



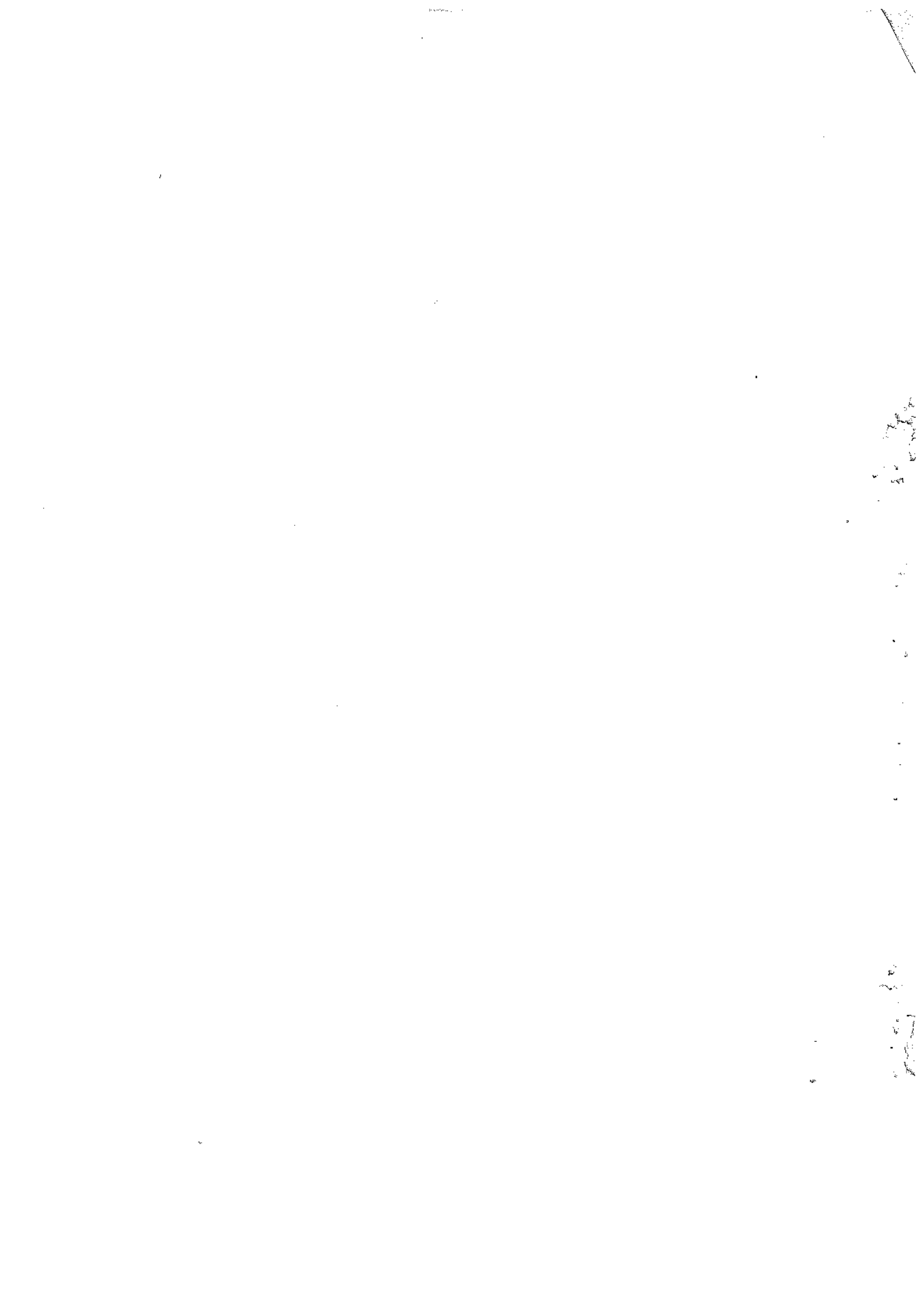
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LATIN AMERICA AND THE DEVELOPMENT DEBATE. 1

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LATIN AMERICA AND THE DEVELOPMENT DEBATE. \*

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This article is an effort to demonstrate some of the ways Latin American development has been interpreted. Its main focuses will be (a) on the contributions that were elaborated at CEPAL<sup>2</sup>, (b) on the now classic dependency debate, and, finally, (c) on contemporary trends that are influencing the present discussion. One of my underlying assumptions is that there is an international crisis concerning the modes of thinking about development, making the present context comparable to the post World War II context. Given my intentions, I chose to abstain from making a detailed description on the different levels of development of the productive forces in Latin America. Rather, I chose to draw an introductory picture of Latin America, a vision that hopefully can be helpful to place the region within a broader framework and to address the central question of what is homogeneous and heterogenous in Latin America.

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<sup>2</sup>. I will either use the Spanish acronym CEPAL, i.e. Comisión Económica para la América Latina, or the English one, ECLA, Economic Commission for Latin America.

\* a sair no Indian Journal of Social Science, periódico do Indian Council of Social Science Research, Nova Déli, In dia.

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## I) INTRODUCTION

The very definition of Latin America is a motif of debate. It is a rather large area of the world. Everything south of Rio Grande on the American/Mexican border is Latin America. Twenty nations cover a total land area of about 8 million square miles. If the Caribbean is considered as Latin America, as it often is, then twelve other independent nations, with colonial histories that are not necessarily "Latin" (i.e. Portuguese or Spanish), need to be counted as part of the region<sup>3</sup> (Moran 1987). Some argue Latin America is an ideological construction, others say it is a historical, political and economic construction. However, whatever argument or approach one chooses, it is true that there is a major force that gives a strong homogeneity to Latin American historical, sociological and anthropological reality: Western expansion.

The creation of a world that reflected the interests and visions of European elites is a process that, for Latin America, can be analytically seen as unfolding in two periods. First, Western colonialism, a rather large period, since the region was

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<sup>3</sup>. If there is an area of the world representative of the works of European colonialism that is the Caribbean. French, Dutch, British, Spanish, for instance, created a complex ethnic segmentation, a mosaic that includes populations of native, African, East Indian and Chinese descent. For an analysis of the flow of Indian indentured workers to the Caribbean and Surinam see Tinker (1974). There still is one European colony in South America: French Guyana.

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dominated by the Spanish and Portuguese crowns from the 16th century until the first decades of the 19th century when most Latin American countries became politically independent. Second, Western imperialism, a powerful force that until the present shapes different aspects of the political, economic, social and cultural life of Latin Americans. Evidently, neither the colonial past nor the history of imperialism is the same for the region as a whole.

The articulation of the colonial powers with local native populations and ecosystems created several differences that are significant to understand the present. It is obviously different to encounter Empires such as the Aztec, Maya (in Mexico and Guatemala) and Inca (on the Andes, the mountain chain that is the backbone of South America) than to meet with hunter-and-gatherers in the Amazon or in what would be the Brazilian coast<sup>4</sup>. Despite the implications of the new discoveries on the nature of Amazonic hunters-and-gatherers, it is true that in lowland South-

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<sup>4</sup>. Presently, there is enough evidence to consider that, before the arrival of the Europeans, in the Amazon there were populations with a more complex political organization than hunters-and-gatherers. Ethno-historians and archaeologists are arguing that on the mouth of the Amazon and on the Upper Solimões there were populations that could be classified as examples of "kingdoms". This does not mean that there were not hunters-and-gatherers in the area. However, it does mean that many of the native populations that were classified as hunters-and-gatherers were not always living in such a way, were not an example of "ecological adaptation" to the Amazonic carrying capacity, neither an example of societies with a "frozen conception of time". Rather, there are strong indications that many of the Amazonic hunters-and-gatherers are a product of the history of interethnic contact and colonialism. See, for instance, Porro 1989.

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America neither Spaniards nor Portuguese could take over a politically centralized system that, once dominated, guaranteed an easier access to the exploration of the native labor force for European profit-oriented enterprises. Therefore, where the different ethnic groups were already organized under a central system, such as the Aztec and Inca empires, Spaniards could count on a large population to be engaged mainly in the exploration of gold and silver mines. In consequence of these political, demographic and geographical (location of precious metals) reasons, most of the Spanish enterprise was based upon the pre-conquest power centers and populations. To the contrary, areas that were not central to the main mine-complex, such as what is today Uruguay and Argentina, remained in a peripheral position vis-a-vis the Spanish colonial system, with different implications. If in Peru and Bolivia, for instance, the presence of native population is highly visible in demographic and cultural terms, with different political and economic implications for the history of class relations in those countries, in Argentina, an Indian past or identity can only be perceived in provinces such as those of the country's northwest and northeast, that have borders with Paraguay and Bolivia, and through the presence of the many Paraguayan and Bolivian migrants that live in Buenos Aires<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, Argentina and Uruguay are the

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<sup>5</sup>. Evidently, this is a general statement about Argentina's present ethnic reality. In Patagonia, the large and important southern region of the country, bordering Chile, the presence of native populations such as the Mapuche cannot be missed.



most European-like countries in Latin America, something that needs to be explained considering both their peripheral positions vis-a-vis the colonial system and the nineteenth century ideologies of the elites of the independent period that correlated whitening and progress. In the last decades of the nineteenth century both Argentina and Uruguay (as well as the south of Brazil) received million of European migrants, one of the results of the national unification of countries such as Italy and Germany.

