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implication that only a revolutionary and not a reformist course would be necessary to overcome the ensuing exploitation.

Internationalization of capital

This theory permits an analysis of the movement of capital and class struggle on an international level, particularly the foreign investments and capital accumulation by capitalist enterprises of the centre that operate in the developing countries, and the rapid growth in the internationalization of other forms of capital such as private and public export credits, bank loans and commodity exports. This theory was elaborated by Hymer (1972) and Palloix (1975), and applied to a case study in West Africa by Marcussen and Torp (1982).

Strategies and issues

A central issue for much of the world, according to Mittelman (1988), is how to attain an investable surplus while reducing global inequality in the face of international organizations, aid agencies, technological agreements, multinational corporations and banks. He argues that underdevelopment is not inevitable in the Third World, but is the consequence of three forces: capital accumulation, the state, and social classes. He delves into three general strategies of how nations could join global capitalism, retreat from the world capitalist system, and balance the bonds of dependency.

Kruijer (1987) focuses directly on the poor and the oppressed by analysing their plight in terms of the national and international wealth system of domination. He suggests a 'liberation' strategy to provide for basic needs such as education and health care, shelter and clothing, to ensure balanced development of the forces of production, orient social values in a socialist direction; emancipate women, abolish class distinctions, establish political power with the people, and end economic relationships with the wealthy powerful capitalist world. He sees the process of change as evolving through phases: from the capitalist mode of production in which the bourgeoisie is the ruling class and dominates the state; to a transitional phase in which the capitalist mode is gradually abolished and the interests of the people are represented by the state but the people have little say; to a state-socialist phase in which private enterprise has largely disappeared and the people still have little input; to a democratic socialist phase in which the power of the state is gradually reduced and decisions are increasingly vested in the people.

Dube (1988) sums up a number of policy recommendations in the direction of rethinking the goals and strategies of development: plans for economic growth must be balanced by enriching the quality of life and meeting the basic needs of all people; eliminate all poverty, not by welfarism but by a radical

altering of planning and implementation policies; instil in people recognition of their rights and responsibilities through programmes of conscientization; ensure participation in a policy of affirmative action to include all deprived sectors of society; implement administrative restructuring, renovation and innovation, and remove vestiges of colonial and Western-style democratic practices that have failed in Third World countries; manage the socio-cultural environment so as to avoid counter-development; and re-examine the global context of development so as to close the bipolar gap between rich and poor worlds, find an equitable sharing of scarce resources, and improve the human condition of all peoples.

These policy issues are analysed around the notion of sustainable development in an effort to raise global consciousness about environmental degradation and the deterioration of the planet (Brown *et al.* 1990). This notion, according to the World Commission on Environment and Development, is possible when 'Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable—to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987:8). Goldsworthy (1988) emphasizes the politics of such policy issues, while Fuentes and Frank (1989) show the importance of popular social movements in political struggle and change. More particularly, Molyneux (1986) and Sen and Grown (1987) demonstrate how both capitalist and socialist development ignore the role of women, and Redclift (1984) draws out the strengths and weaknesses of environmental movements. Some of the issues and strategies for dealing with sustainable development can be outlined as follows:

Strategies	Issues
Capitalism versus socialism	Growth or human needs Private or public ownership of means of production Market or planned economy Capitalist path or non-capitalist path One path or multilinear paths Physical investment (plant and equipment) or human capital investment Evolution versus revolution Growth or distribution of resources Reforms or radical restructuring
Endogenous versus exogenous orientation	Self reliance or interdependence

Market or planning	Industrial or agricultural Industrial or environmental protection Development or non-development
Aid versus trade	Import substitution or export promotion Regional integration or open international exchange

Fagen *et al.* argue for a transformation of the model of accumulation and capitalist social formation to a socialist model. They see the need for 'social ownership of the commanding heights of the economy and a relatively comprehensive system of planning' in which production and distribution are tied to basic needs of the population; forms of privilege (income, race, gender, class, etc.) are terminated; and the popular classes participate fully in determining public policy (Fagen *et al.* 1986:10). Their analysis is particularly concerned with uneven and underdeveloped capitalism on the periphery and revolutionary activity for socialism away from the advanced capitalist countries, but these socialist experiments on the periphery may also have relevance for capitalist and socialist development elsewhere.

TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS OF DEVELOPMENT

The search for an understanding of development entails a multiplicity of ideas and practices, a kind of dialectical interplay between theory and practice, and an interdisciplinary endeavour. Thus, the political dimension of development involves both representative and participatory democracy, preferably with down-up grassroots and collective actions rather than decisions based on top-down processes of indirect decision making. It comprises collective participation in decisions among individuals in activities extending beyond boundaries of government and political parties, including classes and groups outside and within the state. It is linked to economic and social consequences, largely dependent on the mode of production (under capitalism or socialism) and associated with the provision of basic human needs. Finally, it is a consequence of capital accumulation and distribution of its rewards in egalitarian ways.

Development, however, is unequal, uneven, and combines modes of production through history. Both progression and retrogression are possible. Sources of development relate to the economic base (largely capitalism in the contemporary world) and to state bureaucratic activity (in the capitalist and socialist countries). Development links institutions to egalitarian participation, individual and collective choice, interchange of roles (for instance, managers and workers, teachers and students, and so on), and mitigation of class divisions in society. Development involves advances in the productive forces of society

(under capitalism or socialism at national and international levels) and in the drive for egalitarian participation and distribution of resources to meet basic needs and collectively raise the quality of material life of all people. Development affects individuals by eliminating vestiges of selfishness and egoism, fostering collaboration, promoting solidarity among people, raising political consciousness and social responsibility, and struggling against injustice and exploitation of person by person. The contradictions of economic and political life in the struggle for participatory and representative democracy, egalitarian distribution of resources, provision for basic needs, protection of the environment, and so on may lead to crisis and ultimately to some resolution of the issues identified above.

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