

PL ISSN 0373-6547

POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY AND SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

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GEOGRAPHICAL STUDIES No. 141

INSTITUT GEOGRAFII  
I PROSTRAJENICZO-TERENOWEJ WARSZAWA  
POLSKIEJ AKADEMII NAUK  
Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich  
00-050 Warszawa  
ul. Nowy Świat Nr 72

# THIRD WORLD GEOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT

WROCLAW · WARSZAWA · KRAKÓW · GDAŃSK · ŁÓDŹ  
ZAKŁAD NARODOWY IM. OSSOLIŃSKICH  
WYDAWNICTWO POLSKIEJ AKADEMII NAUK

PRACE GEOGRAFICZNE IG I PZ PAN

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GEOGRAPHICAL STUDIES No. 141

INSTYTUT GEOGRAFII  
I PRZESTRZENNEGO ZAGOSPODAROWANIA  
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Zakład Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania  
00-380 Warszawa  
ul. Nowy Świat Nr 72

ГЕОГРАФИЧЕСКИЕ ТРУДЫ

№ 141

РАЗВИВАЮЩИЕСЯ СТРАНЫ  
ГЕОГРАФИЧЕСКИЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ РАЗВИТИЯ

III ПОЛЬСКО-СОВЕТСКИЙ СЕМИНАР  
ВАРШАВА, СЕНТЯБРЬ 1979

Под редакцией

М. РОСТИШЕВСКОГО, Я. Г. МАШБИЦА  
И З. СЕМЕК

POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY AND SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

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# THIRD WORLD GEOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT

Proceedings of the III Polish-Soviet Seminar  
Warsaw, September 1979

Edited by

MARCIN ROŚCISZEWSKI, YAKOV G. MASHBITS  
AND ZUZANNA SIEMEK

WROCŁAW · WARSZAWA · KRAKÓW · GDAŃSK · ŁÓDŹ  
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WYDAWNICTWO POLSKIEJ AKADEMII NAUK

1981

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Printed in Poland

PL ISSN 0373-6547  
ISBN 83-04-00951-X

Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich — Wydawnictwo. Wrocław 1981.  
Nakład: 700 egz. Objętość: ark. wyd. 8,20, ark. druk. 7,83 ark.  
A<sub>1</sub> — 10. Papier druk. sat. kl. III, 80 g, 70 × 100. Oddano do skła-  
dania 20 I 1981. Podpisano do druku 2 IX 1981. Druk ukończono  
we wrześniu 1981. Wrocławska Drukarnia Naukowa. Zam. 79/81  
Cena zł 50.—

<http://rcin.org.pl>

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## PREFACE

The Third Polish-Soviet Geographical Seminar on the Third World was held in September 1979 in Warsaw. This seminar is an example of effective and fruitful co-operation within the field which is so crucial to the development of geographical research in general.

The exchange in research carried out by both sides provides an inspiration to further studies, and introduces a new dimension to those problems which might seem to have been already solved. An exchange of views and methodological approaches is of utmost importance for any progress in science. The geographical research of the Third World has produced a number of substantial generalizations, which enriched the methodological framework in geography. These generalizations have contributed to a better understanding of the present diversified patterns of reality and to more relevant analysis of the processes which shape socio-economic space of the present world.

In the light of some contemporary development trends, however, several hitherto accepted rules and principles have to be modified. The crucial question concerns the traditional paradigm of development, conceived usually in terms of purely technical and quantitative growth rates. This approach is no longer sufficient and must be supplemented, and sometimes replaced, by qualitative analysis, taking into account the initial conditions of individual countries and their social determinants.

The spatial organization of the Third World should be studied more closely within the framework of the general, world socio-economic space, taking into account transformations which currently take place. Several economic, social and political processes acquire more global nature, and new spatial patterns both on a world scale and in the Third World are being formed. These processes do not lead, however, to the emergence of uniform spatial patterns in advanced and developing countries; on the contrary, in many instances the dialectical principle of "unity in contrasts" should be applied, as pointed out, among others, by the founder of the Soviet school in economic geography — N. N. Baranski.

Polish and Soviet geographical research of the Third World reflect certain general trends in contemporary geography within a new field of geography of development. This field of research covers one of the

crucial aspects of the present world, that is the problems of differentiation and evolution. The joint studies of the Third World contribute substantially to this new trend in geographical knowledge.

We appreciate very much further dialogue on the problems of spatial organization of the Third World. We hope that forthcoming seminars of our research teams will contribute to a better understanding of the patterns and processes of spatial organization of the Third World. Our mutual exchange of methodological approaches predominant in both countries will be our contribution to the development of geographical science.

*Editors*

YAKOV G. MASHBITS

## THE MAIN DIRECTIONS OF CHANGES IN THE GEOGRAPHY OF ECONOMY AND POPULATION IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Specialization and structure of economy, the usage of natural resources and of territory, the distribution of population, settlement, and, in other words, the geography of economy and population in its main features is conditioned by the interactions and coordination of internal and external factors of socio-economic development.

For economic and social geography in general and for the developing countries in particular, the position of C. Marx is of interest saying that "the whole internal organization of peoples", "all their international relations" as well as "industrial and trade relations inside each nation" are in essence "the expression of certain kind of labour" and are "conditioned [...] by their relations to the world market".<sup>1</sup>

As one of the main and general ideas of economic and social geography may be apparently considered the position about dialectic relation and a certain correspondence between the level and the type of development of productive forces, on the one hand, and their territorial organization, on the other. Even C. Marx noted, that "if a known stage of development of productive forces is given then always a certain space is required".<sup>2</sup> The very important task of economic and social geography of the developing countries also consists in the revealing of different geographical types and forms of interactions of economy, population and settlement within these or those territories.

The economy, population and settlement of the countries and regions must be considered as a complicated territorial system. To understand their development and functioning one of the positions of general system theory is of principle importance, according to which any system develops in the direction of wholeness. In this process some elements of the system become subordinate to the others.

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<sup>1</sup> C. Marx, F. Engels, vol. 27, p. 404, vol. 6, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 25, part II, p. 342.

In the territorial systems of economy and population under conditions of the developing countries this wholeness and subordination of the system's elements is mostly conditioned by long and often still existing external factors of socio-economic development. But it is necessary to take into account the internal factors of socio-economic development as well. In many developing countries it is the internal factors which gradually acquire more and more importance, influencing the changes (or their tendencies) in the geography of population and economy.