But I shall return briefly to colonial times, focusing this turn on the Portuguese experience. In the Portuguese South-American part of the world, defined by the Treaty of Tordesilhas signed in 1494 by Portugal and Spain, there were no gold and silver mines to be immediately exploited. For the Portuguese, tropical South America was the perfect environment to develop an agricultural enterprise with which they had longstanding experience: sugar plantations. Since the Portuguese could not control a pre-existing centralized political and economical system, they tried first to enslave Indians, something that rapidly proved to be a fiasco. Despite many attempts, marked by the use of violence, Indians ran away from the Portuguese settlements making impractical their use as a permanent labor force. Portugal thus recurred to its historical experience with black slavery - a trade dominated by Portuguese much before their arrival in South America - and organized several plantations in the Northeast of Brazil. The flow of slaves from Africa was

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continuous from the sixteenth until the nineteenth century, marking Brazil in ethnic, cultural, social and economic ways<sup>6</sup>.

Colonialism was a strong shaping force not only for Latin America but for the New World as a whole. Nonetheless, it is undoubtedly different to be colonized by an Anglo-Saxon imperial power such as England than by Iberian powers. The hardcore of this difference became increasingly evident after the end of the colonial era in the Americas in the first decades of the nineteenth century. England first and the United States later assumed the position of hegemonic countries altering progressively the internal hierarchy of the world system. English influence on a country such as Argentina was visible to a degree that the formation of Argentine economic space was clearly oriented by British economic interests (Roffman & Romero 1973). The growing influence of the United States in the region was going to be undisputed after World War II. Currently, "Americanization", although a somewhat outmoded label, is strong in Latin America. Mass media are dominated by American production. "Shopping-centers" are increasingly becoming a

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<sup>6</sup>. The importance of plantations for the flow of Black slaves world wide is a fact. Marvin Harris (1964) indicated how in different areas of the New World - Brazil, the Caribbean, Central America, Southern United States - the presence of Black populations coincides with the presence of plantations. In the nineteenth century, with the restrictions to slave trade and the progressive abolishment of slavery, a new wave of migration, indentured workers from India, partially substituted African flows. This is why there can be found Indian descendants in the Caribbean and in South-American countries such as Suriname and Guyana. Tinker (1974) considered this migratory flow to be a disguised form of slavery.



preferred leisure option for the middle-class, indicating a kind of incipient "mall culture". Commodities are often priced in American dollars when inflation is a central economic problem. Unfortunately, those who believed that economic and cultural dependency was the modern way of maintaining political dependency in Latin America had their beliefs denied in view of the American invasion of Panama in December 1989.

But a political and economic system in expansion, with its structural similarities, causes different reactions and articulations. Indeed, this is a historical movement common to the world as a whole (Wolf 1982). A movement that makes the following question mandatory: what is homogeneous in Latin America and what is heterogeneous? This is more of a central question in Latin America since it supposedly inherited a historical and cultural identity from its colonial past. Moreover, for the Spanish-speaking countries of the region, especially in South America, the idea of a unique and strong nation to be born out of the decaying Spanish colonial domains, was pivotal to the independence wars. However, despite being highly oriented by unification ideologies, these wars resulted in the creation of several different nations reflecting the different relationships regional elites had with the disappearing colonial system (Furtado 1969). On the other hand, in the Portuguese speaking nation of the region, Brazil, latinoamericanidad has been an ideology of restricted political and intellectual segments. The emerging Brazilian nation, being





the "successor" of Portuguese colonialism (transition to political independence in Brazil in 1822 was to a great extent the result of internal agreements within the Portuguese Royal family) and without a unification ideology as powerful and evident as Bolivar's, has nonetheless remained a single political unit<sup>7</sup>.

Latinoamericanidad is a pro-homogeneity ideology whose importance fluctuates according to political conjunctures. The political elites from Brazil have not fostered this kind of ideology. As a matter of fact, the Brazilian state is often perceived as an imperialist one in Spanish-speaking South America. There are at least four main reasons to sustain this vision. One is that the common Spanish colonial past shared by these countries imply a Spanish-centered historical point-of-view. Brazil's territorial expansion is often interpreted from the unrespectful Portuguese who crossed the lines of the Tordesilhas Treaty (signed in 1494) that divided the would-be Spanish and Portuguese empires in the New World. The second reason is that Brazil has incorporated in the past areas of other neighboring countries. The clearest example was the purchase from Bolivia of what today is Brazil's Acre state. The third point is that the dynamics of Brazil's economic frontier pressures the frontier areas of countries such as Paraguay, Argentina and

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7. Simón Bolívar (1783-1830) was the Venezuelan general who headed the liberation wars of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Bolivia. Bolívar and the Argentine José de San Martín (1778-1850) are the two great heroes of the independence movements in South America.

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Bolivia. Finally, there is the ideology of some Brazilian military and political sectors of transforming this country into a world super-power\*. However, since the mid-eighties Brazil and Argentina, with the co-participation of Uruguay, are promoting a project of economic and political integration - visibly inspired in the idea of a common market such as Europe's. Official speeches of both sides often claim that Latin America is a unity.

What is latinoamericanidad and which has been its ideological role in Latin American history is a question that still needs answering. But, it might be suggested, in an exploratory manner, that it is an ideology created in the interplay of regional Latin American elites that has been useful to create temporary alliances and/or to negotiate from stronger positions with the representatives of political-economic interests placed out of the region. Whatever degree of homogeneity Latin America has, Mexican reality, with its pre-conquest indigenous imperial past, has very little to do with Brazil, or, worse, with Argentina and Uruguay, with their large populations of European descent. However, it is also self-evident that depending on the level of abstraction, there will always be structural similarities in Latin America as a whole. But here, the question would remain whether these similarities cannot also be found in African or Asian contexts. If this is true, then "structural similarities" existing in Latin American countries

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\*. It could be argued that the fact that Brazil is presently the eighth largest economy of the Western world should be added.

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reflect much more their relationship to the history of the evolution of the world system than an internal structured "ethos" of the region.

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In the next section, I will discuss different approaches to interpret Latin American development in general. I will focus especially on the dependency school because it is the result of an effort by Latin American intellectuals to generate an alternative conceptual framework to understand the region's political economy. Despite the importance of other modes of interpreting development - for instance, those influenced by Marxism such as "unequal development" (Amin 1973), "articulation of modes of production" (Rey 1976, see also Chilcote 1984) and "world system" (Wallerstein 1974) - they will not be considered here in detail. Since I understand that there is a crisis on the conception and directions of what is being understood and discussed as development, I will then turn to a specific debate, one that apparently is challenging prevailing frameworks by taking into account conceptions elaborated by the international environmentalist movement. This debate is central to understand the present developmental policy for a large Latin American area, Amazonia. Its consideration is also important because environmentalism is creating new visions that are going to be influential in public policy and planning related to socio-economic development in a global level.



## II) LATIN AMERICA AND SOME APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT.

Progress and development are amongst the most powerful notions informing Western conceptions of time, history and mankind's destiny. Although this is not the place to elaborate on the complex issues involved with the role and importance of these notions, some points can be highlighted. First, the idea of progress or its correlated can be traced as far as Ancient Greece. Philosophers and historians attribute to this idea a major place in the history of Western thought. It has also been identified as part of the Judeo-Christian vision of the world. Second, the idea of progress is a metaphorical conception that stresses continuity and directionality, based on the observation that persons and other living beings experience growth. In this connection, the idea of progress always entailed its immediate and competing opposite, the idea of decadence. Third, the idea of progress becomes central and dominant as part of the new social contract and ideological universe accompanying the rise to power of the European bourgeoisie in the 18th century with the impressive development of the productive forces - especially of technology - that this implied. Fourth, as part of the processes of secularization and rationalization that unfolded in the 19th century, development - the twin-idea of progress - and the possibility of rationally intervening in social processes, became an explicit ideology of ruling elites, including intellectuals, providing the context for the appearance of socialist utopias





(Fourier and Saint-Simon, for instance) and a project such as Auguste Comte's of founding a "social physics". Evolutionism is also closely related to these processes. Evidently, the social sciences are marked by the historical context in which they originated<sup>9</sup>.

