Development BULLETIN

Volume 33

March 1995

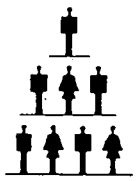
Governance, aid and development

Inside

- Discussion papers: Governance and development, governance and human rights, governance and ecological sustainability, population management
- Briefing Paper: Can aid promote good government?
- NGOs and governance
- Viewpoint: Corruption and development; Aid for Africa
- Conference reports, upcoming conferences, book reviews and new books

AUSTRALIAN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES NETWORK

The Network



The Australian Development Studies Network seeks to provide a forum for discussion and debate of development issues, and to keep people in the field up-to-date with developments and events, publications, etc. The Network does this through its publications program and by conducting or co-sponsoring seminars, symposia and conferences. The Network produces three publications:

Development Bulletin is the Network's quarterly Newsletter. It includes short articles (normally 1,000 to 2,000 words); reports on conferences and seminars; announcements of forthcoming events; details of courses, research and work related to development or development studies; articles on the centres pursuing these activities; and information about development education materials, recent publications and other news.

Briefing Papers address a wide variety of development-related issues. They are concise (normally 2,000 to 5,000 words) and accessible to the non-technical reader, and may include implications for Australia's foreign development assistance policy.

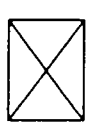
The *Register of Development Research & Expertise* (2nd Edition, 1988) contains the names, institutions, research, project experience and publications of people in Australia who are working in development-related research or who have first-hand experience of Third World development issues. Their expertise covers a broad range of disciplines and geographical areas. The Register is indexed by name, institution, discipline, country of expertise and keywords. To obtain the Register, please send a cheque for A$25.00, made out to Bibliotech, to Bibliotech, ANU, Canberra, ACT 0200.

Correspondence

You may have information you wish to share with others in the development field: conference announcements or reports, notices of new publications, information about the work of your centre or courses you offer, or you may wish to respond to articles or *Briefing Papers*. If so, please write to the Editor.

If you wish to obtain Network publications or enquire about membership, subscriptions, seminar sponsorship, etc., please write to the Network Director. The address is:
Development Bulletin
Australian Development Studies Network
Australian National University
Canberra
ACT 0200
Tel: (06) 249 2466
Fax: (06) 257 2886

Deadlines



Closing dates for submissions to Development Bulletin are mid-November, -February, -May and - August for the January, April, July and October issues respectively.

ISSN 1035-1132

Development
BULLETIN

Volume
33

March 1995

Governance, aid and development

Discussion Series

Contents

Modes of governance and development 4
Peter Larmour

Good governance, development and human rights 6
André Frankovits

Good governance and transparency in macroeconomic policy 8
Bob Warner and Sandy Cuthbertson

Democratisation, governance and conditionalities 12
Yash Ghai

Double delusion: Sustainable human development and the role of the state 15
Tony Hughes

Good governance and ecologically sustainable development 18
Ben Boer and Susan Ingram

Indigenous people and development administration: Governance in Australia 21
Christine Fletcher

The good governance of Australia: Time to manage our population 25
Jonathon Stone

Good governance and decentralisation of Papua New Guinea's health services 29
Damien Wohlfahrt

Governance and NGOs 32
Viewpoint 35
Updates 42
From the press 45
Conferences 49
Publications 56
Courses 67
Resources 69

Editors notes

Over the last 12 months, the relationship between good government, development and development assistance has been widely discussed in international, national and local meetings. The term 'governance' has become commonplace, but there is considerable confusion about its definition and even further confusion about the implications that conditionality have for development and aid policy. This issue of *Development Bulletin* provides a variety of informed opinions on governance. We have tried to maintain the theme of governance and development throughout the different sections of the Bulletin. The sections on NGOs, Viewpoint and Resources focus on different aspects of the governance debate.

Briefing paper

In the briefing paper 'Can aid promote good government', the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex review problems of conditionality and national sovereignty.

Updates

Following the last issue on democratisation, this issue looks at democracy and the transfer of technology and democracy and constitutional change in Asia. The WID Update reviews progress towards women's human rights and the Australian/ASEAN Women Leaders Business Forum.

Viewpoint

Makonen Getu argues that Australia should increase, not decrease its assistance to African countries and Isabel Blackett discusses governance and ways to reduce corporate corruption.

Resources

In our resources section Val Brown writes about a new network established to support local sustainable development throughout the Asia-Pacific region.

AIDAB

The Editors and Network members gratefully acknowledge the on-going assistance of AIDAB in publishing the *Development Bulletin*. AIDAB is also assisting the Network publish a Gender and Development Directory which will be completed in time for the International Women's Conference in Beijing.

Network staff

We have some development and change at the Network. Rafat Hussain has returned to Pakistan to do her Phd research. We look forward to having her back in August. Elaine Bliss, together with her husband Peter Urich and new daughter Zuleka leave next month to take up a post at the University of Waikato. We will miss them all. Lucy Tylman who was previously with ACFOA has joined us and we are delighted to have Helen Skeat, who is an almost founding staff member of the Network, back with us. Libby O'Loghlin has helped with our publications.

If you have queries or would like to contribute to the *Bulletin*, please contact any of us here at the Network.

Pamela Thomas, Elaine Bliss, Helen Skeat

Discussion

Governance, aid and development

The relationship between good government, aid and development is once again at the forefront of the international aid agenda. It is widely believed that good government is an important precondition for social and economic development and conversely, that poor government policies and practice together with widespread corruption are major contributors to the limited effectiveness of development assistance and slow or negative development. While there is nothing new in the belief that efficient administrative systems and effective government policies are needed to support economic growth, it is only recently that major aid donors have begun to use aid as a lever to encourage or demand 'good' government which includes democratic political systems and basic human rights. The growing conditionality of aid programmes is viewed with suspicion by some recipient governments and as a threat to national sovereignty by others.

Questions need to be raised by both aid donors and recipients as to what exactly constitutes good government and to what extent governments, good or otherwise, determine the direction and level of development. Or is the governance issue another smokescreen to legitimise further conditionalities and to further compromise national sovereignty? To what extent do democracy, respect for human rights and transparency in public administration, influence the development process? And to what extent should government adherence to market-oriented economic policies be considered good government? More basic and perhaps more important, what are the fundamental processes of good government and are they equally applicable to rich and poor states?

The following papers provide a variety of insights and opinions on these issues. The papers are organised to first provide opinions on broad ranging issues and to then provide specific country examples. Peter Larmour considers the role of the state in development policy and André Frankovits the role aid agencies can play in supporting compliance to international agreements on basic human rights. Yash Ghai raises the issue of conditionality and the relationship between democracy and human rights. He argues that democracy does not necessarily enshrine human rights and can be manipulative and corrupting, while being presented as the voice of the people. He suggests that conditionality may be unconstitutional and is seldom effective. Bob Warner and Sandy Cuthbertson review the impact of transparent economic policy in several developing countries and provide a New Zealand example of sound policy.

Ben Boer and Susan Ingram review the Rio Principle 10 and the link between ecologically sustainable development, good governance and people centred decision making.

Tony Hughes presents the Suva Declaration on Sustainable Human Development, recently signed by Pacific Island leaders and reviews progress in achieving the strategies it outlines. Damien Wohlfahrt discusses his personal experience of good governance and decentralisation within the Papua New Guinea health service.

This discussion series includes two papers which deal with governance in Australia. Both have important implications for developing and more developed countries. Christine Fletcher writes of ways in which indigenous people should be incorporated within government administrative processes. Jonathan Stone raises the issue of population as a keystone to good governance.

Modes of governance and development

Peter Larmour, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University

The word 'governance' is used by the World Bank to refer to the capability and effectiveness of states. Some bilateral donors and non government organisations (NGOs) talk instead of 'good government', and refer to the active consent of the governed. Both are very broad ideas that seek to sum up many characteristics of states, their relationships to economy and society, and what should be done about them. In both cases, normative and practical issues are related, and hard to disentangle.

Another way of thinking about governance is as 'modes of coordination' which is discussed in parts of economic sociology, organisation theory and public policy. These modes of coordination include markets and informal associations, as well as the state or the government. Thus, for example, industry is typically organised by a mixture of modes: government regulations, self-interested exchanges and the norms and values of the business community and the general public. 'Governance' is a result, or outcome, of the separate activity of a large number of players, only some of whom are state officials. They may be better placed to affect the outcome, but success is not guaranteed.

This approach differs from that of the World Bank and 'good government' approaches in the attention paid to the 'state', and the way they deal with norms and values. The 'state' is identified as the central problem by both the World Bank and - in a different way - by proponents of 'good government'. For the former, the problem is capacity, and for the latter, legitimacy. However, the 'modes of coordination' approach displaces the 'state' from the centre of the picture, though without removing it from the scene. Norms and values are sidestepped by the World Bank, and introduced from outside by proponents of 'good government'. However, the 'modes of coordination' approach takes norms and values as modes of coordination in themselves.

A triangular model

For our purposes, we can distinguish three very general 'modes of coordination'; *hierarchy*, exemplified by a government bureaucracy; the *market*, exemplified by a stock exchange; and *community*, exemplified by closely knit families. These are ideal types - any actual organisation will display aspects of 'hierarchy', 'market' and 'community'. Governance then refers to the outcome, or result, of the interaction of these three modes of coordination within, and between, organisations. A firm, for example, may look like an island of bureaucracy in a sea of market exchanges, but it also may be held together by loyal customers and employees who work as a team. Or a family will be organised by a mixture of shared values, self-interested exchanges, and the hierarchical authority of parents over children, reinforced or undermined by law.

The three modes can be visualised as the points of a triangle - 'market', 'bureaucracy' and 'community' (Colebatch and Larmour 1993). The ideal-typical characteristics of the three modes of organisation were derived from textbook microeconomics, from Hood's (1976) mode of 'perfect administration', and Taylor's (1982) analysis of 'community'. We argued that the process of organising typically involves a mix of modes. They are used by participants to make sense of the process, and urge reforms, as well as by academics analysing it from outside. Extending the idea that market failure justified government intervention, the 'failures' of any one mode provided reasons for the introduction of another. Thus 'state failure' might be corrected by the creation or revival of 'community' forms of organisation, as when police failure to catch thieves leads to 'neighbourhood watch' schemes, or when failures to implement central government policies lead to calls for more 'community participation'.

We argued that the three ideal/typical modes of organisation do not exactly correspond to three 'sectors' (public, private and voluntary, and non profit). Relations within the public sector, for example, are not all or exclusively hierarchical. Government departments are partly organised by professional norms and values, as well as by self-interested exchanges. While they may have a monopoly of the legitimate use of violence, governments are often reluctant to use coercion. Similarly, the 'private sector' is partly organised by government legislation, while large firms may be as bureaucratic and rule-bound as any government department. Voluntary organisations develop bureaucratic forms, and compete with each other for clients or donations. So each existing sector contains a shifting mixture of modes of organising, though one may predominate.

Modes of coordination theories of governance have mostly been applied to rich countries. However, development economics has told us that social structure may resist the introduction of markets, and that the state should act to correct market failures. The 'counter-revolution' of the 1980s rejected earlier rationales for intervention. The state might 'fail' too, and the choice was between imperfect alternatives. Privatisation, and the wider use of NGOs in development, involve recombinations of 'hierarchy', 'market' and 'community'. The 'state' is merely displaced, not removed from the scene. Privatisation often requires new kinds of regulation, for example to ensure competition, while NGOs often depend on state financing. Norms and values may need to change too, both to foster an 'enterprise culture' and to value volunteering.

Extending the triangle

The simple triangle of 'hierarchy', 'market' and 'community' can be extended in two ways: in time, to account for historical changes; and in space, to account for differences between places. Extending the triangle forward through time, the process of development is often seen as one of increasing differentation between state, society and economy, or of increasing domination of one form ('the market') over the others. Pre-modern institutions such as chieftaincy combined social, political and economic activities. The experience of Thatcherism and Reaganism in the 1980s, the collapse of the planned economies, and the 'counter-revolution' in development theory suggest that the market mode continues being more distinct and predominant.

Extending the triangle in space, different combinations of 'hierarchy', 'market' and 'community' are often invoked to explain differences in economic performance between countries. Modernisation theory, for example, saw traditional norms and values as an obstacle to development, while critics of liberalism point to the visible hand of the state behind rapid industrialisation in East Asia.

Hamilton and Biggart (1988) make use of the three modes, which they called a 'market', 'cultural' and 'political economy' approach to explain differences in industrial organisation between South Korea, Taiwan and Japan. Business in South Korea was typically organised in large, hierarchical firms called *chaebol.* In Taiwan the small to medium size family firm predominated, while Japanese business was organised around networks of big firms and their suppliers. In spite of these differences, all three countries developed rapidly from a low base after world war II. So rather than seeking to explain their performance in terms of industrial organisation, Hamilton and Biggart sought explanations for the differences in organisation that nevertheless achieved the same performance. They concluded that a market explanation in terms of technology or transaction costs could not account for the differences between the countries, nor could explanations in terms of culture, particularly given the relatively similar cultural traditions of the three countries. They concluded that a 'political economy' approach, that emphasises government-business relations, and structures of authority within the business sector, best explained the differences of industrial structure between the three countries.

Implications

Describing the relationship between 'hierarchy', 'market' and 'community' as a closed triangle suggests there is a kind of fixed quantum of order, variously parcelled out among the three modes. Alternatively, we could ask if a society might be disorganised in all three ways: as a market, and hierarchically, and in terms of norms and values. We could also ask if the relationships can be finely tuned, or are there a limited number of possible shapes of the triangle of state-economy-society. For example, a 'third way' of 'market socialism' was discussed in the 1980s but in the event of changes in Eastern Europe there tended to be sharp transitions from central planning to the market, as in Poland's 'big bang'. It may be that certain combinations of state-economy-society are more stable than others, and the triangle tends to snap into certain shapes, rather than others.

Applications

The modes of coordination approach to 'governance' may be most useful (for analysts and actors) at the level of particular sectors, such as health or environmental management, each with their characteristic histories, technologies and 'policy communities' (Atkinson and Coleman 1992). Official and unofficial actors within each sector cannot simply rely on rules, or self-interested action, or ties of affiliation to get what they want, but some mix of all three. The triangular relationships between 'hierarchy', 'market' and 'community' suggest new roles for the state in creating communities (including official nationalism) or markets (like new forms of property rights, such as tradeable permits).

It also suggests some quite specific forms of training for officials, and those in private and voluntary organisations linked in various ways to the state, or crossing the public/private boundary. Traditional 'public administration' forms of training in devising policies, and ensuring their implementation down a chain of command, needs to be supplemented by training in negotiation, bargaining, contracting, monitoring, regulating, and pricing of services suggested by the market mode, and training in networking, building trust, and managing egalitarian informal relationships that the community mode suggests.

References

Atkinson, M. and W. Coleman 1992, 'Policy networks, policy communities and problems of governance', *Governance* 5(2), pp. 154-80.

Colebatch, H. and P. Larmour 1993, *Market, hierarchy and community: A student's guide to organisation,* Pluto, London.

Hamilton, G. and N. Biggart 1988, 'Market, culture and authority: A comparative analysis of management and organisation in the Far East', *American Journal of Sociology* 94 Supplement, pp. 52-94.

Hood, C. 1976, *The limits of administration,* Wiley, London.

Leftwich, A. 1993, 'Governance, democracy and development in the Third World', *Third World Quarterly* 14(3), pp. 605-24.

Taylor, M. 1982, *Community anarchy and liberty,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

World Bank 1989, *From crisis to sustainable growth: The long-term perspective study on sub-Saharan Africa,* World Bank, Washington.

Good governance, development and human rights

André Francovits, Human Rights Council of Australia

There seems to be little agreement about what precisely the term 'good governance' covers. From a narrow technical perspective, it attempts to describe a range of managerial issues: accountability, efficient public service, suppression of corrupt practices and effective financial accounting. These are desirable ends but the question that needs to be asked is, do they deserve a whole new conceptual framework and terminology?

A broader view of good governance holds that it is based on concepts of human rights and that it represents an attempt to encourage their realisation. Landell-Mills and Serageldin (1991), for example, have gone as far as to say that the minimum core characteristics of governance 'derive from, or are related to, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' and include:

- Government officials must be accountable for their actions through clearly formulated and transparent processes, and more particularly the legitimacy of a government must be regularly established through a well-defined open process of public choice (Article 21).

- The safety and security of citizens must be assured (Articles 3, 5), the rule of law must prevail, and citizens must be legally protected from arbitrary or capricious actions by public authorities (Articles 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).

- Everyone has a right to an adequate standard of living and the basic necessities of life, which should be provided for the benefit of all citizens in an equitable manner (Articles 22, 23, 24, 25).

- Freedom of association and expression of opinion must be permitted, and information must be readily available to ensure accountability (Articles 19, 20) (Landell-Mills and Serageldin 1993:52-3).

The logical and practical extension of this is to refocus the attention on human rights explicitly when dealing with governance. Yet it is hard to escape the conclusion that the good governance debate is principally a recognition and public airing of the failure of too many governments to fulfil their responsibilities.

Governments should not be corrupt. They should deliver services to their citizens. They should be accountable and financially responsible. The legitimacy of their policies is to be derived from the people's support. Their responsibilities do extend to the full citizenry and not only to some sectors of the population. They should seek the cooperation of other social actors outside of government.

Yet we knew all this well before governance became an issue. The question facing donor governments and development agencies, including the international financial institutions, is how to influence governments to change their policies without appearing to impose conditions on them and at the same time avoiding the charge that it is the very governments themselves that they are trying to change.

Having decided that the principal impediment to the success of their development programmes is failure on the part of recipient governments to do their jobs properly, it has become necessary to define in their own terms just what is expected of these governments. Once it is established that poor governments are the impediment, the next logical is to define what they *should* be doing, and then design and fund programmes geared to them to do their job properly.

However, the governance debate does not add up to what has already been agreed concerning government or government responsibilities and practices. Ignoring this has created a situation in which governance is being imbued with a significance it does not deserve and is unlikely to be able to support.

The immediate need is not for new mechanisms, new standards, or new formulations. Indeed, it is of concern that in seeking to exploit this apparent window of opportunity provided by the acceptance that governments have not been able to do their jobs properly, such central principles as participation, accountability and equity are being redefined in such a way as to limit the meaning already accorded to them in existing human rights agreements. Moreover, these principles are reduced to tools or an 'instrumental role' in meeting the efficiency demands of managing development.

A case in point is the way that governments are addressing the lack of provision of basic services to their communities and the increasing gap between the rich and the poor in both developed and developing societies. Both donors and recipient governments are well aware of the inequities brought about by the application of accepted economic models. The recognition of this is made explicit in governments' emphasis on poverty alleviation programmes. This is a kind of global social security system, a version of welfarism, designed to meet basic needs when these are not available from governments in developing countries. Yet all people are *entitled* not to starve, not to die from

preventable disease. They are entitled to strive to better their economic condition, to access knowledge, and to participate in the decisions which affect their lives.

Since governments have accepted that these are basic entitlements for all people, there is no question that they need be translated into action. Acceptance by governments of human rights obligations means much more than a recognition in law. The practice of human rights implies changes of conduct by governments, and donors can assist these changes.

Since there already exists a coherent international framework - the human rights framework - which addresses these standards of governmental behaviour, 'good governance' does not seem to be the appropriate paradigm for strengthening an insistence on government responsibility, transparency, accountability, or government commitment to equity and the rule of law.

Reference

Landell-Mills, P. and I. Serageldin 1991, 'Governance and the external factor', in *Proceedings of the World Bank Annual Conference in Development Economics*, World Bank, Washington.

Good governance and transparency in macroeconomic policy

Bob Warner and Sandy Cuthbertson, Centre for International Economics

Transparency in microeconomic policy

Transparency in industry and trade policy offsets an inherent bias in democratic policy formulation. This bias arises from the nature of two opposing effects of trade barriers. One effect is to help some people — those involved in the production of products protected from import competition — and to help them in a rather obvious way. A second effect is to hurt some other people, for example those who consume the protected goods after paying prices which are higher than they need be. This second lot of effects is subtle and not at all obvious but in total is bigger than the apparent 'good effects' of protection. The problem is that the people who like and see the 'good effects' have a stronger incentive to make the case for them and the case is intellectually appealing to people with little time or capacity to puzzle it through. On the other hand, the people suffering from the 'bad effects' have, as individuals, less incentive to make the complex case against trade barriers. Enter then transparent analysis of these policies as an aid to securing policies which are in the public interest. In Australia the big elements of policy transparency have been the publicly available analyses of economy-wide effects provided through an independent advisory agency, the Industry Commission.

Transparency in macroeconomic policy

Australia's success in reducing its trade barriers has not been matched by equivalent success on the macroeconomic front. Budgetary deficits, which have fuelled trade deficits, and some considerable reliance on monetary policy are rolling features of the Australian economic landscape. So much so that it seems reasonable to ask if there is an inherent tendency for the democratic process to yield unwanted macroeconomic policy outcomes.

The New Zealand Business Roundtable (1994) noted some of the theoretical reasons why democratic responses might lead to biased fiscal policy outcomes. Voting procedures may provide incentives for politicians to concede expenditure demands from groups of voters when their benefits are highly concentrated but their costs are widely spread. This tendency is likely to be compounded by the self-interest of politicians and bureaucrats in maintaining their own expenditure programmes — and associated positions and perks. There is a natural pressure for excessive deficits arising from the fact that most of those who will bear the costs including, frequently, future generations, are inevitably not part of the decision making process. And all of these natural tendencies are fed by the typically poor and non transparent information about major choices available to voters (Scott 1995). While some of these sources of bias are probably unavoidable, this last mentioned need not be. Indeed this note argues that governments should be proactive about the supply of that information (transparent analysis of choice), and cites some recent examples of governments doing just that.

To take an example of the processes just described consider the mix of spending in the health sector between curative and preventative services which is a continuing problem in many developing countries. Theory and practical experience suggest that the largest social returns come from preventative spending. However, large chunks of health budgets typically get spent on high technology curative facilities while immunisation programmes are often starved of funds. This outcome may or may not be explained by the relative lobbying power of the elite — and the attention given to illnesses of middle class adults.

None of this should be surprising. We all know that in any group, articulate, forceful, persistent people tend to get their own way. The question for good governance is which rules, procedures and processes will secure fiscal outcomes that are in the best possible public interest?

We discuss here four complementary approaches to securing better macroeconomic policy. These are:

- good processes within government;
- open reporting and the facilitation of public understanding and discussion;
- legislated guidelines; and
- independent advisory agencies.

Good process within government

The organisation of budget systems and associated documentation is crucial to good fiscal outcomes. Without effective management and process, transparency is just wishful thinking. But many fiscal systems are not management systems at all. Budgets are instruments of financial control, rather than forward planning, and monitoring systems (where they work) focus mainly on ensuring that money is spent on what it is appropriated for, rather than on ensuring that money is spent on the 'right things' being done the 'right way'.

The budgeting systems in many developing countries are not really amenable to being used as a tool for managing development. In many former British colonies the budget documents — and associated accounting and control systems — are concerned with allocations under functional headings, such as wages and salaries, to ministries. Neither

the public nor government can readily determine the allocation of spending to programmes or development projects. And therefore, no-one can really tell if the structure of spending is consistent with government policy objectives.

Frequently, planning the public investment programme is divorced from the annual budget cycle, so that there is little linkage betwen spending decisions and the one process that is focused on development outcomes. And, with budgeting on an annual basis, there is little, if anything, in the way of forward expenditure planning, and the future implications of policy decisions are not properly taken into account.

Because of this, problems of expenditure coordination are common. Those responsible for recurrent allocations have no meaningful way of communicating with those dealing with capital spending. Clinics are built, but there is inadequate allocation for drugs to dispense. Governments announce new initiatives for agricultural extension, but make no increase in allocations for transport and subsistence is made, so the extension workers sit in their offices.

Such budgetary systems help perpetuate a situation where ministries are concerned mainly with managing themselves, rather than projects and programmes, and are inclined to reinforce a tendency for very centralised control of expenditure systems. In contrast, more programme-oriented budgets, like that now used in Australia, can support a more decentralised and performance-oriented approach to public sector management.

Introduction of programme-oriented budgeting in Australia has been part of a comprehensive programme of reforms in public financial management implemented over the past ten years, and proposals for expenditure by departments are now set out in budgets with strong provisions for accountability, objectives and performance evaluation. Such changes in financial management are very demanding, but a number of developing countries, such as Malaysia, India and Botswana, have moved to structure their budgets around a programme/objective framework.

For the most part these procedures have operated in government — including parliament. Fiscal policy is complex, because there are so many degrees of freedom, and so many choices which must be simultaneously addressed. At the broadest level, questions about the role of government are involved. Only marginally less sweeping are the questions of:

- how much should be spent and how should it be financed?
- how should services be delivered?
- in what form should revenues be raised? and
- what should be the balance in the resources allocated to different sectors?

Open reporting and evaluation of policy options

There are no scientific ways to answer some of these questions. No-one can say with confidence whether the incremental dollar should be spent on defence or immunisation programmes, or not spent at all. Political processes are essential to set priorities, and identify those accountable if their choices are flawed. Transparency is therefore necessary, not only because it helps expose the political choices being made, but also because many of the devices that aid transparency also help governments become better managers.

Some countries have used extra budgetary transparency mechanisms to help in formulating tax policies and mechanisms for allocating revenues among different levels of government. Zimbabwe held a major Commission of Review before changing income taxes in the early 1980s. Nigeria has established permanent Commissions to reconsider the federal formula for sharing oil revenues. And Australia had a tax summit (in 1986) where members of the public (representatives of various interest groups) actually met in the Parliament.

On the expenditure side, however, much greater reliance seems to be placed on the role of the parliamentary or legislative system, and associated institutions such as government auditors. While there are sometimes processes of consultation on particular policies — 'consultation with social partners' is becoming an increasingly fashionable phrase in the development jargon — these typically fail to address the fiscal implications in the way that budget formulation forces people to. That is, they tend not to be conducted in the context of a budget constraint, or to carry an obligation to identify how new programmes must be financed.

Most countries, therefore, rely on a process of legislative approval as the main source of transparency in fiscal policy. Legislative scrutiny of budgets and fiscal policies before they become law is the principal vehicle that enables public insight and input.

A key feature of a transparent fiscal system is meaningful — and widely disseminated — budget documentation. It may seem facile to say that this documentation should report on past as well as future spending. However, some countries have gone for many years without any public reporting on actual expenditure against budget allocations with consequent huge difficulties arising for any evaluation of budget and government performance.

The documentation needs to be comprehensive. That all central government spending, whether financed from general taxes, earmarked revenues or grants should be included is widely accepted - in principle if not always in practice. However, less well accepted, and even less frequently practiced, is the idea that painting the full picture of the impact of government activities requires that

government accounts should be presented on an accrual basis. Reported measures of budgetary impact in many countries fail to take full account of all changes in government liabilities and assets. As Albon (1995) points out, asset sales are widely reported in budget documentation in an incomplete way - the proceeds are reported as a positive item, but the fall in the government's stock of assets is not reported as a negative item. Nor is a decline in asset values resulting from inadequate maintenance reflected in measures of the change in the government's net economic position. Changes in government liabilities are frequently under-reported with unfunded superannuation liabilities being a major omission. These omissions can mean that measures of budget balance give a very misleading picture of the financial and economic impact of government transactions.

New Zealand is one of the few countries which is implementing full accrual accounting on a whole of government basis although some state governments in Australia are experimenting with the concept. There can be challenging problems of measurement involved in implementation - but there are important gains in trying to deal with them.

Transparency is also important on the revenue side. We are all familiar with the confusion which can surround complex tax systems, and the scope they create for inefficient and inequitable outcomes. But in some developing countries, the problem is more fundamental than that. In Nigeria, for example, the practice of channelling oil revenues to off-budget accounts made it difficult for anybody to work out where the funds were going. A confidential World Bank study in 1992, reported in the *Financial Times*, suggested that up to US$2 billion may have passed through off-budget accounts in one year. It is possible that this money did not go into private hands or get spent on projects of dubious social and economic merit (the Nigerian public investment programme abounds with such projects) that were not funded out of the formal budget. However, the absence of any means of accounting for oil revenues would have made it difficult to rebut suspicions that these activities were occurring.

Transparency has to extend to the broader dimensions of government financial management: attempting to maintain as a secret the level of international reserves probably worsened Mexico's early 1995 financial crisis. When individual international investors can muster sufficient resources to bet against the Bank of England, as occurred when sterling was driven out of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism, governments in developing countries need to make sure that markets are well informed about government financial positions. If you keep the George Soros' of this world in the dark, they may be wrong when they punt against your currency, but they can still bring your reserve bank to its knees if it is asked to finance a defence against their ignorance.

Legislated guidelines

An important example of legislated guidelines is New Zealand's Fiscal Responsibility Act passed by the Parliament in June 1994. This Act makes the Government and the Treasury responsible for reporting to Parliament specified information about fiscal strategy, the current economic and fiscal situation and the outlook over the medium and long-term. It specifies principles of fiscal policy, what the Government is to consider but not necessarily to implement when developing its budgets (see Scott 1995 for a detailed description of the Act).

Under the Act the Government is required to develop an annual Budget Policy Statement and present it to the Parliament three months before the deadline for the budget. This requirement is intended to promote more informed trade-offs among strategic fiscal objectives by separating debate about them, at least temporarily, from the crush of fiscal compromises and decisions in the final run-up to the budget (Scott 1995). The Act provides for better information and analysis, a stable reporting cycle, a greater focus in reporting on strategy, less secrecy about budget planning, more scrutiny by Parliament, and is beneficial for assessing policy.

In framing the Act the New Zealand Government deliberately chose not to introduce fixed budget targets. This decision was based on the American experience where such targets have not been desirable or where contrived accounting procedures have been sufficient for a government to apparently meet set targets but to fail in substance.

Independent advisory agencies

If an important feature of transparency of microeconomic policy in Australia has been the leading role played by the Industry Commission, then are there models of similar agencies providing transparency of macroeconomic policy?

Possible models for providing such advice are the German Council of Economic Experts or the United States Council of Economic Advisers. Probably the better model is the German Council. This Council was established in 1963 under a federal parliamentary law. It consists of up to five independent economic experts appointed by the President of the Federal Republic of Germany (who is equivalent to the Australian Governor-General) from nominations supplied by the Federal Government. The Council, dubbed by the German press as *die fünf Weisen*, (the five wise ones), is supported by a small secretariat.