In the interconnected systems of economy, population and settlement, which form together the geography of the country's productive forces, the territorial structure of the economy forms its basis and its core. Firstly it includes the elements of historical, social and branch structures of economy, and secondly it is characterized by great permanence and geographical character. These features are conditioned by especially close connections between territory, natural resources, specialization of economy and settlement.

A country in its administrative boundaries is one of the most important objects of economic and social geography. It is important to consider its geographical problems from the point of view of the existing and changing structure of territorial structure of the economy.

The deep understanding of the mechanism of formation of modern geography of economy and population is also necessary for forecasting the geographical changes in productive forces. At least the tendencies of these changes may be revealed. In itself it represents the important, from the theoretical and practical points of view, interdisciplinary task.

The social context of these changes is conditioned for a large group of developing countries both by general peculiarities of capitalist development in depth and in width and by their individual territorial peculiarities and their expression. Analysing the tendencies of changes in the geography of population and economy of a certain developing country it is necessary to base on the existing variety of forms of social-economic relations. It leads to the "spatial pluralism of social-economic development", the analysis of which is very important in case studies on economic and social geography of developing countries.

It is necessary to evaluate as objectively and exactly as possible the scale, rate and depth of these changes. On the higher levels of socio-economic development, existing practically in all the developing countries, the territorial concentration of population and economic activity in the leading economic regions and their centres influences the changes in geography of economy and population much more than the distribution of natural-resource potential. It first of all concerns the most industrialized and urbanized countries and regions.

Besides the analyses of interaction and relations between external

and internal factors of social and economic development as well as their individual territorial forms, to define the types and tendencies of capitalist development, it is necessary to take into account many objective factors, quantitative parameters and qualitative characteristics; such an analysis is necessary both for the large regions and separate countries and for their economic regions. The analysis on the level of economic regions has been and still is the active instrument of Marxist-Leninist methodology of social and economic development. The brilliant analyses of capitalist development in the regions of Russia and USA, made by V. I. Lenin, may be reminded in this connection.

There are several territorial levels of dependency of the developing countries. It is first of all, the world-economic level, i.e. underdeveloped and subordinate position in the international division of labour, caused by capitalism. In this case we consider whole countries. Another level, an internal one, includes the most developed regions of each developing country. Those are the "second-row centres" in the system of world capitalist economy. They are rather often more closely connected with industrially developed countries than with other regions of their own countries, because of the export orientation and the character of economic specialization. The difference between the indexes economic development of most developed and most backward regions of developing countries is much greater than between the regions of industrially developed capitalist countries.

The most backward regions frequently become kinds of "inside colonies" of more developed regions of their countries. It most often occurs in those cases when the regions, developed on the basis of export branches, gradually reorient themselves to the expanding internal markets. It is usually connected with the development of processing industry and infrastructure. The backward regions, which become more and more dependent on not only foreign but also local monopolies, become in their turn the decision-making centres of lower hierarchic levels. Such process of defining of different territorial levels of capitalist development forms complicated multi-staged system of dependent capitalist development.

This mechanism may be shown in the example of Brazil. In colonial times the North-East was the most developed region of the country. The decline in importance and export positions of its plantation economy was accompanied by changes of different specializations and "new resource lines". After the Second World War the South-East, developed on "coffee base", became one of the most developed economic regions of not only Brazil, but also of a whole group of developing countries. The North-East became its real colony and one of the most backward regions of the world. The discrepancy between the South-East and the North-East is still growing more and more. It may be considered as one more example of how the law of inequality of capitalist development

functions under conditions of economic backwardness. In the North-East its own centres of second level appeared, first of all the largest agglomerations, which to a large degree influence the life of the surrounding territories.

It is very characteristic that the essence of regional policy of the Brazilian state consists in the expansion of a market for São Paulo's industry. It is stated in different government planning documents. The programs of development of the Amazon and colonization of new unpopulated regions are also connected with this task. So this is the relationship of the "centres and dependent regions", including the regions of new development, in the developing countries.

The main directions of changes in the geography of economy and population of the developing countries may be schematically showed in the example of the group of countries of the Pacific Ocean's basin in Latin America. The most important in this region are the areas oriented in their economic relations to the Atlantic coast. It is necessary to take into account also the spatial limits of colonization processes in Latin America, where they embrace only the rather narrow coastal Atlantic zone.

The important peculiarity of post-war social and economic development of Latin America consists in strengthening of the importance of the geographical position along the Pacific coast, in increase of economic potential and economic role of those regions of Latin American countries which lie along the Pacific coast. The new role of these regions of Latin American countries of the Pacific Ocean's basin is conditioned, besides other reasons, by vital necessity to construct more various structure of economy and export there on the base of fuller usage of their own natural resource potential.

During the last decades new and very large reserves of most important kinds of natural resources were found: iron ore, chemical raw materials, ores of non-ferrous metals, marine biological resources. The natural resource potential of the Pacific Ocean's regions of Latin America acquires new quality and new dimension. It is connected not only with the richness and variety of different kinds of natural resources, but also with the gradual strengthening of economic importance of local (on rather small territories) territorial combinations of natural resources. It favours more complex usage of natural resources.

But one-aim usage of natural resources still prevails till nowadays. For example, in the north-western states of Mexico, which underwent great economic transformations during the post-war years and became one of the most dynamic regions of that country, the water resources are used almost exclusively for irrigation. In the 1980s the powerful metallic and chemical complexes will be formed in the Pacific regions

of Latin America on the basis of various, both water and energy, resources. The transnational corporations will actively participate in their construction together with the state. They are interested in the formation of such complexes in the developing countries on the basis of different natural resources also in connection with the sharp degradation of environment in industrially developed capitalist countries (so-called transfer of "dirty productions" into the developing countries).

The Pacific regions of Latin America may become in future the large producers of valuable kinds of cotton, sugarcane, wheat, early vegetables, and some other food and technical cultures. There, especially in Mexico and also partially in Peru, the large agricultural regions of irrigated agriculture appeared and are developing, which turned out to be, apparently efficient. These regions are developed on the capitalist basis, which to a large degree leads to the complication of their territorial organization and growth of cities system.