In this connection, social scientists can be considered, to a great extent, to be heirs and (re)producers of a central body of Western ideologies. It is not accidental that the literature on "development" is one of the most prolific ones. It has experienced a remarkable growth after World War II when the word progress, perhaps because of its identifiable connections with French positivism, became increasingly substituted by development. It was also a time when planning became an explicit ideology of public and private economic actors following the experiences of Europe's reconstruction guided by initiatives like the Marshall Plan, and the creation of multilateral agencies that had the role of reorganizing the world economy such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, my emphasis).

The post World War II period and multilateral agencies were also important for the creation of Latin American interpretations

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\* For discussions related to these issues see Dodds (1973); Hildebrand (1949); Delvaille (1969) and Binder (1986). The possibility that reasoning could be effective to understand the order or logic of anything in a world full of rationales to be unveiled, is a strong component of a process of rationalization that sees the "social" as an "object" capable of being understood to undergo rational interventions. This pretention is one of the founding myths of the Social Sciences and of planning in general.

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on development and on the region's position within the new world system. It is during this period, especially during the fifties, that industrialism became an explicit goal for segments of several Latin American bourgeoisies. National bourgeoisies politically interested in industrial development and in the growth of the internal market were recognized by politicians and intellectuals as progressive in contrast with rural based "oligarchies"<sup>10</sup>. Industry and technology became central for a project of growth that presumably would end the historical "backwardness" of the impoverished masses, thus leading to socio-economic development and political liberation. This conception, a sort of technological and industrial determinism, would be further stimulated and elaborated in an institution that would be of uttermost influence in Latin American economic and political thought, as well as in the actual administration of several governments of the area: CEPAL - Comisión Económica para América Latina<sup>11</sup>, a United Nations agency that in the fifties and sixties was the main "think tank" of Latin American economists and sociologists (see Furtado 1985). The development of CEPAL's main ideas in the fifties, happened in a world where the the United States hegemony was unquestioned, cold war was the global climate and decolonization a main political issue.

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<sup>10</sup>. It would be interesting to do research on the class and cultural backgrounds of the pro-industrialism intellectuals, so-to speak, to be able to see whether a correlation between their class memberships and cultural biases is possible to be made.

<sup>11</sup>. Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA).



"CEPAL arose as a new manner of constructing a collective Latin American framework... Its novelty is that it found fertile grounds in some countries to constitute itself in an alternative forum to the climate of bilateral negotiations, moving therefore from the practice of economic policy to economic analysis" (Pedrao 1988: 27).

Santiago del Chile, where CEPAL was founded in 1948, was the "intellectual capital" of Latin America in regard to the production of theories applicable to practical social planning, until General Pinochet's coup against Salvador Allende's democratic government in 1973. After the 1964 military coup in Brazil, several Brazilian intellectuals, amongst them Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Theotonio dos Santos, moved to Santiago, where they developed some of the most important works on dependency. As a result of the 1973 Chilean coup, one of the most violent of the military interventions that swept Latin America in the 60's and 70's, Mexico City became the new pole of attraction for expatriate Latin American intellectuals. In the 80's, with the successive return of most countries of the region to democracy - including the end in 1989 of South America's longest dictatorship, almost 35 years of General Stroessner in Paraguay- Mexico's hegemony began gradually to be shared with Brazil.

The history of CEPAL, where the first roots of the Latin American dependency school<sup>12</sup> may be found, cannot be recounted

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<sup>12</sup>. There is a controversy on whether dependency is a "theory" or an "approach". Since these words can have different meanings according to authors' theoretical orientations, and given the fact that Fernando Henrique Cardoso, one of the most important dependistas, denied the status of "theory" for dependencia (Cardoso 1977), I will agree with Blomstrom & Hettne on the use of the term school, i.e. "a group of authors who are united by a common perspective, but who may not necessarily agree



without reference to the name of the Argentine economist Raul Prebisch, Director-General of Argentina's Central Bank from 1935 to 1943, and CEPAL's leader for many years:

"The idea of a centre-periphery structure in the world economy was implicit in Prebisch's early economic policy writings concerning Argentina, in which inward-directed development and industrialization were seen as the remedy" (Blomstrom & Hettne 1988: 39).

Prebisch viewed Latin American development as being limited, if not hindered, by external factors, especially by terms of trade that historically tended to favor industrial commodities as against primary products. Prebisch's recipe for development included a drive for industrialization via import-substitution, protection of the internal market from foreign competition and an active participation of the state in organizing the economy, among other things. All these conceptions are still, to a lesser or greater degree, widely in vogue in Latin America.

Prebisch's ideas - summed up in a document known as the "ECLA Manifest" (1950) - were further elaborated in the Economic Commission for Latin America where planners from different countries of the region were trained in the fifties and sixties<sup>13</sup>. There was optimism:

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on all details" (Blomstrom & Hettne 1988: 77). The following pages of this article are essentially based on Blomstrom & Hettne's (1988), Furtado (1985), Pedrão (1988).

<sup>13</sup>. This document is also known as the "Study of 49". Fernando Pedrão (1988: 42) states that the study was biased towards the situation of South America's Southern Cone nations leaving in a secondary position countries such as the Andean ones and Mexico. He considers that Raul Prebisch was methodologically





"The belief that industrialization was the remedy to underdevelopment spread not only to the Latin American countries during the 1950's, but to most of the countries in the Third World. It was generally assumed that the process through which the industrialized countries had gone was essentially repeatable, and that the current conditions in these countries were the ultimate goal of development" (Blomstrom & Hettne 1988: 42)<sup>14</sup>.

But if CEPAL's first decade of existence reflected a theoretical effort to understand the accumulation process and economic cycles, the sixties would be the sociological decade (Pedrão 1988: 28). In 1960, the Latin American Institute for Social and Economic Planning (ILPES) - a "sociological annex" to the CEPAL (Blomstrom & Hettne 1988: 61) - was founded. The importance of ILPES in the diffusion of CEPAL's perspectives can be measured when we consider that more than 10,000 governmental officials from different countries were trained in its courses in a period of 20 years (Marinho 1988: 104).

In the early sixties, CEPAL's strategies of reform, implemented by some governments, were beginning to be criticized

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eclectic, with a style where traits of classic and keynesian analysis were predominant but also marked by "essential neo-classic components and an effort to incorporate elements of analysis of planned economies" (idem).

<sup>14</sup>. Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1987: 17) would later recall that "in Latin America up to the end of the decade of the 1950s there was a deeply rooted conception that the international economic trusts were not interested in the industrialization of the periphery, since they exported finished goods there; their fundamental interest was the control and exploitation of primary agricultural and mineral products. The theory of imperialism reinforced this point of view, which was more over consistent, at least in part, with what happened up to that point. The anti-imperialist struggles were at the same time struggles for industrialization. The local states and national bourgeoisie seemed to be the potential historical agents for capitalist economic development, which in turn was looked upon as a "necessary stage" by a considerable part of critical opinion".

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because of their similarities to modernization theory and, more importantly, because "programmed industrialization" was not necessarily leading to socio-economic development. Moreover, with the Cuban Revolution in 1959, the claim for urgent reforms in Latin America began to be heard by the United States which feared the growth of communism in the continent. The response was the American government Agency for International Development (AID) program of reforms and investments, "Alliance for Progress", aimed at modernizing Latin America. CEPAL's diagnosis provided a framework that was used to "organize the Latin-American periphery to receive a new stage, a more sophisticated one, of expansion of international oligopolic capital" (Marinho 1988: 105):

"Ingenuously, CEPAL found support for its developmentalist proposals, and almost disappeared ideologically, caught in the power and 'clairvoyance' of the North, 'suddenly convinced' of the need for structural reforms. It is a poor period for CEPAL's thought; despite the fact that its reformist action and rationalizing impetus were boiling, its interpretive power and intellectual tradition within the region were impoverishing to a great extent" (Marinho 1988: 105).

It is in these circumstances that dependistas begin to elaborate an approach that would increasingly come to the forefront of the intellectual and political scene. But before characterizing what was the "dependency school" a few more words must be written on CEPAL, an institution that to these days is influential in Latin American academic and intellectual life. In the seventies, when the region was mostly ruled by military authoritarian regimes<sup>10</sup>, CEPAL, under the leadership of Anibal

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<sup>10</sup>. There were military dictatorships in countries such as Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, Bolivia and Peru.

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Pinto, proposed a discussion on "styles of development". Economists, sociologists and historians warned of the dangers of a growing social marginality, trusting, once more, on the rationality of states (Marinho 1988: 106-107).