The role of the Council is to aid, as distinct from advise, the government bureaucracy and general public in forming judgments on current economic problems, appropriate policy responses and policy stance for the future. The Council is required to present annually an expert opinion on the current economic situation, possible developments and appropriate

ways to attain, 'within the framework of a market economy, stability of the price level, a high level of employment, and external balance, with steady and adequate economic growth'. It also releases special reports from time to time. Council reports receive wide publicity and are extensively debated in the media.

Importantly, the Act under which the Council operates stresses the complete independence of the body. At various times since its inception the Council has vigorously presented an economic viewpoint clearly in opposition to the prevailing government position. Despite much public criticism of its economic stance at times from senior politicians, including the Chancellor and Finance Minister, the independence of the Council has not been compromised.

Conclusion

None of these suggested procedures can shift responsibility for good governance away from the government of the day and the people who elected that government. Legislated guidelines, independent advisory agencies, good procedures and openness can all be ignored, captured or disbanded at government whim. Useful and effective aids to responsible government they may be, but they cannot be substitutes for responsibility.

References

Albon, R. 1995, 'Ensuring responsibility in Australian budgets', in James, M. (ed), *Agenda: A Journal of Policy Analysis and Reform* 2(1), Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 17–26.

New Zealand Business Roundtable 1994, *Submission to the Finance and Expenditure Committee of the House of Representatives on the Fiscal Responsibility Bill*, Wellington.

Scott, G. 1995, 'New Zealand's Fiscal Responsibility Act', in James, M. (ed), *Agenda: A Journal of Policy Analysis and Reform* 2(1), Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 3–16.

Democratisation, governance and conditionalities

Yash Ghai, Faculty of Law, University of Hong Kong

The context of this discussion is two-fold, one domestic and the other international. The domestic is the growing constitutionalisation of the political orders of several Asian countries - for example, Thailand, Taiwan, Pakistan, Cambodia, Bangladesh, the Philippines, South Korea, Hong Kong, Mongolia and Nepal. The international is the pressure for, or assistance towards, democratic and accountable political orders from western donors and international economic institutions, particularly the World Bank, often expressed in the form of conditionalities. Sometimes domestic and international pressures coincide, but not always. Sometimes foreign pressures are towards marketisation, with the emphasis on clear legal regimes, transparency and level playing fields, as with the World Bank. At other times the stress is on democratisation.

The process towards better governance and democracy is extraordinarily complicated, even if governance and democracy had similar pre-conditions, which they may not, for it involves issues, which although they are often regarded as of a piece, have different dynamics and consequences. These include development of civil rights, the rule of law and a liberal culture, democratic reforms through the extension of the franchise and other political rights, the securing of economic and social rights, and fair and transparent governance. One problem is that in contemporary constitutionalisation all these goals are being sought simultaneously. In any circumstances such a task would be daunting, but it becomes even more problematic because there may well, at least in the short run, be a conflict between them. In the nineteenth century, for example, the rule of law was considered to be under threat from democratisation. Many countries in the transition to democracy in this century have built in a deliberate 'democracy deficit', in part to placate former enemies but also to create the capacity to absorb the social and political consequences of democratisation. It could be argued in historical terms that as democracy was preceded by civil rights and the rule of law, it was acceptable to the ruling group (because the economic and social rights of the bourgeoisie would be protected) and feasible (because of the importance attached to values and procedures which would moderate the consequences of popular demands), while democracy itself set the stage for economic and social rights. The relevance of this analysis in today's conditions may be questioned, although a case can be made that the fragility of democracy in many developing countries is due to the lack of traditions of civil liberties and the rule of law.

Democratic theory does not provide clear answers to a number of issues that require an instrumental solution - does economic liberalisation lead to political freedoms or vice versa? Is it more important to concentrate on the strengthening of civil society or the reform of state structures? Can purely secular organisation of public power command legitimacy? What are the pre-conditions of democracy? What is the link between marketisation and human rights, and indeed the connection between different kinds of rights?

Let me first take the relationship between democracy and the market. The supporters of the market argue that it inevitably leads to democracy. The argument may be made on both logical and historical grounds. The market is a system of private economy, in which there is a massive decentralisation of decision making and a wide scope for choice. Central to the market are private property, which ensures a measure of autonomy for individuals and groups, and the freedom of contract, which enhances choice and secures rights and limits the powers of the state. Predictability and legal security, which are also essential to the market, lead to an expert and independent judiciary, and thus to the separation of powers. The market gives rise to or strengthens civil society, and provides a countervailing force to that of the state. In this analysis, the market is more dependent on rights that on democracy.

The historical case, however, is that the development of democracy in the West followed the rise of the market, and that parallel processes are underway in East Asia, in particular in Taiwan and Korea. It could be argued that the market leads to certain forms of social formations which stimulate pressures for democracy. In particular it undermines traditional forms of economy and their corresponding forms of political authority, and frees labour from its previous constraints ('from status to contract'). It gives rise to a middle class with its specific interests, connected with rights and democracy, and the economic and political clout to protect them. It also facilitates the organisation of labour, leading to a competitive and pluralistic political order.

However, neither the logical nor the historical evidence is conclusive. Drawing from a model of consumption, the former disregards the process of production, where economic coercion prevails and the mode of organisation is hierarchical. It also assumes a false dichotomy between the state and the market, ignoring their inter-penetration. The market favours a few and does not universalise rights, except perhaps at a formal level. The market-oriented civil society substitutes economic pressures for direct political authority, but by that very fact removes accountability, and introduces a different mode of subordination. Similarly, the historical process may be no guide, since it was the

market that shaped the state in the West, but it is the state which has shaped the market in Asia. Nor is the globalisation of capital and markets likely to be conducive to rights or democracy. Freed from a territorial nexus, capital may become even more irresponsible and less accountable - less responsive to public opinion and more accommodating of state restrictive practices in its pursuit of profit, as is demonstrated by the way in which both Murdoch and Turner have bent their communication empires to the censorship in China. The growing global dominance of the power of capital over political authority and structures diminishes rather than increases prospects of rights and democracy. The progress in rights and democracy has been achieved by the struggles of the workers and other disadvantaged communities, and not by the advocacy of capitalists.

Another problematic area is civil society, which has become something of a *deus ex machina* in the prescriptions for rights and democracy. The notions of civil society in contemporary discourse are hazy. Sometimes, as in eastern Europe, it is used to refer to the marketisation of the economy - which I have argued is no reason for optimism. Other times it refers to non state values and institutions outside the area of economy. But I have also tried to demonstrate that in most parts of Asia civil society so defined is responsible for great injustice and oppression, and is itself in much need of reform. Other times it is used to refer to civic organisations of professionals, workers, women, etc., which not only lobby the state but also seek to humanise society. A particular species of them, the NGOs, have achieved much prominence in recent years, seen as champions of rights and democracy, and giving voice to the underprivileged. It is no time to enter the debate on NGOs, whose positive contributions are numerous, except to sound a note of caution, as they proliferate under encouragement of incentives from foreign donors, operate increasingly as consulting firms, and lose touch with or accountability to their local constituencies.

Let me, finally, explore some conflicts between human rights and democracy. I do not refer to the older debates as to whether an entrenched bill of rights interpreted by non elected judiciaries are compatible with democracy and whether they weaken the political process by their 'legalisation' consequences. It seems to me that the political process might be enriched rather than impoverished by rights in most developing countries and that the executive and the legislature have frequently few claims to democratic legitimacy. The formalisation and juridification of rights have thrust courts and tribunals at the centre of their definitions and enforcement, and their discourse has become increasingly specialised. This detracts both from the responsibility and capacity of elected bodies for human rights. The globalisation of human rights detaches specific rights from the national context and relevance. The transformative consequences of economic and social rights may be threatening to an infant democracy because of the interests of incumbent leaders and influential groups.

It is true that certain kinds of rights may be prerequisites to democracy - franchise, expression, and association. It is also true that certain rights may be better protected in a democracy than in other political systems. But the logic of rights is different from the logic of democracy. The former are individual-centred, even when they concern social rights, while democracy is majority-centred. The scope of rights is drawn from the nature of the human person, the scope of democracy from the general will. Rights serve to limit state power, while democracy justifies its expansion. Rights may be said to be 'rational' and purposive, but democracy is frequently messy and manipulative.

While there are conflicts, rights are likely to give in to democracy. Although rights are now prescribed in considerable detail, and democracy is still nebulous, it seems to command greater legitimacy, at least in Asia. Rights are harder to enforce than democracy, in part because of the differing precision of definitions. They may also threaten existing power structures. For that reason democracy may be used to suppress human rights. Politics are viewed largely as a formal business of professional politicians, as a kind of joust to the finish rather than as discourse, questioning the legitimacy of academics, journalists, social workers, etc., who wish to express opinions on policies, even in areas of their own expertise. Democracy, seen largely as an electoral process, becomes plebiscitary. Democracy, seen as the access to state power, becomes manipulative and corrupting. Yet it is presented as the voice of the people, a talisman to ward off domestic and foreign pressures for rights and equity. But for that very reason it increasingly relies on, and caters to, sectional interests.

In the South Asian context, ethnicity has frequently provided that sectional interest. Ethnicity, linked to the democratic or at least the electoral process, has had, for the most part, negative effect on governance and human rights. Political parties have aggregated and articulated ethnic demands, the majority community has imposed its cultural forms on the state and civil society and the application of oppressive legislation which has denied a whole array of political, civil, economic and social rights. And yet democracy of a sort has flourished and fed the process of the attrition of democratic values.

It is hardly surprising that in this minefield, 'conditionalities' have raised acute moral and practical problems. How far should western countries specify conditionalities on their aid or economic relations with, for example, other Asian countries? What is the justification for conditionalities? What are the dangers in conditionality? How effective are they?

The justification pertains to the nature of the international community's responsibilities for human rights, and here we have a confrontation between those who argue that contemporary international law has brought human rights within the jurisdiction of the international community and those (which includes most Asian states) that they remain

securely within national sovereignty. From these perspectives, one difficulty is that conditionalities are rarely imposed by the international community. They are imposed by a state or an association of like minded states, which clearly affects their legitimacy. As national or regional initiatives they do not of course require to be justified by a rule of international law on human rights; they are within the sovereignty of the donor/trading state.

The justification for conditionalities weakens if there is no agreement on the universality of rights. To those who believe in relativities, this may seem merely another form of cultural imperialism. They may also be seen as economic imperialism, for they have frequently embodied requirements of privatisation and deregulation and the general strengthening of the market mechanism, usually under the rubric of good governance. If conditionalities are not controlled by generally accepted norms, there is the danger of 'reverse' conditionalities. An instance of this is Malaysia's actual or threatened economic boycott against the UK and Australia if the latter did not curb their press' freedom to criticise Malaysia or allege corruption against its leaders. Indonesia has practised similar conditionalities in its relations with Australia and against the Philippines in relation to the 1994 Manila conference on East Timor.

Justification may also depend on the kind of conditionalities. The earlier instances of conditionalities, particularly in Africa, related to the restructuring of the economies of the recipient states, which involved privatisation, liberalisation and the reduction or elimination of the state provision of welfare services. Subsequent conditionalities related to the respect for human rights and the establishment of democratic practices. Political conditionalities may be easier to justify in that they reinforce internationally agreed norms of governance - human rights and self-determination. They also increase the options and self-expression of the people of the recipient states, and for that reason one welcomes them. Economic conditionalities, however, represent a more fundamental invasion of state sovereignty for there are no international norms on how an economy should be organised, and they also close options for governments and people - and hence are undemocratic. There is thus a fundamental contradiction between political and economic conditionalities.

Conditionalities raise other kinds of problems as well. There is the danger of 'double standards' in a dual sense; the standards or human rights practices of the 'donor' may be little better than that of the recipient, and the donor may pick and choose states for conditionalities, further politicising the practice of conditionality. The US, the 'mother of all conditioners', is particularly vulnerable to these temptations; its record of connivance in the massive violations of the rights of the Palestinian people by Israel and its active engagement in the destabilisation of democratic orders in many parts of the Third World being particularly despicable. Political conditionalities are particularly offensive when the 'donor' engages in activities in the recipient country which are inconsistent with the conditionalities forcing the recipient into a kind of schizophrenia - a ready example of widespread practice of western states and corporations is the deal made by the UK government for the financing of a dam in Malaysia if Malaysia would purchase arms from the UK. Not only is this corruption but forcing the purchase of arms runs counter to the policy of the West to penalise such purchases.

Conditionality may threaten consistency in another sense. A state may decide that its national interests no longer lie in maintaining conditionality, and may abandon it after having initiated it, as with the recent US decision on Most Favoured Nation status for China. A country's foreign policy is determined by many considerations, largely of its own self-interest, and therefore human rights are unlikely to be an important or consistent factor. A change of policy may raise a particular moral problem; an important casualty of this change may well be human rights activists in the 'recipient' country who have staked a great deal, personally and otherwise, on continued support from abroad.

For the above reasons, conditionalities are not often effective - even if they lead to some temporary improvements. Conditionality can also backfire if the local government decides to whip up anti-foreign sentiment on its basis - as it may frequently suit its purposes to do. They engage the state and civil society institutions in a human rights dialogue with the donors rather than with their own people. They may also sharpen polarities which are unlikely to be productive and which may weaken the capacity of the imposing state to achieve progress through other means. Smaller and weaker countries are more likely to be subjected to conditionalities as the reversal of US policy towards China demonstrates.

Although sometimes conditionalities may be necessary, especially if a government with a poor human rights record is particularly intransigent, there is evidence of widespread dissatisfaction with the regime by the public, and there is multi-lateral support for the conditionalities. Dialogues, which are a real exchange of views between two partners, rather than a talking down from the donor to the recipient, can do much to clarify goals of the respective parties, establish the convergence or otherwise of mutual interests, highlight the lack of capacity or other constraints on implementation, and set the stage for feasible and effective reform. They can also help to establish respect, on the part of the recipient, and humility, on the part of the donor, in relationships which suffer from asymmetry, typified by arrogance on one side and submissiveness on the other.

Double delusion: Sustainable human development and the role of the state

Tony Hughes, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

Underlying the current international rhetoric about Sustainable human development (SHD) are the twin notions that SHD means new perceptions, or at least a new way of implementing old ones; and that the state is going to be willing and able to play the leading role in this process. In a Pacific Islands context, the first seems incorrect, the second unrealistic. UNDP's Pacific Human Development Report (UNDP 1994) remarks that economic growth is necessary for human development, but growth that benefits only some people is not sufficient. 'Economic growth has to be accompanied by equity, human security and sustainability. When people are placed at the centre of development ... policy conflicts can be resolved beneficially'.

Judging by their published plans, the essence of SHD is what Pacific Islands governments have been trying to achieve for 20 years, but many of their people would deny having moved forward in terms of 'equity, human security and sustainability', and numerous independent studies have quantified failure to meet or maintain standards of SHD. Yet in most Pacific Island countries (PICs) this has been a time of high-profile, big-spending activity by the state, associated with achieving independence, establishing international connections, expanding the public sector and exerting increasing influence over many aspects of people's lives. The results suggest that the more reliance is placed on the state, the less likely development, if it occurs at all, is to be either 'people centred', or sustainable.

Sustainability implies that a specific set of relationships, flows and standards is capable of indefinite continuation (though their precise form need not be indefinitely sustained: a better, and no less sustainable alternative may emerge, providing more benefits at less cost). Concern about unsustainable activities came to the forefront of popular discussion in the context of environmental damage and the interaction of population growth, pollution and the exhaustion of natural resources. But important dimensions of sustainability relate also to economic management, most obviously in connection with dependence on continued access to debt and foreign aid; and to human development, particularly to sustained and affordable availability of food, shelter, security, education, health services and productive employment. In most PICs there is ample cause for concern in all these respects.

Unlike 'development', 'human' and 'equitable', 'sustainability' is a term rooted in the study of systems, and capable of technically precise definition. Perhaps because of this, advocates of SHD do not spend too much time on it. The 1994 Suva Declaration on SHD (UNDP 1994) is the Pacific's latest word on the subject, but very few of the Declaration's 107 recommendations are directly concerned with sustainability. Strategy Options No. 1 'enhancing the productivity of the rural and subsistence sector', and No. 10 'supporting environmental regeneration' come closest to addressing problems of unsustainability. It seems to be implied that attention to the 'human' component of the SHD theme will have powerful benefits for the 'sustainable' requirement.

As to placing people at the centre of the development process, the question is, which people? In the real world, some people are placed nearer the centre than others. The Suva signatories have subscribed to a wide range of 'recommended policies and strategy options in support of sustainable human development...' but the tone of the Declaration itself is reassuring, even complacent. In the final sentence the signatories 're-affirm our commitment to development which enhances the quality of life and human well-being in the Pacific', i.e. we are already committed. And earlier, perhaps as a warning to meddlesome outsiders and rebellious insiders alike, the signatories 'emphasize that the pursuit of human well-being means maintaining the Pacific quality of life which ensures economic, social and spiritual well-being irrespective of age, gender, racial origins, creed and place of abode' (my emphasis), i.e. no rocking the boat in the Garden of Eden, thank you.

Strategy Option No. 5, 'addressing inequality and emerging poverty' comes closest to admitting that all is not well. It refers to 'growing evidence ... of inequality and ... emerging poverty' but states that only a few unspecified countries consider these as issues, i.e. are prepared to admit that they have a problem. It is governments that are reluctant to acknowledge such issues. In all PICs there are articulate persons and groups deeply concerned with the casualties of the development process, but they did not draft the Suva Declaration.

PIC Governments thus have a ready response to exhortations to 'put people first', or 'refocus attention on the ultimate objective of development, to increase the opportunities for people to lead productive and satisfying lives' (UNDP 1994). They say that's what they are doing already, and they can point to a long series of development plans, budget speeches and political manifestos to prove it. On the face of it this is correct. Virtually all of the 15 'strategy options' and 92 'possible actions' proposed in the Suva Declaration can be found in the statements of goals, policies, projects and programmes of PIC governments.

The Suva Declaration is the Pacific's most recent description of what SHD is about. It lists 15 issues that its signatories undertake to address, calling them 'strategy options'. Because they all feature in existing development plans, we can briefly characterise performance of PIC states so far under each heading (UNDP 1994).

1. Enhancing the productivity of the rural and subsistence sector: Performance has been patchy, with little evidence of effective planning or firm commitment by governments. A recent survey of subsistence sector production in five PICs (Fisk et al 1992) found that 'indigenous agriculture has been relatively neglected and ... has not received the attention and support it deserves from government'.

2. Promoting participatory and community-based development: Most action on this front is undertaken by NGOs. Government services are delivered on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. Sometimes community-based activities are seen as an alternative, or even a threat, to government services or 'help' from the local MP.

3. Improving access to land: A potentially difficult and sometimes explosive issue in rural areas, access to land in towns has become an active and lucrative market, prone to corrupt practices. Little progress has been made with legal or administrative improvements.

4. Expanding employment and livelihood opportunities in the rural and subsistence sector: Governments have made little impression on this difficult aim; most formal jobs are created alongside existing jobs, and much-vaunted self-employment often means barely disguised unemployment.

5. Addressing inequality and emerging poverty: Many government programmes (highly selective education, political involvement in foreign investment, arbitrary allocation of urban land, favourable employment conditions for civil servants, special perks for politicians), are palpably increasing inequality and doing nothing to help people avoid poverty.

6. Overcoming disparities due to geographic locations: Transport to and within remote areas in PICs is often worse than it was before independence, and income disparities have almost certainly worsened. Governments lack funds, or fail to allocate them, for transport and other services that would reduce the costs of isolation.

7. Promoting the advancement of women: Women are still generally under represented in politics and commerce, and subjected to verbal or physical violence at home without real hope of redress. Governments are predominantly male and not much interested in advancing women, who are feared as competitors in politics and the bureaucracy.

8. Ensuring youth involvement and development: Many years of Ministries of Youth have done little to address youth-related problems. Most action is undertaken by NGOs, while governments confine themselves to speeches and ceremonies.

9. Supporting population policies and programmes: Governments have hesitated and changed course in the face of some religious opposition, though health planners now seem to be getting the upper hand. Experience elsewhere shows education of women is the key to success, and that solid progress requires full mobilisation of civil society.

10. Supporting environmental regeneration: Despite the aid-funded research and publicity that has created current environmental awareness, and the making of fine-sounding policies, governments generally remain environmentally illiterate, their own actions frequently offending basic principles.

11. Promoting preventative and primary healthcare: This has been the opening statement of PICs' health plans for two decades, but still new urban hospitals are being built, while rural clinics are unstaffed and unsupplied, and funds for public health programmes are directed elsewhere.

12. Ensuring the relevance of formal and non formal education: Neither governments nor parents are keen on redirecting education towards the 'rural and subsistence sector'. It is difficult to put into practice, and politically unpopular.

13. Establishing effective governance: The performance of PIC governments in carrying out the functions of the state (= governance) is widely criticised. Technical, managerial, financial and political factors combine to produce low and inconsistent levels of output. But there is so far little evidence of ability to carry out internal reforms, and the Suva Declaration's proposals only restate existing aims.

14. Financing human development: Most PICs are facing financial constraints. Proposals to imbue budgets with 'human-development objectives', and ask for more help from overseas, are unlikely to get much of a hearing in PIC Treasuries.

15. Monitoring human development: Several PIC governments have let their statistical services run down since independence, and good data has become harder to find. Monitoring human development would require more and better trained staff and their organisations to have more current funds for enlarged operations. The chances of this getting priority must be remote.

In the Pacific, performance of governments thus falls well short of their SHD aims, as set out in their own plans and

policy statements. No doubt some of those aims were over-ambitious. But in parts of many PICs, there are clear signs of unsustainable and increasingly inhuman development. It seems possible that there is an intrinsic incompatibility between the character, capabilities and actual goals of the state (as distinct from its published aims), and the aims of SHD.

How can we explain the lack of progress with most of these aims? How much real commitment to SHD is apparent in the actions of PIC governments? Are these aims actually achievable anyway? Will some kind of peer pressure move PIC governments to improve their performance? Or is the current preoccupation with SHD just another fad of the international agencies, to be shrugged off by governments with more pressing things to think about?

The idea of the state as predator, or at best parasite, has considerable explanatory power in PICs, where the machinery of government tends to be concentrated in urban areas (better schools, hospitals, shops), politicians and officials engage in conspicuous consumption (more and bigger houses, cars, overseas trips and expensive consorts) and success in business seems mysteriously correlated to political influence. These trends can be seen in PICs regardless of their cultural background or colonial experience. In such an environment, technical competence and the perseverance needed to solve difficult development problems are eroded. The ability to toady to political or official bosses seems more important. Public service morale declines, and the most able young people no longer look for a career in the state apparatus. The interest of the government in such unrewarding pursuits as SHD, and the capability of its employees to tackle such problems, fall to levels too low to enable any significant action to be taken.

This does not mean that the aims of SHD are invalid, or that nothing can be done to advance them. The weakness is in over-reliance on the state to initiate improvements, when SHD's aims are in many respects the opposite of what governments have actually been doing, and may be anathema to the real agenda of those in power. Governments themselves like to foster the idea that they are in charge of the development process, and aid donors tend to bolster this feeling in the way they deal with governments, including such government-centred initiatives as the Suva Declaration. But this is an illusion. While governments are certainly in a position to interfere with the process of social and economic change, and their actions can have positive or negative effects, they are very far from being in charge of it.

Ultimately, the state is in dynamic tension with business and civil society. Each needs, and is opposed by, the other. They are bound together in a three sided balance of forces, none of them able to capture or incapacitate another without crippling itself, each needing to cultivate the acceptance and support of the others. And each is beholden to both domestic and overseas suppliers of resources, ideas and support. This can be a stable and productive state of affairs, provided each player understands its own role, and that of the other two; that core functions are left to the player responsible; and that non core, or interactive functions are planned and carried out intelligently. For example, business forays into the core functions of state or civil society have appeared perverse, and have usually failed; while some churches and trade unions have set up business enterprises, most of these have suffered commercially from having multiple objectives, and when the state has tried to go into business, it has usually been unsuccessful. Suggestions in the context of SHD that the state should try to behave like a non government organisation seem similarly to fly in the face of common sense.

Besides performing its own core functions, and criticising the performance of each other, the state, business and civil society are involved in interactive functions. Examples are:

- vocational education and training;
- public health and population programmes;
- environmental protection;
- local foods production and marketing;
- urban crime and youth programmes; and
- entrepreneurship and small business programmes.

Notably all these interactive functions are SHD activities, listed as such in the Suva Declaration. But they are also important written objectives in PIC Development Plans for the last two decades. Failure to make faster and surer progress with them may be attributable to the expectation that the state should take a leading role in planning and executing these activities, when by its very nature it is probably incapable of so doing. More likely, the state, i.e. the people who inhabit and operate its apparatuses, is not naturally motivated towards SHD. It has more tangible and immediate goals in mind. It may even be covertly hostile to SHD if this threatens the ability of state personnel to protect their own interests.

The advocates of SHD, therefore, are heading for disappointment if they look to the state to lead the way in SHD policy or operations. Moreover it seems possible that PIC governments may become even less willing and less able to act as the years go by, as their command over financial resources, and the quality of their staff deteriorate.

The key components of SHD are interactive functions, and the state cannot be counted on promote SHD effectively of its own volition, as the Suva Declaration appears to do. Instead of exhorting and expecting governments to undertake SHD as a responsibility of the state, business and civil society will have to take SHD action themselves, while exerting continuous leverage on the state to do likewise through their dynamic, and sometimes uncomfortable, interaction.

Good governance and ecologically sustainable development

Ben Boer and Susan Ingram, Australian Centre for Environmental Law, University of Sydney

The debate about ecologically sustainable development (ESD) and good governance derives in part from the emergence in the 1970s of the so-called New International Economic Order (NIEO). The NIEO had its origins in the post-World War II transition from a war economy to a peace economy, and was formally expressed in 1974 by the adoption of the *Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States* by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The NIEO can be characterised as a state-oriented development strategy, a 'top down' approach to governance, with an emphasis on the sovereignty of developing states. The NIEO, as a global development strategy, is seen to have failed partly because of this 'top down' approach which tried to replicate the institutional and social structures of higher income countries and which could not or did not take into account the need to develop strategies sensitive to the needs of lower income countries.

The later debate on the 'right to development' expressed in a *Declaration on the Right to Development* by the United Nations in 1986 was directed to recognising the collective human right of peoples to participate in development. The right to development is now also embodied in Principle 3 of the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development* agreed to at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992:

> The right to development must be fulfilled so as to equitably meet the developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations.

The right to development is balanced here by considerations of intergenerational and intragenerational equity, as well as by the obligations contained in the other Rio Principles. Ginther (forthcoming) argues that the right to development 'may well mark a shift in development strategy by combining a principally state-oriented conception of development with a people-centred one'. This is manifested for example in Rio Principle 10, which is clear support for the link between ESD, good governance and people-centred decision making. It states in part:

> Environmental issues are best handled with the participation of all concerned citizens, at the relevant level. At the national level, each individual shall have appropriate access to information concerning the environment that is held by public authorities...and the opportunity to participate in decision making processes. States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness by making information widely available...

That argument has implications for the governance of the global environment as a whole, as well as for the governance of the environments of individual nations.

It is contended here that the international imperative of sustainable development, in combination with the emerging paradigm of good governance, represents a succession from the New International Economic Order of the 1970s, to a new order which could be called the New International *Environmental* Order. This new order can be seen as no longer subservient to economic development at any cost, but recognises that development must be limited through appropriate international, national and local forms of governance. It also recognises that the demand by some analysts that industrialising countries must go through a quick and dirty industrial revolution (e.g. *Asiaweek,* Feb 2 1994) before they can become clean is unacceptable and, to a great extent, unnecessary. It is clear that with appropriate aid programmes and carefully controlled private investment, the dirty industrial revolution can and should be largely by-passed. On the other hand, it must be recognised that rapid development in many countries is a high priority in order to address the basic needs of their peoples. Ideally, good governance and the promotion of ecologically sustainable development are to be seen as not only closely linked, but good governance can be seen as a precondition to the full achievement of ESD. However, given economic and especially political realities, they will often be seen as imperfect partners.

Definition of 'good governance'

'Governance' has been defined by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee as 'the use of political authority and exercise of control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development' (Bilney 1994:16) To achieve governance that is 'good' has been argued to require adherence to principles such as political stability, sound bureaucracies based on meritocracy, economic growth with equity, fiscal prudence, and a relative lack of corruption (Mahbubani in Vieira forthcoming).

To this could be added an explicit reference to promotion and maintenance of human rights. The European Council of Ministers for Development Cooperation examined these links in a *Resolution on Human Rights, Democracy and Development* in 1991, recognising that 'human rights and democracy form part of a larger set of requirements in order to achieve balanced and sustainable development'. (European Council of Ministers 1991).

In relation to good governance, the Council stated:

> While sovereign States have the right to institute their own administrative structures and establish their own constitutional arrangements, equitable development can only be achieved if a number of general principles of government are adhered to: sensible economic and social policies, democratic decision making, adequate governmental transparency and financial accountability, creation of a market-friendly environment for development, measures to combat corruption, as well as respect for the rule of law, human rights, and freedom of the press and expression.

The capacity of a country to provide good governance for its people and natural environment depends on such things as the nature of the existing political and economic climate, accountability and transparency in the political and legislative process, and active community participation in decision making.

Ecologically sustainable development and overseas development assistance

As early as 1990, the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB) published a statement of policy, specifically addressing the integration of ESD and development aid (AIDAB 1990). The 'sustainability' debate continues to generate much literature, yet all this is futile if sound and achievable sustainable management practices are not implemented by countries on both a national and a local scale.

In lower income countries, one of the major barriers to sustainability is poverty. Poverty has been attributed as both the cause and the result of environmental degradation. The latest World Resources Institute report documents this vicious circle and reports that the gap between the wealthier and poorer nations appears to be ever increasing (World Resources Institute 1994, Chapter One). Problems such as over-population, resource scarcity and illiteracy plague less developed countries. Where life is a matter of day-to-day survival, there is little chance that arguments over long-term sustainability will hold much sway. Consequently, even with external assistance in the form of direct financial grants, the sensitive introduction of scientific, economic and legal expertise and training programmes for institutional capacity-building, the implementation of sustainable practices in developing nations remains a difficult task.