The rapid development of some Pacific regions of Latin American countries still is not connected enough with the strategy of transformation of branch and territorial structure of the economy. In particular, the rapid development of irrigated regions in the north-western states of Mexico, in the north of Peru, in the plantation zone of Equador often damages the internal regions of concentrations of population and of "traditional branches". All this is typical of the processes of capitalist development in width.

In the Pacific regions of Latin American countries, first of all in Mexico and Peru, the new large regions of extracting industry, capitalist irrigated agriculture, and marine economy have appeared. They are characterized by the high marketability and wide scale of economic relations. However the development of the Pacific zone in Latin America has still not acquired the complex character. It finds its expression in weak complex usage of natural and, most of all, water resources, in inadequate development of centres of processing industries and the systems of cities. We may conclude that in the Pacific regions of Latin America the radical changes in the geography of economy and population have not taken place. This is one more example of stability and inertia of the territorial structure of economy.

The geography of economy and population of the developing countries, developed under the direct influence of their subordinate position in the system of international capitalist division of labour, became a brake for the progress of the majority of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is very significant, that in 1978 out of 116 developing countries only 6 countries in their answers to the special questionnaire of the UNO considered the distribution of population in their countries as admissible and 68 as highly inadmissible. And the distribution of population expresses to a large degree the whole picture of geography

of productive forces and economic and social geography of this or that country.

It is difficult to await the radical improvement of geography of economy and population, of the pattern of settlement in the developing countries on the way of their capitalist development. But some changes still occur, strengthening the territorial concentration of economy and population. These changes strengthen internal and, of all, territorial disproportions in social and economic development as well.

Very generally the main directions and tendencies of changes in the geography of economy and population of the developing countries may be characterized by the following positions:

1. Urbanization and outstripping rates of growth of the largest and large centres became the main factors of changes in the geography of population and economy. The growing territorial concentration of economic activity and population in a few most developed economic regions and their centres aggravates the consequences of increasing inequality of regional development and somehow sterilizes the progress of less developed regions. All this causes multiple modifications of the centre-periphery systems, typical of capitalist ways of production which have multi-stage characters in the developing countries. Systems of cities are developed gradually, especially in the most developed economic regions.

2. The gradual complication of territorial organization of productive forces and settlement is taking place, especially in the most developed regions. The new and more complicated forms of such territorial organization, for example, "the corridors of development", tied to the infrastructural systems are forming and in most developed countries are already formed. The role of infrastructure in the complication of territorial organization of society is permanently increasing and it may be one of the key factors of state influence on the formation and transformation of geography of productive forces.

3. The role of territories (regions) of a new development on the basis of wider and sometimes also multi-aim usage of natural resources and their territorial combinations is gradually increasing. The scale of these processes is still not so large, but the tendencies and their general directions are important in themselves.

The strengthening of internal factors of social and economic development must influence the geography of economy and population in Asia, Africa and Latin America to a larger degree. Even greater changes in the geography of the developing countries will occur together with the implementation of the progressive structural social and economic transformations in the developing countries.



MARCIN ROSCISZEWSKI

## ON NEW TRENDS OF THE RESEARCH INTO THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Fast changes that contemporarily take place in international relations, as far as economic, social and political problems are concerned, affect the global socio-economic organization of the space, including that of the Third World countries. In connection with this, it becomes necessary to often verify those factors whose impact on the spatial organization is of significant importance, as well as, in the studies carried on, to constantly take into account newly emerging factors. I mean here, above all, that research into the dynamics of spatial transformations should also seize their directions, not like it is often the case in this new field of knowledge, that things are interpreted statistically only.

Introduction of, among other things, studies on the problems of development, in the broad meaning of the term, is a reflexion of these new tendencies in the socio-economic geography. It is also in this context that the introduction of the conception of the dependent development into the studies on the Third World should be seen. The conception has won a permanent position in studies carried on by various scientific disciplines, at the same time, as far as geography is concerned, it is only since recently that the problems resulting from the fact of the dependent development have become the subject of extended studies. The significance the introduction of this conception has for the geographical studies as well as the fact that it allows for an explanation of many characteristic features of the spatial organization and also for including geography in more extensive research of an inter-disciplinary character, makes it necessary to discuss these problem further.

At the beginning, it should be emphasized that in geographical studies, the problems concerning dependence (but not the dependent development) were considered practically from the moment this branch of knowledge was born. They were included in geographic descriptions, in it, in regional or political geography, and partly in economic geography, too. Still, the scope of investigations was to a great extent limited. This resulted from the fact that more or less till the end of the Second World War, the

existence of a vast colonial and semi-colonial system, i.e. of the dependent system, was treated as an integral part of the specifically conceived natural world order. This found its reflexion in the greater part of the then geographical works. The situation did not alter for the doubts and protests of the enlightened individuals or some social and political movements. The notion of Europeanism *sensu largo* was practically the binding synonym of the modernity and progress, which should be aspired and adjusted to by the others. Sometimes, it was even understood as a specific civilizational mission, in spite of the real contents hidden behind it.

Therefore nobody should be astonished by the fact that in the greater part of the then geographical elaborations concerning the dependent countries (the present-day Third World countries), attention was paid to chiefly those fields of the economic and social life who had been modernized under the influence of the European economy. Other fields, embracing the outstanding part of the local population and their activities were, to be sure, taken into consideration, too, however, in the ethnographical or ethnological aspect rather than economic or economic and social. To an extremely small degree did the geographical elaborations deal with economic mechanisms of the so-called today traditional sector. Similar was the case of studies on the connection between this and the modern sector, not mentioning the effects of dependence on the formation of the spatial organization. What we call today a Eurocentrism, at that time used to be a practically binding interpretation of any scientific activity.

Following the end of the Second World War, the situation has changed diametrically. Ever more pronounced has become the position of those trends in the studies on the problems discussed here, which have dealt with the dynamics of changes occurring both in the past as well as at present, the reasons of dependency, developmental trends in the conditions of dependence. These new tendencies in the geography's research interests have been conditioned by the post-war evolution of other scientific disciplines. Simplifying, we may briefly describe that evolution as a turn towards the problems of growth and socio-economic development. On the other hand, at the same time, we have to do with an aggregate of extremely complex processes of transformations that have been taking place the world over. The most significant (though not the only) have been: the process of gaining independence, aspirations for emancipation and political and social independence, for building and developing respective national economies. All these have been an expression of questioning the to-date social, political and economic world order, and, above all, of the dependency systems that had emerged during the period of European expansion. From being an object of the international life, the Third World countries have become its subject.