In fact, CEPAL is a good example that illustrates the existence of an internal ideology carried by planners everywhere in the world: the belief that social reality is "rational", "logical", and that once its "rationality" or "logics" is found, it can be changed in organized ways. Strangely enough, when plans do not turn out to be what the model supposed it should be, real populations are blamed for being the cause of "unexpected factors". Despite the fact that the "rationality of social reality" is one of the myths of origin common to economists, sociologists and anthropologists, we will not be able to understand planners' apparent naiveté, appealing exclusively to professional preconceptions' of individuals' worldviews. Social scientists, intellectuals in general, planners and planning agencies operate in a field where there is a political struggle, anchored in different ideologies, the result of which tends to provide a framework useful to legitimate the actions of particular social segments. Moreover, in many ways it could be said that more than participating in an ideological struggle, many intellectuals strive to formulate alternative ways of facing the future, that is, to formulate utopias that can eventually be transformed into reality if associated with real social movements.



In other words, CEPAL's sociological context could be summarized as follows: an international agency that has become a forum to reflect upon Latin American reality and that, at the same time, provides the possibility of discussing the region in an alternative way. CEPAL's discussion, in the seventies, about the model of development to be applied to Latin America was thus coherent with its sociological trajectory. At the same time, it can also be considered as a response to different waves of internationally fashionable issues and frameworks (Pedrão 1988: 29). In the period mentioned before, the main question was what kind of development should the nations of the region be searching for. New challenges appeared, development with social justice and ecological consciousness, for instance (Marinho 1988: 107-109).

In reality CEPAL's preoccupations were representative of some of the issues Latin America would have to face in the end of the eighties: what kind of development is development in Latin America? Sustainable development? Ecological-development? New labels that are representing new actors in the developmentalist drama. Before returning to these issues, I will focus first on the dependency school itself.

### The dependency school

The set of interpretations that would later be known as dependency needs to be seen as a result of the conjunction of the thoughts of "structuralist" economists such as Raul Prebisch and





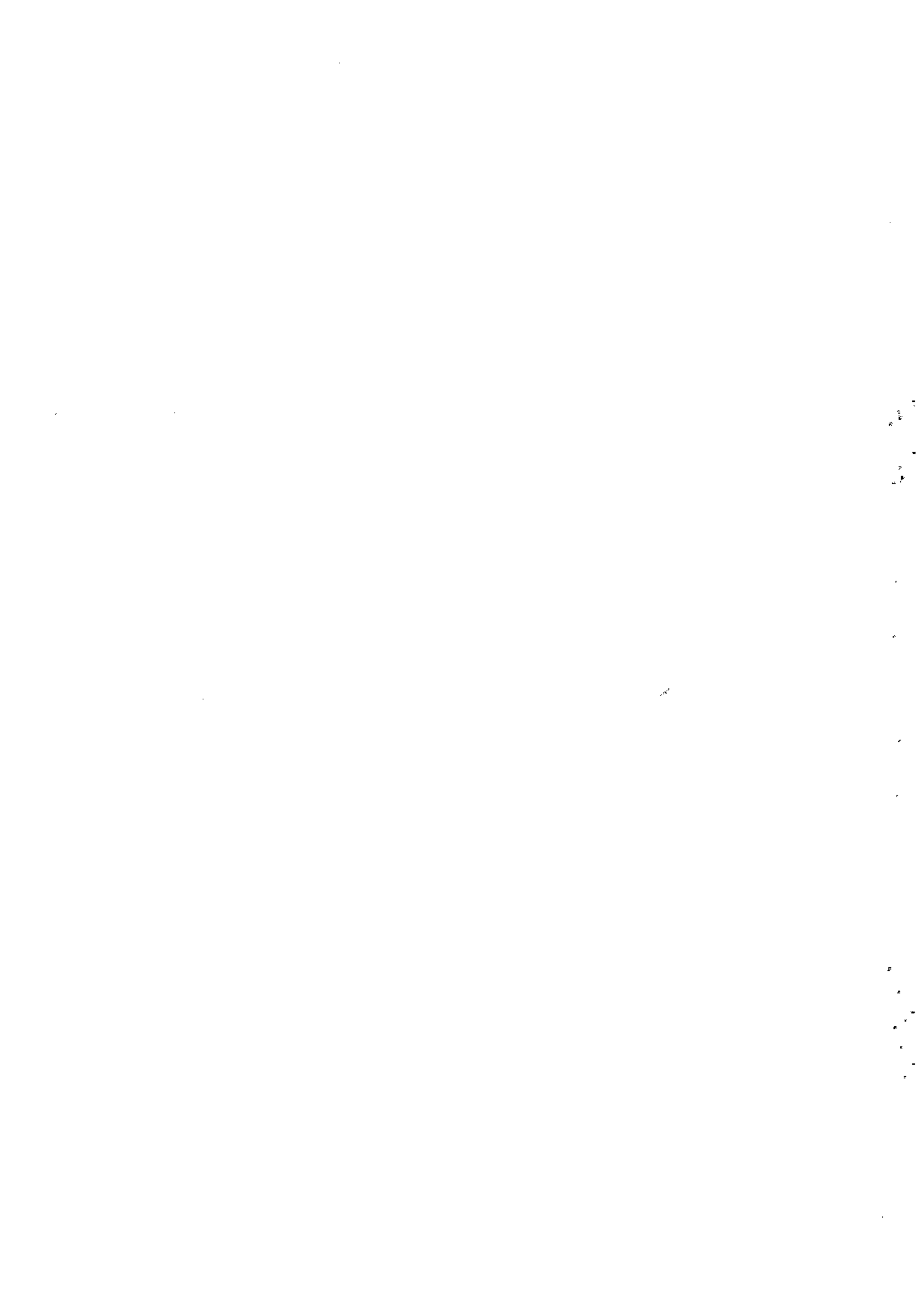
Celso Furtado and Latin American Neo-Marxists<sup>16</sup>. Amongst the factors that led to a theoretical criticism of CEPAL's thought two must be highlighted: (a) the similarities it had with modernization theory; (b) the fact that CEPAL's policies, recommendations and models lost a substantial part of their appeal because of the incongruities shown when applied by several Latin American governments in the sixties. Thinking of Brazil, the country where the industrial sector was developing the most rapidly, Celso Furtado, for instance, recognized that

"The ECLA strategy of industrialization had increased foreign dependence rather than reduced it. Imported consumption goods had merely been replaced by imported capital goods and intermediate products necessary to the industrial structure that had been created in Brazil (...) it was obviously of great interest both to the foreign industries and to the domestic oligarchy to keep large groups of the population marginalized. In this way salaries could be kept down and profits up" (Blomstrom & Hettne 1988: 57).

In this atmosphere, authors like Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Enzo Falleto and Theotonio dos Santos, unhappy with the prevailing theories of their time began to work on a new paradigm on development that could explain the region's secondary position within the international division of labor as well as its social and political problems. Most explanations produced in ECLA were written by economists who naturally stressed the economic side of the story. Dependistas broke clearly with modernization theory,

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<sup>16</sup>. Blomstrom & Hettne (1988) characterize Latin American neo-marxists as those who did not comply to the orthodox interpretations of the region's communist parties. These authors also consider that the Cuban revolution in 1959 was an important historical happening that supported the idea of an alternative Latin American path to political and economic transformations.



radicalized ECLA's contribution and endeavored to go beyond the prevailing theories of imperialism.

Several names are associated with the dependency school. Andre Gunder Frank is perhaps the best known of the non-Latin American dependistas. Frank was certainly influenced by Latin American scholars and developed a Metropolis/Satellite model that was to be considered too mechanical. In the early stages of the dependency approach, Frank also played a decisive role in diffusing the discussion in the English speaking world. Osvaldo Sunkel, Theotonio dos Santos, Ruy Mauro Marini and others made central contributions. Although they shared some common grounds such as the idea that underdevelopment was a created condition and a vision of contemporary imperialism closer to Rosa Luxembourgs (Eric Wolf, in Ribeiro 1985), they gave different emphasis to transnational capital (Sunkel), technological dependence and the role of the domestic market (dos Santos) and the role of "superexploitation" in the periphery (Marini)<sup>17</sup>. Despite the unquestionable importance of these authors I will focus on the work that is generally considered to be the mandatory classic on the topic: Dependency and Development in Latin America, by Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto,

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<sup>17</sup>. Magnus Blomstrom and Bjorn Hettne (1988) provide an excellent description of the dependency school. See especially chapters 2, 3 and 4. Some of the best known works of Furtado, Frank, Sunkel, dos Santos and Marini are listed in the bibliography.



first published as a book in Spanish in 1969<sup>18</sup>.