Australia's policy of good governance for the environment promotes the implementation of the principles of ESD to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness in the management of natural resources and forms an integral part of Australian overseas development aid. Australia's approach to governance and participatory development issues is stated to be positive and flexible, recognising that good governance needs to develop over time from within a society based on national circumstances. In certain cases, the suspension of development assistance may be used as an incentive to encourage the implementation of policies of good governance (Bilney 1994:17). There is however, still a vast potential, within these recognised limits, for Australia to encourage recipient countries to put into place strategies for sustainability. While Australia aims to develop an effective partnership with recipient governments, it does seem to recognise that a commitment to the ideals of sustainable development and good governance must come from the people and government of the less developed nation itself. It is important that the less developed nation comes to see itself as the owner of its problems, but also the owner of strategies to address them. In some cases, recipient countries have reacted with hostility to the imposition of western culture and ideals on their traditional practices and lifestyle. These reactive responses to change are understandable, as in many cases the developing nation initially lacks the social and economic network, and the institutional structure to cope with this invasion. Ideally, any programme should try to assist directly in the ability of the country to cope administratively with needed changes, especially through the process of capacity-building.

Donor nations must realise that they possess great potential to influence the character of development which occurs in a less developed country. The development that occurs and the projects which are undertaken can be determined in many cases by the aid agencies through the various tasks that they perform, such as the allocation of funding, provision of staff trained for specific projects and the promotion of development policies belonging to their home government.

To achieve good governance and the implementation of the principles of sustainable development in lower income countries, the donor nation must respect the existing socio-economic framework of that nation and recognise that the recipient nation should perceive the inherent value in adopting these practices before they can be successfully implemented. Local people need to be trained to implement sustainable practices in the field and in local or provincial bureaucracies. Systems need to be initiated for monitoring progress and to ensure accountability, policies of ESD need to be implemented at a 'grass roots' level, and inter-agency communication and cooperation need to be promoted. The nation must come to be aware of and appreciate the inherent worth of these strategies in its own time. It is essential to build on the capacity of the local people and governments to act as environmental managers, thus encouraging the adoption and implementation of environmentally sustainable practices at a local level.

Strategies for sustainability

The World Conservation Union (IUCN) adopts such ideas in promoting sustainability strategies in a wide range of

countries. It has produced a handbook for implementing sustainability strategies as well as conducting regional reviews of strategies in South and East Asia, Africa and Latin America. It defines strategies for sustainability as 'processes of planning and action to improve and maintain the well-being of people and ecosystems' (IUCN/IIED 1994). They are designed to 'achieve economic, ecological and social objectives in a balanced and integrated manner'. It states that these strategies are needed to provide a framework for analysis and a focus for debate on sustainable development and processes of negotiation, mediation and consensus building and to carry out actions to change or strengthen values, knowledge, technologies and institutions with respect to priority issues. It also states that strategies can help countries solve inter-related economic, social and environmental problems by developing their capacities to treat them in an integrated fashion. Existing strategies have already resulted in improved organisations, procedures, legislation, public awareness and consensus on issues (IUCN/IIED 1994).

A regional example of such strategies, entitled National Environment Management Strategies (NEMS), has been prepared by the South Pacific Regional Environmental Programme (SPREP) in collaboration with the Asia Development Bank and the IUCN. They are seen as environmental action plans for the countries of the South Pacific region. Some 12 Pacific Islands countries have engaged in this process since 1991. The NEMS focus on the practical aspects of the integration of sustainable development in environmental management at government level, as well as encourage community awareness and consultation. An important part of the NEMS has been to review and suggest reforms for environmental law within each country (Boer forthcoming). Aid agencies providing the financial resources for the NEMS include the Asian Development Bank, and the United Nations Development Programme, in association with the IUCN and AIDAB. This cooperative approach to the provision of foreign aid is a relatively new initiative in this region. Foreign aid agencies in the South Pacific have previously been reported to lack coordination, which has resulted in wide-spread inefficiency, unnecessary expenditure of both human and pecuniary resources and the inadequate assessment of environmental impacts. Other problems have resulted when the less developed nations receive a high level of development assistance and subsequently, suffer from 'expert overload', as too many foreign consultants are imported to work on aid programmes, to the detriment of training local staff.

Conclusion

In recent years, government environmental policies in many countries have tended to promote good governance to facilitate the implementation of environmental management practices. The health of the global environment relies on the implementation of sustainable management practices in as many nations as possible. Where political expediency triumphs over human and environmental welfare, alternative strategies for adopting the principles of good governance may need to be implemented to incorporate ESD in natural resource allocation and exploitation.

The future health of the global environment relies on commitment of an integrated international response by national, regional and local governments, NGOs, aid agencies, communities and individuals to the implementation of ESD practices for the long-term management of natural resources. The adoption of the principles of good governance in lower income countries, through granting foreign aid on a conditional basis is generally recognised as being highly beneficial for the management of the natural environment. While good governance tends to intrinsically promote the adoption of principles such as ESD, the attempts of development assistance agencies to promote such strategies in lower income countries will be futile if political support for behaviour which promotes sustainablility is not generated within the individual nations themselves. In any case, even with all the policies and legislation that Australia has begun to generate, the full achievement of ESD still remains a goal rather than a reality in all economic sectors, for reasons that have as much to do with federal and state politics as with practical implementation. Clearly the 'green' conditioning which we tend to practice overseas must also play a role in the allocation, exploitation and protection of our own resources.

References

AIDAB 1992, *National strategy for ecologically sustainable development*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Bilney, G. 1994, 'Good governance and participatory development in Australia's aid programme', *Development Bulletin* 32, pp. 16-19.

Boer, BW. forthcoming, 'Implementation of international sustainability imperatives at a national level', International Law Association Seminar: *Sustainable Development, Human Rights and Good Governance* (March 1994) Graz, Austria.

European Council of Ministers 1991, *Resolution on human rights, democracy and development*, adopted on 28 November 1991 by the European Council, 24 Bull. E.C. (11), pp. 122-123.

Ginther, K. forthcoming, 'Sustainable development and good governance: Development and evolution of constitutional orders', International Law Association Seminar: *Sustainable Development, Human Rights and Good Governance* (March 1994) Graz, Austria.

IUCN and IIED 1994 *Strategies for national sustainable development: A handbook for their implementation*, Gland, Switzerland, pp. 4-5.

Vieira, S. forthcoming, 'Sustainable development as a matter of good governance: The case of the Amazon forest in Brazil', International Law Association Seminar: *Sustainable Development, Human Rights and Good Governance* (March 1994) Graz, Austria.

Indigenous people and development administration: Governance in Australia

Christine Fletcher, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University

> This month marks the beginning of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, a time to highlight the special needs of native cultures and their great importance to peace, human rights and sustainable economic and social development (*World Bank News*, XIV(2), January 12 1995).

The severe impact of post-colonial development on indigenous peoples in western countries tends to lie outside the development administration literature which is focused on developing countries - not on developing communities in developed countries.

In Australian Aboriginal communities, infrastructure such as health, housing, education, roads and water is often so poor that conditions are likened to those one would expect to find in poor communities in developing countries. Part of the blame lies with past government policy and poorly designed or inadequate administrative structures. Commonwealth, State and local governments are now under pressure from the Australian Aboriginal community to incorporate indigenous demands into the administrative process. In other words, to construct responsive mainstream institutions which are capable of recognising the need for Aboriginal community development. As things stand, the connection between community development for Australian indigenous people and development administration literature has yet to be made.

The World Bank recognises indigenous people as an important part of the development community, raising the question: How do we include people who have been structurally excluded from development, but in a way that takes into account their own cutural values and traditions? (World Bank 1995).

On World Bank estimates, there are some 300 million indigenous and tribal people spread throughout over 70 countries. They are among the poorest people on earth and they live in conditions that range from the extremes of the Arctic to the rainforest of Asia and the deserts of Australia. Estimates of the Australian indigenous population, based on an increase of around 13 per cent annually since the 1991 census, is 300,000 or 1.6 per cent of the Australian population (ATSIC 1994:3). In the Northern Territory indigenous people comprise around 25 per cent of the population yet, even there, they have limited access to the decision making process.

Development structures of some sort or another have been operating for almost three decades in Australia, with limited success until recently. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), for example, is a unique administrative organisation. ATSIC's peculiar mix of representation and administration gives it characteristics unlike organisations anywhere else in the world. It is structured specifically for the purpose of Aboriginal policy development at both the executive and the community level. Aboriginal elected regional councils are designed to feed policy information from urban and remote communities, in different parts of the country, back into agencies at the national level. ATSIC regional councils are part of a system of local representative democracy devised especially to make governments and administrators more responsive to the distinct needs of the Aboriginal people. The councils are a central part of the development administrative framework that determines how indigenous people are governed.

Today, aboriginal societies around the world, including those across the Tasman, the Maori, are exercising, or at least attempting to exercise, some form of self-determination. Forms of self-determination and self-government depend on the institutions of the nation state. These institutions include regional and local bureaucratic structures, revenue raising possibilities, constitutions and treaties, and special arrangements for the management and administration of indigenous land and resource ownership. In Australia, for example, the distinctive cultural needs of Aboriginal communities have influenced all aspects of the system of government, ranging from the constitutional interpretation of common law through to the redistribution of national government resources to local communities in remote areas.

Understanding the principles of cultural diversity has become a necessity for the policy maker. Governments have to cope with cultural differences if their policies are to be effective. Recognising diversity in some countries has led to a reorientation of bureaucratic culture within the administrative structures. The most recent international institution to recognise the impact of indigenous peoples is the World Bank. Indigenous people have been challenging the institutions of the state at all levels for some time: through national, regional and local governmental structures and through international fora of the United Nations. The successful implementation of that challenge lie within the innovation of development adminstration. Recognising the benefits of constructing a more flexible and responsive set of government institutions is a positive sign.

The most fruitful way to highlight these factors is to provide a brief background sketch of the relationship between indigenous people and government in Australia. Most

people are probably familiar with the history of European - Aboriginal relations but may know less about the role of ATSIC in the organisation of administrative institutions and in the development of policies to improve the quality of life of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

Improvements to the quality of life of indigenous people requires cooperation between administrators at all levels of government and a recognition of self-determination. However, governments are only able to respond to problems if they have an adequate supply of information as to what is required. ATSIC has the capacity to be an important link in that process. There are, of course, other factors: equity in the system of intergovernmental transfers and the extent to which central power is constrained by other institutions. Both of these factors are particularly important elements for the survival of local community autonomy.

History tells us that economic and political stability is linked to the equitable distribution of national resources to poor communities. Australia has a reputation for equalisation and fairness - both in the design of its intergovernmental transfers and in the type of support received by individuals. Unfortunately, the system has been slow to respond in fairness to indigenous people.

Aboriginal Australia

According to Neville Bonner (1988), a purely Aboriginal form of governance once existed. Aboriginal economic management was based on a successful mix of ancient tradition and territorial stability. Bonner argues that Aboriginal society governed itself according to an indigenous set of egalitarian, collectivist principles which provided a stable focus on community well-being.

By the time of Federation in 1901, the Aboriginal population had no access to institutional resources and in the settled areas of the continent the independence of their economic capacity was virtually wiped out. Aboriginal people were pushed to the fringe of western society and their communities were subject to policies of underdevelopment. They were 'classified' by skin colour and, under a policy of assimilation, indigenous languages were discouraged, children were removed from their parents and people herded into areas away from the eyes of mainstream Australia.

Until the 1970s, the health and education of the Aboriginal people was a side issue. In the early days, governments took action only when Aboriginal health problems threatened the health of the wider Australian community (e.g. leprosy) or, more recently, when the appalling health conditions of many communities came to the attention of the World Health Organisation during a visit by officials in the late 1970s. Aboriginal health is now a major issue. Administrators, governments and Aboriginal people themselves are competing to control the health policy budget.

Prior to the 1960s, neither the Commonwealth nor the State bureaucracies were geared to deliver services to Aboriginal communities. When assimilation policies were finally discredited by national referendum in 1967, the Commonwealth Government began to impress a set of principles into its own administrative framework as well as that of the sub-national governments. It drew on the principles of self-determination which were developed by the United Nations. The United Nations defined self-determination as a mandate for communities to remove themselves from the control of the European colonists who had occupied their territory. In countries where people remain under the control of other governments, self-determination served to help them legitimate the restoration of their own dignity, as well as the basis for economic and political independence.

Self-determination

According to the United Nations, self-determination is a principle which empowers people with the right to make decisions over their own lives. The principle was formally adopted by Australian governments in the 1960s. It became a guide to policy relationships, the administration of policy, and guaranteed a process through which the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island population could legitimately put their own preferences into action.

Both the administrative reform and the strengthening of self-determination were key elements of change in Australia. The Aboriginal affairs bureaucracy was reshaped in the late 1980s and ATSIC emerged. The popularity of the principle waxed and waned over the years depending on partisan support and other factors, particularly public debate in the mining-based states over Aboriginal affairs expenditure and land rights.

Self-determination gained legitimacy when the High Court decision (*Mabo vs Queensland*) destroyed the myth that Australia was unoccupied prior to the arrival of Europeans in 1788. A form of *native* rights was institutionalised. The High Court's decision to recognise prior ownership forced governments and administrators to take seriously the principle of self-determination and this is what now provides governments, bureaucrats and indigenous peoples with links to the past. Self-determination has some currency in the debates over Aboriginal administration, self-government and local autonomy. A high point of self-determination in this context is the start of administrative restructuring and regional reform in the Torres Strait Islands. The next section of this section explains how ATSIC is placed in relation to self-determination and development.

ATSIC

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) has a leading role across all areas of local autonomy. As a statutory authority, in principle, it has less

constraints than its predecessor, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs. In reality of course, ATSIC is highly visible and, with a large budget, its lucrative resources are prized by other bureaucracies - for example, health.

ATSIC functions as a Commonwealth administrative organisation with broad responsibility for improving the quality of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community development and, it is the central, representative body for the 36 Aboriginal regional councils across the country. Conflict is built into its structure through having to accommodate both the principles of accountability and those of representation: many people find this tension destructive and the structure and function of ATSIC generates a degree of controversy. The elected arm of ATSIC runs parallel to its administrative apparatus and this dual identity is replicated throughout Australia in all of the states and territories.

ATSIC's broad base provides the links for the coordination of community development programmes on an enormous scale: it acts as a platform for indigenous demands; it handles the political fall-out from Aboriginal budgetary decisions; it processes policy information; and it provides a national, relatively cohesive, framework for Aboriginal regional community development which is mostly located, somewhat ambiguously, within different government jurisdictions.

ATSIC 'tops up' crucial areas of policy which are ignored or overlooked by mainstream State, Territory and local governments. Aside from profiling Aboriginal community structures, its role covers:

- special policy functions channelled through mainstream administration - Commonwealth and State;
- intergovernmental relations;
- design of institutions (eg legislation, departments, government policy);
- the status of Aboriginal land; and
- pattern of Commonwealth, State/Territory and local governments revenue and expenditure.

Federalism

Because the framework of the system is federal, most services require input from a variety of administrators from different government jurisdictions. Federalism has affected the quality of Aboriginal community development in different ways across the country. Shared authority encourages governments to reach a political compromise and this means that governments often find it easier to agree to a standard in principle, if not in practice.

Aboriginal community development programmes are designed to cope with different needs in different regions and in different State and Territory political regimes. All of the states and territories have a different economic base and their priorities vary. Administrators pick their way through the system by applying a policy standard. For example, community well-being is based on a *standard* good quality of life: this covers adequate housing, good education and a high standard of health care. Federalism influences the administrative process at every turn of the policy process: it impacts on the organisation of administration and it encourages competition between the different governments for political and economic resources.

After Federation, the distribution of State and Commonwealth administrative power was organised by the constitutional distribution of authority and, in the absence of a single central authority with the capacity to subordinate other governments, the question of responsibility became critical and ambiguous. Ambiguity can be a virtue, but it can also be a cost. For example, some States have resisted demands from their Aboriginal citizens for special provisions, such as land rights, or legislation for an Aboriginal-specific system of local government. Western Australia is in this category.

Governments in other regions, such as the Northern Territory, have been more generous although, stems largely from the Commonwealth's parliamentary authority over the legislative framework of the Territory. The peculiar status of the Territory has enabled policies such as land rights to survive. Some States also have a system of Aboriginal land rights but there are notable constitutional differences between State and Territory governments (see Walsh and Fletcher 1994).

Local governance

Democracy at the level of local government has not served the Aboriginal people well. Achievements and failures in local government, wherever they have occurred, have been mixed and there are accounts of some spectacular successes as well as some appalling failures.

One of the great success stories of Aboriginal people and local government occurred on the edge of the Gibson Desert of Western Australia, in the Shire of Wiluna. The shire is over 329,000 square kilometres, mostly desert. Prior to 1984 the Aboriginal Shire residents were unrepresented at a local level - although they constituted 90 per cent of the population. By 1987, Aboriginal people won the majority of positions on Council following changes to the State Local Government Act in 1984.

Other local governments in Western Australia have been transformed since then. An example is the new Shire of NgaanyatjarraKu - an outstanding success. In other areas of Australia, most notably in the Northern Territory and South Australia, local government is relatively flexible in attempting to tailor legislation to suit remote Aboriginal communities and, despite some problems of autonomy, there

is a relatively stable system of Aboriginal local government operating in both of these regions. However, there is a serious question mark over whether some systems are suitable for Aboriginal people or whether effectiveness has become more a measure of administrative accountability than self-determination.

Failure and underdevelopment

The most notorious local government failure occured in the New South Wales town of Toomelah. In Toomelah, the Human Rights Commission wrote a scathing report on lack of infrastructure and the raw sewage running into the streets of the Aboriginal community. That report found that Aboriginal communities had virtually no access to government processes that affected them (Human Rights Australia 1988).

The report found firstly that the New South Wales Government had all but closed down its Aboriginal administration and, instead of operating a special agency which was culturally responsive, policy had been collapsed into the Premier's central organisation and, in practice, there was no way for the community to register the impending crisis with the central agency. Second, the Toomelah people were innocent victims of the hostility between the State and Commonwealth Governments: the Department of Aboriginal Affairs which, at the time, was supposed to be the prime mover in community development, was operating in another dimension to the State.

Finally, the local government authority which, for all intents and purposes, received funds from the State government for the provision of essential services was openly hostile to the Toomelah community and refused to install the necessary infrastructure while attempting to tax the Aboriginal people for the use of town resources such as power.

As the report says, there are many such cases in Australia. The problem goes much deeper than withholding basic infrastructure: it cuts into the system to the point where there is a serious policy gap between Aboriginal communities and 'the rest of us'.

Conclusion

Development is a serious problem for indigenous people in every country. Poor access to government resources, lack of cultural flexibility in the frameworks that house fiscal transfer systems, restricted channels to administration and the inability of bureaucracy to interpret the special needs of indigenous peoples is now recognised as a major problem world-wide.

Many problems have yet to be overcome but there have been some landmark changes. Some policies have impacted on the organisation of the federal administrative regime (ATSIC) while others, such as Aboriginal health policy, are accompanied by question marks over the failure of large bureaucracies to recognise the significance of equity and development in relation to Aboriginal communities.

The natural focus of development administration studies is on changes to the economic, administrative, and environmental arrangements of 'developing' countries. This looks set to change. In the future, hopefully, the significance of the special needs of indigenous peoples will be recognised more clearly in the context of development. In Australia, governments have to come to terms with the distinctive cultural needs of Aboriginal communities. It concerns all aspects of the system of government and adminstration, ranging from the constitutional interpretation of common law through to the redistribution of national government resources to local communities in remote areas. Equity is a major ingredient. The development administration literature acknowledges that the transitional economies and impoverished communities around the world require expertise and advice. But, if Australia holds any lessons, it is that adminstrators have a lot to learn from indigenous people.

References

ATSIC 1994, *Annual Report,* 1992-93, AGPS, Canberra.

Bonner, N. 1988, *Always Anangu, A review of the Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara Aboriginal communities in Central Australia,* Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Canberra.

Human Rights Australia 1988, *Toomelah Report: Report on the problems and needs of Aborigines living on the NSW-Queensland border,* Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.

Reynolds, H. 1987, *The law of the land,* Penguin.

Walsh, C. and C. Fletcher 1994, *The subsidiary principle and decentralisation: Perspectives from Australia's federal experience,* Economic Division Working Paper No. 94/4, Development Issues, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

Werther, Guntram F., 1992, *Self-determination in western democracies: Aboriginal politics in comparative perspective,* Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut.

World Bank News, Volume XIV (2), January 1995.

The good governance of Australia: Time to manage our population

Jonathan Stone, Anatomy and Histology, University of Sydney

The Jones Report - a step to good governance

The recent report, *Australia's population 'carrying capacity'*, issued by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Long Term Strategies (the Jones Committee), is of considerable significance for the good governance of Australia. That significance might not be obvious from reading only its recommendations, which are thoughtful and wide-ranging but too cautious to suggest a number for the optimal population of Australia. From the wide range of views presented to the Committee in the 271 submissions received, the Committee rejected only the extremes of immediate population reduction and fast expansion. This narrowed their assessment of what our population should be by the middle of the next century to somewhere between 17-30 million. The Committee pointedly refrained from any closer recommendation.

A critic might argue that a population strategy with so wide a target is no strategy at all, for the difference between 17 and 30 million in 2040 would be far greater than just the very considerable difference in numbers. Demographic analyses show that a population of 17 million in 2040 would be stable; it would already have adapted its infrastructure to that stability and changed its expectations from economic stimulus to the achievement of excellence and social justice. A population of 30 million in 2040 would still be growing, reaching 50 million by the end of the 21st century. However, while that population would be enjoying the economic stimulus of that growth, its quality of life would be being eroded by the results of overcrowding and the overuse of resources. Further, the larger population would still have to undertake the adaptation to stability which must be made at some stage, as human populations spread into every corner of once empty continents.

The Committee was ambivalent in its treatment of the link between population and environmental degradation. For example, it considers the argument that population growth causes deforestation and loss of biodiversity in Chapter 3, which is entitled 'Challenging mythologies about population and quality of life'. At several points in its report, moreover, the Committee notes that lifestyle and technology are major parameters in determining human impact on the environment, and seems to place the onus of proof on those who would limit population. Remarkably, therefore, the Committee eventually accepts without qualification that the limits to resources will enforce, if not a limit to population, at least a trade-off between numbers and lifestyle. Thus, late in the report it states (p. 129):

> 7.69 All population change ... will have significant impact on the environment, resource use and quality of life;
>
> and
>
> 7.72 Willingness to accept a higher population ... would depend on willingness to accept some degree of resource restraint, with more environmental sensitivity, control of urban sprawl, less car dependence ...

Why the ambivalence? No doubt it reflects reservations genuinely held in the Committee, but it may also reflect the politicians' intuition that the community and government are not receptive to less qualified advice. For many decades, successive governments, both Conservative and Labor, have managed our population without a policy on limits, and the community has been happy with this 'she'll be right' approach. Only the Australian Democrats have formulated a policy on population. Adopted in 1990, it urges stabilisation of our population. Even the conservation movements have eschewed the issue. Stronger advice, the Committee might have sensed, would have gone unheard.

It is not that our governments have been unconcerned. They have been concerned with the competitiveness of our industry and the plight of our poor, with the challenge of self-sufficiency and alliances with great powers, with hope for a future in Asia and with memories of wartime attack from Asia, with the giving of haven to refugees and the control of illegal migration. But, struggling with these concerns, successive governments have shelved the issue of population; the report of the Jones Committee lifts the issue back down onto the table of debate.

For, however constrained its advice on what our population should be, the Committee recommends strongly that the Government develop a policy on population. In perhaps its most important set of recommendations (Recommendations 1-5, at pp. 21 and 147), the Committee argues the need to separate the policy issues of immigration and population. The National Population Council had recommended (Withers 1991) that their distinctness be recognised by, in particular, changing the name of the Bureau of Immigration Research, to the Bureau of Population and Immigration Research, in the hope that the distinct issues could be separated within that Bureau. The Jones Committee concludes that 'population policy is central to establishing

national goals' and recommends a separate bureaucratic structure, headed by the Prime Minister, and devoted specifically to the development of a population policy.

The Committee was thus too experienced in the reality of politics to expect that so major a policy could or should be set without debate and chose to open the debate rather than propose its conclusion. Academics might justly protest that they had opened the debate over the limits to our population a generation ago, in this country and others. But academic debate is one step, necessary but not sufficient for a change of policy. The Jones Committee has cleared the ground on which the Federal Government can open and lead a communal debate over the optimal population of Australia.

Touchstones and shibboleths - clearing the ground

What has until so recently obstructed debate over population in Australia? The answer is that debate was inhibited by a surprising range of passions and commitments, strongly held over many years.

Boosterism and catastrophism

Within Australia, the debate can be traced back at least to the 1920s, when our population was still a few millions and the nation was still emerging from its colonial beginnings, restless with a desire to be distinctive, noticed, a nation of importance. Australia willingly subscribed to Britain's Empire Settlement Act of 1922, which sought joint action by Britain and her Dominions to stock Australia, Canada and New Zealand with a steady flow of British migrants, to establish a world-wide empire of British populated nations. Australia thereby adopted a policy of massive expansion of the population by migration, and between 1920 and 1929 net migration to Australia was high (349,000), though it fell short of the agreed targets (see Borrie 1974:97ff).

The sense of excitement about Australia's future which inspired this commitment is best given by quotations from the time. A writer for the English journal *Spectator* wrote in 1888 (quoted in the House Committee's Report):

> There is every reasonable probability that in 1988 Australia will be a Federal Republic, peopled by 50 millions of English speaking men ... separate ... recognisable ... democratic.

Winston Churchill, speaking of the Empire Settlement Act, foresaw that with perseverance '... a revolution might be effected in the balance of population within a century', creating an Empire of perhaps 300 million subjects, predominantly of British stock (Borrie 1974). The same excitement, mixed with impatience, can be sensed in today's politicians and captains of industry. In the words of Mr Hugh Morgan, a chief executive of Western Mining Corporation:

> If Australia had a population of 100 millions, say, and a growing, dynamic economy, we would not have to worry about immigration. We would be, along with the Japanese, and Germany, a significant world power..... But that is not the case. We have the potential to become a great nation but, apparently, no longer the will... (Morgan 1991).

And just last year, Marshall Peron, the Chief Minister of the Northern Territory, spoke of the opportunity to double our population, by settlement of Australia's northwest.

This vision of expansion which stresses the value of growth, often ignoring its costs, was challenged almost as soon as it was enunciated, by the view that expansion will be limited by the nation's resources, a view which stresses the costs of expansion, often ignoring its value. The latter view found a distinguished early proponent in the academic geographer Thomas Griffith Taylor, who throughout the 1920s argued that:

> the contemporary margins of settlement in Australia already closely approximated the limits which had been 'set' by the very nature of the physical environment (Powell 1979).

A fiery debate followed between the 'Empire boosters', who foresaw a nation of 100 million by the end of the 20th century, made powerful by 'money, markets and men', and 'environmental determinists' like Taylor, who predicted that Australia would have, because the continent's resources would maintain, no more than 20 million by the end of the century.

Taylor's views deserve serious analysis. His prediction for our population, 20 million by 1999, which so infuriated the empire boosters, has proved accurate; Australia currently has almost 18 million people. His concept of the environmental limits to Australia's population is now a basic premise of the case against population growth. A booster could point out, with considerable justification, that Australia's population has stayed low, not because we ran into the resource limits which Griffith Taylor foresaw, but because the will to populate Australia into greatness dissolved in the misery of the great depression and the suffering of war, and in a steady fall in natural fertility which continued (except for the brief post-WWII baby boom) until, in the late 1970s, our birth rate fell below replacement levels, where it remains.

The Jones Committee effectively said fie to both boosterism and catastrophism. It firmly rejected high population targets proposed by those with a vision of growth. Conversely, it acknowledged that human ingenuity and adaptability have found and will continue to find ways around resource limits, and therefore rejected the demand for the reduction of population which follows from the catastrophist vision of overpopulation. It rejected both very high (30-50 million) and very low (5-17 million) population targets as 'illusory,

unattainable and undesirable'. Both views are alive in the community, and will be heard in the coming debate, but this Committee's judgment is that they represent the poles of the debate, not its main ground.

National security

The issue of the nation's security was raised in several submissions to the Committee, and was also dealt with in the chapter on *Challenging mythologies about population.* In a brief summary, the Committee notes that recent reports to government on Australia's defence needs have not raised the issue of population, and the Committee was clearly not influenced by national security in its own conclusions. The nation was not always so free of concern. Australians emerged from World War II chastened by our dependence on great powers, Great Britain and, after the fall of Singapore, the USA, to protect us from Imperial Japan. Calwell, Minister for Immigration in the postwar Labor Government wrote in 1948:

> Additional population is Australia's greatest need, for security in wartime, for full development and prosperity in peacetime, our vital need is more Australians ... Australia can increase her population three-fold or more and still provide full employment and adequate standards of living for all (Borrie 1974:197).

Between 1947 and 1950, net immigration into Australia increased over 10-fold, from 11,000 to 150,000 per annum and remained over 100,000 net as late as 1990. These immigrations rate made Australia a major sink for the postwar migration from war-torn Europe and, per capita, one of the most immigrant-hungry nations of the postwar period. For perhaps 10 years, the Australian Government did have a clear policy on population - to expand as fast as possible, so that we could face renewed threat from our near north. It needs some effort now to recall how palpable Imperial Japan had made that threat, how deeply it had been branded into the Australian psyche by the bombing of Darwin and the bitter fighting on the Kokoda Trail. For in the long peace of the Cold War the fear of invasion faded and, at least since 1974, when the National Enquiry into Population reported, national security has not been a factor in the debate over population. National security is a good example of how quickly the determinants of population policy can emerge, and how completely they can fade.

Prosperity and sustainability

When concern over national security faded as a driving force for high population growth through immigration, a major argument for continuing high immigration was economic, the constant stimulus to prosperity provided by growth. Counter-arguments both challenge the nexus between population growth and prosperity, and adduce arguments that the greater economic advance would be sustainability, the establishment of an economy which does not degrade the ecology in which it resides. On both points the Committee is agnostic, noting that empirical support is lacking for a correlation between growth and prosperity, and that sustainability is technology-dependent. Effectively, the Committee challenges proponents of both views to consolidate their arguments with hard data. This is a significant challenge to economic arguments which have long been accepted as the justification for high rates of population growth in Australia.