Those changes have been taking place during the processes of internationalization, and as its result, of unprecedented globalization of relations, which have involved practically all the world countries (although the scope of their involvement has varied). And it is exactly the global approach in which the problems of dependency and dependent development, as well as the geography's position in these studies should be considered today. There have been many forms of dependence. After all, a number of them have been already covered by the geographical studies. However, geographical studies should concern primarily those dependency symptoms that have been shaping spatial structures as well as the organization of the socio-economic space. And it is the Third World countries who make a particularly grateful research field, because on their territories, all major symptoms of dependence and direct effects of a dependent development, both in the latter's genetic as well as functional aspects, can be studied.

The post-Second World War rising interests of the socio-economic geography in problems relating to the dependent development in all its aspects, and also in formulating those problems, are generally connected with undertaking a research into the Third World countries. Still, we should point to the fact that geography was rather late in joining the trend of research into those problems, because as late as the turn of the 'fifties. Then, a quite clear transition from various sorts of descriptions of facts related with the process of gaining independence to studies on the effects of colonization and struggle against it, among the others also the effects on socio-economic spatial organization of the Third World took place. Those studies allowed for an establishment of the extraordinary wealth of forms, also the specificity of their space formation and the evolution of the spatial structures. Besides, those studies were, which has to be stressed, closely connected with the development of a number of more modern theories and conceptions of both geography and other related sciences, like, for example, the theory of the growth poles and of the polarized development, the theory of socio-economic dualism, a conception of central and peripheral spaces, a conception of the peripheral capitalism etc. However, geographical research has some troubles with binding geographical and functional spaces into one coherent whole. It is one of the key problems of research into the problems of dependent development (after all, like it is the case of other studies from the field of socio-economic geography).

Till recently, considerations on problems of dependent development, including the works carried on in this field by geography, were of a simplified character. For taken into consideration was mainly the direct dependence, first of all the ties between the highly industrialized and undeveloped countries, between particular economic branches (or sometimes aspects of social life) in those two groups of countries. Some prog-

ress in this field was achieved when the research field was extended over the dependence problems within the very Third World. It allowed for a disclosure of an enormous internal differentiation of that world, including the spatial differentiation and the existing social and economic stratifications, together with the whole simultaneous dynamics of changes. Such a tendency of research may be called a "vertical" approach. After all, such a vertical formulation of problems relating to the dependent development, can be observed in many geographical studies concerning the group of the developed countries, in spite of the already different range of problems taken into consideration in that case. It seems that the impact on such an approach to dependency problems was exerted not only by simplified assumptions of the above-mentioned theory of growth poles or the idea of the centre-periphery, but also by an observation and analysis of the most accessible to research, economic and social ties, models of the flow of goods, services, patterns of behaviour and ideas, which did not disappear together with the political dependence of the Third World. That formulation of problems remained unaffected by the fact that some of the old peripheries, after all at different points of time and to a different degree, themselves acquired (or lost) the role of the centre, gaining the dominating role within its scope.

The above statements is only an emphasis and a reminder of the existence of the dynamic of spatial arrangements (both functional and geographic) on the global scale, which is an outcome of the dynamic of development. Countries of the Third World are an inseparable part of those arrangements. Besides, it would not be justified to doubt the need of continuing the studies on the dependent development of a vertical character as well as their extension. Such a development does exist and has its definite consequences for the spatial, socio-economic organization. At the same time, however, we should keep it in mind that together with a globalization of the socio-economic and political relations, being the most characteristic symptom of modern developmental processes, beside a kind of classical forms of dependency, there also start getting shape numerous new ones, of a transitory character, which, in turn, also become versatile forms of interdependence. Problems related to the dependent/interdependent development are becoming ever more complex. They are acquiring a clearly "horizontal" character, which constitutes a new quality in the studies on the spatial organization. Ties within the framework of the horizontal development are also submitted to a differentiation under the influence of the differentiations taking place in both the Third World and the developed countries.

No doubt, the present relations between the group of oil-producing countries, united in OPEC, an organization of a corporate character, and the developed as well as with the rest of the Third World countries provide an example of a new type of connections within the dependent/

/interdependent development. However, this is a kind of an exception if we take into consideration the specific role of oil in the world economy, which at the moment has no parallel to any other raw material, subject to the international exchange. Nevertheless there appear ties within the dependent/interdependent development, also in new disciplines of economic activity. Fast industrialization of some of the Third World countries, and especially of those who are characterized by an export-oriented policy, deserves a particular emphasis. This process is sometimes treated as a competition with the most developed branches of economic activity in developed countries. In reality however, the competition concerns the weakest links of the latter countries' production complex, which would have to, sooner or later, be subject to changes or liquidation, any way. While signaling only the problem in this place (also in the geographical studies it shall require a more thorough analysis), it is proper that we stressed that here, we have to deal with processes that start affecting the frameworks of a new international division of labour. A certain new strategy of the specialization of industrial activity on a global scale, finding its reflexion in transformations of the world organization of the socio-economic space shall also be connected with the above. In case of the developed countries (or at least some of them), the strategy is expressed in leaving the least profitable and being the subject of the fiercest competition production to other countries. Overlooking this regularity has already caused, and shall continue so, considerable tensions in the regional development of some of the countries. As a result, the highly industrialized countries are, in a way, forced to undertake the most modern production lines. This fact introduces a new quality to the to-date forms of the dependent development.

Industrialization of the Third World countries has become an irreversible phenomenon. For them it is a positive fact in that sense that it allows for an evolution of the hitherto economic and social structures, having, however, in view the dangers these processes can bring about. At the same time, it makes, or shall make, the industrialized countries carry on ever more substantial transformations and modifications in their to-date branch structure of industry. The growing energy source prices will also contribute to it. The rise of these prices shall, no doubt, hamper the development of energy-consuming branches of industry in the industrializing countries, which will certainly force them to choose an appropriate branch development. Apart however from the problems outlined here in general, differentiating the opportunities and tendencies of the industrialization processes both in the Third World and in the developed countries, the latter are vitally interested in the economic development of the Third World, indeed. For we should bear in mind that the present demand of the developing countries is one of the counting stabilization factors of the international trade and of the whole world

economy. At present, it chiefly (but not exclusively) concerns that group of developing countries who have at their disposal considerable surpluses (real or potential) in their respective balance of payments (oil producing countries). The briefly discussed here tendencies in industrialization processes, bear, and will continue so, an undoubtful impact on the organization of the socio-economic space on the global scale, as well as on the problems connected with the regional development of both the developing and developed countries.