Cardoso & Faletto, working at ILFES (Latin American Institute for Social and Economic Planning) focused on political domination. They emphasized the internal logics of Latin American states and ruling classes to such a point that were later criticized either for sociologism or for having created a "one-class model of history" (Roxborough 1987: 8, see also O'Brien 1987: 12). For Cardoso and Faletto underdevelopment had to

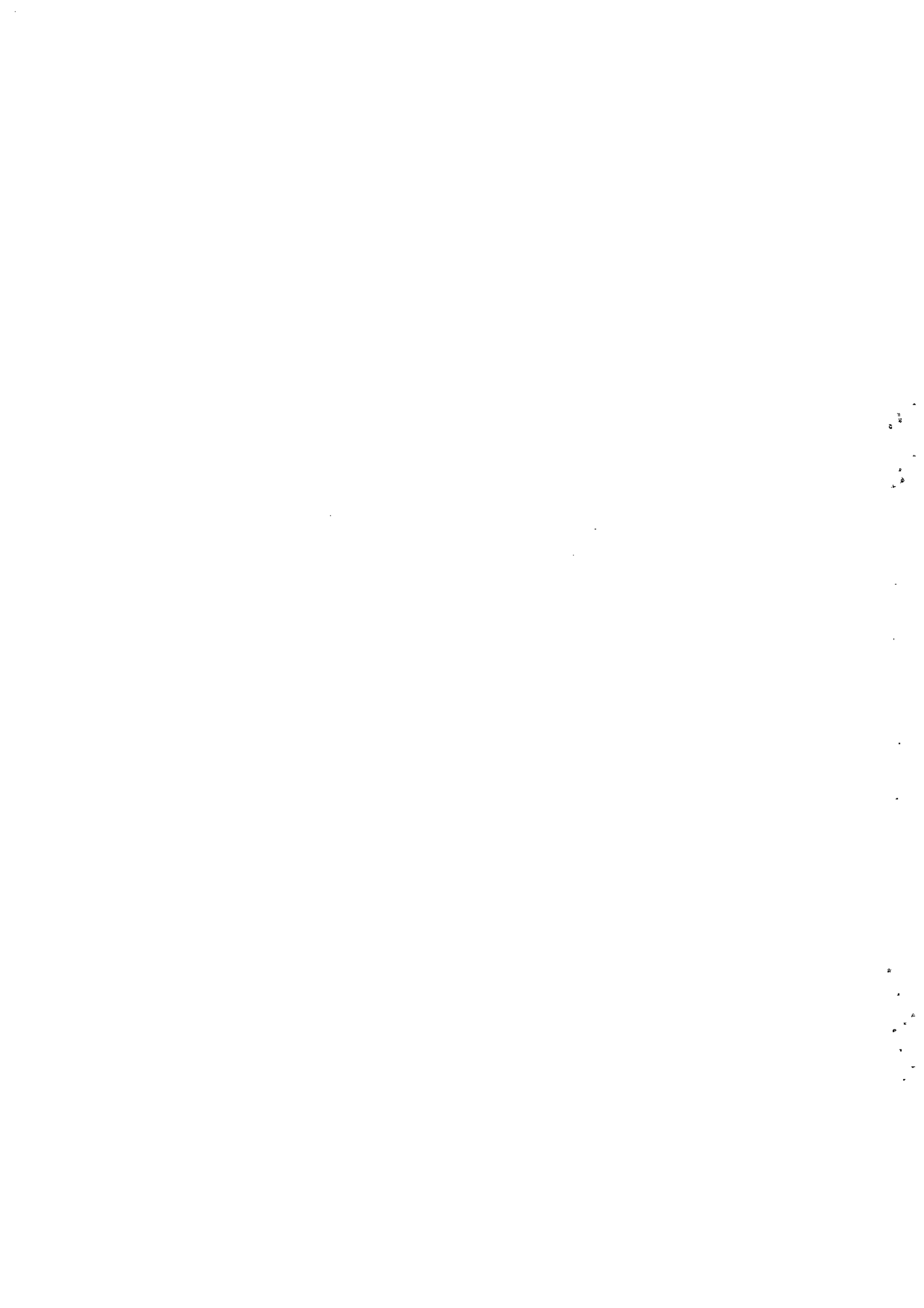
"... be seen not merely as a process which is a concomitant of the expansion of mercantile capitalism and recurs under industrial capitalism, but as one which is actually generated by them" (Cardoso 1987: 15).

Historical analysis was called to play an important role given the centrality of the colonial period for the understanding of contemporary social formations. It is the colonial experience that accounts for the differences between regions and nations, creating different class relations. External forces are thus obviously important to be considered but they cannot explain everything<sup>19</sup>. The alliances with internal forces are equally

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<sup>18</sup>. For Philip O'Brien (1987: 8), "as an interpretative text, in terms both of the formulation of the concept and of the analysis of concrete situations, Dependency and Development in Latin America has not been superseded. Serious students of dependency situations therefore have to return to this classic work. The original is still best". Blomstrom & Hettne (1988: 52) also consider this book to be a classic.

<sup>19</sup>. Peter Evans (1979: 26) is right to place dependency within the broader field of studies on imperialism and to consider that its "starting point is still relations with the external world". However, Evans reduces the complexity of the understanding on external and internal relationships that dependistas have, when he states that "dependence is then defined most simply as a situation in which the rate and direction of accumulation are externally conditioned" (1979: 27).



important to understand concrete situations:

"... after the passage from the colonial situation to situations of dependency of national states, it is observed that: (a) the passage implies the creation of states in answer to the interests of local property-owning classes; (b) these, however, have their structural situation defined within the larger framework of the international capitalist system and are thus connected and subordinated to the conquering bourgeoisies of the Western world and to those classes which succeed them; in this way alliances are established within the country, even though in contradictory form, to unify external interests with those of the local dominant groups; and (c) as a consequence, the local dominated classes suffer a kind of double exploitation.

The 'movement' that had to be understood, then, was that deriving from the contradictions between the external and the internal, viewed in this complex fashion and summed up in the expression 'structural dependency' (Cardoso 1987: 15).

The seventies were undoubtedly the decade of the dependency school. Currently, it is true that the relative decadence of the consumption of dependency as a conceptual framework of analysis has left a void in the intellectual scene. It is perhaps too soon to know whether criticism against dependencia is due to the propensity of intellectuals, a novelty-hungry community, to consume theories, or whether the new arrangements of the international scene are exposing dependencia's weaknesses. However, it is clear that dependency, and its associated political connotations became common currency in Latin America. Indeed, the powerful Argentine CGT, the Peronist controlled

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Subsequently, he recognizes, though, that "curiously... most of the emphasis of dependency theorists is on the internal class relations of dependent countries" (idem). In fact, as Blomstrom and Hettne (1988: 71) acknowledge, the relationships between internal and external factors, "holism v. particularism", is a controversial issue in the dependency school and the emphasis authors give to one side or another varies a great deal. Most authors would tend to face this question by answering, in a too all-encompassing way, that these are dialectical relationships.





Workers' General Confederation, during national strikes in the late eighties included as part of its political agenda a struggle against dependencia.

It is also interesting to note that most authors that have studied Latin American political economy and have tried to refine dependency or to go beyond it - the participants of the so-called post-dependency debate - did research on large-scale capital intensive industries (Becker 1983, 1984, Chase-Dunn 1982, Evans 1979, 1985, for instance). Here emphasis is clearly on the nature of the complex changing alliances established within a most important triangle, the one formed by (1) national governments and their politico-bureaucratic structures, especially state-owned enterprises, a major presence in Latin American economies, (2) segments of national bourgeoisies and (3) transnational capital. The power game between these three actors defines development styles and the political scenario where massive economic investments are made.

Post-dependency arguments are influenced by Immanuel Wallerstein's notion of a world system (Wallerstein 1974), a historically oriented interpretation that clearly stresses the international character of capitalism from its inception and of the elites associated with its expansion. Post-dependency authors would typically classify Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, the most industrialized Latin American countries, as semi-peripheral. It is curious to note that "world-system", an approach that relates to the same theoretical discussions as dependency does - the

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understanding of development, imperialism and the international division of work - was never very popular amongst Latin American scholars. One could state, in a provocative vein, that this might be due to the fact that "world system" calls the attention to the international character of all bourgeoisies. The political need to protect supposedly progressive national bourgeoisies as well as the growth of the internal market would be hard to justify if one started by supposing that bourgeoisies tend to make alliances with other bourgeoisies and not with their correspondent popular or middle classes. In a world that is more and more transnationalized - even several sectors of Latin American middle-classes now share an international quasi-cosmopolitan vision of the world - an approach such as Wallerstein's will tend to be more influential. Indeed, as Magnus Blomstrom and Bjorn Hettne (1988) argue, world system, even more than unequal development and articulation of modes of production (see Amin 1973, Chilcote 1984, Rey 1976) is perhaps the most powerful response to the interpretive changes dependency brought on the development discussion.