Guilt, human rights and racism

The Committee deals only obliquely with the influence of these three factors on the debate over population. Its reticence is understandable, for their influence has been strong, and some of their passions still run. Australia can be justly characterised as a diverse and tolerant society, but the ethnic mix which is the basis of multiculturalism was established by successive waves of immigration, and each new wave has for a period stirred a mild xenophobia. When in recent years Australians articulated their concerns over population, they were often silenced by the accusation that they were racists, that their concerns were driven by a hidden xenophobic distaste for immigrants (see for example Moore 1991; MacLeod 1991; Coulter 1991). Further, many contributors to the debate over immigration have sought to make Australians feel guilty about the low population density we enjoy which, despite our long periods of high immigration, remains a fraction of the densities found in Asia or Europe. Many have argued that our policies on population, and on immigration in particular, must respond to the rights of non Australians in distress to come here. On these related issues, which for at least a generation now have stifled the debate over the optimal population of Australia, the Committee takes a strong position, concluding (at p. 19) that:

> ... it is essential that Governments ... understand that establishing a population policy is a *primary* goal and that setting immigration levels is a *secondary* consequence of the population goal. The cart must not be placed before the horse ...

In short, governments should continue to respond to suffering and hear demand from elsewhere, but the issue of Australia's population is too important to be secondary to other considerations. This is perhaps the boldest of the Committee's conclusions.

The role of knowledge

What gave the Committee the boldness to sweep aside still-quick passions? Partly, no doubt, the Committee was conscious that its inquiry is one step in a pattern of quiet Government action on the issue of population. Successive governments have commissioned the National Inquiry on Population (Borrie 1974) and a report of the National

Population Council (Withers 1991), and have launched the Environmentally Sustainable Development process, commissioned the Ahlburg Report on the impact of population on human well-being, and reported to the UN International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994. Beyond government, a small 'population movement' has appeared in Australia, which includes academic groups and one public interest group, Australians for an Ecologically Sustainable Population. Moreover the communal debate over population has matured considerably, as experience has taught us more of the reality of environmental degradation on the one hand, and of the power of technology on the other, and low fertility has slowed the rate of population growth. The resilience and ingenuity of our species have been recognised, but are increasingly seen as assets, not in the quest for progress and growth, but in the task of adapting to environmental constraints.

Perhaps the key factor in this slow gathering of momentum has been the accumulation of hard knowledge about what is happening to our ecology. The pollution of Sydney's beaches, the recurrent algal blooms in the Darling and Hawkesbury Rivers are to a conservationist just minor symptoms of a major malaise, but they stick in the public mind for what they are, hard evidence of environmental damage caused by human population. Further, data have emerged (reviewed for example in Harrison 1993) which, for the first time, have shown a correlation between a slowing of population growth and a rise in individual affluence. This sort of evidence has won many to the view that population management is a prerequisite for prosperity. And finally, the relationship between economics and ecology is being redefined. For many years, and as recently as the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1991, population was treated as an issue within the wider issue of economic development. Increasingly, economic management is being seen as an issue within the wider issue of ecological management. In the Australian context, the Report of the Jones Committee is a major step in that change.

This growth of public awareness of the limits to resources has not come quickly. Only one substantial assessment of the carrying capacity of Australia was published during the cold war (Gifford *et al* 1975). In the years since 1975-1990, years in which concern over the environment, the greenhouse effect and the loss of biodiversity was growing apace, and the population of the planet was rising more rapidly than ever before in our history, little attention was given to the question of population. The growth of public concern does now seem insistent, however. The Jones Report has placed the debate between boosterism and catastrophism in its historical and scientific context, has argued the primacy of population policy over immigration policy, and has led the debate over Australia's population past the claims of racism, rights and guilt which have stifled discussion in recent years. By perhaps the end of this decade, the issue of the limits of our population will have become part of Australia's political mainstream. For social historians who one day will chronicle Australia's path to the good governance of its population, the Jones Report will be seen as an important milestone.

References

Borrie, J. 1974, *Population and Australia: Report of the national population inquiry,* Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra.

Coulter J., 1991 'Australia's population and the environment', in J. W. Smith (ed), *Immigration, population and sustainable environments: The limits to Australia's growth*, Flinders Press, Bedford Park.

Gifford, R.M., J.D. Calm, A.R. Aston, and R.J. Millington 1975, 'Biophysical constraints in Australian food production: implications for population policy', *Search* , pp. 212-23.

Harrison, P. 1993, *Population and sustainable development,* Keynote address to the Ministerial Seminar on Population and Development, Canberra, November

Moore, E. 1991 'A sustainable population for Australia: dilemma for the Green Movement' in *Immigration, population and sustainable environments: the limits to Australia's growth.*, J. W Smith (ed), Flinders Press, Bedford Park.

Morgan, H. M. 1991, *Earle Page Memorial Lecture*, St. John's College, University of Sydney, November.

Macleod J. 1991, 'Reflections on an immigration conference', in *Immigration, population and sustainable environments: the limits to Australia's growth*, J. W Smith (ed), Flinders Press, Bedford Park.

Powell, J.M. 1979, 'Thomas Griffith Taylor 1880-1963, Geographer', *Bibliographical Studies* 3, pp. 141-53.

Withers, G. 1991, *Population issues and Australia's future: Environment, economy and society*, Final Report, National Population Council, Canberra.

Good governance and decentralisation of Papua New Guinea's health services

Damien Wohlfahrt, Papua New Guinea Population and Family Planning Project

Decentralisation, a management strategy increasingly being implemented by formerly centralised governments throughout the Asia-Pacific region, is considered a necessary component of democratisation and good government. Decentralisation policies aim not only to streamline government services by turning over responsibility to local agencies, but also to further the participatory process and democratic principles. These principles include the strengthening of local accountability, and the promotion of economic and social stability through public participation and empowerment. Papua New Guinea's (PNG) decentralisation of the health sector has met with mixed success.

At the time of PNG's independence in September 1975, the new constitution had no provision for any form of provincial government. However, decentralisation had emerged as a political issue in the late 1960s, and had intensified as independence approached, particularly in Bougainville and the rest of the Islands Region. In 1977, Organic Law No. 1 established provincial governments with the aim of redistributing political and administrative power from the national to 19 provincial governments. As part of this exercise, the National Executive Council approved the splitting of health service functions into three groups (PNG Department of Health 1986):

- national functions;
- nationally delegated functions; and
- transferred (provincial) functions (Table1).

The move from strong, centralised control to full decentralisation to the provinces was a long and painful process. Most staff in the national department resisted revising the departmental structure because they rightly felt that their status and authority were threatened. Technical officers saw that their administrative powers would be diminished. Because many of these staff were not well qualified, they were justifiably uncomfortable about their proposed new roles as technical advisers (Reilly 1991). Instead of planning the orderly devolution of power and training provincial staff for their new management responsibilities, time was wasted with prolonged and bitter power plays. There was confusion about the relative powers of the national and provincial departments, particularly with regard to the 'nationally-delegated functions'. These uncertainties resulted in ambiguity, ill-defined authority and responsibility relationships, and some duplication of positions and services.

Funding for 'nationally delegated functions' was finally appropriated directly to the provinces in 1983, six years after decentralisation was decreed by the National Executive Council. Several provinces subsequently decentralised to the district level, with all services (including health services) under the control of a district manager, a generic manager who usually had no previous health experience.

Table 1. Organisation of Papua New Guinea's decentralised health services

National functions
Ultimate responsibility for all hospitals, medical, dental, nursing, preventive health and disease control services
Establishing and monitoring service standards
Pharmaceutical services
Mental health, radiotherapy, and special medical services
National health legislation
Planning, policy formulation and evaluation
Medical training
Provision of services to the Medical Board, Nursing Council, Fluoridation Committee etc.

Nationally delegated functions
Provincial Hospital
Malaria control
Control of tuberculosis, leprosy, sexually transmitted diseases, part-time quarantine, dental services, nutrition and environmental health

Transferred (provincial) functions
Aid posts
Health centres and subcentres
Ambulance services
Family health services
Supervision of disease control programmes

Decentralisation has produced tangible benefits (Lausie and Thomason 1991):

- Provincial health staff now have direct input into both the design and negotiation of their annual budgets with the provincial government.
- Provinces can recruit and place their own staff.
- Provinces have the power to discipline staff.
- Politicians and provincial governments have taken a greater interest in, and have developed a more responsible attitude to health services.
- Coordination of transportation has improved.
- The ability to plan and interpret data at the provincial level has begun to develop.

These benefits, however, have been accompanied by many problems.

From the beginning, it was realised that, to properly monitor provincial health services, the national department should establish suitable service standards. Except for nursing, however, no standards were set. Delegated activities were therefore handed over to the provinces to perform without any proper form of monitoring or control. Predictably, provincial health offices exercised autonomous control over the structure and delivery of services. In provinces with an active and experienced assistant secretary for health, programmes were well run, health service standards were maintained, and staff morale improved; in the others, however, standards and morale inexorably declined (Reilly 1991; Kolehmainen-Aitken 1991).

Decentralisation removed authority from the national department to influence the selection and discipline of provincial staff. Over time, the appointment process became increasingly politicised. Provinces favoured health workers from their own provinces, staffing top positions with persons with local political connections. This even occurred to the exclusion of more qualified and experienced staff. (It is generally agreed that, due to family and clan pressures, most Papua New Guineans perform worst in their home province). Some provinces have been slow to take disciplinary action against their own staff, even when serious public service charges have been laid (Kolehmainen-Aitken 1991).

Decentralisation hindered the National Health Department from undertaking effective workforce planning because it was unable to obtain reliable workforce data. Since it had no decision making responsibility for provincial staff establishments, it kept little record of authorised positions, vacancies, or personnel files. Personnel records at the Department of Personnel Management were out of date, and did not match with either the authorised Provincial Staff Establishments or the Department of Finance payroll. There was confusion whether responsibility for health workforce planning lay with the Health Department or the Department of Personnel Planning. Furthermore, the Health Department had no authority or influence to redress inequalities in staff levels between or within provinces. These inequities actually increased. In 1990, the provincial population per nurse still ranged from 867 to 3,013; the provincial population per health extension officer ranged from 2,618 to 35,333. Lacking a long-term workforce development plan, the Health Department was unable to advise the training schools what types of staff and what intake levels it required. Training programmes started and stopped, and student intakes fluctuated greatly, demoralising both students and teachers (Kolehmainen-Aitken 1991).

Decentralisation has achieved nothing concerning the redistribution of financial resources between the more developed and the disadvantaged provinces. Key resource allocation decisions for health are now made largely by the Departments of Finance and Planning and Personnel Management without any technical advice from the Health Department. There has been a steady decline in real terms of the per capita expenditure on health, with marked variations between provinces. The richer, more advanced provinces are generally advancing while disadvantaged provinces are going backwards. An increasing proportion of health budgets has been spent on salaries, to the detriment of funding the recurrent costs of health services and the maintenance of facilities. Of more concern, there has been a decline in the subsidising of church-run health services, which provide approximately 50 per cent of rural health services. For example, in the Southern Highlands Province, real funding for church health services declined by 76 per cent between 1986 and 1990 (Thomason and Newbrander 1991).

The impact on the delivery of health services has been substantial. In 1993, Dr J. Thomason wrote in the *PNG Medical Journal*:

> There are inadequately developed linkages between the provincial health office, the provincial hospital, health centres, health sub-centres, aid posts and the community. Provincial health offices are not taking a systematic approach to the provision of support to the rural health services . . . At all levels there is insufficient involvement of the communities in the process of health care. ... Supervision at all levels of the health service was poor ... The problems are not those of individual institutions, they are problems of the entire district health system.
>
> Hospital, health centres and aid post buildings are in a poorly maintained state ... Standards of hygiene in health facilities were poor, especially in the patient ablution area. Shortages of essential drugs were common in both rural and hospital areas.

In addition, the National Health Department has reported (PNG Department of Health 1993):

> Some provinces have decentralised health services to the district level, placing them under the administrative control of a non health trained district manager. In every province where this has been tried, it has resulted in serious deterioration of health service performance.

In an attempt to arrest and reverse the precipitous decline in the standard of health services, the National Health Department is now trying to reverse decentralisation by:

- withdrawing the delegation to provinces of hospital services by the end of 1994;
- reviewing provincial performance in regard to other delegated functions and, where performance is assessed to be poor, withdrawing those functions either totally or for a specific period;
- seeking Cabinet approval to change transferred functions into delegated ones, and in those provinces which continue to perform poorly, withdrawing the delegation over some or all of those functions, either

permanently or for a specific period of time; and

- reversing all district decentralisation, returning the health services to provincial health management (PNG Department of Health 1993).

There are several lessons to draw from the PNG experiment with decentralisation:

1. Decentralisation is no panacea for poor governance or good administration. Administrative reorganisation, either centralisation or decentralisation, is no substitute for providing essential basic resources - adequate funds for capital works, equipment and maintenance; a trained, efficient workforce; and continuous staff training and development. Decentralisation does not, and cannot, paper over pre-existing deficiencies and weaknesses in the system. There needs to be a balance between central and peripheral responsibilities and authority.

2. Administrative reorganisation is painful. Change is distressing and destabilising for staff, who are threatened and confused by any new order. Unless change is very carefully planned and explained well in advance, staff morale will suffer. The interpersonal tensions and mistrust engendered may disrupt the performance of an agency for years.

3. Not only is decentralisation expensive, but the move to a decentralised system intensifies the need for management skills. More managers, planners, and information specialists are needed under a decentralised system. Provincial administrations typically reorganise with new positions and upward reclassifications for senior managers, which markedly inflates the wages bill.

4. Decentralisation does not guarantee increased community participation; it almost certainly increases the layers of bureaucrats, however. In PNG, the local influence of traditional community leaders has been replaced by provincial politicians.

5. Decentralisation does not guarantee a more equitable distribution of resources to the most needy areas. In fact it may have the opposite effect, because politicians can more readily influence and control local decision makers, particularly when there are strong traditional and cultural obligations. More developed and better resourced provinces are better equipped to attract an even greater proportion of resources.

National policies, standards, and monitoring and evaluation systems must be in place before power is devolved to the periphery. It is easy to give power away, but having done so, it is extremely difficult to get back.

Decentralisation increases the need for a powerful, expert, central coordinating authority and strengthens the need for a smaller, more expert national department. Successful decentralisation requires continual, supportive supervision from the centre, which must retain the power to redistribute scarce resources to more deprived areas. National Departments need experienced highly qualified staff who can develop policies and standards, and who can consult with, and assist, provincial staff to implement them. National Departments must retain the power to ensure that national policies and standards are implemented, and must be able to impose a range of meaningful sanctions if they are wilfully ignored.

References

Kolehmainen-Aitken, R. L. 1991, 'Decentralisation and health workforce development', in *Decentralisation in a developing country, the experience of Papua New Guinea and its health service*, Australian National University, Canberra.

Lausie, P. and J. A. Thomason 1991, 'A provincial prospective', in *Decentralisation in a developing country, the experience of Papua New Guinea and its health service*, Australian National University, Canberra.

Papua New Guinea Department of Health 1993, *A national plan for quality assessment and assurance in the rural health services of Papua New Guinea*, Port Moresby.

Papua New Guinea Department of Health 1986, *Papua New Guinea national health plan 1986-1990,* Port Moresby.

Reilly, Q. 1991, 'The transition to decentralisation', in *Decentralisation in a developing country, the experience of Papua New Guinea and its health service*, Australian National University, Canberra.

Thomason J. A. and W. C. Newbrander 1991, 'Health financing and budgeting', in *Decentralisation in a developing country, the experience of Papua New Guinea and its health service*, Australian National University, Canberra.

Thomason, J. A. 1993, 'Quality of health services in Papua New Guinea: What do we know?, *PNG Medical Journal* 36, pp. 90-98.

Foreign non government organisations in Vietnam

Ebel Wickramanayake and Le van Minh, Asian Institute of Technology

Vietnam is a socialist country with a centrally planned economy and is organised so that every citizen is a member of a people's organisation. Major economic decisions and plans are made at the central level. In the past, planning was entirely 'top down'. Recently, bold economic reforms in the framework of the renovation policy have been introduced to reduce central bureaucracy, increase decentralisation and, to a certain extent, operate a free market.

Historically, Vietnam's experience with foreign interventions has been negative. Because of tragic lessons of the recent past and the necessity to cope with a hostile environment imposed by unfriendly forces, Vietnamese authorities have been highly sensitive to such issues as national security, making it difficult for foreigners to operate freely in the country, particularly in remote areas where humanitarian aid is most needed.

A further factor that has played an important role in shaping the Vietnamese context is during the struggle for national independence, the Government and people of Vietnam were successful in combining their national strength, with assistance from a selected number of foreign countries.

These three factors have created a situation for foreign NGOs that is quite different from that of other developing countries, a situation which is not always compatible with the requirements and methods of NGOs.

The evolution of NGO involvement in Vietnam can be divided into four stages: before 1975 when the country was divided into communist North Vietnam and democratic South Vietnam; from 1975 to 1980, when a large number of NGOs came forward to rehabilitate and rebuild the economy; 1980 to 1986 during which time foreign NGOs reduced their role because of the invasion of Cambodia; and the period since 1987 in which the role of NGOs has increased because of the open-door policy of the government and settlement of the Cambodian problem.

Foreign NGOs in Vietnam have been involved in both humanitarian and development work and focused their activities in the fields of agriculture, irrigation and drainage, primary health care, education, social welfare, vocational training, and cottage and handicraft industries.

NGOs often take an alternative approach to that of the government and in market-oriented countries where poor and disadvantaged groups are often further marginalised, the NGO approach can serve as an alternative to that pursued by the government. The situation in Vietnam differs from

that in most other developing countries. Because the Vietnamese social fabric was structured in such a way that the interests of all the people were looked after quite well by the state, NGOs have not fitted easily into the socio-political context which prevailed in Vietnam.

In the past, to work in Vietnam, NGOs had to go through the Central Committee for the Reception of Foreign Aid. This led to certain problems. Vietnam considered all foreign aid and assistance as complementary resources to national development and treated them as part of the common income of the whole society. This policy resulted in tight central planning and management of the utilisation and distribution of foreign assistance aimed at achieving egalitarian development. The central control of foreign aid, while crucial in the context of achieving socialist development, is in contrast to NGO philosophy which advocates decentralised decision making and target-oriented development. Thus, in Vietnam coordination and cooperation between NGOs and government organisations was essential, although there was little agreement between the two as to why they should coordinate.

The NGOs felt that some form of coordination was necessary to keep abreast of national policies, priorities, plans and actions in various spheres of development efforts, to understand the political and economic system as well as the government structure of Vietnam, and to follow the regulations so as to avoid problems and misunderstandings. The government organisations saw coordination as a mechanism for managing NGO assistance for the benefit of the whole nation and to ensure sustainability once the NGOs complete their projects. Obviously the two sides had different objectives in mind. For the NGOs it was important to adjust to the special context of Vietnam to successfully carry out their activities, while government officials attached greater prominence to the question of sustaining the benefits of NGO assistance. Regarding the method of coordination, the NGOs considered submitting reports as the best method but the government officials considered regular formal meetings as more effective.

The difficulties faced by NGOs in the past can be grouped into organisational problems and conceptual problems.

Organisational problems included:

- delays in obtaining information related to project implementation and evaluation;
- delays in obtaining visas;
- delays in obtaining required support;
- language barriers and communication problems;
- refusal of requests for field visits; and
- refusal of requests for visas.

Conceptual problems included:

- different perspectives, methods and approaches to development;
- political and economic differences;
- political and religious suspicion among government officials of NGOs.

While organisational problems adversely affected the smooth implementation of NGO activities, they are nonetheless easier to tackle than conceptual problems.

The problems faced by the government officials were:

- lack of a clear-cut policy and system of regulations regarding NGO/government organisation coordination;
- lack of understanding between NGOs and government organisations due to differences in development concepts and methods;
- lack of understanding between NGOs and government organisations due to differences in political and economic systems;
- heterogeneity of the NGOs which made it difficult to coordinate with them;
- failure of NGOs to follow the procedures and regulations as required by the government.

The NGOs expected the Government of Vietnam to adopt the following policies and measures so as to create a more favourable environment for increased NGO assistance:

- allow NGOs to have greater access to project initiators and beneficiaries;
- set-up local NGOs to handle projects and receive foreign NGO funds directly;
- submit lucrative small-scale project proposals that have immediate economic returns;
- provide better communication facilities, office facilities and accommodation;
- decrease bureaucracy and improve horizontal coordination; and
- allow religious NGOs to work directly with people or through local religious organisations.

During the past few years the Government of Vietnam has taken several measures which may contribute to the enhancement of NGO activities. The new climate of openness which was heralded a few years ago has also helped to strengthen this trend. The Central Committee for the Reception of Foreign Aid was dismantled in 1989 and the power to coordinate NGO activities was given to the Vietnamese Union of Associations of Peace, Solidarity and Friendship. The Union's role is to initiate contacts between NGOs and local project initiators. This change opened the way for NGOs to establish direct contacts with project initiators or beneficiaries without working through a central government agency.

Together with the renovation policy and decentralisation of power, basic enterprises and grassroots organisations have gained more planning autonomy. They now have more

access to and more direct contact with NGOs. Restrictions placed on NGOs to start resident offices was removed and travel restrictions have been reduced.

As Vietnam is gradually moving from a socialist to a market-oriented economy, the social structure which prevailed under the socialist system, caring for the well-being of all the people, is gradually disintegrating and recent changes in the rural economy indicate that there will be some people who will be left out. One such group is female-headed households. The state machinery will no longer be able to look after them due to resource constraints. Therefore NGOs can play a greater role by identifying and targetting problems emerging from this economic transition. To play a more effective role the NGOs have to understand the present context of Vietnam, now that it is neither a completely socialist nor a completely free market system, but is a truly mixed economy. To obtain full benefits from foreign NGOs, the government organisations should understand the special requirements of NGOs and try to accommodate them as much as possible, but the NGOs should realise that Vietnam will not accommodate all of their requirements.

Prospects for NGOs in China

Within the context of rapid social and economic transition in post-Mao China new forms of intermediary organisation have begun to emerge. They operate in the space between the Party/State and societies, articulating the interests of newly emerging socio-economic groups and reflect the increasing diversity and complexity of society. They represent the seeds of a potentially flourishing NGO sector in post-Mao China.

But are Chinese NGOs really NGOs, or are they extensions of the Party/State? And to what extent can NGOs work independently of the State.

The Chinese Communist Party set up mass organisations in order to assert control over society and mobilise participation. These organisations included the All China Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's Federation and the Communist Youth League. These organisations served as conduits for communicating party information and directive down to commune level and theoretically to communicate grassroots opinion upward. Despite efforts to reform their structures they are still tightly controlled by the Party/State.

The introduction of market forces in post-Mao China has not only restructured society, but also opened up spaces outside the immediate control of the Party/State where newly emerging socio-economic groups have begun to organise. Whereas in the pre-reform period, the CCP and its appended mass organisations monopolised the arena of socio-political participation and control, in the post-Mao era there is an array or organisations, providing fora for association, representation, and participation. The Ministry of Civil Affairs refers to both the old mass organisations and these new post-Mao organisations as 'social organisations' which are distinct from Party or government agencies. By October 1993 there were reportedly over 181,000 such organisations registered with the Ministry of Social Affairs. Government officials and representatives of social organisations frequently refer to these institutions as NGOs in their discussions with foreigners. This is partly because they are perceived to be distinct from the Party/State, and partly because officials and representatives are aware that foreign donors often prefer to channel their money through NGOs. The anomaly is highlighted in the fact that the Women's Federation, which is a mass organisation tightly controlled by the CCP, is chairing the NGO forum at the United Nations International Conference on Women. Thus, there is room for misunderstanding concerning the nature and work of what are claimed to be NGOs.

The rise of the new social organisations has been matched by the tentative appearance of foreign NGOs engaged in both relief and development work. It is difficult to estimate accurately how many foreign NGOs currently operate in China because there is no formal system of registration and NGOs tend to concentrate their activities in one province of China. In order to operate in China, foreign NGOs, like the new Chinese social organisations have to attach themselves to a government department which, as well as having a supervisory function, will also mediate on their behalf within the administrative web.

Having established that China has very few development-oriented NGOs which have grown from below or which are set up by non Party/State professionals, it would seem that foreign NGOs seeking to initiate or fund development projects in China will have to operate mainly with government departments such as local levels of the Ministry of Agriculture, and semi-official social organisations such as the Foundation for the Underdeveloped Regions of China. However, there are signs that a more buoyant NGO sector could develop in the course of the next decade.

Excerpts taken from Jude Howell, 'Prospects for NGOs in China', in Development in Practice *5(1) 1995.*

Development in Practice *is published by Oxfam (UK). Volume 5, Number 1, 1995 focuses on NGOs and includes the following papers: Prospects for NGOs in China; NGOs in Cuba; Redefining the role of environmental NGOs in Africa.*

The Development Studies Electronic Forum

This Forum was established by the Australian National University (ANU) to provide a world-wide communications vehicle and a central electronic archive for anyone working on, or interested in, the study of social and economic development, with a particular focus on Third World countries. It was established on the 7 July 1994 on the joint initiative of the Coombs Computing Unit, Research Schools of Social Sciences & Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, and The Australian Development Studies Network, National Centre for Development Studies, RSPAS, ANU.

How to join

To join (subscribe to) the forum send e-mail

to: majordomo@coombs.anu.edu.au
message: subscribe Development-Studies-L your e-mail address
[eg: subscribe Development-Studies-L xyz@abacus.abc.edu.au]

To leave (unsubscribe) the forum send e-mail

to: majordomo@coombs.anu.edu.au
message: unsubscribe Development-Studies-L your e-mail address
[eg: unsubscribe Development-Studies-L xyz@abacus.abc.edu.au]

It will be helpful for all members of the Forum to provide a brief introductory note, as their first communication with the Forum: who you are, your institution or affiliation, your general and specific interests in development studies research. Such note should be labelled in the subject line: 'M.Y. Surname biographical details' (eg, A.B. Charles biographical details). Most email systems permit the appending of a signature block to a message; please use one if possible.

Participants are free to join and leave the Forum at any time. English is the preferred language of communication of this Forum.

Contributions

To contribute, you must have subscribed and been approved as a member of the list of contributors. Approval to join the Forum is a 'proforma' operation, but subscription does permit some basic control of the contents of submissions by the list owner. Any submission to the forum is immediately broadcast to all subscribed members, and a copy automatically archived.

Anyone, whether a registered member or not, can electronically view and retrieve the communications to the forum using a database 'ANU-Development-Studies-L' accessible through the standard WAIS software and through the ANU's COOMBSQUEST Social Sciences and Humanities Information Facility gopher running on the coombs.anu.edu.au as well as on the cheops.anu.edu.au machines.

To post your contribution to the forum send e-mail

to: Development-Studies-L@coombs.anu.edu.au
message: [the body of your contribution comes here]

If you are reporting findings or research results, treat the text as if it were a short note/abstract to professional journal. Bibliographic information is always welcome and such contributions, if submitted, will be archived on in the Coombspapers Social Sciences Research Data Bank at ANU available by ftp/gopher/www access on the coombs.anu.edu.au system.

If in doubt how to interact with any of the coombs.anu.edu.au lists, end a message 'help' to: majordomo@coombs.anu.edu.au

Viewpoint

Good governance, corruption and development assistance

Isabell Blackett, Transparency International

The Pergau 'aid for arms' scandal in Britain hit the world press last year, not only because of the huge amounts of aid involved (almost A$500 million) but because Ministers at the highest level, the 'establishment', were alleged to have sanctioned the deal. The deal broke several legal and moral principles: rules on tendering aid contracts were overridden; an act forbidding British aid money from being used for military equipment was overlooked; and the affair raised questions about the relationship between politicians, and business and government contracts.

Is this an isolated or extreme case of government, corruption and aid, or does it reflect the unmasking of a 'conspiracy of silence' on the subject of grand corruption in international business? According to former Secretary of Defence and World Bank President Robert McNamara, `the subject of corruption could not have been discussed (in international fora) twenty, fifteen or even five years ago'.

Grand corruption

Grand corruption has been defined as 'the misuse of public power for private profit'. It typically refers to officials obtaining personal benefit (bribes or kickbacks) from a public contract, usually one executed by a private company. The 'benefit' is often directly related to the size of the contract being awarded. It is clearly separated from smaller amounts that are sought and given as 'facilitating payments' to poorly paid government workers for performing a task. Whilst the later cannot necessarily be condoned, it is a different category of corruption, has different causes, and requires different solutions from the former.

Grand corruption increases prices, lowers the quality of work done, can result in the purchase of inappropriate equipment or services and distorts official decision making. It means that aid may not reach those for whom it is intended or it does not reach them in the form that is most needed. Projects are often pursued because they give benefit to those in positions of power, whilst it is the country as a whole, the tax-payers, who have to repay the debts incurred.

Albert Dahik, Vice President of Ecuador, estimated in 1993 that one third of the debt of developing nations has been caused by over-priced contracts or useless projects undertaken for the personal benefit of the officials concerned.

Corruption on the rise

Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Republics are examples of how corruption can fill the gaps in a new or unstable political system, where laws are inadequate, the

judiciary may not be fully independent, and the means to implement laws are limited. Where political accountability, property rights and adequate laws are missing, corruption moves in.

In the developing world, this has long been the case, but oppressive and sometimes corrupt regimes in many countries have kept resistance and outspokenness on this issue to a minimum. During the cold war years there was a steady increase in western development aid funds, despite the undemocratic nature of many developing country governments. Aid overlooked many deep institutional, political, human rights and legal short comings and become a source of personal enrichment for less scrupulous leaders. In Zaire, the problems have become so severe that the major development institutions have closed their offices and moved out.

General Obasanjo of Nigeria argues that, 'Young people now have as their role models leaders who have made money as a result of corruption. Corruption destroys our society.'