Similar examples relating the dependent/interdependent development on the world scale can be, no doubt, pointed to in a number of other disciplines, for example in agriculture, environmental management, commerce, services, all sorts of inter- and supranational organizations etc. who exert a considerable influence on the modern processes of the global organization of the socio-economic space. That is why it seems necessary to include in our research pertaining to the socio-economic geography, problems connected with the so-called New International Economic Order. The "New Order" idea resulted from the Third World's endeavours, and is strictly related to their aspirations to counteract their dependent development and its effects. Besides, the Third World countries take the key position in the "New Order" programme being the main (though not the only) subject of the proposed changes. After all, this programme goes far beyond purely economic questions, for it concerns changes of the majority of the presently binding views on the existing world order. Many faults may be found with the solutions now proposed, including not taking into account the existing realities. Nevertheless, the very fact that such a discussion has been started is a symptomatic indication of the necessity to modify the to-date world order in such a way that the development process (of both economy and society) becomes more egalitarian — in the interest of the whole world population. While discussing the "New Order", we must be fully aware of the fact that the Third World countries are but one partner in the process of transition that is taking place and is being postulated in the contemporary socio-economic and political relations, in the process that is also shaping the contemporary as well as the future spatial organizations.

Usually five groups of partners are mentioned<sup>1</sup>, but the division accepted, as it usually is the case, has, no doubt, many arbitrary features. The first group is made up by the so-called Third World countries. Acceptance of this traditional, though ever more often questioned, term requires a clear awareness of this group's enormous internal differentiation. Depending on the criteria, we obtain different divisions. Taking into consideration their potential abilities to develop solely, we may divide this group into at least five sub-groups.

<sup>1</sup> J. Kleer, *Wielka nadzieja czy utopia* (Great Hope or Utopia), *Polityka*, 17, 1979.

(a) The oil-producing countries. At the present moment, we might consider whether they should not be excluded from the Third World and included in a separate group as a partner with full rights in the discussion on the New International Economic Order. Nevertheless, because of these countries' internal socio-economic structures, which often undergo fluctuations (e.g. Iran), it would not be right to include them in developed countries.

(b) Countries, in which a speedy process of industrialization is taking place, together with deep socio-economic changes, including those of spatial structures. Brazil, Malaysia, Turkey and, to some extent, India and Mexico can serve as examples. Mexico however, can soon, in a way, reach the previously mentioned sub-group. In these countries, the industrialization process aims at, first of all, import substitution, moreover, it is attainable owing to their vast and absorptive domestic markets.

(c) Countries who are also industrializing themselves intensively but at the same time, their industrial production is positively export-oriented. Leading in this respect are: South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore as well as Hong Kong. They have already won a significant position in the international division of labour and have affected the branch and regional structures of the industry in many industrialized countries.

(d) Countries able to ensure their development partly on their own but if at the same time aided by foreign countries.

(e) The poorest Third World countries. The UN recognized them as unable to overcome their present undevelopment unaided. According to the World Bank data<sup>2</sup>, there are 30 countries whose per capita income does not exceed 250 dollars. Yet, this formal turning point cannot make the unequivocal and sole criterion here, for many other countries hardly surpass this limit.

The second group consists of the highly industrialized capitalist countries. This group does not form a homogenous bloc, either. The United States of America deserves a separate treatment, considering the scale of her economic potential, involvement in the world politics and economy, capability to introduce innovations etc. A special distinction is also deserved by the countries united in the European Economic Community as well as Japan.

The socialist countries make up the third group. However, they are considerably differentiated, too.

The fourth group embraces multi- and supranational firms. Their role is particularly significant since they participate in about 50 per cent of the world trade. The range of their activity covers both the highly developed and developing countries. As a result, a kind of autonomous, supranational functional spaces is formed, which often remains beyond control of the states, on whose areas supranational firms operate.

<sup>2</sup> World Development Report, 1978.

The fifth group to participate in the creation of the "New Order" are various international organizations, like UN and its specialized agencies of both global and regional character, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund.

Among all the groups and sub-groups mentioned here, and also within them, there are various sorts of connections — some of them of a conflicting character. Their intensity affects the dynamism of the evolution of spatial arrangements and structures, of the spatial organization on the global, country or regional scale. That is why it becomes obvious that we must approach the problems of dependent/interdependent development in a horizontal way, as well. Problems related to the "New Order" give the questions concerning this type of development new dimensions. Till to-date, they were reduced to, almost exclusively, the Third World countries. At present, they are a concern of the socio-economic geography, too. One may even say that within the geographical sciences, a peculiar "geographizing" or "spacing" of the problems of dependent development became almost a monopoly on what used to be called geography of underdevelopment or geography of undevelopment. There is no doubt that the Third World countries, including African ones, will for long occupy the key position in the studies on the spatial aspects of the dependent development. Nevertheless, just because of geography's involvement in studies concerning the "New Order" problems, these countries become merely a component of the entirety of research into problems of dependent/interdependent development. Together with the showing up process of their globalization, we should start considering them within a much broader context, namely, in that of the so-called geography of development.



GALINA V. SDASYUK

INERTIA OF SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY  
OF THE COLONIAL TYPE AND GEOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS  
OF ITS OVERCOMING

The spatial structure of the economy (SSE) reflects the peculiarity of a general economic system of a particular level and type. The specific nature of regional aspects of the development is connected, first of all, with the essence of development process. SSE is inseparably linked with its branch structure, but this phenomenon does not eliminate contradictions and courses of their evolution, taking place at different times.

The main features of SSE of colonial type have been revealed rather completely in the previous special publications, including the proceedings of the first two Soviet-Polish sessions devoted to geographical problems of developing countries (*Proceedings...* 1977; *Developing Countries...* 1978). For all the diversity of these countries they have much in common in the branch and spatial structures of the economy which have been forming for a long time, not so much at the basis of immanent laws of development and intrastate division of labour as within the process of inequitable international division of labour governed by the parent state. The structure of this type is notable for the extreme irregularity and conglomeration, hypertrophic growth of a single (or a small number of) metropolitan centre which focused colonial division of labour, extreme backwardness and isolation of the main remote areas. This structure is at variance with the national goals of development of these countries.