Whatever the fate of the dependency debate may be - in a period when peripheral Latin America became an exporter of capital to the center (for a history of Latin American debt see Vitale 1986) and heavily depends on formal or informal multilateral agencies such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Club of Paris - in the late eighties and in the nineties, there are new partners introducing perspectives



that need to be considered: the environmental movement and parties (see table I for a brief description of some of the most important North-American non-governmental organizations). This is especially relevant for the South American countries that share the Amazon tropical rain forest, the largest of its kind in the world<sup>20</sup>. The growing power of the Green Party, in Europe, and the effectiveness of American environmentalists in lobbying the American Congress and multilateral banks, has meant not only an awakening of the international public opinion on the massive destruction being promoted in Amazonia, but also real measures against countries such as Brazil that have had important World Bank loans for its energy sector suspended because of the ecological problems the enormous hydroelectric projects planned to be constructed in the Amazon river basin would cause with their huge reservoirs and forced resettlement of Indians and regional settlers. In consequence, and this is central, environmentalism became an important issue to be considered in development planning. Currently it is not uncommon either to hear from high level officials or to read in government documents phrases about the need to preserve nature, to have development without destruction.

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<sup>20</sup>. The Amazonian forest is shared by Surinam, Guyana, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and Brazil, as well as by French Guyana, the last colony in South America.



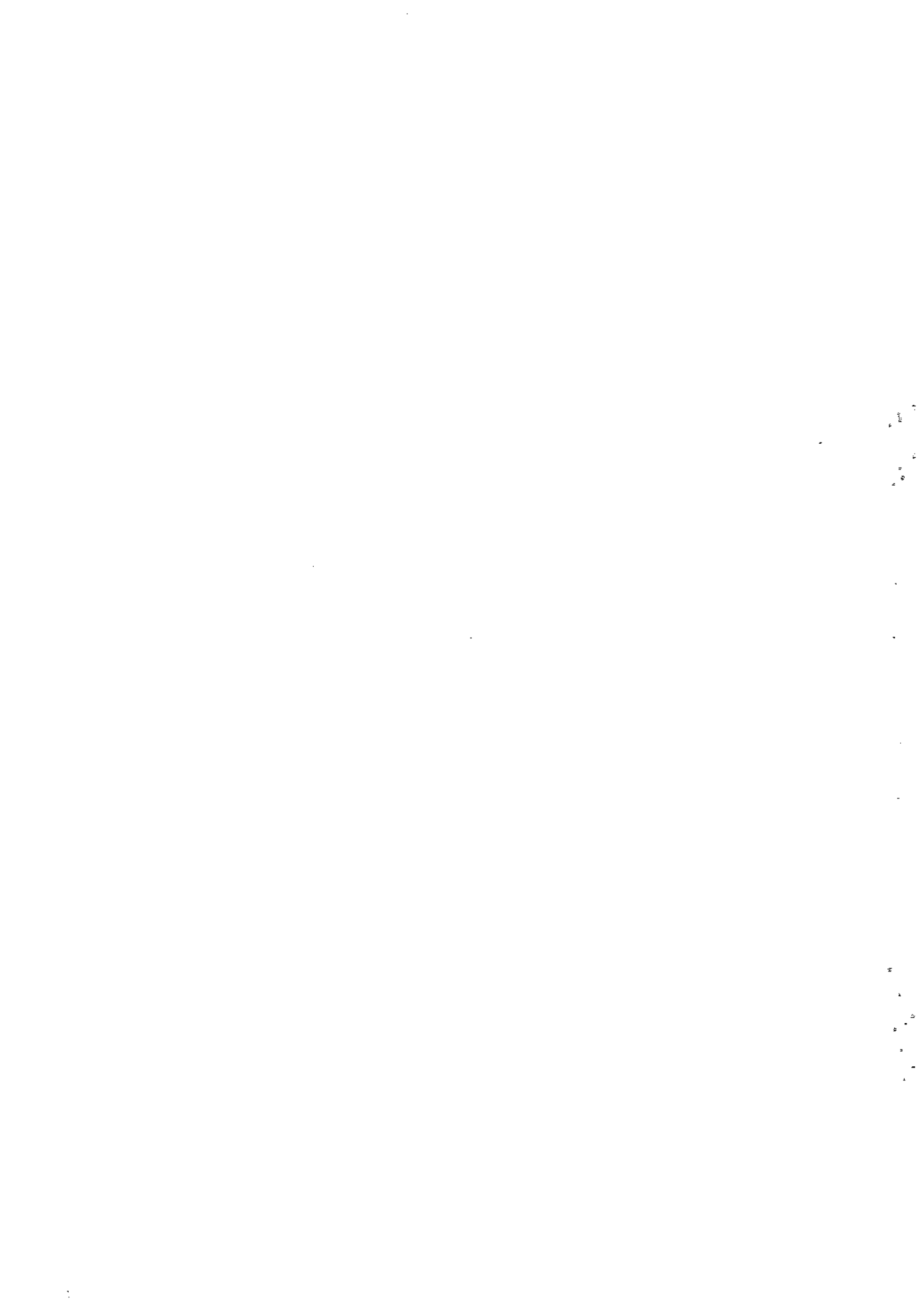
## Environmentalism and Development

The Amazon, more than any other region, has acquired worldwide notoriety because of the impact of the lobbying of the international environmental movement on national governments and multilateral agencies against the destruction of the rain forest. In consequence, many of the new proposals in circulation were elaborated considering tropical rainforests' devastations<sup>21</sup>. Environment, ecology, became popular words and part of the mandatory lexicon of planners and politicians. At the same time, environmentalism has had a real impact on world development policy and apparently will continue to have.

The flow of capital in a global scale is presently heavily regulated by multilateral agencies that have been effectively pressured by American and European environmentalist activists (Aufderheide & Rich 1988). Evidently, large bureaucracies such as the World Bank need to be understood like contradictory power fields (for an analysis of the World Bank see Payer 1982). Eventual positive attitudes take too long to be implemented or, worse, can sometimes be good examples of wishful thinking

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<sup>21</sup>. Brazil's Amazonic question is paradigmatic given the importance of the moving economic frontier in this country. Brazil's policies are often taken as a model by other South-American Amazonic countries (Chirif 1980). Brazil, the fifth largest country in the world, contains one-third of the world's remaining tropical forests. With twenty percent of all living land species, Brazil has more biological diversity than any other country. The discussion about how to integrate the Amazon region to the national economy is intimately related to the discussion on what kind of development Brazilians should have (Becker 1986, see also Velho 1976).





creating paradoxical situations:

"[World Bank's] environmental department (...) often finds itself marginalized from the project staff in the field, and has little impact on the bank's operations and lending priorities. This dilemma is partly what the environmental assessment units were set up to counter. But they have been given neither a sufficient budget nor authority to assure essential ecological design changes in projects, except at the request of the project officers and country directors. And those officials have little incentive to make such requests, since environmental modifications would risk slowing down the processing of projects and loans. And it's that momentum, of course, not the environmental quality of a project that advances careers. Indeed, the World Bank's public commitment to ecological sustainability, which requires close monitoring of projects, seems to clash head-on with the much stronger imperative for operations personnel to increase the total volume of lending despite their reduced staffs" (Rich 1989: 90).

But it is not only the role of environmentalism in reforming global policies that makes its consideration important. It is also a rapidly spreading political ideology, in a world where alternative political visions are still strongly permeated by nineteenth century rooted ideologies. From an organizational point of view, environmentalism is perhaps the most contemporary form of social movement, one that constantly articulates central bureaucracies (a national or international headquarters), scientific knowledge from different fields (anthropology, biology, engineering, physics, etc.), information networks (computers' networks, national and international mailing lists), intensive lobbying of political and economic institutions, legal measures, creation of mass media events, recruitment of superstars and simultaneous massive demonstrations in several countries to account for the internationalization of the environmental question.

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From an ideological point of view, international environmentalism is not that contemporary a movement and some of its versions can be considered conservative. Evidently, as a plural social movement, its ideological spectrum is highly complicated. But very rarely will one be able to read a folder or an annual report of a non-governmental organization (NGO) that will make clear the links between environmental destruction and class contradictions, imperialism and the expansion of capitalist economy<sup>22</sup>. American environmentalism, for instance, is composed of different organizations (see Table I), ranging from highly conservative to a few progressive ones. The influence of romantic ideologies is certain. After all sustainable development, a slogan "which is recited like a mantra in Washington and multilateral development banks circles" (Rich 1989), supposes a kind of character with a "rare wisdom of manager of nature's energy flows, without adulterating it in its essence. His romantic aura can be associated to the bon sauvage's image that is often linked with hunters and gatherers" (Ribeiro 1989: 7-8). The relationship between environmentalism and romanticism has been already made explicit (see Lynton 1989 and below). But there are also indications that some of the environmentalist positions may be related to protestant

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<sup>22</sup>. This is not true, though, for NGO's based in countries such as Brazil. See for instance the folder "Land: yes; Dams: no", issued by CUT, a union central and CRAB, a Regional Commission of People Affected by Dams (1989). See also the booklet "Environment and Popular Organization" (CESE 1989).