Democracy and grand corruption

The end of the cold war has changed political motivations underlying western aid and there is now a greater focus on the effectiveness of aid budgets. An increased emphasis is being put on issues of democracy, good governance and human rights. This focus raises the issue of corruption and the need for greater accountability. In Brazil and Venezuela presidents have been impeached on corruption charges; successive Japanese Governments have fallen over this issue; Italian Governments teeter; the opposition parties formed in Kenya and Malawi (where they are now in government) called primarily for greater transparency and accountability. In the Philippines, the shadow of the corrupt Marcos era caused President Ramos to make the fight against corruption central to his popular appeal. In Uganda, President Museveni is taking a strong stand on the issue. Namibia at independence saw, and continues to see, the need to guard against increased corruption as a priority. The new government in South Africa is taking this issue seriously, before it becomes a problem.

To illustrate the connection between democracy, good governance and corruption, consider the stable democracy of Botswana with its low level of corruption since independence. Funded by wealth from Botswana's mineral resources, development has proceeded smoothly and to the benefit of the whole population. Income disparities are low and the infrastructure is good. In contrast, many of the surrounding countries, also blessed with natural resources have been plagued by corrupt and repressive regimes, and development has been a slow and halting process with limited effect. The governments of Uganda, Benin and Tanzania, countries plagued by many years of corruption, are now committed to taking substantial measures to reduce its prevalence.

The OECD's position

A recent Development Assistance Committee paper acknowledges that worldwide concern with corruption is growing and though recognising the complex roots of the issue, states:

- That an effective and credible approach needs to ... address all levels of government and business, particularly the most Senior levels.
- '... effective control procedures in both donor and recipient countries are needed to ensure probity in the conduct of business and in the abuse of aid funds'.
- the need for 'support and encouragement to all involved, including the media and society at large in exposing corrupt practices' (OECD 1993).

This paper was followed in May 1994 by an agreement among all OECD member countries to implement concrete and meaningful measures to discourage their nationals from bribing foreign officials. The agreement acknowledged the harm done by corruption in raising transaction costs, hindering free trade, and in particular damaging the development process in developing nations. Since the 1970s the US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act made it an offence to bribe a foreign official. Under the current administration this legislation is being enforced, setting an example of what can be achieved, given the political will.

Combating international corruption

If secrecy is the handmaid of corruption then democracy, transparency and exposure are its enemies. Based on such ideas, a new organisation, Transparency International was established in May 1993 . Transparency International has previous attempts to reduce corruption (eg. International Chamber of Commerce 1977) and concludes:

1. The new approach has to be evolutionary; you cannot change the way the world works at the stroke of a pen.
2. There needs to be a coalition of interests: neither governments nor the private sector on their own can achieve meaningful change.
3. The rules of any particular market place need to change for everyone at the same time, so that no business loses out.
4. There are a number of leaders in developing countries who genuinely want to see reform, but they need the assistance of their trading partners.

Starting in Ecuador

The principles outlined above have lead to a comprehensive, but still evolving strategy for combating grand corruption. The strategy is being put to work first in Ecuador, a country characteristic of a lower middle-income developing country

and with a US$11.3 billion foreign debt. The Vice President announced the launching of a 'national anti-corruption strategy that may well create a model for other countries to emulate'. Central to this strategy are the concepts of building a coalition of interests, and standards of conduct.

Conviction and commitment is needed on the part of government, business and society to the belief that corruption is wrong and can be reduced. The government must show the political will to change. Furthermore, society must act with the media as a 'watchdog' and business must agree to the standards of conduct and be discouraged from bribery by a fair and independent judiciary.

The coalition of interests has partly taken form as a national chapter called 'Trans International-Ecuador'. This is an open grouping of concerned individuals, business people, lawyers, non government organisations and other civic associations. 'TI-Ecuador' works with the media to promote the *TI Standards of Conduct*, and to make known the effects and damage caused by corruption.

Supporters of the *TI Standards of Conduct* believe that international cooperation is necessary and that these standards should be the basis for that cooperation. They will have to be introduced in a phased manner, starting in countries like Ecuador where government has voiced its serious concern for combating corruption.

What does compliance with TI Standards of Conduct involve?

Governments: For governments the *TI Standards* call for commitment to a comprehensive anti-corruption programme, covering areas such as:

- review of existing legal and institutional frameworks and practices relating to international business transactions to ensure that all necessary measures are taken to combat corrupt practices and to promote transparency and accountability;
- examination in particular, of laws and requirements relating to conflicts of interest, disclosure of assets by politicians and senior civil servants, donations to political parties, procedures for awarding government contracts, auditing powers and responsibilities, and the investigative powers and capacities of various agencies;
- through bilateral and multilateral arrangements, development cooperation in combating corrupt practices and promoting transparency in business transactions;
- emphasise to all public officials the necessity for them to comply with the law and refrain from asking for or taking bribes or other inducements, under pain of prosecution; and
- assisting with fostering the formation of a coalition of private sector leaders, senior officials, community leaders and local non government organisations to assist with combating corruption and increasing support for the *TI Standards of Conduct.*

The business sector: For corporations and other participants in international business, the *Standards of Conduct* will require:

- establishment of internal procedures to ensure that their staff are instructed (and reminded) as to the requirements of the *Standards,* and that the company expects full compliance with them;
- keeping under review their internal arrangements for the monitoring of international business transactions with a view to ensuring the adequacy for the prevention and detection of corrupt practices; and
- cooperation with governments in efforts to apply the *Standards* inter alia by helping them to develop effective strategies to investigate and combat corruption.

Among the international corporations who have given their backing to these *TI Standards of Conduct* are: Boeing and General Electric in the United States, Rio Tinto Zinc, Tate and Lyle, and Bayers Pharmaceutical in Europe.

The development aid sector: For international aid and financing agencies, the adherence by their partners in the area of contracting would be measured constantly in terms of the *TI Standards of Conduct* and their programmes of action would include:

- continual review of their own practices and requirements to promote compliance with the *Standards*; and,
- on-going discussion with interested governments on ways in which compliance or non compliance with the standards should be taken into account when making lending and aid-granting decisions.

The German Agency for Technical Cooperation and German Bank for Reconstruction, the Swedish International Development Agency, the Overseas Development Agency in the United Kingdom, the Swiss Ministry of Economic Cooperation, the French Ministry of Cooperation and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs are supporting Transparency International financially and are considering the application of the above measures to their programmes. Discussions continue with the United States Agency for International Development, the World Bank and other agencies (Vogl 1993).

Will this approach succeed?

Some people are sceptical of being able to improve the situation, asserting that in some countries corruption is part of the culture and way of life. However, there is no country in which it is proper and acceptable for those in power to enrich themselves with public funds through illicit dealings with business, at the expense of the best interests of the public. There can be little doubt that in many countries progress may be slow and frustrating.

But there are grounds for optimism. The increase in countries changing to democratic, market-based governments gives hope for change. The voting public demands greater transparency and accountability from its leaders. If leaders seek re-election, they are forced to respond to public demand. It is likely that investors will find countries with a good rule of law more attractive than those riddled by bureaucratic systems with many opportunities for corruption.

The strategy needs to be given support and cooperation. Responsible corporate behaviour is dependant on a consistent reason to keep supporting such moves.

References

OECD 1993, *Orientation on participatory development and good governance*, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris.

International Chamber of Commerce 1977, *Extortion and bribery in business transaction*, ICC, Paris.

Vogl, F. 1993, 'Laying Corruption to Rest', *Economic Reform Today* 4, pp.7-11.

Aid for growth or growth for aid? A brief examination of Australian aid to Africa

Makonen Getu, World Vision Australia

Although Australian aid to Africa has always been meagre there is currently a further shift of emphasis away from Africa. Australian Embassies, High Commissions and Trade Missions in a number of African countries have been closed and many traditional aid initiatives, including those to commodities and staffing assistance, are being terminated. More important, the global ODA allocation to Africa has begun to decline.

The Australian Government's policy of de-emphasis marginalises Africa. By any standards, this is an unfortunate historical development. The argument underlying the Government's policy of reorientating assistance away from Africa needs critical examination.

Growth vs poverty alleviation

The stated aim of Australian aid is to assist developing countries achieve sustainable economic growth as well as to alleviate poverty. In Africa:

More than half the population live in absolute poverty: Few countries have as high a percentage of their population living at such low levels of subsistence and health as the majority of African countries (Jackson et al 1984:201).

Health conditions are deplorable: More than 50 per cent of the population in African countries lack safe water while about 69 per cent have inadequate sanitation. Contaminated water and lack of sanitation cause 80 per cent of common diseases. To this add AIDS.

Africa's education system is in disarray: The 1980s have been described as 'a lost decade' in that expenditure per student declined by about one third, primary school enrolment fell from 79 per cent to 67 per cent and an estimated one third of college graduates left the continent.

Africa is on the path to environmental destruction: Seventy five per cent of cultivable land is adversely affected by soil erosion and 80 to 90 per cent of the sub-Saharan zone, including the Sudan and northern parts of Ethiopia and Kenya, are severely eroded. Five million hectares of tropical forest are destroyed every year and 30 million people live under constant threat of starvation resulting largely from drought and environmental degradation. Africa has 'the highest rate of dependency on food imports ... and the highest proportion of famine-struck population' (Amin 1994:6).

Africa is a prisoner of debt: Africa is the world's most indebted continent. In sub-Saharan Africa debt is greater than the countries' gross national product. In 1992 Africa's debt stock was 111 per cent of GDP and 345 per cent of exports; the annual debt service ratio stood at 28 per cent.

Africa's poverty is increasing: A recent OECD report shows that Africa's poverty is on the increase. Per capita income and food production are lagging and Africa 'is slipping out of the Third World into its own bleak category: the nth world' (Harden 1992:15). The numbers of people living in poverty is expanding faster in Africa than elsewhere in the world.

Aid for growth or growth for aid?: It is this Africa of dire poverty and which by any standard is the world's poorest continent that Australia is withdrawing aid from. Yet the objective of Australian overseas aid is to promote sustainable growth in order to alleviate poverty. Is this not contradictory? In comparison, although there are more poor people in absolute terms in Asia, growth is faster in Asia than the rest of the world. In terms of per capita GNP, Africa averages A$266 and Asia A$547.

Yet, it is to Asia that the Australian Government plans to increase aid 'even if it means less to Africa ... Australia cannot play a major development assistance role in Africa given the enormous needs in the Asia-Pacific region' (Bilney 1993:23). It is good that more aid is given to Asia. The level of poverty there too is enough to justify an increase. What is strange is that this tends to be done at the cost of Africa which is poorer and more stagnant.

In the shift of support from Africa to Asia, Australian overseas aid policy and practice suffer from contradiction. The geographical distribution of Australian aid to Asian countries indicates a focus on countries where growth is rapid and poverty is relatively low. Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and China are cases in point. Those living in poverty in Indonesia declined from 58 per cent of the population in 1972 to 17 per cent in 1987 while in Malaysia the decline was from 37 per cent in 1973 to 15 per cent in 1987. During the period 1989-94, these two countries alone received about A$789 million of Australian aid in contrast to the A$512 million received by the whole continent of Africa. In 1992, GDP in the Asia region grew at nine per cent. The corresponding figure for sub-Saharan Africa was below two per cent. In Africa, the bulk of the aid was directed toward infrastructural investment rather than poverty alleviation.

Seen from both the African and Asian perspectives, it seems that the Australian overseas aid follows, in practice, growth not poverty. There is a move away from countries where the level of poverty is high and the level of growth low, and a move towards countries where the level of growth is high and the level of poverty is low. It appears as though growth is enhancing Australian aid not Australian aid enhancing growth. Growth seems to have become the driving force of aid. The inconsistency herein undermines the policy of poverty alleviation through economic growth proffered by the Australian Government itself.

Aid distribution

Africa's aid per capita is higher than Asia's: The argument advanced by the Australian Government for its reduction in aid to Africa is that nine out of 21 OECD member countries devote more than 50 per cent of their aid budgets to Africa and that eight times as much aid per capita flows into Africa as to Asia. The Jackson Report pointed out that substantial programmes were being undertaken in Africa by other donors and that 'project activities in this region should be left to the donors which focus on these African countries and to the international financial institutions (Jackson et al 1984:199-202). The simple message here is 'Africa for Europe and Asia for Australia'.

How valid is the argument?

What is important in terms of promoting growth that contributes to poverty alleviation, is not the volume and per capita of aid per se but also where it is invested and the results achieved. Much foreign aid, for example, is spent on the public sector or debt servicing. How aid is used and whether or not it has an impact on sustainable development and poverty alleviation are questions which need to be asked before the level of OECD aid distribtuion to Africa is used as a basis for reorienting Australian aid away from Africa. It is inappropriate to argue that Australian aid should be reoriented on the basis of crude statistical measures without deeper impact analysis.

Downward trend: International aid to Africa is expected to decline. Because of the level of indebtedness and inability to meet its debt-servicing commitment to its lenders, Africa has lost its credit worthiness. Instability and conflict, low levels of productivity and purchasing power, as well as administrative inefficiencies have made Africa unattractive to international private capital. New World Bank lending commitments plummeted by 30 per cent (or US$1.2 billion) last financial year. New commitments by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development fell from $738 million in 1992 to $47 million in 1993. IMF's disbursements fell from over $1 billion in 1992 to about $525 million up to April 1993.

International competition for aid has increased following the emergence of new recipients of western aid. These include the Newly Independent States and the Central and Eastern European countries, many of which used to be donors. To the western world these countries are both economically and politically more important than Africa and the trend is for the West to increasingly direct foreign aid to them.

The EC is under pressure to commit more resources to Eastern Europe and its recently unveiled plans to seek a revision of the Lome Convention with African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries is seen as a confirmation of a significant shift in aid priorities. The West Bank and Gaza Strip proposed to come under Palestinian autonomous rule and South Africa are two other new major aid competitors.

In a world of changing global organisation and orientation, the danger that Africa might be increasingly marginalised is great. Australia should not put Africa off the world map.

Commercialisation of aid

The tendency toward commercialising aid is becoming universal. There is nothing wrong in deriving mutual benefits from bilateral/multilateral relationships. What becomes wrong and undesirable is when the donor's economic and political interests become the primary focus of aid or are allowed to take precedence over humanitarian concerns. This leads to the marginalisation of those poor countries which cannot offer such benefits.

In the case of Africa, Australian aid seems to be doing just that. In the recent Australian aid debate, various official

statements have been made casting doubts on the comparative advantage of aid to Africa as a justification for the reorientation policy. Is it true that Africa does not offer Australia any comparative advantage to warrant Australian foreign aid?

Cultural ties with Africa

"We have little cultural experience in dealing with Africa compared with the cultural experience that we have in dealing with the South Pacific and in dealing with South East Asia" (Flood 1993:16)

One of the reasons given by the Australian Government to justify the policy of reorientation away from Africa is that the cultural ties with Africa are more modest than those with Asia. In reality, there are considerable historical ties with Africa through the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. Australian churches have maintained strong contacts with Africa since the 1880s and Australian NGOs have run sopnsorship programmes in Afrrica since the 1960s. More than 55,000 African children are sponsored by Australian citizens through World Vision alone.

In terms of cultural ties with Asia Senator Evans has stated that:

> Australia has had difficulty in becoming part of the South East Asia neighbourhood, both because of our perception of it and its perception of us. We were British in origin and did not fight for our national independence. Our European racial base and our western cultural traditions and style of life set us apart in both experience and outlook. While some of our neighbours valued their links with outside powers, our security connections with both Britain and the United States were emotionally, not just strategically, important to us and this detached us from the region in a number of ways. Religion, too, drew attention to our 'otherness' (Evans and Grant 1991:181)

Evans suggests that Australia has a limited understanding of this region partly because of the French colonisation which 'created a cultural and institutional gap as well as political distance' (Evans and Grant 1991: 201-202)

In fact, how critical are cultural ties in aid giving? Undoubtedly, their presence fosters understanding and relationships. However, experience does not support a relationship between cultural links and provision of aid. What cultural ties do Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Japan, for example, have with Africa? Yet they are major donors to Africa.

A major part of Australian aid goes to countries where cultural ties do not exist or are weak. Indonesia is a good example of an extreme case: Senators Evans and Grant write:

> No two neighbours anywhere in the world are as comprehensively unalike as Australia and Indonesia. We differ in language, culture, religion, history, ethnicity, population size and in political, legal and social systems. Usually neighbours share at least some characteristics brought about by proximity over time, but the Indonesian archipelago and the continental land mass of Australia might well have been half a world apart (Evans and Grant 1991:201-202).

Yet in the years 1989 to 1994 Indonesia received approximately A$584M Australian assistance compared to A$512M received by the whole continent of Africa.

African expertise

A further rationale given for reducing Australian aid to Africa is the supposed lack of expertise on Africa.

There is only modest expertise in our universities about Africa; there is a lot of expertise in our universities about South East Asia and the South Pacific. There are lots of people we can draw on for cultural advice about designing our programs in South East Asia and the Pacific. We thus have a stronger base on which to develop effective bilateral programs in the region where we live (Flood 1993:11).

It may be true that there are more Australian institutions that specialise in Asian Studies than on Africa and as a result there are more Australians who have knowledge of Asian societies than of African societies. But the issue should be: does Australia have relevant expertise to design aid programmes for Africa? The fundamental source of Africa's future development is likely to remain agriculture even though it has been undermined by environmental degradation. There is no other region in the world that is more similar to Africa than Australia in terms of climate, soil and water conditions. Australia has 25 per cent of the world's experts in dry land management.

> In the area of scientific, technical and agricultural cooperation Africa has much relevance to Australia. There are close ecological and climatic similarities between Australia and many parts of Africa which make the interchange of information between scientific and research organisations of enormous value. Like Africa, Australia has large semi-arid tropical areas. Australian researchers have long experience of agricultural research in these regions, most of which are located at similar latitudes and therefore have a different perspective on Africa from their colleagues in higher latitudes in North America, Europe and Japan. African grass and cattle breeds have been successfully transferred to Australian conditions, while Australian forestry and dry-land farming techniques are applicable to large tracts of Africa (Etheridge 1993:8).

Yet Australia's research aid goes to Asia where Australia's expertise is less relevant. Of the 86 research projects funded and managed by the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research in collaboration with research institutions in developing countries only four are in Africa. The rest are in Asia.

Mining is the other major sector that Africa relies on for its economic livelihood and development. Australia has substantial expertise in this area.

The cultural ties and climatic similarities between Africa and Australia suggest that there are few Australian skills that are not applicable to Africa. In health, education, communications, town planning or wildlife, Australia has adequate expertise for designing and managing development assistance to Africa. The Directory of Africanists in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific lists hundreds of Australian experts on Africa.

Economic interests

The picture painted for Australian investment in and trade with Africa is often negative. Africa is poor and growing poorer. Its capacity to consume is therefore very limited. However, it has a population of more than 500 million with enormous opportunities. What is lacking is the institutional, economic and technological power to transform these opportunities into realities. The primary role of genuine aid is to facilitate such a process of change.

It is also true that Africa has traditionally more European suppliers. But is Australia any less a traditional supplier than Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong? In terms of distance, are these countries any closer to Africa than Australia? Or is Africa farther than the USA and Europe with which Australia is trading?

Contrary to the negative picture given by the Australian Government, Africa has the potential to offer great economic advantage to Australia as long as this is a requirement of Australia's foreign aid. It has already been discussed that Australia has an advantage in the fields of agricultural/ mining expertise and technology. Australia can exploit this comparative advantage to its interest through the expansion of its foreign aid to Africa.

Australia's trade with Africa is insignificant. The main trading nations are South Africa and Mauritius. Now that apartheid has been dismantled, the prospects to expand Australian trade and investment with other African countries through South Africa are enormous. Australian companies can use South Africa as their gateway to the rest of Africa in the same way that South African companies have used Australia as their gateway to Asia. The Indian Triangle being enhanced will also contribute to trade and investment promotional actvities between Africa and Australia.

Conclusions

Aid to Africa should increase, not decrease. The emergence of a democratic South Africa, expected to become an influential economic power in the region, mean the prospects for Australian aid to Africa to engender commercial benefits to industries and companies in Australia are bright. Australian companies have had strong linkages with companies in South Africa in the past, and it should be possible for them to avail these linkages through venturing and have access to the African capital and commodity/ technology markets. Agriculture and mining are two most important sectors in which Australia has strong comparative advantage. Increased Australian aid will enhance this opportunity further as it will promote internal purchasing power through growth and Australian companies will be able to sell goods and services for government-funded projects. Aid prepares the way and trade and investment follows. The negative picture painted about Africa's ability to offer Australia positive comparative advantage is not fully true and should not be used as a reason to re-orientate Australia's aid away from Africa.

The comparison made between Africa and Asia on the basis of poverty, aid per capita, cultural ties and availability of expertise works in favour not against Africa. In as far as the Australian Government is using them as bases for justifying increased aid, they suggest that Africa is the right destination for Australia's foreign aid. There is great need in both continents and the Australian Government should increase the volume of its foreign aid in order to effectively contribute to the alleviation of poverty in both places.

References

Amin, S. 1994, Africa Beyond Crisis and Adjustment, *CODESRIA Bulletin* No. 1.

Bilney, G. 1993, *Poverty Reduction and Economic Growth in Australia's Development Cooperation Program*, Australian Governemnt Publishing Service, Canberra.

Evans, G. and B.Grant 1991, *Australia's foreign relations*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Etheridge, S 1993, 'Australian and Africa: A brief overview', *AFSAAP Newsletter* 15(2).

Harden, B. 1992, *Africa: Dispatches from a fragile continent*, Norton, New York.

Jackson, G. et al 1984, *Report of the Committee to Review the Australian Overseas Aid Program*, AGPS, Canberra.

Third World Economics: Trends and Analysis Issue No. 85, 1994.

Updates

Democratisation

Democracy and the transfer of technology

Marika Vicziany

To define democracy as a political system which has free elections and an untrammelled press is, by modern standards, too narrow. Today democracy also means the protection of minority rights and equal opportunities regardless of gender, race or physical ability. In the rapidly industrialising societies of Asia, however, the meaning of democracy is daily challenged by less spectacular things than human rights abuses, unfair elections or the gross pollution of water and air. In societies like India in which a large percentage of the population is still illiterate, and in which the illiterate are known in bureaucratic circles as the 'weaker sections of society', the pressures of industrialisation are so compelling that the process of development routinely ignores the needs and opinions of the weak.

This reality is of more than academic significance. As Australia forges for itself a reputation as a technological leader, our expertise is feeding into the industrialisation process in Asia. Australian companies, especially in the mining and medicine areas, are exporting know-how, equipment and consultancy services. Our role in the Indian-Pacific region is still small, but growing. This, therefore, is the time to address the question of what position Australian companies should take on the question of technology transfer when that transfer occurs in such a way that the people immediately affected by it are not consulted at any stage of the development process. At the present moment debate about what Australia should do and what our attitudes should be are raging in various circles - especially amongst aid bodies involved in funding of some of these Australian projects abroad.

Democracy and constitutional change in Asia

Graham Hassell and Sean Cooney

Early in 1993 former Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, suggested that the 'ideal standard' established in the UN Declaration of Human Rights - the authority that the government being based on the will of the people, as periodically expressed through free elections - was unrealistic and unachievable in all countries. The Asian statesman took China as an example of a state whose traditions of four thousand years could not be changed 'overnight'.

Lee was reflecting on one of the region's most perplexing questions: can Asian countries become democratic? Beneath this question, however, there is another, which is equally problematic, and which must be answered first: is democracy a universal concept, or can it be differently constructed in diverse locations?

Mindful of the need to avoid the imposition of western constructs on non western social/political/legal systems, theorists of democracy have nevertheless sought to define the essential features of the democratic idea. It is generally agreed that democracy exists where elections are free and provide voters with an effective choice, where the elected body of representatives is then empowered to make decisions which are binding on the community, and where there exists the right to question, discuss, criticise or oppose government measures. In other words, democratic regimes comprise electoral effectiveness, representative decision making, and responsibility and accountability.

But these tenets of democracy, when elaborated in the laws of Asian states as well as states of other regions, produce not one but numerous configurations of the 'democratic' regime. The elaboration of the laws regulating relations between the state and the individual, in particular, generates considerable range and variety in democratic practice. In theory, the rights of citizens comprise guarantees of human rights; freedom of speech, press and assembly; security against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; freedom of petition and association; freedom of movement; and freedom of religion and belief. States may recognise these rights of citizens while simultaneously limiting them through 'savings clauses', which specify the conditions under which such freedoms may be legally constrained.

Excerpts from a special issue of Asian Studies Review *17(1), July 1993, on 'Democracy in Asia'.*

WID

From Vienna to Beijing: Building human rights accountability to women

In collaboration with other participants in the Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights, the Center for Women's Global Leadership is coordinating a series of actions entitled 'From Vienna to Beijing: Building Human Rights Accountability to Women'. These will continue to press for the implementation of women's human rights as promised in the Vienna Declaration of the UN World Conference on Human Rights (June 1993), and other international agreements. The series includes hearings, co-sponsored workshops, strategic planning meetings, and a second Global Tribunal on Human Rights Accountability to be held in Beijing. As with their work around the Human Rights Conference, the Center will utilise the global fora of UN world conferences as the primary venues for these events. Specifically, the recent UN International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 5-13 September 1994), and the upcoming World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 6-12 March 1995), and the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 4-15 September 1995), provide important opportunities to advance the Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights.

The events of the series 'From Vienna to Beijing' also move beyond the critical step of describing and documenting gender-based human rights violations, to developing action strategies for achieving human rights accountability for such abuse, locally and internationally. Consequently, the role of global governance and international structures in fostering such accountability will be an important focus for upcoming events. In particular, because the Fourth World Conference on Women is taking place at the same time as the 50th anniversary of the UN, the Global Tribunal on Human Rights Accountability to Women in Beijing will challenge the UN and associated entities to explain its failures and present its plans for action around women's human rights into the 21st century.

Building regional links - Towards 2000

The following are excerpts from a speech by Australian Minister for Trade Senator Bob McMullen to the Australian/ ASEAN Women Leaders Business Forum, held in Singapore on 17 July 1994.

> I am extremely proud to be leading the Australian delegation, which is composed of over 90 prominent Australian women who are representatives of the highest level of Australian business and trade. Importantly, this event represents a major private sector initiative attracting widespread public attention. I welcome too the very strong representation from other countries in the region, comprising 130 representatives who are owners and senior executives of important business enterprises.
>
> As the Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating, said in his introductory letter to the Conference, 'the network which will evolve from this meeting will strengthen the existing ties between Australia and the ASEAN region', and 'this meeting has the potential to be the beginning of significant trade and other ventures between the business women of Australia and those of other nations of the Asia-Pacific region'.
>
> Above all, this Forum is important because it gives long and overdue recognition to the powerful role women can and are taking in business, specifically

in the Asia-Pacific region. The Forum will send a strong message to the region and to the world that women are rightfully contributing to economic dynamism and, importantly, to the establishment of a strong sense of an Asia-Pacific economic community. This is a message the Australian Government believes should be strongly transmitted in each of our countries, throughout the region and beyond.

As Australian Minister for Trade, it is very important to me that Australia's participation at the Forum will reinforce the image of Australia as a country of the Asia-Pacific region with much to offer in terms of trade and investment, and with a genuine interest in expanding its links with the ASEAN countries.

As this Forum demonstrates, women are now strongly represented at the pinnacle of the services industry at the very time that this previously marginalised sector is moving to centre stage. Therefore, there is an important conjunction of a dynamic Asia-Pacific economy, the booming growth of the services sector and a prominent role of business women in the economic equation. This Forum encapsulates these major developments shaping international commerce.

Australia is determined to follow up on the undoubted success of this Forum. We will push for recognition of the increasingly evident leadership role of business women in this region, and maximise the gains to trade and investment, networking, business, and regional relationships which the Forum makes.

This Forum is a practical, business-focused exercise and its major tangible outcome should be the establishment of a new network for business women. To assist in the evaluation of the Forum, a 'tracking' study on outcomes will be conducted after the event in consultation with the Australian Government's Office of the Status of Women. As just one concrete step, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade will be producing a directory of the Australian and Asian women business leaders at this meeting which we hope will facilitate the networking process.

This Forum clearly signals the fact that women must be key players at the boardroom table when decisions are made on contracts and investment projects. I am convinced that this Forum will mark a turning point in the way business is done in our region and ensure that women business leaders are at the forefront as we assert the region's rightful place in the world economy of the 21st century.

Global Alliance Against the Traffic of Women

The Alliance was launched on the last day of the International Workshop on Migration and Trafficking in Women, 17-21 October 1994. The Conference brought together 75 representatives from 22 countries, mostly women who are working directly on this issue. The Conference called for a Global Partnership amongst individuals and organisations to raise international awareness and lobby for political change. The objectives of the Alliance which are contained in the International Action Plan are to:

1. Exchange information and experiences and cooperate with members in order to improve practical support and advocacy work.
2. Link up with other international organisations which have action against trafficking in women in their programme, e.g. development, human rights, legal, labour, Interpol, governmental and non governmental organisations.
3. Develop the content and a lobby strategy for the adoption of a new UN Convention to replace the present (1949) Convention on the Prevention of Traffic in Women and the Suppression of the Prostitution of Others to include a broader and more precise definition.
4. Work for the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on Traffic in Women by the UN Commission on Human Rights.
5. Prepare and organise for participation of members in relevant international meetings in order to address the issue of trafficking in women. In 1994/95 these are:
   - the international experts meeting Utrecht, Netherlands;
   - the World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen, Denmark; and
   - the Commission on the Status of Women in Beijing.
6. Study and develop the use of other relevant UN instruments for campaigning and advocacy work on this issue.
7. Facilitate advocacy and campaign work at all levels, e.g. to design and produce a lobby manual, and to organise training seminars on practical and substantial matters.

As a result of this Conference a working group has been formed with interested others with the aim of producing a country profile through collecting information on women and trafficking in relation to Australia's role as a receiving and sending country.

For more information contact:
Bernadette McMenamin
End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism
GPO Box 2593 W
Melbourne Vic 3001
Australia
Tel (03) 650 3295

From the Press

AIDAB to get name change

Australia's overseas aid agency, the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau, AIDAB, is about to have a name change. From late April this year, the organisation that manages Australia's $1.4 billion overseas aid budget will be known as ausAID, or the Australian Agency for International Development.