The most complicated problems of transforming general economic structure, including the spatial aspects, cannot be solved promptly by the private sector and resting only on the market economy. The leading role in this matter should be played by the state. It is impossible to carry out radical transformation of inherited economic structure of colonial type in a historically short time without the purposeful activity of the state, without the long-term regional policy and regional planning, which are recognized as necessary by the majority of developing countries. Usually the following measures are proclaimed as the main goals: advance of the backward regions, decentralization of production, elimination of sharp

regional disproportions in the levels of socio-economic development, "balanced" regional development, i.e. overcoming of the basic features typical of the SSE of colonial type.

The 1960s was a time of great hopes cherished in many developing countries for the "panacea" of declared principles of regional development. However, the late 1970s witnessed growing comprehension that the objective principles turned out contrary to the proclaimed tendencies. A large gap in the levels of socio-economic development in the capitalist world increased in many ways: starting from the global scale, passing through countries and regions, intensifying inside the cities and certain rural localities. "Contradictory metropolitan centre — peripheral satellite relationship [...] runs through the entire world capitalist system in chain-like fashion from its uppermost metropolitan world centre, through each of the various national, regional, local and enterprise centres" (Frank 1971).

Correlation of the gross domestic product per capita in developing and advanced capitalist countries, which was a 1:10 ratio in the 1950s, will reach a 1:20 value by the beginning of the next century (*Razvivayushchikhsya strany...* 1975). By means of extrapolation some western futurologists came to the conclusion that it will take over 600 years for Indonesia, about 350 years for Nigeria and Columbia, to reach the level of the US incomes of the middle 1960s (Kahn, Wiener 1967).

Economic status of economic development is gaining ever greater importance. It is estimated that the citizens of the industrially advanced countries consume on the average 10—20 times more fuel, metal, fresh water and other natural resources than the developing countries, correspondingly polluting as much the environment. The question arises: "Is the ten-twentyfold increase of these processes, multiplied by the number of population in developing countries, possible? Will the Earth bear this additional burden?". Soviet economists consider that "the positive answer to this question would be a mere simplification of the problem..." (*Razvivayushchikhsya strany...* 1975). At the same time the concept of "zero growth" proposed by several western alarmists is unacceptable for the developing countries, hence the majority of their population live "beyond the verge of poverty". The main problems facing these countries are the poverty, unemployment, disastrous situation of the population suffering from malnutrition and hunger, lack of fresh drinking water, unfit sanitary and housing conditions. The Stockholm conference on the problems of the environment (1972) stressed: "Less industrially advanced countries of the world cannot abandon the growth and transformation for the sake of conserving natural resources or preserving the environment".

Overestimating the importance of "aid" rendered to the developing countries by the imperialist states and traditional western concepts of

development a prominent progressive scientist K. Buchanan (1978) writes: "Twenty years ago, even a decade ago, 'development' was much 'in-word' [...] But [...] as the 'undeveloped' were administered larger and larger doses of the magic medicine of 'development', they became to notice how this therapy always — and strangely — enriched the developers and impoverished the supposed beneficiaries of the process. The critical question 'development for whom' began to be posed by the folk of the Third World increasingly impatiently. They [...] began to see that behind the altruistic facade of the development — mongers the old process of exploitation, the siphoning-off of resources (and with these employment potentialities) continued at a frenzied pace [...] 'development' became, for those being 'developed', a 'dirty word'". Progressive western scientists are realizing "interdependence of development" in the capitalist world — continuing enrichment of the imperialist states at the expense of developing countries.

Thus the ideals of the western "society of consumption" turn out compromised and unfit for the modern world and it is properly realized in the developing countries. Sharply critical appraisals of the traditional western concepts of development became widely spread. A representative of radical geography J. Blaut (1978) writes: "The theory of development is simply a theory and a bad one. Its predictive success is nil. It has solved no problem in the undeveloped world. Yet, to American geographers, it is still an article of faith".

Regional disproportions of socio-economic development are intensifying both, among the developing countries and within their limits (Sdasyuk 1979). Some features of SSE of colonial type are not slackening but even intensifying. It is manifested in the most morbid forms in the continuing hypertrophic growth of the major metropolitan centres — "primacing" cities at the background of stagnating vast backward agrarian areas, "grey cellars" of the country. These tendencies became quite common. For instance, Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, is one of the most vivid cases of a primacing city, which is 30 times as big as a second-rank city of the country and is still extending concentration of production. Over 80 per cent of industrial enterprises, built in Thailand in 1973—1975, are located within the metropolitan region and only sugar-refineries were constructed outside its limits. The metropolitan region of Manila concentrates 64 per cent of major industrial plants in the Philippines (1974) and in the late 1970s the share of this region in the gross domestic product was increasing annually by 8.6 per cent, whereas the state growth rates reached only 6.5 per cent (*Re-orientation...* 1979). According to forecasts in the case of existing tendencies the process of superconcentration of population and production in the major metropolitan agglomerations will go on. It is estimated that the share of the São Paulo urban region in the number of Brazilian population will in-

crease from 19.2 per cent in 1970 to 25.6 per cent in 2000 and in terms of value of industrial production it will rise from 54.1 per cent to 55.5 per cent; corresponding indices for Rio de Janeiro will be 9.7—14.8 per cent and 18.0—19.0 per cent (Mashbits 1975). Mexico City, Bombay, Calcutta, Sao Paulo and other vast metropolitan centres of developing countries are ranked among the biggest cities of the world. They are marked by increasing unemployment, expanding slums, complicated transport problems, lack of drinking water etc. — “the quality of life” for the majority of people inhabiting these cities turns out too low...

How much does the concept of growth poles, formulated by F. Perroux in 1955, elaborated by J. Boudeville, J. Friedmann and others and widely spread in developing countries in the 1960s, promote overcoming SSE of colonial type? Though this concept enjoys wide popularity, it was strongly criticized more than once even by western scientists, especially by those who were well in the know of specific life conditions in the former colonial countries. For example, during the Dushanbe symposium of the IGU's Commission on regional aspects of development (XXIII IGC, 1976) a Canadian geographer D. R. F. Taylor who presented an interesting paper on “Restructuring space in Africa” emphasized the unacceptability of polarized development theory which regarded big cities as growth poles diffusing modernization and facilitating progress of rural areas in developing countries. He stressed that “it is not ascertained if the big cities promote advance or exhaustion of these areas” and continued: “If we equate development with the colonial western pattern, then indeed, it can be measured and modernized from the core to the periphery, using Friedmann's model and the like” (Taylor 1976).

