and responsibilities. - one subject, three motives  
 - the power and the responsibility of advertising  
 - some pastoral suggestions (FILMIS, Vol.III n. 9-10).

BLUEPRINT, Volume XXIX - is devoted to POSITION PAPERS ON "RIGHT-TO-WORK" LAWS.

The discussion paper of the Laity Commission is available from the Catholic Information Office, 74 Gallow's Hill Lane, Abbots Langley, Herts, and the details of the Christian Industrial Enterprise Week are available from: The Foundation Trust, 23 Spencer Road, East Molesey, Surrey. (THE TABLET, Vol.230, N.7109, '76)

Festvortrag des Pater General Pedro Arrupe bei der Akademie in der Paulskirche. GIAULE UND GERECHTIGKEIT als Auftrag der europäischen Christen. (Doc. n.1/641)

RESOURCES FOR CHRISTIAN LEADERS contains a list of books on the following topics:

Personal Management	Problem Solving	Groups
Leadership	Decision-making	Rapid Reading/Comprehension
Organizational Management	Introducing Change	Building
Setting Goals	Communications	Meetings
Organizing	Concepts	Secretaries
Planning	Values	(IARC, 919 W. Huntington Dr., Monrovia, 91016)



WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAMME, from Nairobi Development Education New

A series of three training programmes for teams of women is being offered at the request of women who have attended previous workshops. Women interested in this programme need to have attended some previous workshop and commit themselves to all three workshops. The training is made to help the participants from one step to the next, and therefore, if a person drops out of one part, she cannot come into the next workshop.

Dates of the three parts are still to be arranged.

These workshops will concentrate on:

1. How to run meetings effectively,
2. Methods of working more effectively with groups,
3. understanding group needs and leadership functions,
4. styles of leadership,
5. skills in planning educational events,
6. role of women in the Christian community,
7. Particular problems facing women's groups and ways in which to help those groups find solutions to those problems.

Participants must actually be leaders of women's groups in their local area. The women from the 1976 training programme felt strongly that the women to be in this programme should be elected by local women and have attended at least one development workshop in the diocese. They must have all this information before committing themselves. Preference will be given to teams of women who can realistically work together on parish, deanery, or diocesan level.

DELTA (Development Education and Leadership Teams in Action).

This training is a four week programme meant for teams of people who realistically can work together. People who can work together on a parish, deanery, or diocesan level will be accepted. People coming to the programme should be selected by their community. All participants must have attended some previous workshop and show keen interest in pursuing the use of these methods. The most effective teams have been those who had definite possibilities of future work together, either because of living near each other, or because of common responsibility in a diocesan programme.

The Development Co-ordinator from each diocese is the person who co-ordinates the names to be referred for this training.

(Kenya Catholic Secretariate NEWSLETTER, 2/6)

ARNOLD-JANSSEN-HAUS, Arnold-Janssen-Strasse 24, 5205 St. Augustin 1.  
"Südostasien im Spannungsfeld der Grossmächte" - Für Primaner und Studenten -  
25.IV.77 - 30.IV.77. - Leitung: Prof. Dr. Eduard Kroker, SVD.

EVANGELIZATION IN THE MODERN WORLD - Study Guide - Canadian Catholic Conference  
Publications Service, 90 Parent Avenue, Ottawa K1N 7B1, Canada.

(Available at Sedos) also in French: *Évangélisation dans le Monde Moderne.*