The word AIDAB is seen by many in the aid industry as a clumsy acronym and the Minister for Development Cooperation, Gordon Bilney, keen to raise AIDAB's profile, will use the new name to launch a public awareness campaign for it.

A review by the Morgan Research Centre found that public awareness of AIDAB is low. Outside the ACT - AIDAB's home - only one in 10 people had heard of the Bureau and less than a third of those knew what the acronym stood for.

Canberra Times, 28 February, 1995

Aid comes with biblical strings attached

From the outside, there is little to distinguish Operation Blessing's aid tent from many others scattered through the Rwandan refugee camps in Goma. Not until you meet the Fishers of Men. These 12 Christian evangelists are the contribution of America's famous television proselytiser, Pat Robertson, to the Rwandan refugees whose misery has swelled his organisation's coffers.

Established aid organisations accuse Operation Blessing of using medical care as a cover to push religion. Other religious and secular groups, meanwhile, are charged with virtually kidnapping children to stuff into orphanages and use for fund-raising campaigns.

Operation Blessing's head in Goma, David Rosin, said his organisation dispatched 'medical missionaries' at the height of the crisis after Mr Robertson launched a nation-wide television appeal likely to have raised large donations. At present, the organisation has more evangelists than medical staff working from its small clinic. Luxury accommodation for Mr Rosin and one other worker costs £4,000 a month.

Guardian Weekly, 25 December 1994

Democratisation and women

Mongolian women at a recent workshop expressed their concern to preserve the high status they enjoyed before 'democratising', including high levels of education and participation in politics and decision making.

Te Amokura 6(3), September 1994

Development cooperation to replace aid

Development aid will disappear in the 1990s and be replaced by development cooperation, said Per Grimstad, Director-General of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation. A reduction in aid budgets, or so-called 'aid fatigue', was the result of seeing developing countries worse off after aid. This was not only the result of the world economic order going against developing countries, but also a realisation that aid had induced irresponsibility and created dependency.

Development cooperation would continue and should result in a broad spectrum of partnerships between countries, ranging from NGOs, business and government, including research and cultural exchanges. The primary goal of this form of aid was to help establish organisations and companies, government institutions and assist in the transfer of skills, knowledge and technology. In the poorest countries outside finance was needed to kick-start development, but eventually these should become self-financing. Cooperation would only be sustainable if it was in the interest of and to the benefit of both sides.

Grimstad said that if donors and developing country governments could not reach agreement then there should be no cooperation. However, foreign funders should adapt to the development priorities of the recipient countries. 'The Norwegians have coined the phrase "recipient responsibility". This means that the money becomes the responsibility of the recipient and it should be held accountable, rather than the donors taking the lead.'

Headway, November 1994

Action needed now to head off old age crisis

The proportion of the world's population over 60 years of age will nearly double over the next 35 years to 16 per cent or 1.4 billion people. By that time, 80 per cent of old people will live in what today are developing countries.

Extended families alone provide care for more than half the world's elderly, especially in the developing world. But those networks are buckling under the pressures of urbanisation and increasing mobility. And the rising number of retirees is seriously overburdening many government pension systems - in rich and poor countries.

To avert the crisis, a new World Bank report calls for governments to diversify their approaches to old age security to include greater reliance on personal savings.

World Bank News XIII(40), 1994

USA's new republican birth control plan

The New Republican Birth Control Plan is an economic disincentive programme based on the belief in withdrawal as the most effective method of birth control. Withdrawal of money, that is. There is no mention of sex education, pills, Norplant or condoms. Indeed men, a.k.a. sperm donors, only make a cameo appearance as people who must be forced to acknowledge paternity. Nevertheless the contract is, in the authors' own words, 'designed to diminish the number of teenage pregnancies and illegitimate births'.

By now we are all familiar with Newt Gingrich's composite profile of the '13 year old drug addict who is pregnant'. The same folks who created this welfare poster child seem to believe that the teenager makes a spreadsheet of her economic future. Remove welfare - an average US$366 a month for a family of three - and 'she will recalculate these glorious prospects and decide that it's no longer fiscally sound to get pregnant'.

Compare this to the plan that the rest of the world has signed. In Cairo last September, more than 150 countries adopted a UN plan for curbing population growth. At the heart of that document was the new concensus that the best method of family planning was not withdrawal but empowerment. A combination of education, and economic development, access to modern birth control and safe abortion would enable and encourage women to plan families, smaller families.

The Cairo plan for the world and the Republican plan for America are as different as empowering women and punishing them. As different as a hope and a threat.

Guardian Weekly, 1 January 1994

Children win law suit

A group of Filipino children filed, and won, a lawsuit against the Department of Environment and Natural Resources for neglecting future generations. In a decision that may change the way the world views environmental issues, the Supreme Court ruled that children may sue on behalf of their own, as well as future, generations. The 30 July 1993 Supreme Court decision held that minors have standing to represent their own and future generations under the doctrine of inter-generational equity. The children claimed that the forest is part of their natural and national patrimony, but with the current rate of logging, there would be nothing left for future generations to use, benefit from and enjoy.

WorldWIDE News 2, 1994

Major gains from minor nutrients

Millions of lives around the world would be saved and the quality of life of hundreds of millions would be markedly improved - all very inexpensively - by eradicating three vitamin and mineral deficiencies in people's diets, says a new World Bank report.

The three vitamins and minerals are vitamin A, iodine and iron - so-called micronutrients. Today, more than two billion people are at risk from micronutrient deficiencies, and more than one billion are actually ill or disabled by such deficiencies, causing mental retardation, learning disabilities, low work capacity and blindness.

Correcting these deficiencies is very cheap, the report says. Globally, the fight to eliminate these entirely preventable diseases would require about US$1 billion a year - or about US$1 per affected person.

World Bank News XIII(47), 15 December 1994

Smoke and respiratory problems

Approximately 4.3 million children die each year from acute respiratory infections that are associated with high levels of indoor smoke pollution from cooking stoves that use wood, dry animal dung or crop residue as fuel, according to a study by the World Health Organisation. Recent studies in Nepal, Gambia and Zimbabwe found that children exposed to smoke from wood-burning cooking stoves are at a two to six times higher risk of contracting serious respiratory infections compared with children in nearby households using more efficient fuel.

WorldWIDE News 2, 1994

Development aid is falling

Despite the savings made by military spending cuts, official development assistance fell by more than seven billion dollars, or about 10 per cent between 1984 and 1992. At the same time money from private sources, in the form of bank loans, private investment and grants from NGOs increased by almost 18 per cent to reach US$90.5 billion in 1992. However, most of this went to the 'more advanced' developing countries and those with the largest economies such as China, India and Indonesia. Net private flows to the poorest countries and to sub-Saharan Africa in 1992 were negative.

The People's Summit, *Bulletin* 5, December 1994

Foreign aid needs to increase

An increase in ethnic and religious conflicts in Africa and Asia will sharply boost the demand for international humanitarian aid next year, but developed countries are unlikely to expand their donations enough to keep pace, a new classified US national intelligence estimate states. Both the number of people at risk and the amount of aid they require will be larger than during 1994, the estimate concludes. But intelligence officials and independent experts say that a growing reluctance by donor nations to become involved in protracted conflicts and a breakdown of social structures in these regions will substantially constrain relief efforts.

The result, according to the intelligence report, will be a substantial shortfall in the supply of humanitarian aid that could produce many deaths if crises erupt suddenly, as in the Rwandan upheaval that produced as many as 5,000 deaths in a day from famine and disease last summer. Humanitarian emergencies are 'increasing in number, duration and severity', a senior government official said.

Guardian Weekly, 25 December 1994

Trafficking of women

The International Women's Development Agency is conducting a campaign to highlight the abuse of human rights involved in the trafficking of women and girls between Burma and Thailand and to work towards ending this practice.

Both Thailand and Burma have signed UN Conventions which prohibit the trafficking of women and girls into prostitution yet the practice continues, often with the complicity of government officers such as police and border patrols. One in three of the Burmese women and girls interviewed by Asia Watch were willing and able to identify police who had been involved in transporting them and 50 per cent reported having police officers as clients. Several women and girls had previously been arrested by local police and returned to the brothel after the owner paid money to the police. Their fine was added to their debt, furthering their bondage to the brothel owners.

More information on this campaign is available from:
International Women's Development Agency
PO Box 1680
Collingwood Vic 3065
Australia
Tel (03) 417 1388
Fax (03) 416 0519

Development in Papua New Guinea

At an October 1994 Community Aid Abroad regional meeting in Melbourne, the following points were made in a report by Elizabeth Cox on the current situation in Papua New Guinea (PNG):

- PNG is confronted with some major macro events (natural disasters and Bougainville) at the same time as a deterioration of services at the micro level.
- There is an attempt to empower local government councils through Village Services and a need to go 'back to basics' in development.
- People with higher education are not coming back to development work.
- The churches, through their subsidies of services, are really holding many of the services together throughout the country because they demand higher standards.
- NGOs should look to assisting with delivery of services in the health, education and agricultural sectors.
- There is a need for internal vigilance on the part of NGOs so their actions are consistent with their rhetoric.
- Community Aid Abroad's role has been critical and strategic across the country, e.g. support for campaigns against the Internal Security Amendment and the Forestry Amendment Bill, in enabling networks and organisations to grow and develop their communications and links.
- There is a role for Program, Policy and Evaluation in evaluating and influencing the new form of Australian bilateral assistance for PNG, ie., the sector-driven, project-based approach to which Prime Minister Chan has expressed opposition.
- Bougainvillean women who had gathered at Arawa for peace talks are bitterly disappointed that most Bougainville Revolutionary Army members hadn't come out of the bush, despite their efforts at persuasion. There was a fear that an important opportunity had been lost, and they fear an intensification of the fighting.

CAA Pacific Regional Meeting Minutes, 15-16 October 1994

Gains from GATT

Initial assessments of economic gains from GATT indicate most will go to developed countries, and the erosion of trade preferences will adversely affect the world's poorest countries. The new World Trade Organisation's power to impose trade sanctions have profound implications for national sovereignty and democracy. Public and parliamentary debate on the social, environmental and economic implications of the new trade arrangements are therefore crucial.

The Network, July 1994

Law of the Sea finally takes effect

The United Nations Law of the Sea Convention, adopted in 1982, finally came into effect on 16 November. It has taken 12 years to obtain ratification by a sufficient number of countries to bring the Convention into effect. The Convention has many features, including the creation of 200 mile economic exclusion zones in coastal waters and marine navigation rights. It also provides for the establishment of a UN International Seabed Authority. The most controversial provisions of the Convention were with regards to deep seabed mining, including control of such mining and who should benefit from it. While many countries, including Canada and several South Pacific nations, have unilaterally proclaimed 200 mile zones, few were willing to ratify the Convention until the dispute over mining was resolved. A recent agreement on the mining issue, adopted by the UN General Assembly on 28 July 1994, paved the way for widespread ratification of the Convention. The Canadian Government approved the new agreement and hopes to ratify the Convention. Widespread acceptance of the Convention should reinforce the rights of Pacific Island countries over their large marine zones.

Tok Blong Pasifik 48, August/November 1994

'Super rice' is on the way

The International Rice Research Institute has announced the development of a new breed of 'super rice' that can produce 25 per cent more grain on the same amount of land and help feed an additional 450 million people a year. Under best conditions, the new rice variety will yield five tons per acre, a ton more per acre than conventional rice.

World Bank News XIII(40), 27 October 1994

UN Conference on Social Development

The UN Conference on Social Development will have little practical effect upon the world's faltering aid effort. The real question to be raised is this: does the human race have a collective responsibility for the welfare of all its constituent parts?

There has never been a firm declaration that we are, as a species, our brothers' keepers. There has never been an international programme developed that would trigger assistance - the transfer of wealth - as needed. But if we do not have a collective responsibility for our fellows then assistance is a matter of altruism or conscience-pricking and whether it actually reaches the intended recipient is secondary. At the state level, notions of collective responsibility are avoided.

Canberra Times, 7 March 1995.

Conferences

Conference reports

The Human Rights Approach to Development Assistance Symposium

Parliament House, Canberra, 9-10 February 1995

'What do you want us to do differently?' was the recurrent plea from representatives of the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB) at the symposium. While the Minister for Development Cooperation, Gordon Bilney, claimed that the traditional forms of AIDAB's practice had addressed economic and social rights, this was questioned by many of those taking part.

The symposium, which was attended by development and human rights experts from Australia and overseas, was an attempt to sort out the practical implications of the approach to development proposed by the Human Rights Council of Australia: that human rights provide objective standards and norms by which both donor and recipient governments should determine aid policy and processes.

Criticism was levelled at both governments and NGOs for their lack of attention to the human rights dimensions of development. **Professor Philip Alston, Chair of the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights**, was highly critical of the way that both NGOs and government donor agencies avoid the language of rights and pay little attention to their essential relevance to development. He theorised that this was because people did not really believe that economic and social rights were *rights* and therefore ignored their realisation in practice.

The Human Rights Council's report on the human rights approach to development assistance, *The rights way to development*, rejects the punitive conditionality approach to aid in favour of a contractual one negotiated between donor and recipient governments based on the international human rights framework. Such a contractual approach would involve the realisation of economic and social rights and a focus on participation based on the active provision of free information flow. Questions were raised about the feasibility of this model and about how to respond to non compliance with the 'contract'.

Sidney Jones of Human Rights Watch Asia proposed that the model be tested in a variety of ways. One way would be to look at one or two specific country programs and draw up model contracts in terms of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights setting specific human rights benchmarks. This would include mechanisms for accountability and grievance procedures. Another would be to look at specific aid projects such as the Friendship

Bridge across the Mekong and produce a rationalisation for it in terms of rights, also taking into account the unintended results of the project. Finally, a program could be designed starting from scratch and contracts be drawn up separately by NGOs, agency people and the recipient authorities, for later consolidation.

There was general support for the Council's proposed approach, despite reservations about some of its assertions. For example, it was suggested that the criticism of the emphasis on good governance, which the Council sees as another attempt to avoid the language and import of human rights, needed to be tempered by a realization that debates about good governance raised some important issues of government accountability. Other people decried attempts to skirt the issue of rights through the use of euphemisms such as good governance, human dignity and human security.

AIDAB representatives found it difficult to draw practical implications from the two-day symposium. If current practice is so flawed, one said, then we might as well stop the aid program altogether. In response, it was proposed that the Bureau formulate a clear and well publicised position on its human rights objectives, with the advantage that, as well as being explicit, such a formulation could feature in aid dialogues, in program design and in project delivery. This would necessitate the formation of a specialist human rights unit within the agency.

The extension of Australia's foreign policy commitment to human rights to the aid sector was seen by many as offering the Australian Government the opportunity to be at the very leading edge of international practice. At a time of globalisation in every field, when the Government is seeking to pursue a lead in international best practice, conditions are ripe for this challenge to be taken up. The Human Rights Council is proposing to internationalise the human rights approach in the major donor countries. The Australian Government should do no less.

[The report, *The rights way to development*, is available from the Human Rights Council of Australia, PO Box 841, Marrickville NSW 2204, $15 plus postage. The Symposium proceedings will be published in a coming issue of *Development Bulletin.*]

Making the connections: HIV/AIDS, development and poverty

Melbourne, 7 December 1994

By most accounts, Australia's response to HIV/AIDS has been relatively successful. The number of new HIV cases each year has peaked and the virus thus far has been fairly well contained. However, this is not to underestimate the work still to be done and the particular threat to the Aboriginal community.

Increasingly, Australia is looking to use our expertise in developing countries. In doing so we must be aware of differences between the situation in developing countries and the situation here. This concern formed the basis of the recent 'Making the Connections' workshop run jointly by World Vision Australia and the HIV/AIDS International Development Network of Australia.

The workshop looked at a range of different perspectives on the virus and the types of responses that each perspective would generate. For example, one could argue that many of Australia's local efforts have been based on a sexual transmission perspective - that is, the main problem is seen as sexual transmission, so we need to promote fidelity or, more often, the use of condoms. Other perspectives summarised in the workshop included: religious/moral; secular moral; women and HIV; and social engineering (the 'one problem, one solution' approach that characterises many HIV responses).

One perspective was explored in more detail - that of poverty. As WHO's Global Strategy puts it:

Poverty places severe limitations on the resources and infrastructure of AIDS prevention programmes. More broadly, poverty makes whole communities vulnerable to AIDS by forcing men to leave their families in search of work, by leaving people hopeless enough to turn to the solace of drugs, or by making prostitution a survival strategy for women and children. AIDS then completes the vicious cycle by making the community even poorer.

The World Bank definition of poverty, not surprisingly an economic one, is measured by a consumption-based poverty line 'consisting of expenditure to buy food and other basic necessities and a further amount reflecting the cost of participating in the everyday life of society'. The workshop explored an alternative definition from Manfred Max-Neef where he proposes a range of poverties, including poverty of subsistence, poverty of protection, poverty of affection, poverty of participation and poverty of freedom.

From the poverty perspective, a range of different interventions are required. We need other activities in addition to the dedicated safe sex, safe blood supply, safe syringe type approaches. Community development is central. The transfer of responsibility for HIV/AIDS control to the community is key to a successful response. Often communities may need to feel that issues they consider higher priorities are also being addressed before they will focus on HIV. There are also links between effective community care efforts and prevention. Other interventions include the empowerment of women and marginalised groups and the need for development programmes to be more directly targeted at poverty alleviation.

The main purpose of the workshop was to raise questions and encourage participants to consider different perspectives on HIV/AIDS. No individual perspective was regarded as

the 'right' one. Indeed, there are no magic answers. Clearly though, much advocacy is required to encourage leaders and policy makers to see HIV/AIDS in a wider perspective. One example is the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau's funding processes which focus on direct HIV/AIDS interventions. These interventions need to be complemented by other broader interventions such as community development.

The concepts covered in the workshop drew heavily from a monograph entitled *Beyond the fragments: HIV/AIDS and poverty*, by Dr Tim O'Shaughnessy - highly recommended. It is available for A$15.00 from:

World Vision Australia
PO Box 399C
Melbourne 3001
Australia

Report by Phil Marshall, Australian Council for Overseas Aid

Australian/ASEAN women leaders forum

Singapore, 17-19 July 1994

The conference attracted over 200 top corporate and government figures from around the region. It bore all the marks of the right idea at the right time and there were positive messages from participants. It was evident that new networks were being forged and business participants were emphatic that the Forum had provided real opportunities to do new business in the region.

Senator Bob McMullen delivered an upbeat speech highlighting both Australia's regional business focus and the significance of this message for the first time being carried by a delegation comprised entirely of senior business women. The speech was well received and set a positive tone for the programme. ASEAN delegates interpreted the support provided to the Forum by the participation of the Australian Trade Minister and the endorsement of the Australian Prime Minister as powerful government recognition of its status.

The high degree of Australian press interest, with the *Financial Review*, *Sydney Morning Herald* and *ABC* (*Lateline* and *Bottomline*) sending delegates for the duration of the Forum, was reflected in serious and favourable coverage. The regional press was well represented, with journalists from Singapore, China, Indonesia and the Philippines taking part in the Forum. In addition to general coverage, several journalists took the opportunity to do in-depth interviews with key participants.

Forum programme

The Forum was constructed around key sectors, with a focus on services, including financial services, retail, tourism, technology/telecommunications and health. There were special sessions on improving financial assistance to small business and building links between Australia, ASEAN and Indochina. Sessions were chaired by market leaders in those sectors, and provided an opportunity for each country in the region to discuss opportunities. The format allowed for a frank exchange of views between speakers and participants and identification of a number of themes of relevance for business players across the region. Popular sessions included health services, the Indochina session, and telecommunications. In the case of health services, participants built on the session to develop a proposal for a regional women's health initiative.

Conference themes

Capital flows: Continuing need for large amounts of capital to facilitate stronger commercial activity in the region was a constant theme in presentations. Capital issues had a particularly high salience given that 40 per cent of participants were from the financial services sector. On the Australian front, despite the difficulties in tracking investment flows from Australia into the region, speakers made it clear that Australian investment funds are already flowing strongly to the region (from superannuation funds, for example). Events such as the Forum contribute to familiarity with regional markets, promoting a favourable climate for further investment and business. Participants inderlined the shifting investment patterns flowing through the region, most notably that ASEAN is not only the destination for investment but increasingly the source of outward investment.

Australian participants identified the sourcing of finance for development and export as a real difficulty experienced by business women. The problem was repeatedly identified as the persistence of asset and collateral-based risk assessment systems, rather than the use of cash-flow assessment techniques, which newer technologies allow. Traditional wage disparity and low wealth levels put Australian women at a particular disadvantage in attracting capital in Australia. It was less of a problem for their ASEAN counterparts who, with the exception of a few rags-to-riches stories, had mostly been able to access family wealth, often allied to strong political links.

Regional complementarities: The Forum reinforced the notion that the region's economic diversity gives rise to significant complementarities. At one extreme, Laos was struggling to come to terms with the challenge of development with the reality of 0.98 telephone lines per 100 people. This contrasted with Singapore, with a sophisticated electronic business culture.

Presentations highlighted the range of commercial opportunities arising from the national complementarities between developed and less developed economies. Successful companies in this environment were those which

came up with productive partnerships, used local knowledge to provide workable solutions and sourced both capital and skills in the region. Against this background, the Australians showcased well. They generally competed in mature markets where their sophisticated use of product differentiation and positioning was markedly more developed than most of the ASEAN markets. In particular, Australian business illustrated considerable inventiveness, an awareness of the need for a strategic approach to markets and the development of niche products.

Key outcomes

The Forum developed a convincing range of tangible outcomes. On the business front:

- the creation of many new business links, including between the Australian participants, with the strong prospect of new partnerships, ventures and deals to come;
- a proposal for the development of a regional venture capital fund designed specifically to facilitate women's business initiatives. The possibility of approaching APEC to do some preliminary research or assessment for the modalities of such a fund was flagged;
- a group of business heavyweights from Singapore, the Philippines and Australia announced their intention to back a venture being undertaken by a Vietnamese participant; and
- it is also worth noting that many of the delegates had programmes outside the Forum itself.

Other significant outcomes included:

- a proposal for a regional women's health initiative, with a strong blend of commercial and social policy objectives, in which the Australians will be key players;
- an invitation to the Australian delegates to join the ASEAN Women for Women Entrepreneurs group;
- an announcement by Singapore's Minister for Trade and Industry, Yeo Cheow Tong, stating Singapore's willingness to host a further meeting of Forum participants in Singapore in two years.

Evaluation

In its own terms the Forum was an outstanding success. While there were predictable pressures, arrangements fell into place with a greater than expected attendance and participation by the most influential women targeted in the region.

In terms of networking, the Forum provided ample opportunity, and delegates needed no pushing. As to lifting the profile of women, measured by the extent of regional media coverage, ministerial acknowledgment and business recognition, the Forum was hugely successful.

Report by Jean Mair, Office of the Status of Women

International women in agriculture

Melbourne, 1-3 July 1994

The inaugural conference of international women in agriculture was held at the University of Melbourne. It was the largest meeting ever hosted at the University, and the largest agricultural conference ever held in Australia. There were 850 delegates from Australia plus 120 from over 30 other countries.

The aims of the conference were to:

- address production, environmental, economic and social issues affecting agriculture nationally and internationally;
- promote a cooperative relationship between Australian and international agricultural networks through women in agriculture;
- raise awareness of the contribution women make to agricultural and rural development, and increase the awareness of the economic, social and legal factors affecting their status; and
- provide a learning opportunity to develop new skills and access to information and networks.

Delegates were officially welcomed by Senator Bob Collins, Minister for Primary Industries and Energy. Five keynote speakers occupied the remainder of the first day. They spoke around the three main themes of the conference which were: women in development; production and environment; and sustainable development and economics. The remainder of the conference consisted of fora, workshops and action groups, to allow more involvement by the participants.

I believe that Australian agriculture is going to change as a result of this meeting. Australian women farmers as a body raised their concerns about:

- lack of recognition in the GDP of work done by women;
- the inability to claim damages from lack of income caused by injury (in Federal Parliament two days prior to the conference, the Attorney General announced that he has referred this matter to the Law Reform Commission);
- lack of educational opportunities for rural women; and
- poor communication, including communication of research results and information relevant to their business enterprises.

This conference was the most exciting, well organised, stimulating and at times moving I have ever attended. I am optimistic about its chances of helping rural women to better their lot by increased networking and stronger advocacy, which will also raise community recognition of the contribution made by women in agriculture.

Further information may be obtained by writing to:
Mary Salce
Conference Convener
RMB 7395
Sale Vic 3850
Australia

Report by Heather Compton, Australian Council for International Agricultural Research, in ACIAR Newsletter *26, April - October 1994*

Conference calendar

Equity and intergovernmental fiscal relations in developing countries workshop

Canberra, 10-11 April 1995

The National Centre for Development Studies and the Federalism Research Centre at theAustralian National University, with support from the South Australian Centre for Economic Studies at the University of Adelaide, are convening a two day workshop on economic development, equity and intergovernmental relations. The central theme concerns relationships between regional equity, economic development and quality of life factors.

For more information contact:
Ms Linda Gosnell
Federalism Research Centre
Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 3668
Fax (06) 249 0125

Dr Christine Fletcher
National Centre for Development Studies
Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 0494

South-West Pacific regional dieticians' conference

Brisbane, 11-13 May 1995

The themes of this conference are broad-based and of interest to dieticians and nutritionists from all over the region.

For more informaton contact:
Angela Moor
School of Public Health
QUT
Locked Bag No 2
Red Hill Qld. 4059
Australia
Tel (61 7) 864 5805
Fax (61 7) 864 3369

Pan-Pacific conference XII

Dunedin and Queenstown, 29 May - 1 June 1995

This conference is sponsored by the Pan-Pacific Business Association. It will serve as an important forum for the exchange of ideas and information to promote understanding and cooperation among the Pacific countries.

For more information contact:
Prof Sang Lee or Linda Rohn
Department of Management
209 College of Business Administration
University of Nebraska-Lincoln
PO Box 880491
Lincoln NE 68588-0491
USA
Tel (402) 472 3915
Fax (402) 472 5855

The United Nations: Between sovereignty and global governance?

Melbourne, 2-6 July 1995

The United Nations is wrestling with the challenges posed by a rapidly changing international order. The end of the Cold War has eased East-West tensions, but old and new conflicts and upheavals abound, and the issues of economic development, human rights and environment remain unresolved. There will be three themes in this conference: global security, institutional reform, and regionalism (Asia-Pacific). This will be an opportunity to consider trends and future directions, and to engage in serious dialogue with leading scholars, diplomats, civil servants, journalists and NGO representatives.

For information contact:
School of Politics
La Trobe University
Melbourne Vic 3083
Australia
Tel (61 3) 479 2287
Fax (61 3) 479 1997

III international conference on Asia-Pacific economic modelling

Australia, 12-14 July 1995

The conference will be on International Trade in Services, with a training course on International Trade Modelling from 9-11 July. The conference will discuss the implications and effects of the new General Agreement on Trade in Services; the estimation of bilateral service trade flows between nations in the region; the improvement of statistics on services and modelling of bilateral service trade; the quantification of non tariff trade barriers; the international coordination of competition policy; and the opportunities for business in the service sectors.

For more information contact:
Colin Hargreaves
National Centre for Development Studies
Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 0430
Fax (06) 249 5570
email:colin.hargreaves@anu.edu.au

The 1995 annual conference of the Geographical Association

England, 10-12 April 1995

The 1995 annual conference, to be held at the University of Lancaster, will have a strong development theme and international flavour looking towards the 21st century. The concept of development will be explored both in the context of North-South relations and Third World development.

For more information contact:
Tony Binns
School of African and Asian Studies
University of Sussex
Arts Building C
Falmer
Brighton, Sussex BN19QN
England
Tel (0273) 606755

North-South media encounters 1995

Geneva, 3-6 April 1995; St Maurice (Valais), 5-7 April 1995

The North-South Media Encounters (NSME) have taken place in Geneva during the month of April each year since 1985. The NSME is comprised of an international competition of television programmes concerning development issues, an international competition for productions by independent producers and institutions in Geneva and Valais, and conferences on themes related to communications between industrialised and developing countries. The theme for 1995 will be related to the 50th anniversary of the UN (in Geneva), and to the Valais and the South (in St Maurice).

For more information contact:
North-South Media Encounters
20, quai Ernest-Ansermet
1211 Geneva 8
Switzerland
Tel (022) 708 8193
Fax (022) 328 9410

Internet Society workshop on network technology for developing countries

Honolulu, 18-24 June 1995

In conjunction with the INET '95 Conference, the Internet Society will again sponsor a network technology workshop prior to the conference itself. The focus of the workshop will be upon assisting countries that are either not yet connected to the Internet, or are in the process of developing and enhancing an initial national Internet.

For more information contact:
Internet Society Network Technology Workshop
c/- Institute for Global Communications
1010 Doyle Street
Menlo Park CA 94025
USA
Tel (1 415) 322 0342 or (1 415) 322 6728
Fax (1 415) 322 0342 or (1 415) 325 5834

Human environment interactions in South-East Asia: Change and response

The Netherlands, 29 June - 1 July 1995

The European Association for South East Asian Studies (EUROSEAS) is organising its first conference in 1995. It will be held in Leiden, The Netherlands. There will be approximately ten separate panels.

For more information contact:
Dr Peter Boomgaard
The EUROSEAS Secretariat
c/- KITLV
PO Box 9515
2300RA Leiden
The Netherlands

International symposium on education and socio-political transitions in Asia

Hong Kong, 29-31 May 1995

This conference is sponsored by the Comparative Education Research Centre in the Faculty of Education, University of Hong Kong. The Centre's inaugural International Symposium aims to provide a forum for discussion of these issues in comparative perspectives, especially focusing on the three major sub-themes: education and politics, education and ideologies, and education and social change.

For more information contact:
Miss Carmel Wong
International Symposium on Education and Socio-Political Transitions in Asia
Comparative Education Research Centre
The University of Hong Kong
Pokfulam Road
Hong Kong
Tel (852) 2859 1951
Fax (852) 2858 5649
e-mail: cerc@hkusub.hku.hk

Child health 2000, 2nd world congress and exposition

Vancouver, 30 May - 3 June 1995

This conference is for health professionals, child health workers, scientists, NGOs, health planners and child advocates.