How is the concept of growth poles estimated by the specialists in regional development from the developing countries? To answer this question one should refer to the ten-volume series, summarizing the experience of regional development of several countries and continents, published by the UN Institute of Social Investigations (UNRISD) and edited by A. Kukliński. From this point of view, the volume presenting the experience of applying growth poles concept in the three vast countries of the three continents — Nigeria, India and Brazil — is of special interest (*Regional Policies...* 1978).

Prominent Indian geographers R. P. Misra, K. V. Sundaram, considering “growth foci as instruments of modernization in India”, first of all inquire about the essence of modernization process. They reject blind imitation of western type modernization, pointing out not only at its creative, but also its destructive features, and come to the conclusion that “each society should select its own ways and means of modernization”. Indian scientists associate process of modernization and urbanization and propose a broad and modified variant of a concept relating to growth poles and centres which they call the concept of “growth foci”. It may

seem that the difference concerns only terminology but it is not quite true. They suggest a scheme of settlement hierarchy of five levels associated with the areas of various scale, considering that "the process of modernization expands by means of this system".

At the lowest local level it is a central village (here and further on a figure in brackets means the number of corresponding centres in India by 2000 A. D. — 100 thousand); at the interlocal level — service centres (20 thousand, each having about 5 thousand citizens); at the microregional level — growth points (4 thousand, each inhabiting 10 thousand citizens); at the mezoregional centres — growth centres (500, cities with 200 thousand persons each); at the macroregional level — growth poles (30, cities inhabiting 2 million urban dwellers). This scheme resembles a common hierarchy of cities and other settlements. The authors' contribution lies in their regional-integrated approach to the problems of diffusing modernization process by means of settlement system.

The paper contains specific analysis of the growth foci importance for modernizing the backward North-East of peninsular India — the area rich in mineral resources, isolated, inhabited by minor nationalities and tribes. Demonstrating concentration of new enterprises of heavy industry in a few centres (gravitating to the "corridors of growth") with the help of maps and other materials, the authors arrive at the conclusion that not diffusion of modernization but the origin of "indigenous colonialism" takes place. In their opinion the later process is notable for the following features:

- 1) the concentration of investment in the extractive minerals sector and in manufacture of basic or semi-processed goods;
- 2) the construction of a transport network which, in some parts, allows only raw materials to be exported;
- 3) the re-investment of profits elsewhere;
- 4) the absence of any organized endeavour to predispose the backward community of the region to accept change. The authors point to the emergence in this way of the "open dualistic system" inside the region.

The author of an investigation on Brazil, Ivo Babarovic, who has been employed for a year as a UN expert in the planning bodies of this country, also lays emphasis on the study of the aggravating problem of developing countries, interrelation of central regions gravitating to the major cities, growth poles and vast backward agrarian areas, where the majority of rural population lives in extreme poverty — marginality. The goal is to involve these areas and their population into the economic activities of the country, to secure their gradual modernization and progress. Based on the study of voluminous facts, reflecting the process of regional development (employing mathematical methods of investigation and compiling numerous maps which reconstruct the "structure

of Brazilian geoeconomic space”) he comes to the following basic conclusions:

1. A regional development policy based on the “activation of large growth poles in the regional metropolises” is inadequate for rural involvement (“incorporation”).

2. The most urgent problem of Amazonian resources’ development, filling up this vast “economic and demographic vacuum” that is also important for “physical integration of the country”, will contribute little for the advance of rural areas, given the low accessibility to the urban system that will characterize for a long time the newly settled areas.

3. The aim of involving (“incorporating”) grievous rural areas in accelerated process of socio-economic development may be better served by a combination of the policy of large growth poles with the activation of less important “secondary” industrial centres and of service and marketing centres “in the interior of traditional periphery”. Here the author reminds of the necessity to “activate land reform and promote social development of these areas” though not mentioning that just these factors play the leading role in the advance of agrarian regions.

4. Since these three regional policies — accelerated development of large growth poles, cultivation of Amazonian resources and advance of rural regions — are basically conflicting, in the author’s opinion, it is necessary to draw up “an integrated policy of polarized regional development”, defining priorities, stages of implementation and the means to be used in carrying out this task.

5. The author concludes that elaboration of such a policy should include specific choice of growth foci of various functional structure and rank, enjoying different development potential and different accessibility and links with agrarian areas.

Analysing the experience of regional development in Nigeria Akin Mabogunje comes to the conclusion that the concept of growth poles and centres “requires clearer definition”. He concludes his paper by defining the main goal of scientific substantiation of regional planning. Up to him every “part of the country should see where and how it is related to other parts in integrated economy, striding forward to greater achievements” (*Regional Policies...* 1978).

Thus it may be considered universally recognized that the pure growth poles concept with its emphasis on the role of large metropolitan agglomerations as bases of modernization and progress (as it has been elaborated in the cases of advanced capitalist states) is unsuitable for developing countries. Wide dissemination of this concept cannot serve as an argument for its scientific profundity and practical value. Many experts in regional planning, representatives of the developing countries, consider that the concepts of regional development should be formulated with maximum regards to specific conditions of development in these

countries. As far as one of the main tasks facing them consists in giving backward areas access to the mainstream of general development, to their progress and integration with more developed regions, a particularly important role belongs to the growth centres (foci) of the second, third and lower ranks and also to the "central villages" at the initial level. It is becoming clear that not only the analysis of growth of certain points (foci) is important but also the integrated-regional approach. Within this context much interest is displayed towards the Soviet theory of spatial production complexes and perspectives of their application in specific conditions of developing countries.

It is known that the spatial structure of economy is much more inert than the branch one. For a short range of time it is possible to make a leap in the level of regional (or national) economic development, but it is next to impossible to succeed in radical transformation of spatial structure. It follows from the long (up to hundreds of years) process relating to the formation of these structures, stability and long duration of their basic elements and limited possibilities (and demands) of introducing new elements into the system (Zavadsky 1973). These factors of stability should be added with the impact of "natural frame" of the country (river basins, mountainous regions etc.).