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conceptions<sup>23</sup>. The latter assertion is a much more difficult research question, because a deeper treatment of this issue requires the tracing of the intricate ways through which different environmentalist versions can be related to religious visions of the world.

It could be argued that it is perhaps too early to call the attention for these issues. However, the importance of raising them is twofold. First, all ideologies and social movements are grounded in their sociological and historical context. This is a truism. Second, Latin American countries, especially for those with Amazonic regions - given their dependent positions and the influence of environmentalism in the decision-making of Northern hemisphere elites - need to consider all the possible cultural components that are being part of the contemporary discussion on development. After all, is not the cultural imposition of

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<sup>23</sup>. In a folder by Conservation International (1989), where the programmatic lines of this NGO are drawn, there can be found phrases as the following ones: "This troubled eve of a new millennium may one day be remembered not so much for its succession of crises as for awareness of the confluence of forces shaping earth's future" (p.1); "We stand not only at the threshold of a new millennium, but before a very different sort of world" (p.17). Eric Zencey, an American environmentalist, in an article where he makes a relationship between the ecology movement and protestant millenarism states: "It is ironic that the ecology movement, in offering a vision of a sustainable society, drew some part of its strength from a mentality that was, by its very nature, not sustainable [apocalypticism that, for Zencey "fulfills a desire to escape the flow of real and ordinary time, to fix the flow of history into a single moment of overwhelming importance"] (...) Certainly the ecology movement would have done better - and would do better in the future - if its partisans drew their image of time not from the romantic notion of history with its apocalyptic redemption, but from nature, where there is no apocalypse - just continual, and sometimes dramatic, adaptation and change" (Zencey 1989: 93).

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categories one of the clearest indications that power is being differently distributed in a given context? Is not the imposition of Western (i.e. from world hegemonic centers) categories everywhere the "necessary" accompaniment of capitalist expansion?

There is another complex relationship between environmentalism and ideology that must be noted. Precisely, the relationship between environmentalism and Marxism. A main initial difference is that Marxist thought sees man as the subject of history that changes nature. It focuses on the political economy of human populations in order to understand social realities where power is unevenly distributed between classes engaged in an enduring struggle. As a social theory anchored in the nineteenth century, it has a strong sense of progress and conceives industry as a dynamic motor that makes productive forces grow in ways that will lead to contradictory moments between two fundamental classes, resulting, finally, in a more advanced stage of human history to be established by the revolutionary class, the proletarians. On the other hand, despite some individual and institutional efforts, environmentalism does not share a central core of organized interpretive categories. But it can be said that its most current interpretations focus on nature, understood as a system where - for the most fundamentalist versions - man is considered to be just another link of a complex chain of energy exchange. Since in these interpretations there are no considerations of political, economic and social contradictions





(and if there are they are tangential to the central body of explanations) it looks like the human population is just another link of a well behaved and inherently good ecological chain. In these visions, man's most common special status is not of the constructor who will one day inaugurate a better world but of the trouble-maker that is about to destroy all forms of life in the planet. Man here is either diluted in nature or tends to be seen through negative lenses, as the source of problems that are leading to an apocalyptical end. But it should be clear by now that blaming man for man's problems is, at least, a tautology.

The problem of conservationism should be examined outside American cultural frameworks. In the United States there is a constituency, a middle class, interested - also for touristical reasons - in the preservation of nature in extended areas (reservations, parks, etc.). Evidently, some environmentalists are aware that to propose a freeze of the development of the productive forces at this point in history runs the risk of transforming their movement in a strange sect of stability lovers in a world dominated by the frenzy of change. This might well be the reason why some new propositions are being fostered such as "ecodevelopment" (Sachs 1986) and "sustainable development". Development itself is not questioned, but its style.

Some American NGO's, like the Environmental Defense Fund, have a pragmatic approach to reform the system for a better world. Ecology and social justice can go together when the culturally informed economic and political categories of local



people are taken into account. Here the best illustration is the case of the "extractive reserves" (i.e. "collectively managed forest areas for extractive populations") a notion of Brazil's Amazon rubber tappers that is considered in national and international decision-making centers - such as the Brazilian government, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank - as a feasible alternative to traditional development (Schwartzman 1989, see also Schwartzman & Allegretti 1987)<sup>24</sup>.

The limits of the reformist drives of environmentalism are still to be understood. There are two things that are clear though. First, so far it is very unlikely that environmentalism will be able to solve the internal developmental contradiction between destruction and construction, the powerful engine of all prevailing developmentalist conceptions so well exposed by Marshal Berman (1987). Second, without a critical conception of world elites, of imperialism and of the social classes involved in the present modes of capital accumulation, environmentalism will not play the role Marxism, for instance, has played as an ideology that can (or could, some would argue) effectively

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<sup>24</sup>. For Schwartzman (1989) "extractive reserves are important precisely because they are not simply another U.S.-style conservation proposal, but an organized initiative directly undertaken by Amazonian grassroots groups and sympathetic national organizations, to change the course of official regional development policy for the benefit of local Amazonian communities. Because the concept of extractive reserves originates with local groups who depend on the standing, living forest for their livelihood, it addresses both economic and environmental considerations in an integrated fashion. Extractive reserves propose that much-discussed but rarely realized anodyne for development debacles, sustainable development".



counterbalance the interest of the powerful as against the interest of the oppressed. This might be one reason why environmentalism is spreading so fastly and is welcome by so many different social segments. Problems are not seen as emanating from class struggle, but are seen in a profoundly neutral ideological way, as struggle with nature for survival. The point is: we need to be friends with nature and who does not want to survive ?

But, it can also be argued that one of the reasons why environmentalism is so succesful - besides being a class-blind ideology - is the fact that it has a clear notion of how the new economic order, one that is promoting an intense economic, political and cultural transnationalization, is threatening a notion highly cherished by nation-states: sovereignty. When nation-states go to war, sovereignty and the correlated ideology of nationalism have historically provided a powerful legitimation for the loss of life. Indeed, in the contemporary world, nation-states are interested in industrialization and in the intense use of natural resources to reinforce their power. There is thus a visible contradiction, one that is the very result of the increasing internationalization of the world political economy, between the concept of sovereignty and global environment:

"The system of nation-states, undergirded by the concept of sovereignty and kept alive by nationalism, remains firmly in place. But while industrial technologies were spawned under the tutelage of the national state, their environmental impact has assumed a more and more decidedly supranational character" (Pianta & Renner 1989: 8).

"Absolute sovereignty is no longer a workable concept. Just like the global economy has become ever more integrated, so have

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the ecological cycles of different regions and even continents. Without effective "environmental diplomacy" that yields bi- or multinational agreements to limit or ban the production of substances inimical to environmental integrity, each country is left to the mercy of the actions of others. Environmental security thus depends critically on transnational coordination and cooperation" (idem: 16).

### A brief look at the Greens.

I will finally and briefly turn to the relationship between environmentalism, formal politics and ideology. For this, emphasis should be placed on European environmentalism since it is already part of the institutionalized political system. Here the quintessential example is West Germany's Green Party, a political phenomenon of the eighties<sup>25</sup>. It is also a complicated ideological universe, but far more radical than the American one. Greens, at least a segment of them, are also Marxists:

"The German Green Party was founded in January 1980 as a loose confederation of citizen's action groups, ecologists, peace movement activists and communist groups, all of whom were frustrated at their impotence in forcing political change and even in gaining access to the media and to basic information. The aim was to obtain a voice in the parliamentary system and also to enter the information network" (Lynton 1989: 1)<sup>26</sup>.

The political goals of the Greens were attained: they acquired seats in 8 of 11 state parliaments, the Federal

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<sup>25</sup>. Environmentalism is already a formal political consideration for many Latin American parties. In Brazil's last national elections held in November and December 1989, all major parties addressed the ecological and Amazonic issues. There is a Green Party in Brazil who had an independent candidate running for president.

<sup>26</sup>. Most of what follows is based on Lynton's (1989) concise and highly informative paper.





Parliament and the European Parliament and made ecological issues a mandatory subject for the other parties. Theirs is an "ideology of ecologic democracy, which attempts to balance questions of individual responsibility and group consensus with tolerance of minority positions" (idem). The hardcore of Greens' political agenda is the necessity for environmental protection and demilitarization. They also struggle for animal rights, equality between minorities and sexes, and widespread decentralization:

"Green ideology thus attempts to balance the egalitarianism typical for modern individualism with an organic holistic view of nature and of the human community" (Lynton 1989: 3).

The party might well be characterized as a middle class one. As a result of their skepticism on the prevailing forms of political organization, Greens live a contradiction between "slowly disappearing or becoming established as a routine party", a contradiction expressed in two party factions, the Fundis, i.e. fundamentalists, radical "dogmatic leftists, often marxists" that foster an uncompromising relationship with the establishment; and the Realos, i.e. the realists "interested in changing the system from the inside", who make alliances with the Social Democrats (Lynton 1989: 5).