For more information contact:
Global Child Health Society
113-990 Beach Avenue
Vancouver BC V6E 4M2
Canada
Fax (604) 682 6771

International symposium on climate and life in the Asia-Pacific region

Brunei, 10-13 April 1995

The conference is aimed at bringing together climatologists, planners, decision makers and all others interested in human-climate interactions in Asia and the Pacific. It is to be held at Universiti Brunei Drussalam.

For more information contact:
Department of Geography
Universiti Brunei Drussalam
Brunei

Water resources and environmental hazards: Emphasis on hydrological and cultural insight on the Pacific rim

Honolulu, 25-28 June 1995

For information contact:
AWRA
5410 Grosvenor Lane
Suite 220
Bethesda MD 20814-2192
USA
Fax (1 301) 493 5844

Publications

Book reviews

Vietnam and the rule of law

C.A. Thayer and D.G. Marr (eds) 1993, Political and Social Change Monograph 19, Australian National University, Canberra, 189pp., $18.00

Vietnam and the rule of law is a product of the Vietnam Update conference held at the Australian National University in November 1992. The format of the volume reflects the structure of the conference: a series of overview papers on the economy, the health situation, and recent political developments; two papers on the 1992 constitution; and four chapters on the evolving legal characteristics of Vietnam. A long introductory essay by Carl Thayer helpfully summarises key points from the main papers, and even more usefully, summarises the discussion of a panel of lawyers at the end of the conference.

There are two major strengths of this book. Firstly it is very up-to-date, dealing with changes in Vietnam soon after they happen, or at least in the 12 months preceding the conference. 1992 was a significant year in post doi moi Vietnam. As a result, this particular volume contains, inter alia, the first insights into the 1992 elections for the National Assembly, and discussion of the 1992 Constitution which replaced the 1980 version. The downside, of course, is that these papers can be quickly overtaken by events. This is particularly the risk for, say, Fforde's paper on developments in the economy of 1992, though several of the issues he considers (e.g. government subsidies to state industry) remain very important.

The second strength of this volume is the specialist papers on the law in Vietnam. These include discussion of commercial law, real estate law, corporate tax structures, the foreign investment law and labour laws. The papers are written for consumption by a general audience and, together with the summary of discussions mentioned above, provide a very valuable insight into the legal realities of contemporary Vietnam.

The legal environment in Vietnam is changing rapidly with new laws being promulgated at a fast pace. The rate of change in Vietnam means that events sometimes overtake those discussed in the volume. For example, a new Land Law was adopted in July 1993, replacing the 1987 Land Law discussed in the chapter by Nguyen Qui Binh.

There is also a growing recognition that the 'moral code' hitherto operating in Vietnam is becoming redundant, unable to keep up with the demands generated by the reform process, and that the law must therefore become more effective. Lawyers point to the debilitating effect on innovation of the widespread belief that only practices

specifically sanctioned by government are permissible, and the general lack of publicly available information about the administration's expectations, a hangover from Vietnam's secretive past. Lawyers also indicate the enormous constraints on investors posed by the absence of an effective commercial law and mechanisms for dispute resolution, particularly between Vietnamese and foreigners. Whilst the formal papers give some insights into the limitations of Vietnam's legal environment, many of the subtleties come out most clearly in Thayer's report of the conference's panel discussion. This book is essential reading for those trying to keep abreast of events in contemporary Vietnam.

Dean Forbes, Geography, Flinders University

Boom, Crisis, and Adjustment: The macroeconomic experience of developing countries

I.M.D. Little, Richard N. Cooper, W. Max Corden and Sarath Rajapatirana, 1993, Published for the World Bank by Oxford University Press, New York, ISBN 0 19520891 9, 455pp.

Given the reputations of the four authors of this book, one expects a quality product. It is. The publication is one output of a research project commissioned by the World Bank in 1986 with the objective of looking at the macroeconomic experiences of developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Seventeen countries were chosen for detailed analysis, and because of the volume of research which had already been done on the Republic of Korea, it was also included in the study. The country studies were carried out by various IMF, World Bank, and university researchers as well as the authors of this volume. The individual country studies are to be published separately.

The aim of the World Bank project was to analyse the experiences of the developing countries in reacting to the various crises of the 1970s and 1980s, and to consider the implications of their reactions to these crises for their long-term growth. The major economic crises of interest were the breakdown of the Bretton Woods fixed exchange rate system in the early 1970s, the commodity price boom of 1972-74, the two oil price shocks, the sharp rise in interest rates in 1980-81, the world recession of 1981-82, and the subsequent debt crisis. The roles played by fiscal, monetary, exchange rate and trade policies in reacting to the shocks (whether external or internal) were studied to glean lessons for future policy making.

The book's chapters are structured to deal with the various issues considered to be of importance in evaluating macroeconomic policies in terms of their short and long-term effects. These topics are inflation and stabilisation, exchange rate policy, trade policy, fiscal policy and monetary policy. Finally, there is a discussion of the political economy of stabilisation and adjustment and a review of the lessons learnt.

To someone who has been following the various research projects looking at what have been the important factors behind successful developing countries, the lessons learnt from this project are not new. However, the evidence assembled here is very well documented and discussed. Altogether, a book well worth reading for researchers interested in this area and for policy makers concerned with both macroeconomic and microeconomic issues.

Ron Duncan, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National Univerisity

Social dimensions of development

Laksiri Jayasuriya and Michael Lee (eds) 1994, Paradigm Books, Perth, 208pp.

The recent establishment of the Western Australian Inter-University Consortium for Development Studies (ICDS), based on the four public universities in Perth, is a welcome initiative for at least two reasons. Firstly, the ICDS has a geopolitical interest in looking north and west to the countries of the Indian Ocean littoral, which, though too readily overlooked by Canberra, are very much part of Australia's wider region. Secondly, the ICDS is particularly interested in issues of social development, thereby complementing the more economistic approaches pursued elsewhere.

Social development was the focus of the Consortium's inaugural conference in 1993, whose proceedings have now been handsomely published by Paradigm Books at Curtin University of Technology. According to the editors, an important catalyst for the conference was John Kerin's 1992 ministerial paper Changing aid for a changing world, which placed a strong emphasis on the human and social dimensions of development. A second stimulus appears to have been the imminence of the UN's World Summit for Social Development (WSSD), due to be held in Copenhagen in March 1995.

To judge by the conference proceedings, however, neither the Kerin document nor the WSSD proved central to the delegates' concerns. Only Laksiri Jayasuriya pursues the argument that Kerin's paper 'signalled a change of attitude and policy direction on the part of the Australian Government'(1), a judgment that seems a little on the wishful side. The WSSD too is discussed by only one contributor, James Ingram, who, on the basis of long experience of the UN system, is notably pessimistic: 'the possibility is ... that the WSSD will turn into a disappointing wrangle about aid flows and institutional changes without any useful benefit for the poor'. In his view problems are

likely to arise from the very vagueness of the term 'social development', which can be made to encompass so much that it will be difficult 'to get attention focused on the critical issues of health, education and employment'(13).

He may well be right, although that remains to be seen. Meanwhile his comment could not be said to apply to the ICDS conference itself, for it is a strength of the conference volume that most of the contributors delve in some detail into the specifics of key social issues: health, education and employment (Ingram's three), along with urbanisation, transport and the environment. For me, the most interesting of the chapters dealing with specific social problems are, firstly, Michael Pinches' analysis of the conflicts and contradictions of urban renewal programmes for poor people, which may represent real gains for the poor but more commonly advantage those in power; secondly, Peter Underwood's discussion of health problems and the various ideological-cum-prescriptive approaches to them used by developers ('tropical medicine', 'tropical hygiene', 'biomedicine', 'social medicine'); and thirdly, Melody Kemp's discussion of labour in the context of industrialisation.

These and other chapters mostly conceptualise social problems not as difficulties to which economic development will in due course provide solutions, but as pathologies inherent in western-style economic development. Thus Kemp criticises western experts who tend to ascribe diarrhoeal disease to 'poor hygiene', rather than to 'the fact that people dispossessed of their traditional social systems and forms of government no longer entertain responsibility for their environment'(166). Her view is that social problems primarily require social solutions, rather than technocratic ones. Underwood makes a comparable point in his discussion of health care: 'social transformation' in the direction of greater equity tends to be more effective than medical 'magic bullets'. Both Kemp and Underwood cite J.C. Caldwell's empirically-based conclusion that democratisation is an important part of the process of restoring health to people. And implicit in this theme is the closely related idea that pace modernisation theory, attention to the social priorities, is itself a prerequisite - not a consequence - of effective economic growth. Stewart MacPherson makes this implicit point explicit, quoting empirical work that provides 'no support for the trickle-down hypothesis; considerable support for the trickle-up hypothesis'(187).

There are also some contextualising chapters, less concerned with particular social issues and more with recent changes in development theorising and macropolicy frameworks. Foremost among these is Cherry Gertzel's study 'The New World Order: implications for development', which will be familiar already to Development Bulletin readers thanks to its recent publication as a Briefing Paper. Gertzel documents the emergence of vast numbers of new poor in the 1980s under the impact of recession, debt and structural adjustment programmes, and demonstrates too the way in which contemporary aid programmes, Australia's included, increasingly seem to be ignoring the new poor in favour of the new middle classes in developing countries (so much for a new welfarism in Australian aid policy). In an interesting think-piece, Roger Woods explores the links between power, ethics and social development. Woods clearly expresses the tone of the book as a whole by defining social development not in terms of technique or provision but as 'an ethically driven concern for the rights of the weak, disadvantaged and powerless'(67).

Like all collections, this one is variable in quality. But from most of the chapters, and certainly from those mentioned above, there emerges a broadly consistent message. For a continuing majority of the world's poor, the progress achieved by modernisation approaches is fragile indeed, as the 1980s brutally demonstrated. Social development should not be regarded as an optional add-on to economic development, but should lie at the very heart of the development process. Achievement of this reordering of priorities depends much less on technocratic intervention than on political action directed towards greater social equity.

Precisely because this is still not a mainstream view among aid and development professionals, this book deserves a wide readership in such circles (as well as among the converted). One incidental benefit of the book is that it provides some useful conceptual tools with which to assess what transpires at the forthcoming World Summit. Will the Summit plump for 'magic bullets', in the usual technocratic way? Or will it summon the nerve to take up the much larger cause of 'social transformation'?

David Goldsworthy, Politics, Monash University

The East Asian miracle: Economic growth and public policy

World Bank 1993, Oxford University Press, ISBN 0 19 520993 1, pp.

This World Bank policy research report represents the apotheosis of the popular belief that the East Asian countries 'got it right' through concentrating on high investment and exports. The report was written partly because it had become common in the popular press to see references to the 'East Asian miracle'.

At the same time, this is the apogee of a whole way of thinking that crumbled away just as it was being written. It is a marvellous piece of political economy, of pure judgement; it reflects the dominant fashionable belief of 1993 that, like all fashions, has now past. It may be worthwhile commenting on what the book was trying to do, why attitudes have changed and what lessons can be learnt.

The East Asian miracle is concerned with the period of 1960 to about 1985-90. It tries to explain the remarkably high growth rates of the top eight 'High-Performing Asian Economies' (HPAEs), their decreasing inequality, their increasing life expectancy (56 to 71 years) and the dramatic reductions in proportion of people living in poverty (e.g. 37 down to 5 per cent in Malaysia).

The report essentially favours what is called the level-playing field theory with competition enhancing, non interventionist policies. The report claims that where government intervention was used mostly in North-East Asia, very strict performance criteria mitigated against the potentially negative affects of market distortion. Other reports such as the UNCTAD response claim a much stronger role for positive government intervention in the success of these economies. This report only looks at the 'successful' countries, thereby admitting that it faces a 'central methodological problem'; maybe the same policies had been applied elsewhere but without success.

The rather dogmatic preaching attitude is summed up with the tautological statement that the the HPAEs succeeded 'by getting the basics right' or 'getting the fundamentals right' and then using this statement as support for policies claimed to favour high investment in both physical and human capital. But strong growth also occurred in the USSR in the early 1960s through strong accumulation under completely different policies.

And here lies the crux. We now recognise that if high rates of growth are only based on high growth in inputs then such 'extensive' growth cannot continue. You cannot keep doubling the education level of your country or the physical investment rate. This is quite clear in the slow down of Japanese growth rates.

This report seems to almost contradict itself. Firstly it admits that, when you look at the facts, the growth is not 'miraculous' but 'rather due to superior accumulation of physical and human capital'. But later it says that this accounts for only two-thirds of the growth, the remainder being attributable to unusually high productivity growth superior to most other countries.

The question of growth accounting is crucial, i.e. how much is the growth due to this factor or that? This was the key issue at the Second International Conference on the Asia-Pacific Economy on 'Productivity' in Sydney last August organised by EMBA. The work of Alwyn Young (MIT) and that of Jong-Il Kim and Lawrence Lau (Stanford) has now shown that there is astonishingly poor if not zero producitivy growth in the HPAEs. This relatively new work is reviewed by Paul Krugman (Stanford) in a non technical article in Foreign Affairs (Nov/Dec, 1994) completely 'dispelling the myth of the 'East Asian miracle'.

Thus, essentially this book takes as a starting point the incorrect thesis that there has been marvellous productivity growth and tries to show how choosing the 'right mix' of policies led to this. Statements such as 'Acquisition of technology through openness to foreign direct investment and licensing were crucial to rapid productivity growth' are erroneous as there was no productivity growth. The question now is why was there so little productivity growth? While the mix of policies enhanced massive accumulation, why did they fail to raise productivity?

Thus the debate has changed from why the growth occurred to whether it is sustainable. Many of the older analyses did not realise how low real productivity growth was in the HPAEs and hence the 'miracle' of getting something for nothing seemed much greater than it was. Above all, the shift in the debate shows how crucial it is not to be fooled by all the new construction in these countries, but rather to use clear analytical economics based on sound data and econometric estimation. Without careful econometric modelling, many seemingly fine arguments may be completely erroneous.

As to presentation, it is sometimes annoying that the definition of a variable being compared may change from one paragraph to the next. For instance, in the first three figures on pages 2 to 4, we have three measures of income, the average growth in GNP per capita 1965-90, change in GDP per capita 1960-85 and the average GDP per capita growth rate 'from the 1960s to the 1980s'.

In the first of these figures we find the value for the 'High Performing Asian Economies' was about 5.5 per cent but this falls to 3.7 per cent in the second figure. And the latter figure of 3.7 per cent seems to be a very strange average given that all the HPAEs have 3.7 per cent or lower growth rates. Comparing the latter two figures, one finds, to take just one example, that Thailand's growth rate has changed from under 2 per cent to over 4 per cent. This is not a very confidence boosting start to the report.

Figure 3 is supposed to show a relationship between the change in equity and the GDP per capita growth rate. Any statistician looking at the graph would see a zero correlation between the two. Furthermore to say that 'the HPAEs are the only economies that have a high growth rate and declining inequality' could be quite misleading given a sample of only 15 countries of which 8 are East Asian. Much of the graphic and quantitative descriptive argument is partial and selective as, for example, in the comparison of macroeconomic stability on money creation and real interest rates.

Given that this report was written during negotiations for the General Agreement in Trade in Services (GATS) and when the World Bank was producing other books on services, it is a great shame that so little attention is given to the service sector. There are the usual figures for manufactured exports but not services. There is a section on 'How Manufactured Exports Increased Productivity' (which they didn't). Maybe the lack of emphasis on the

service sector was the cause of the low productivity. Maybe the lack of good measurement of the services in developed countries leads to a serious underestimation of their growth rates. Now with the new GATS, awareness of the relevance of trade in services is increasing dramatically.

Having said all this however, one must not forget the enormous achievement of these countries in increasing their income levels. Yes, there are the environmentalists that complain about the terrible lack of pollution control and the felling of large areas of forest, but at the same time one must not forget the dramatic increase in life expectancy, the increase in infant health and so on that clearly reflects an improved quality of life. And all this is documented and reviewed in this book.

There is a wealth of information in this book. The problem is the thesis. The authors claim that 'We have shown that the HPAEs used an immense variety of policies to achieve three critical functions of growth: accumulation, allocation and productivity growth'. There has been strong accumulation in other countries under quite different regimes. There have been great gains in allocative efficiency elsewhere under very different regimes. And there was little or no productivity growth.

Colin Hargreaves, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University

New books

The paradox of economic growth and inequity

R. Arnold and D. Hess, Victorian Association for Peace Studies 1994, ISBN 0 949687 32 4, A$7.50

Economic growth is widening the gap between rich and poor. The resulting inequity is a major factor behind the violence evident in today's world. This short book discusses this problem in simple and accessible terms, To avoid social and environmental disaster, changes in lifestyles will have to be made, and some directions for change are suggested.

Available from:
Victorian Association for Peace Studies
21 Orlando St
Hampron Vic 3188
Australia

The indigeous world 1993-4

IWGIA 1994, ISSN 0 105 6387

This publication is a reformulation of the Iwagia Yearbook series which has been published regularly since 1986. The change in presentation is designed to focus more directly on the problems facing indigenous peoples all over the world.

For more information contact:
IWGIA National Groups
IWGIA Secretariat, Fiolstraede 10
DK-1171 Copenhagen K
Denmark

North-South trade, employment and inequality: Changing fortunes in a skill-driven world

Adrian Wood 1994, Clarendon Press, ISBN 0 19 828352 0, 505pp., £45.00 (hb)

This book argues that expansion of trade between developed and developing countries is the main cause of rising economic inequality in the US and of chronic unemployment in Europe. It explains how these problems could be tackled without raising trade barriers or jeopardising progress in the Third World.

Tools for the field: Methodologies handbook for gender analysis in agriculture

Hilary Sims Feldstein and Janice Jiggins (eds) 1994, Kumarian Press, ISBN 1 56549 028 2, 288pp., US$24.95

The authors provide a systematic, highly useable presentation of how development planners, trainers and project coordinators can incorporate gender analysis in agriculture. The book is divided into four sections: initial diagnosis; research planning and on-farm experimentation; ongoing diagnoses, such as maintaining household record keeping and time allocation studies; and extension, training and formalising gender analysis into agricultural institutions and training programmes.

Easternisation: The spread of Japanese management techniques to developing countries

Raphael Kaplinsky with Anne Posthuma 1994, Frank Cass, ISBN 0 7146 4135 9, 321pp., £12.50

The competitive advantage of Japanese industry arose from the use of electronics-based flexible automation technologies, but it is now clear that the major source of this industrial strength can be found in the development and diffusion of new management techniques such as just-in-time production and total quality management. This practical book is relevant to those involved in policy and production, and in teaching and research.

Anthropology and Third World issues

Bill Geddes, Jenny Hughes and Joe Remenyi (eds) 1994, Deakin University Press, ISBN 0 949823 422, 317pp., A$29.95

This book is aimed at students in Development Studies programmes at both undergraduate and graduate levels as well as practitioners who need an anthropological background to inform their planning and implementation of development programmes.

Population policies reconsidered: Health, empowerment and rights

Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain, Lincoln C. Chen (eds) 1994, Harvard University Press, ISBN 0 674 69003 6, 280pp., US$14.95

This volume aims to contribute to a new consensus on population policy directions for the 21st century, centred on health, women's empowerment and human rights. The essays discuss how policies can be transformed to honour human rights, especially those that will ensure that women can act on their own behalf. They also analyse the practical aspects of implementing the proposed reproductive health and rights agenda.

Global restructuring

R. Fagan and M. Webber 1994, Oxford University Press, A$18.95

Recent approaches to explaining global restructuring are used in this book to build a framework for understanding patterns of production, trade and investment. The uneven impacts of economic change within Australia are summarised, and case studies of food processing, iron and steel production, motor vehicle manufacturing and banking are presented. This book contributes to an understanding of Australia's changing position in the world economy and to current debates over appropriate government policy.

Women of a lesser cost: Female labour, foreign exchange and Philippine development

Sylvia Chant and Cathy Mellwaine 1995, Pluto (London), Westview (Boulder)

This book considers the social, demographic and economic implications of women's incorporation into three key sectors of Philippine development: export-manufacturing, international tourism and the sex trade. It is based on extensive primary data gathered through interviews by the authors with households, workers and employers in three centres in the Visayas: Cebu City, Lapu-Lapu City and Boracay Island during 1993.

The ageing of Asian populations

United Nations 1994, New York, 144pp.

This volume presents the report of the United Nations Round Table on the Ageing of Asian Populations, held at the headquarters of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) at Bangkok, from 4 to 6 May 1992. The volume contains the keynote papers presented at the Round Table and the set of recommendations adopted by the meeting. The deliberations of the Round Table were inputs to the Fourth Asian and Pacific Population Conference, held in Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia, from 19 to 27 August 1992, and for the International Conference on Population Ageing, held in San Diego, California, USA, from 17 to 19 September 1992.

Ageing and the family

United Nations 1994, New York, 238pp.

This volume presents the reports and recommendations of the International Conference on Ageing Population in the Context of the Family, held at Kitakyushu, Japan, from 15 to 19 October 1990 as well as a selection of the papers that were discussed. The volume also contains the Kitakyushu Declaration on Population Ageing in the Context of the Family, which was adopted at the Conference, reaffirming that an important objective of socio-economic development is an age-integrated society where bonds of kinship and linkages between generations are strengthened.

Australia's trade policies

Richard Promfret (ed) 1994, Oxford University Press, ISBN 0 19 553536 7, 256pp., A$29.95

This book analyses the costs of protection and the political economy of policy reform. Individual chapters focus on primary industries, the manufacturing sector, and trade in service. A final set of chapters addresses the debate between regionalism and globalism.

Issues in the study of rural-urban migration

Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific 1994, Asian Population Study Series No 130, New York, 65pp.

This volume contains the report and papers of the Expert Group Meeting on Trends, Patterns and Implications of Rural-Urban Migration which was held in Bangkok from 3 to 6 November 1992. Representatives of the national statistical offices of selected countries presented statements on the availability of statistics for the study on urbanisation and rural-urban migration and on the information from survey and other sources that could be of use in the analysis. Experts from five countries presented background papers on different issues related to the study.

Population growth and environmental degradation in Southern Africa

Ezekiel Kalipeni (ed) 1994, Lynne Rienner, ISBN 1 55587 512 2, 236pp., US$45.00

The authors document the varied facets of Southern Africa's population and environmental problems, using both structuralist and neo-Malthusian approaches. They focus on the implications of these problems for development policy, the economy, rural-urban migration, the stability of the region, and access to resources by traditionally marginalised groups, particularly women.

Development and environment: Sustaining people and nature

Dharam Ghai (ed) 1994, UNRISD/ Blackwell, £12.00

This book offers a human and social perspective on the processes generating environmental degradation and conservation in rural areas of the Third World. Drawing upon original data gathered through research in 14 countries, the essays analyse key environmental problems and policies within a holistic framework, integrating physical and ecological with economic, social and political processes.

Cultivating customers: Market women in Harare, Zimbabwe

Nancy E. Horn 1994, Lynne Rienner, ISBN 1 55587 472 X, ca. 200pp., US$40.00

In this ethnography, the author shows that Harare's market women are indeed vital to Zimbabwe's national economy. She argues that these businesswomen consider profit for reinvestment and household maintenance as a primary goal. They are business operators in the classic sense, and should be treated as such by analysts and policymakers. Weaving a complex account of culture and economics, she illustrates how the women bring to their trade a culturally-based indigenous knowledge system in order to make economic sense of an often hostile urban environment.

Beyond the fragments: HIV/AIDS and poverty

Tim O'Shaughnessy 1994, World Vision Australia, ISBN 1 875140 17 4, 133pp., A$15.00

The author argues that the mainstream approach to HIV prevention has been too narrow and piecemeal. Prevention efforts have focused mainly on interrupting the biological routes of HIV transmission, primarily through promoting safe sex, safe injecting drug use and safe blood supplies. This book discusses other reasons for the failure to stem the spread of HIV/AIDS and makes a number of suggestions for more effective responses to HIV/AIDS prevention and care. Its implications for practice are profound.

Tides of history: The Pacific Islands in the twentieth century

Kerry Howe, Robert Kiste and Brij Lal (eds), Allen and Unwin, ISBN 1 86373 541 0, 400pp., A$34.95

Rather than a simple study in European/ Islander 'culture contact' this book examines more subtle interactions between and amongst indigenous peoples themselves and their complex and changing relationships with regional and global social, economic, military and political forces.

Sustainable development or malignant growth? Perspectives of Pacific Island women

Atu Emberson-Bain (ed) 1994, Marama Publications, 290pp.

This fully referenced book provides new and interesting perspectives on major issues currently before Pacific societies including the environment, fishing, resources management, the World Bank model, population growth and aid. It has a number of excellent articles which examine the fundamental assumptions underlying current approaches to development in the Pacific.

Available from:
Marama Publications
c/- Marama Account
Box 5151, Raiwaqa, Suva
Fiji

Governance and good government: Policy and implementation in the South Pacific

National Centre for Development Studies 1995, Australian National University, ISBN 0 7315 1960 4, A$15.00.

Feeding and greening the world: The role of international agricultural research

Derek Tribe 1994, Australian Council for International Agricultural Research, A$40.00

This book examines whether the problems of overpopulation, global poverty, widespread hunger and environmental degradation can be countered by proper management of the world's natural resources. The author asserts that these problems are capable of solution through a well-funded global network of agricultural research. He argues the need for change in present policies towards the international research network if future research is to have sufficient impact.

Available from:
DA Information Services
PO Box 163
Mitcham Vic 3132
Australia

Newsletters and journals

The Tribune

This is the quarterly publication of the International Women's Tribune Centre, an international non governmental organisation. The Tribune reaches more than 18,000 individuals and organisations worldwide with the majority of contacts in Asia, the Pacific, Africa, Western Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. The publication reports on and publicises current WID events and issues, and offers ideas and resources for addressing women's concerns and taking a pro-active stance.

For more information contact:
International Women's Tribune Centre
777 United Nations Plaza
New York NY 10017
USA
Tel (1 212) 687 8633
Fax (1 212) 661 2704
e-mail: iwtc@igc.apc.org

Gender, Culture and Society

This journal intends to raise to the foreground the issue of boundaries of modernity which has been unwittingly identified with progress within a western tradition. The journal hopes to provide a meeting space for scholars, writers and students of all theoretical persuasions to dialogue and discuss new ideas in theory, criticism and interpretation within a broad interdisciplinary scope. One issue a year with occasional supplements.

For more information contact:
Dr Renuka Sharma, Editor
South Asian Women's Culture Study Group
National Centre for South Asian Studies
4th Floor, 20 Queens Street
Melbourne Vic 3000
Australia
Tel (03) 889 2161
Fax (03) 629 1001
email:rsharma@ariel.its.unimelb.edu.au

Global Issues Bulletin

The Bulletin is a new publication and document supply service based on the World Vision Australia extensive resource centre. Current books, documents, case studies, stories and articles from leading development journals and newsletters are summarised.

For more information contact:
Information Centre
World Vision Australia
GPO Box 399C
Melbourne Vic 3001
Australia

Centre for International Economic Studies Newsletter

The primary aim of the newsletter is to inform readers of recent Centre for International Economic Studies (Adelaide) publications and provide non technical summaries of the latest seminar papers and policy discussion papers. It also provides an opportunity to mention other recent activities at the centre.

For more information contact:
Centre for International Economic Studies Newsletter
University of Adelaide
Adelaide SA 5005
Australia
Tel (08) 303 4712
Fax (08) 223 1460

HIDNA Newsletter

This is the HIV/AIDS and International Development Network of Australia's newsletter. It is published every two months.

For more information contact:
HIDNA
Australian Council for Overseas Aid
Private Bag 3
14 Napier Close
Deakin ACT 2600
Australia
Tel (06) 285 1816
Fax (06) 285 1720

PNG Social Development Newsletter

This newsletter is published several times a year by the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Papua New Guinea.

For more information contact:
PNG Social Development Newsletter
PO Box 320
University, NCD
Tel 267 135
Fax 267 187

Studies in Family Planning

This is a bi-monthly international journal concerned with all aspects of reproductive health, fertility regulation and family planning, and their relation to health and development in both developing and developed countries.

For more information contact:
The Population Council
One Dag Hammarskjold Plaza
New York NY 10017
USA

Pacifica Review

This is a new journal whose primary focus is peace, security and global change, and which seeks to make sense of a rapidly transforming world. It replaces Interdisciplinary Peace Research which has over the last five years provided a multidisciplinary approach to the analysis of questions traditionally excluded from the mainstream research agenda. Pacifica Review will provide a forum for normative, analytical and empirical approaches to the study of peace and security. It is published twice a year.

For more information contact:
Pacifica Review
c/- School of Politics
La Trobe University
Bundoora Vic 3083
Australia

Woman, Water, Sanitation

This journal provides easy access to the latest literature on gender issues, including hard-to-find, unpublished literature. Many authors are from developing countries. Each issue includes abstracts of some 60 books, reports and articles, a section dealing with resources, events, audio-visuals, newsletters and journals, and an index on authors, countries and subjects.

For more information contact:
IRC International Water and Sanitation Centre
PO Box 93190
2509 AD The Hague
The Netherlands
Tel (31 70) 33 141 33
Fax (31 70) 38 140 34

Australia - South Pacific Newsletter

ASPN is distributed free to subscribers as a service for those with an interest in Australia and a concern for the region, particularly those representing trade, business, commercial and educational organisations as well as government.

For more information contact:
The Editor
ASPN
PO Box 214
Suva
Fiji

Development in Practice

This journal is a forum for NGOs, official aid agencies, practicioners, policy makers and academics to exchange information and analysis concerning the social dimensions of development and emergency releif work. Development in Practice is a multi-disciplinary jopurnal of policy and practice, and reflects a wide range of institutional and cultural backgrounds and a variety of experience.

For more information contact:
Development in Practice
c/- Oxfam
274 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7DZ
UK

Regional Development Dialogue (RDD)

RDD seeks to provide a forum for critical discussion of regional development problems, policies and perspectives among academicians and practicioners. It is addressed particularly to policy makers, government officials, professional planners, and members of the academic community both in developed and developing countries.

For more information contact:
RDD
Publication and Information Management Office
UNCRD
Nagono 1-47-1, Nakamura-ku
Nagoya 450
Japan

The Network

This is a monthly newsletter which monitors and reports on follow-up activities to the Earth Summit.

For more information contact:
The Centre for Our Common Future
33, route de Valavran
1293 Bellevue
Geneva
Switzerland
Tel (41 22) 774 45 30
Fax (41 22) 774 45 36

IDS Briefings

The Institute of Development Studies, Susex, produces 4-6 Briefings per year. Forthcoming titles include 'Confronting famine in Africa' and 'Healthcare in China'. Individual copies and subscriptions are available.

For more information contact:
IDS Publications Officer
Institute of Development Studies
University of Sussex
Brighton BN1 9RE
UK
Tel (01273) 606261
Fax (01273) 621202/691647
email: G.W.Barnard@Sussex.AC.UK

Monographs and reports

Reversing the spiral

World Bank 1994

Over the past 30 years, most of sub-Saharan Africa has seen rapid population growth, sluggish agricultural performance and increasing environmental degradation. Are these disturbing trends connected? A new World Bank study confirms that they are. Africa's population, agriculture and environmental problems are strongly linked in a complex nexus that hinders development and threatens the region's food security, health and natural resources.

Journalists may obtain a copy of the study by writing on company letterhead to:
Marketing Department
The World Bank
1818 H Street, NW
Washington DC 20433
USA

The changing face of Sri Lankan politics: Background to the 1994 general election

Laksiri Jayasuriya 1994, University of Western Australia, ISBN 0 7298 018 2, 68pp.

This is the first of a series of discussion papers from the Inaugural Seminar Series of the Centre for Development Studies, Faculty of Health and Human Sciences at Edith Cowan University. The purpose of the seminar series and the publications is to create a forum for informed discussion on the broad dimensions of international development.

For copies contact:
Centre for Development Studies
Faculty of Health and Human Services
Edith Cowan University
Churchlands Campus WA 6018
Australia
Tel (619) 273 8552
Fax (619) 273 8699

Strategies for Melanesian agriculture for 2010: Tough choices

J.B. Hardaker and E. Fleming 1994, ANU National Centre for Development Studies, Pacific Policy Paper No 13, A$25.00

This monograph is aimed at encouraging the governments of Melanesia to plan ahead and avoid further land degradation in Melanesian countries, since they rely on agriculture for at least a part of their livelihood. Other topics discussed include: modes of agricultural production, land tenure arrangements, farm sizes and the marketing of produce.

Forestry projects: An environment and development context

David Turbayne with Australian Council for Overseas Aid 1994, ISBN 0 909831 63 7, 9pp.

This paper was prepared for the 'Rainforests are our Business' conference. Its aim is to ask what is the current direction of Australia's official aid programme, and in particular the tropical forestry projects it supports, and whether the programme is consistent with a commitment to ecological and social sustainability.

For copies contact:
Australian Council for Overseas Aid
Locked Bag 3
Deakin ACT 2600
Australia
Tel (06) 285 1816
Fax (06) 285 1720

Development and environment in Papua New Guinea

Hans-Martin Schoell (ed) 1994, The Melanesian Institute, Point Series 18, ISSN 0223 2913, 365pp.

This is a collection of articles articulating the need for sustainable management of the environment and natural resources with a particular focus on the Pacific Island states, especially Papua New Guinea. The monograph stresses the need for Pacific Island governments to legislate policies and laws that would safeguard and promote sustainable management of their natural resources.

The changing role of NGOs in the provision of relief and rehabilitation assistance

ODI Working Paper Series Nos 74-76

These case studies are part of a larger study on the changing role of non governmental organisations in the provision of relief and rehabilitation assistance. The case studies are:
Case Study 1: Afghanistan/Pakistan by Nigel Nicholds with John Borton, 100pp.
Case Study 2: Cambodia/Thailand by Charlotte Benson, 103pp.
Case Study 3: Northern Ethiopia/Eritrea by John Borton, 90pp.

Copies available for £6.00 each from:
ODI Publications
Overseas Development Institute
Regent's College, Inner Circle
Regent's Park London NW1 4NS
UK

Pacific Islands trajectories - Five personal views

Ton Otto (ed) 1993, Occasional Paper of the Department of Anthropology, ANU, Australia, in association with The Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands, ISBN 0 7315 1895 0, 180pp., A$25.00 (airmail), A$20.00 (surface)

Five of the essays in this volume derive from the addresses given on the occasion of the First European Colloquium on Pacific Studies, held at the University of Nijmegen in 1992. The essays discuss the sometimes disastrous impact of development projects, the effects of increasing political and economic incorporation, the adaptability and viability of indigenous cultures, and the biases in western representations of Pacific history and change.

For copies contact:
The Department of Anthropology
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National Universtiy
Canberra ACT 0200
Australia

The Vanuatu economy: Creating conditions for sustained and broad based development

John Fallon 1994, Australian International Development Assistance Bureau, ISSN 0 818 4815, ISBN 0 642 21334 8

This report presents a survey of recent development in, and prospects for, the Vanuatu economy. It also provides analysis of some of the key issues for Vanuatu such as decentralisation, vocational training, private sector reform, the environment and sustainable development.

For further information contact:
AIDAB Information Centre
GPO Box 887
Canberra ACT 2601
Tel (06) 276 4073
Fax (06) 276 4695

Crisis or transition in foreign aid

Adrian Hewitt (ed) 1994, ODI Special Report, ISBN 0 85003 208 3, £17.50 (plus £2.00 postage per copy)

Has the end of the Cold War caused a crisis in official aid, already beset by budgetary cuts, challenges on effectiveness and so-called 'donor fatigue'? Or are the problems specific to a few donors, while others move ahead with more constructive policies, stronger and broader-based public support, and larger programmes? This report assesses the current position in 11 of the leading donor countries plus the European Union, and looks to the future role of foreign aid.

For copies contact:
ODI Publications
Overseas Development Institute
Regent's College, Inner Circle
Regent's Park London NW1 4NS
UK

National study of sexual and reproductive knowledge and behaviour in Papua New Guinea

The National Sex and Reproductive Research Team with Carol Jenkins 1994, Papua New Guinea Institute of Medical Research, Papua New Guinea, ISBN 9980 71 009 8

This monograph reports on the first research on a national level to reveal the social factors underlying the serious problems with regard to sexual and reproductive health. It aims to promote better understanding of what happens in the community; how and why.

For copies contact:
Papua New Guinea Institute of Medical Research
PO Box 60, Goroka
Papua New Guinea

Better health in Africa: Experience and lessons learned

World Bank 1994

This report finds that Africans' health has improved dramatically during the last generation, despite the continent's economic woes and the continued, daunting challenges to the well-being of Africa's people. The report offers several prescriptions for bringing better health to Africa, and calls for reallocating resources from curative care to preventative and primary care in health centres, with more money channelled to rural areas and improved infrastructure management.

For copies contact:
The World Bank
Marketing Unit
Room T-8054
Washington DC 20433
USA
Fax (202) 676 0579

NGOs and foreign policy

Tim Brodhead & Cranford Pratt 1994

This new briefing paper examines ways to improve the relationship between non governmental organisations and the Canadian International Development Agency, just as a parliamentary committee of MPs and senators begins to sort out recommendations in its review of Canada's foreign policy.

For copies contact:
Clyde Sanger, Communications
The North-South Institute
55 Murray Street, Suite 200
Ottawa K1N 5M3
Canada
Tel (613) 241 3535
Fax (613) 241 7435

Electronic forum

Committee of Concerned Pacific Scholars (CONCPAC)

CONCPAC is a non profit NGO helping in the effort to curtail the logging of the rainforests in Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Their goals are to improve awareness of the issues and specific events through the media, to organise letter writing campaigns, and to support the efforts of locals who are trying to find alternative ecologically sustainable ways of developing their forest resources. They have begun to establish a liaison with the National Research Institute of Papua New Guinea, and with the World Wildlife Fund, which is assisting NGOs in Papua New Guinea in lobbying and education efforts.

To subscribe to the information network contact:
gbarry@macc.wisc.edu

To subscribe to the activist network, send the message 'subscribe concpac' to:
mailserv@macalstr.edu

Paclib-l

Paclib-l is a new mailing list set up by the Australian National University Library at the request of the Asia-Pacific Special Interest Group of the Australian Library and Information Association to promote discussion among librarians, bibliographers, researchers, etc. of Pacific Island materials and the development of Pacific collections and networks.

To subscribe to this mailing list send an e-mail message containing the words 'subscribe paclib-l' to:
majordomo@info.anu.edu.au

The Australian Development Studies Network

- The Network offers a forum for discussion and debate of development issues.
- It provides members with up-to-date information and notices of forthcoming events.
- It helps members to inform each other about their work.
- It gives extensive, often annotated, listings of written and other information and education resources.
- Membership is open to anyone interested. Members come from fields as diverse as health, economics, agriculture, administration and human rights.

If you wish to join this growing group of development workers, professionals, academics, educators, administrators and policy-makers, please complete the form below and return it with your payment.

Mail To: Australian Development Studies Network
ANU
CANBERRA ACT 0200

Please find enclosed my annual membership/subscription fee of

☐ $25 Ordinary OR ☐ $15 Student Rate OR ☐ $50 Institutions/Libraries

for membership of the **Australian Development Studies Network** which includes a subscription to **Development Bulletin** and **Briefing Papers**.

NAME: _____

POSITION: _____

ORGANISATION: _____

ADDRESS: _____

_____

_____ POSTCODE: _____

PHONE: _____ FAX: _____

NOTE: **All cheques should be made payable to ANUTech Pty. Ltd.**

Courses

National Centre for Development Studies

Policy and Budget Analysis

28 August - 22 September 1995

The objective of this course is to introduce administrators and researchers to budgetary reform and implementation options. The aim is to maximise the conditions for successful budget reform in developing countries. The course incorporates an explanation of the nature of government activity as it relates to the budget and to the tensions between institutions. The course establishes a framework for policy analysis based on the following:

- identifying the budget and exploring how the budget is put together;
- examining the process that supports the budget; and evaluating policy efficiency against policy effectiveness.

For more information contact:
Dr Christine Fletcher
Development Administration
National Centre for Development Studies
Australian National University
Canberra
ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (61 6) 249 0494
Fax (61 6) 249 5570

South Pacific Centre for Communication and Information in Development

This new centre (known as CenCIID), the first of its kind in the region, has been established at the University of Papua New Guinea.

For further information on courses contact:
CenCIID, UPNG
Box 320, Uni PO
National Capital District
Papua New Guinea
Tel (675) 267191
Fax (675) 267175

University of Adelaide, South Australia

Graduate Programme in Economics

A new graduate programme in economics is offered. The goals are to help students to think with greater clarity, to be able to search and research more efficiently, and to communicate more effectively in verbal and written ways. The training of economists is designed as an education for future managers and decision makers in all areas of society: at home, in private firms and government business enterprises, in the public or civil service, in consulting, in international agencies, as well as in teaching and academic research.

For information contact:
Faculty Registrar
Faculty of Economics and Commerce
University of Adelaide
Adelaide SA 5005
Australia
Tel (08) 303 5523
Fax (08) 303 4368

National Centre for Health Program Evaluation

Certificate for Health Economics by Distance Education

The course is for health professionals, administrators and practitioners. The focus is on helping participants develop the skills and understanding needed to analyse issues and problems in the funding, provision and utilisation of health services from an economic perspective.

For information contact:
NHMRC National Centre for Health Program Evaluation
Yarra House
Fairfield Hospital
Yarra Bend Road
Fairfield Vic 3078
Australia
Fax (61 3) 481 3749

University of Queensland

Short courses in Community Intervention in HIV/AIDS

Two short courses will be offered twice in 1995; 'promoting HIV prevention', 29 May to 9 June, and 30 October to 10 November; and 'Care and support for people affected by HIV/AIDS: Planning for the HIV epidemic', 12-23 June and 13-24 November. The courses are suitable for health professionals, project managers and senior health education officers working within a larger national or non government organisation on HIV strategy.

For information contact:
Ms G Cohen
ACITHN (Tropical Health Programme)
The Univeristy of Queensland Medical School
Herston Road
Herston 4006
QLD
Australia

Resources

This issue we include a report on a new network to promote local sustainable development throughout the Asia-Pacific.

Governance and the environment: Network or gridlock?

Valerie A. Brown, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University

A Summit-to-Summit Conference sponsored by the Australian Council For Overseas Aid in May 1994 reviewed the effectiveness of the wide range of international conferences aimed at ensuring a better future; including conferences past (the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development; the Population Conference in Cairo) and still to come (United Nations Conference on Social Development; the International Womens' Conference in Beijing). The verdict was that the conferences were strong on policy and conventions, but weak on action where it makes a difference - on the ground.

A proposal was put forward that interested agencies form a network for Local Sustainable Development, extending throughout the Asia-Pacific, acting as a stimulus and support for effective ways of implementing the policies and conventions, at the local scale. The idea has taken root. A wide range of non government, academic and government agencies and individuals are linking together in an informal network which is being called a Cooperative Centre for Local Sustainable Development (CCLSD). The Centre is acting as a cooperative, self-supporting, mutual interest open system. Members are still identifying the avenues through which it can be most effective.

The network's mission is to pull together information, research and development resources to support international, national, state and local objectives for sustainable development at their point of application - the local/regional scale. This will mean maximising the cooperation between spheres of government, industry, environment and research interests, as they focus on local needs. It will mean identifying cooperative, decentralised, and locally responsive management and administrative systems. This is a tall order, given the strongly compartmentalised, competitive and distanced organisational systems often in place. A recent study at the Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies shows just how closed the communication boxes are around each of the sets of players in the modern management system.

Australian coastal zone managers from federal, state and local government, industry, conservation and professional groups were asked how often they used the communication channels listed in Table 1 in their work, on a range of one to five. The overall rank order of frequency of use was the same for each of the groups and the overall average for sending and receiving information for 1044 coastal managers is described in Table 1.

Table 1

Communication rates between coastal zone managers from six groups:

Federal, State and local government, industry, educaton, conservation

[1044 respondents ranked the information source: 1=never; 2=sometimes; 3=often; 4=very often; 5=all the time]

Potential maximum communication score for each channel:	100
Average of scores for sending and receiving important management information, all groups:	
personal communication	
in own workplace	59.0
government channels	36.7
non government channels	30.2
information technology (databases, GIS)	23.7
further education	16.3
research publications	13.

Source: Brown,V. 1995

It is no surprise to find that managers gain most of their information from their colleagues. But in a time of rapid environmental and social change, the low rate of use of the sources of new information, such as further education, research findings and databases, is a serious worry. This tendency towards a set of closed boxes becomes critical when there is an agreed need to change the management system itself. To construct an effective coordinating system open to the cooperation needed for moves to local sustainable development, there will need to be changes in management style, structures, methods and personal skills. This seems a very tall order, but recent moves in all these aspects of governance offer challenging new ways to go.

The changes needed in management style are to move away from the gridlock revealed in Table 1, to a networking method which links all the interests and scales involved in local decision making. Vertical integration (from local to global and return) and horizontal integration (between occupations and between interests) of decision making becomes the style of management. The same components and structures which go to make up existing management systems are re-oriented to a different, integrative process. The locality is assumed to be the centre, rather than the base of the system. Communication is assumed to be two-way and interactive, rather than separate 'bottom up' and 'top down' channels, sub-divided into specialist boxes. Government and non government systems of decision making are assumed to interact vertically, as well as horizontally. Above all, the object of the exercise is assumed to be collaborative problem solving towards shared goals for a specific place, rather than the maintenance of separate interests at the policy or theoretical level.

To operate the networking system, all concerned, from engineers to administrators, and from local community leaders to state ministers, will need a working definition of what networking is about. Such a working definition might be 'a linked system of free-standing participants with shared goals and interests'. The participants in the network will need the time and resources for team building, negotiation and conflict management, and integrated information management. The network provides a coordinating system which can resolve, rather than set in concrete, the many potentially conflicting positions inherent in the goals of ecologically sustainable development.

A network has been compared with a loosely knotted fish net, the branches of a tree, or the braces and struts of a geodesic dome. Clearly none of these much resembles the classic hierarchical or pyramid system of government and of organisational systems. Davis and Weller (1994) have proposed a decentralised, learning model of government capable of working within the existing system and at the same time supporting the cooperative locally responsive capacities of networking.

The proposed process is described as 'decentralised' because it accepts that interim goals for sustainable development will differ between national, state, regional and local interests. The process depends on the three spheres of government, local industry and community interests agreeing to overall strategic objectives, since such a broad acceptance allows for diversity in direction and application. Uniformity is not important. It is enough that the players agree to act within the overall agreed objectives, and that news of success or failure is shared across a network which links the vertical scales of decision making and the horizontal teams of practitioners and administrators. The driving force is the increasing pressures to achieve sustainable development.

The process is described as a 'learning' model of organisation because it moves in stages, each of which is propelled by the learning from the previous stage. One stage is the coordination of shared objectives between all the main players, spheres of government, etc. The next stage involves each decentralised unit determining its local priorities and social, economic and environmental resources, and moving to meet its own needs. The learning from the many outcomes of attempts to meet the shared objectives are used to re-evaluate the original goals in a third stage. Fresh objectives and shared models of successful outcomes are then again a matter for the decentralised units. The practicalities of this management structure are provided by a series of formal steps, and by the provision of an advocate, or champion for the learning process at each step.

The steps include:

- identifying the regional strategic objectives for all the players in regions with shared social and economic traditions and a distinct bio-region. Because of the patterns of settlement, and the link between natural and industry resources, these social, economic and ecological needs are usually strongly regionally-based. Regions are natural local alliances rather than formal entities;

- each state determining through a regional consultative process, priorities and appropriate responsibilities towards regional sustainable development;

- establishing a national forum to negotiate priorities which can be shared across state boundaries, and providing the basis for all regions to learn of each others needs and share strengths;

- the region transferring strategic priorities to local units for implementation, the responsibility being taken locally, but often with state and federal resources; and

- localities reporting back to regions, which renegotiate the regional strategic objectives.

The management methods being developed within the Integrated Local Area Planning (ILAP) Program offer eight management principles which underpin the cooperative, decentralised learning processes of the Davis and Weller model. The ILAP approach is currently (1994) being trialled in over 40 localities Australia-wide. While the lessons from the multiple ILAP projects must await the national evaluation planned for 1994-95, principles and methods have already been developed from the practical experience of the wide range of stakeholders involved. The national ILAP program itself re-creates the structures of the Davis and Weller model. It is managed by a national coordinating committee, and is made up of national, state and local government and non government representatives. Each State and the Australian Local Government Association at the national level has a facility whose responsibility is to support the implementation of the set of ILAP principles in the localities of their area. The diversity of the results of matching principles to practice in a range of different localities maximises the learning and is the strength of the process.

The eight principles of integrated local area planning are as follows:

- *Governance focused on the local scale*: forming policy communities which act as advocates for the locality; providing the means for identifying, developing and coordinating key decisions on matters in the locality. The decisions will be negotiated between all spheres of government and all local communities of influence.

- *Inter-governmental coordination*: integration of resources and regulations so that they are both flexible and coherent at the local level; establishing avenues by which the three spheres of government consult and cooperate on the activities and the decisions affecting that particular locality.

- *Community partnership*: the strategic alliances by which government and non government interests from all scales of responsibility (national, state, regional and local) work together in the interests of a locality; a network of communication channels is put in place for interaction and cooperation between the full diversity of decision makers.

- *Integrated planning*: use of conflict management and mediation methods to arrive at shared goals and make maximum use of the wide variety of advice on options for managing the socio-cultural, economic and environmental resources of the locality and the region; ensuring that all stakeholders have contributed constructively to the strategic direction of the locality.

- *Optimisation of resources*: the means by which the efficiency and effectiveness of the use of resources is increased, through processes such as the elimination of gaps and overlaps in administration, recognising the strengths of variety and diversity, and supporting the innovative and the far-seeing.

- *Shared vision*: the method by which all participants in the management of the locality from both government and community, contribute their experiences and ideals to a shared future for their locality.

- *Local ownership*: objectives and outcomes of the process are set, and key decisions are made by local administrators and community representatives, with a high degree of commitment to the shared vision and desired outcomes.

- *Sustainable long-term change*: all the seven activities listed above are set up with a view to creating long-term structural change towards ecologically sustainable development which incorporates the vision of the locality.

If one accepts that a networking system of integrated local area management is an essential component of managing for sustainable development, what significance does this have for development workers?

First, it acknowledges that, in the final analysis, the possibility of achieving sustainability in any one country rests on local units of implementation world-wide - in industrialised, industrialising, and non industrialised countries alike. Each locality is governed by the same set of ecological principles; and the final results of local management add up to the total global effect. Low energy technology, maintenance of biodiversity and land conservation are equally advantageous at any point on the globe. In a networked system, the exchange of learning between units is mutual, and all units ideally can move forward together. Development becomes a matter of mutual help.

Second, it provides a systemic process by which the shared interests of all such units can lead to mutual support and learning, rather than be dissipated through emphasising differences. Third, it goes some way towards pre-empting the occupational hazards of development projects which may impose a hierarchical, centralised management system on local communities which already have considerable strengths in local sustainable development.

Some of the linking system already in place for a Cooperative Centre for Sustainable Development include a conference box on the community electronic mail carrier Pegasus, 'CCLSD.everyone', contacts at the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (David Turbayne) and the Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies at the Australian National University (Val Brown); and a newsletter (Phillip Sutton, Green Innovations, Melbourne). There is a workshop planned in Canberra on 27 April, 1995 (Ph 06 2590667; Fax 06 2577259).

References

Brown, V. 1995, *Turning the tide: Integrated local area management for Australia's coastal zone*, DEST, Canberra.

Davis, G. and P. Weller 1994, *Strategic management in the public sector: Managing the coastal zone*, Consultancy Report for the Resources Assessment Commission, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Canberra.

Organisation profiles

The Australia Institute

The Australia Institute is a national institute whose purpose is to promote - through research, publication and vigorous participation in public debate - a more just, sustainable and peaceful Australian society. The Institute promotes public policies that encourage the growth of civic communities - communities with an active, public-spirited citizenry, with an enduring respect for the natural world, with accessible and responsive political institutions, with a tolerance of dissent, and with a social fabric of trust, security and mutual support.

For more information contact:
The Australia Institute
37 Geils Court
Deakin ACT 2600
Australia
Tel (06) 281 6566
Fax (06) 281 6230

International Women's Tribune Centre (IWTC)

The IWTC, an international non governmental organisation, was set up following the International Women's Year Tribune (an NGO forum of 6,000 women) held parallel to the UN's first world conference on women in Mexico City in 1975. IWTC's purpose is to facilitate the exchange of skills, experiences and ideas among groups working to promote the more active and equitable role of women in a sustainable development process which is participatory and inclusive of all people.

Working as a clearinghouse of information on women and development, IWTC manages an 'information to action' resource centre of some 3,000 selected monographs and 800 periodicals. As a producer of education and information resources, IWTC seeks to translate research findings and policy mandates into information materials that bridge the gap between policy and action.

For more information contact:
International Women's Tribune Centre
777 United Nations Plaza
New York NY 10017
USA
Tel (12 12) 687 8633
Fax (12 12) 661 2704
e-mail: iwct@igc.apc.org

Nusatenggara Association (NTA)

The NTA tries to stimulate development by supporting small village-level projects. It works through local Indonesian NGOs, to implement and monitor projects. The NTA only supports projects involving big contributions of labour and materials from local residents. It regards its role, as well as that of cooperating NGOs, as an information source, and offers guidance and limited cash for materials not locally obtainable.

For more information contact:
The Nusatenggara Association
PO Box 677
Jamison Centre ACT 2614
Australia
or
Colin Barlow
Tel (06) 251 2507

Australia-Pacific Network (APCN)

The APCN's goals include providing information on the activities of its members to Pacific NGOs, promoting a wider understanding in Australia of Pacific societies and cultures, and improving communication between Australians and Pacific Islanders. The APCN units have formed in Brisbane, Melbourne and Sydney.

For more information contact:
Australia-Pacific Community Network
c/- AWD
8th Floor, 8-24 Kippax Street
Surry Hills
Sydney NSW 2000
Australia

Indigenous Women's Development Centre (IWDC)

The IWDC works to strengthen several indigenous women's organisations such as the Karen, Mon and Karenni people, and provides training and resources to enable women to become self-reliant. Projects include a weaving skills development, marketing and income generating project, health and AIDS awareness, and community development training.

For more information contact:
International Women's Development Agency
PO Box 1680
Collingwood Vic 3066
Australia
Tel (03) 417 1388
Fax (03) 416 0519

International Development Information Network (IDIN)

The IDIN is the decentralised continuation of an activity, originally started by the OECD, which consists of maintaining databases of development activities on research projects, research and training institutes and experts on the field of economic and social development.

Since 1989, the data on development activities has been gathered and processed in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America and Europe, and provides the inputs to worldwide, merged databases for research projects, institutes and experts.

For more information contact:
IDIN, Development Research Institute (IVO)
Tilburg University
PO Box 90153
5000 LE Tilburg
The Netherlands
Tel (31 13) 662576
Fax (31 13) 663015
e-mail: ewoldt@kub.nl

Australia Papua New Guinea Friendship Association Inc (APNGFA)

The APNGFA is a non profit volunteer society attempting to further better relations between the two countries. It periodically sponsors lectures and discussions and works on cooperative projects. A quarterly newsletter is about to be launched, called The Southern Partner. Foundation subscriptions to this publication are offered at A$25.00 per annum. An annual report is available from APNGFA with further details of its achievements and activities.

For more information contact:
Hon Secretary
Australia Papua New Guinea Friendship Association Inc
Suite 1204, 447 Kent Street
Sydney NSW 2000
Australia
Tel (61 2) 267 6159
Fax (61 2) 223 6882

Regional Women Traditional Healer's Association

This organisation has been formed by representatives from Papua New Guinea and six other South Pacific nations. Their goals are to:

- encourage the recording and spread of knowledge about traditional medicines;
- encourage research on traditional medicine plants;
- protect medicinal plants from logging and other habitat destruction; and
- encourage governments to recognise the role traditional medicine could play in health care.

For more information contact:
Kerrie Strathy
c/- University of the South Pacific
PO Box 1168
Suva
Fiji
Fax (679) 302 548

Materials

The People's Summit Information Kit

This kit gives background, core agenda issues, special issue of People's Summit Bulletin, New Dimensions of Human Security, Human Development Index with gender dimension.

Available from:
Australian Council for Overseas Aid
Locked Bag 3
Deakin ACT 2600
Australia
Tel (06) 285 1816
Fax (06) 285 1720

Families of the World

The new teaching resource Families of the World is the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau's contribution to the United Nations International Year of the Family. The resource was prepared to support global and development education and to raise awareness of the nature of the current world situation.

Available free from:
AIDAB Information Centre
GPO Box 887
Canberra ACT 2601
Australia
Tel (06) 276 4703

Making Things Clear Video

This 15 minute video, filmed in Papua New Guinea, is concerned with communication skills. It shows an interview between a health worker and a mother who has brought a child with diarrhoea to the clinic. First, we see the interview by the health worker carried out badly. Then, the same interview is done well. The simple point made is that communication is more than talking. It includes listening and making sure that the other party understands and can follow instructions. The cost of the video is US$10.00.

Available from:
Academy for Educational Development
1255 23rd Street NW
Washington, DC 10037
USA

International Development Abstracts

International Development Abstracts offers coverage of development issues for the international community. It covers the whole spectrum of publications, from the World Bank through to popular books and magazines, from English language journals to journals published in Basque.

For more information contact:
Miriam Dean, Elsevier/Geo Abstracts
Regency House
34 Duke Street
Norwich NR3 3AP
UK
Tel (44) 603 626327
Fax (44) 603 667934

Ideas Centre Library Acquisition

The Ideas Centre, an independent development education resource centre and library, closed earlier this year. The Centre for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, now holds the entire library of books, journals, video and radio stock, reference material and databases. These materials are available to all students and members of the wider community interested in development issues.

For more information contact:
The Faculty of Professional Studies
University of New South Wales
Kensington NSW 2052
Australia

Conflict Resolving Game

This is a participatory learning tool to learn and practise the skills of non adversarial conflict resolution using creative response rather than opposition.

Available from:
The Conflict Resolution Network
Tel (02) 419 8500

Copyright

Articles, reports and *Briefing Papers* published by the Network may be re-published, but we would appreciate your acknowledgement of the source. No acknowledgement is needed for conference announcements, other notices or publication lists.

Manuscripts

Manuscripts are normally accepted on the understanding that they are unpublished and not on offer to another publication. However, they may subsequently be republished with acknowledgement of the source (see 'Copyright' above). Manuscripts should be double-spaced with ample margins. They should be submitted both in hard copy (2 copies) and, if possible on disk specifying the program used to enter the text. No responsibility can be taken for any damage or loss of manuscripts, and contributors should retain a complete copy of their work.

Style

Quotation marks should be double; single within double.
Spelling: English (OED with '-ise' endings).

Notes

(a) Simple references without accompanying comments to be inserted in brackets at appropriate place in text, eg. (Yung 1989).

(b) References with comments should be kept to a minimum and appear as endnotes, indicated consecutively through the article by numerals in superscript.

Reference list

If references are used, a reference list should appear at the end of the text. It should contain all the works referred to, listed alphabetically by author's surname (or name of sponsoring body where there is not identifiable author). Authors should make sure that there is a strict correspondence between the names and years in the test and those on the reference list. Book titles and names of journals should be italicised or underlined; titles of articles should be in single inverted commas. Style should follow: author's surname, forename and or initials, date, title of publication, publisher and place of publication. Journal references should include volume, number (in brackets), date and page numbers. Examples:

Flynn, P., 'Brazil and inflation: A threat to democracy', *Third World Quarterly,* 11(3), pp.50-70.
Hamilton, C. 1986a, *Capitalist industrialisation in Korea*, Westview Press, Boulder.
Hill, H.M. 1986, 'The Jackson Committee and women' in Eldridge, P., Forbes, D., and Porter, D. (eds), *Australian overseas aid: Future directions*, Croom Helm, Sydney.

Publication/resource listings

An important task of the Network is to keep members up-to-date with the latest literature and other resources dealing with development-related topics. To make it as easy as possible for readers to obtain the publications listed, please include price information (including postage) and the source from which materials can be obtained.

Australian Development Studies Network
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Telephone 06 249 2466
Facsimile 06 257 2886
e-mail devnetwork@ncds.anu.edu.au