Nandani Lynton firmly places Green ideology and dilemmas in the universe of German romanticism, a movement that is central for the understanding of German ideology in general:

"The early Romantics emphasized cultural revitalization and set up a lifestyle embodying their theoretical ideals. (...) The Romantics propagated an ideal of organic unity, equality in its place, and a celebration of the Volk as the matrix of nature,

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culture and language. Their social philosophy balanced newer notions of individualism, originality, and equality between men and between the sexes with inherited hierarchical structures. The Romantics posited equality and mechanical solidarity within each social level, while they asserted a hierarchical order and hence organic solidarity between the parts as they form a whole; they dealt with contradiction by containing it with an encompassing class at a different level" (Lynton 1989: 6).

The political existence of the Green party as well as its effectiveness is thus grounded in the fact that it addresses issues that are historically fundamental for German culture as a whole. How these new ideologies will be consumed and transformed in other countries of the world, such as the Latin American ones, is still something to be known.

### III) FINAL REMARKS.

New challenges are ahead for the Latin American countries. The world system is undergoing new and fast changes, radically transforming the scenario inherited from the late forties. American hegemony in the international scene is not as strong as then. Liberal American historians are calling the attention to the decadence of the American empire (Kennedy 1987). Japan is financially and technologically powerful. The same is true for West Germany. Perestroika in the Soviet Union is removing from the conservative arsenal its most precious and powerful weapon: the red danger. Cold war is vanishing. Global geopolitical conceptions will have to adapt to a world where the very conception of Nation-state is changing dramatically given the

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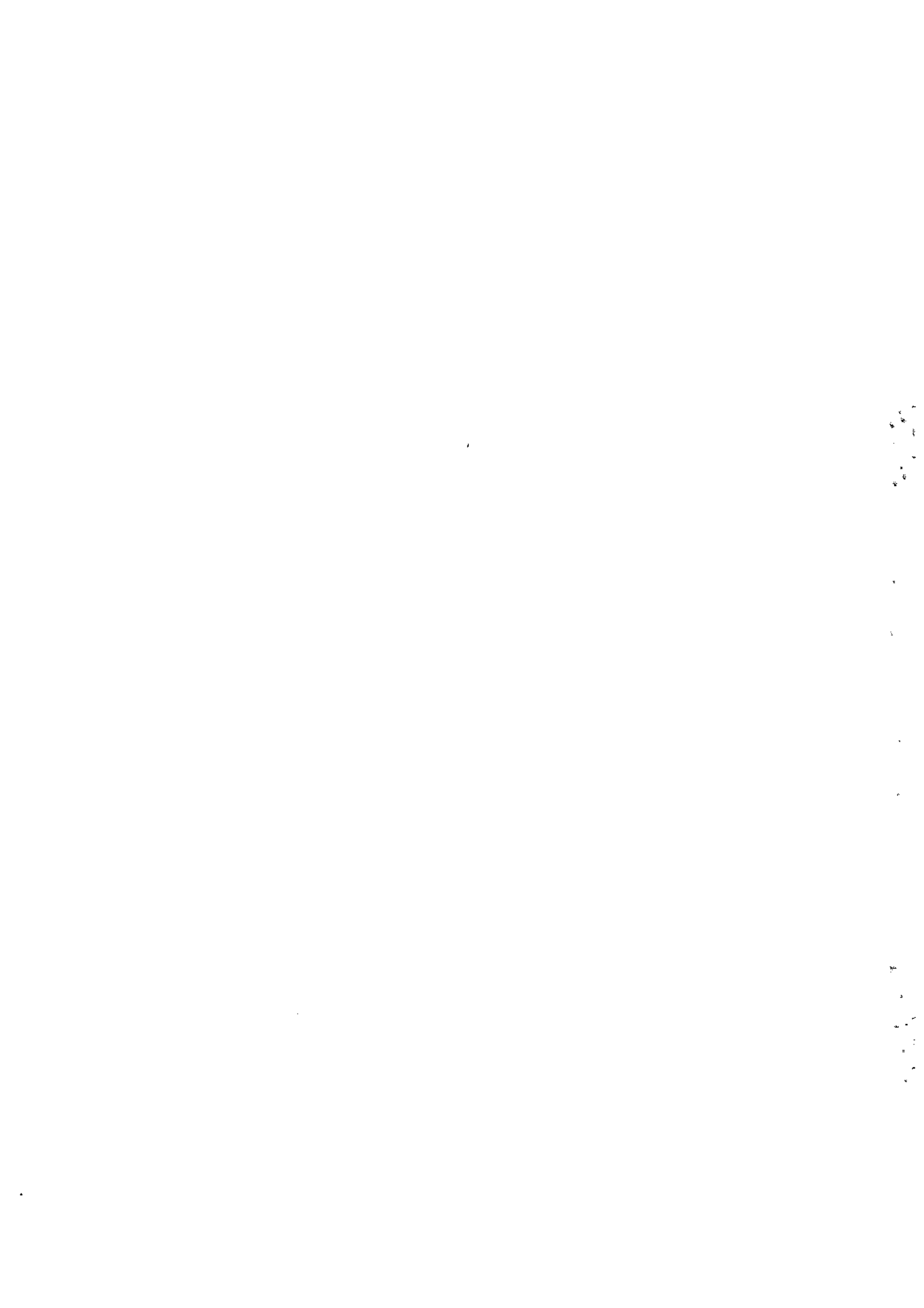
fast pace of integration provoked by developments in the communication and information industries as well as the global fragmentation of the productive processes and integration of financial markets.

But despite the seduction of the high-tech promised land of the transnational corporations, problems remain the same: misery, health, education, housing. Most answers are still heavily related to old political and intellectual paradigms. A positive solution for the classic political impasse between conservative neo-liberal visions and progressive ones needs an effort by those intellectuals and politicians in Latin America interested in the development of the region without destroying its particularities. But, is this possible ? Can the developmental contradiction between destruction and construction ever be solved? If development is associated with a historical movement that started to unfold in Europe centuries ago imposing its conceptions and necessities everywhere, are we doomed to an "eternal return" to questions such as what kind of development we want? Do we want development at all?



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| Founded: 1987. Members 2.700. Staff: 42, in the USA. Annual          |              |                        |
| Budget: US\$ 3.8 million.  |              |                        |
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| Address: 1616 P St. N.W. - Washington, D.C. 20036                    |              |                        |
| Founded: 1968. Members: 100.000. Staff: 80, plus 16 lawyers.         |              |                        |
| Annual Budget: US\$ 5.8 million in 1987.                             |              |                        |
| GREENPEACE FOUNDATION  |              |                        |
| Address: 1436 U St. N.W. - Washington, D.C. 20009                    |              |                        |
| Founded: 1971. Members: 2.5 million in the world. Staff: 200 in      |              |                        |
| the USA. Budget: US\$ 22 million in 1987.                            |              |                        |
| NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION   |              |                        |
| Address: 1400 16th St. N.W. - Washington, D.C. 20036                 |              |                        |
| Founded: 1936. Members: 5.8 million in the world. Staff: 650 in      |              |                        |
| the USA. Annual Budget: US\$ 70 million.                             |              |                        |
| NATURAL RESOURCES DEFENSE COUNCIL                                    |              |                        |
| Address: 1350 New York Ave., N.W. - Washington, D.C. 20005           |              |                        |
| Founded: 1970. Members: 104.000. Staff: 135. Annual budget: US\$     |              |                        |
| 11 million.  |              |                        |
| NATURE CONSERVANCY   |              |                        |
| Address: 1815 North Lynn St. - Arlington, Va 22209                   |              |                        |
| Founded: 1951. Members: 1 million. Staff: 1.000. Annual budget:      |              |                        |
| US\$ 58 million in 1988.   |              |                        |
| WORLD RESOURCES INSTITUTE  |              |                        |
| Address: 1709 New York Ave., N.W. - Washington, D.C. 20006           |              |                        |
| Founded: 1982. Members: not an organization of this kind. Staff:     |              |                        |
| 85. Annual budget: US\$ 4.2 million.                                 |              |                        |
| WORLD WILDLIFE FUND  |              |                        |
| Address: 1250 24th St., N.W. - Washington, D.C. 20037                |              |                        |
| Founded: 1961. Members: 600.000. Staff: 150 in the USA. Annual       |              |                        |
| budget: US\$ 35 million in 1990.                                     |              |                        |
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| TOTAL: US\$ 209,800,000.00   | STAFF: 2.358 | MEMBERS: 10.2 million. |
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| * I thank the bulletin <u>Brazil Watch</u> for permission to reprint |              |                        |
| these data.  |              |                        |



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