However, is it reasonable to make this inertia an absolute category? Should we agree with a well-known expert in polarized development J. Friedmann that the stability of regional development is so strong that "in any case the future will be very much like the past"? In our opinion we have more reasons to admit A. Kukliński's point of view that, though regional structures are very stable, "dissatisfaction with the performance of the past is increasing on a world scale and different societies are looking for new models for the society of the future" (*Regional Policies...* 1978). This dissatisfaction is most strongly felt in the former colonial countries which cannot and do not want to accept the inherited past, including SSE of colonial type which contradicts the goals of their independent development.

The consequences of irrepressible growth of major cities are ruinous for the developing countries from the material-financial point of view (for instance, losses from superconcentration in Bombay-Puna region amount to 20 per cent as compared with the variant of decentralizing production within Maharashtra state), they aggravate socio-economic disproportions and are associated with radical deterioration of ecological situation. The danger of "Calcuttization" of the major urban agglomerations is becoming widespread.

Increasing disproportions of regional development hamper integration of developing countries, aggravate the danger of tribalism, doom population of the backward areas to poverty, oppose drawing their natural and labour resources into the mainstream of national activities.

Nevertheless, private investments are usually made exclusively into the relatively advanced regions and big cities, enjoying perfect infrastructure, skilled manpower and other advantages ensuring profitability of enterprises in the shortest period of time. "Most of the analytical tools available in present industrial location theory are able to explain individual-level decisions as in some way rational, but are helpless in face of the resultant systemic-level irrationality" (Massey 1978). Investments of international monopolies, influx of private enterprise into the big cities of developing countries are the main reasons for their hypertrophical growth and aggravation of regional development disproportions. One of the active representatives of radical geography J. Blaut (1978) writes: "The function of foreign aid is not to develop, but to underdevelop<sup>1</sup> — that is, to maintain unchanged, or strengthen, the infrastructure required for efficient neo-colonial exploitation".

Continuing concentration of production and new industrial construction in major metropolitan centres, aggravation of regional disproportions in socio-economic development displeases developing countries and troubles their governments. In the late 1970s the necessity of "reorienting industrial policy" was officially formulated. This issue was specially discussed at the meeting of ministers of industry of ESCATO's (January, 1979) and African (October, 1979) countries. The following four basic fields, requiring particular concern, were defined:

- 1) reinforcement of links between industry and agriculture;
- 2) development of small industry and its links with large and heavy industry;
- 3) orientation of industrial output towards satisfying basic needs of the poorest population strata;
- 4) siting of industrial plants outside metropolitan areas, their spatial distribution (*Re-orientation...* 1979).

Correlation of these problems, their orientation towards the advanced living standards of the poorest population strata and poorest regions, towards the active attempts to prevent the growth of big cities is evident. However, the experience proves that "isolated" plans for controlling the growth of big cities as well as separate plans for advance of backward regions (or regions liable to natural hazards) do not reach the desired goal, turn out not effective. Most likely the problem is to elaborate plans of integrated regional development envisaging combined development of regions of various types and levels.

Within this context it is important to reveal correlation between the development of old and new regions. The heart of economic aspect of this problem comes to the issue, concerning efficiency of capital expenditures to the regions of various types and levels. In the old and relative

<sup>1</sup> A. Frank even introduced a term "development of underdevelopment" conforming to the "aid" rendered by the imperialist states to the developing countries.



vely advanced regions, gravitating to metropolitan centres, the efficiency is usually achieved in a shorter time that is especially important for all the limited accumulations and lack of material resources. On the contrary, with a view to the long perspective the best efficiency of investments may be achieved in the new, poorly developed areas, having richer natural resources. Evidently, the point is to ground scientifically (for each given stage) optimal combinations of both types of regional development.

In this light the main task consists in thorough investigation and inventory of resources of all and especially backward regions, in elaborating the plans of their most rational utilization. Of particular importance are the means for advance of local agriculture in combination with small and medium industry, expansion of employment perspectives, stabilization of general development. Paramountly significant are the problems of accelerated production and social infrastructure development, participation of wide population strata in decision-making, infringing upon their vital interests and demands. These specific problems usually cannot be solved by applying standard "Eurocentric" models of regional development.

Scientists have to do much to learn regularities, guiding transformation of SSE of colonial type in the course of achieving economic independence by the developing countries, to ground scientifically the plans of their regional development which should promote acceleration of their socio-economic progress and overcoming of backwardness. The process of this transformation is complicated, long and dialectically contradictory. The decisive role within this process should be played by the state which needs necessary mechanism for implementing proclaimed principles of regional development. Especially important is the scientific foundation of effective regional policy — the object of interdisciplinary investigations, where a leading role potentially belongs to the modern constructive geography.

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MACIEJ JAKUBOWSKI

ON THE NOTIONS: DEVELOPED COUNTRIES,  
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, THE THIRD WORLD,  
AND THE NEED OF NEW GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

CONTEMPORARY STEREOTYPED DIVISIONS OF THE WORLD

Every era coins simplified stereotyped divisions of the world or its parts. They are the reflection of certain aspects of reality, but also the expression of the ideas dominating in the given period, opinions, hierarchy of values which all tend to form a specific outlook of the people of a given era.

After Second World War several such stereotyped classifications of the world developed and were adopted in common use. They continue to prevail up till now as follows:

- the division into ideological blocks — the symbolic East and West;
- the same division enlarged by the notion of Third World since the block of uncommitted states arose;
- the division of the world applied by politicians into zones of influence of the great powers and other countries;
- a similar classification but referring to the theory of innovation, of states and smaller regions into central and peripheral areas;
- division of the world based on criteria of development, thus developed, developing and underdeveloped countries etc.

These stereotyped classifications based on political, ideological and development criteria have so dominated human consciousness, that they have almost ousted from colloquial language, the language of journalism and information and even from scientific works other divisions of the world based on geographical and historical criteria and divisions of peoples of the Earth according to cultures, races, languages, religions etc.

In the aspect of geographical studies let us consider: to what extent is the use of these stereotyped classifications justified? Is this classification adequate and does it sufficiently and truly characterize the contemporary world?

GENESIS OF THE STEREOTYPED DIVISION OF  
THE WORLD BASED ON DEVELOPMENT CRITERIA

The above quoted stereotyped divisions of the world were no doubt the reflection of the true picture of the world as it appeared after Second World War, they were, however, also the expression of the views and ideas prevailing at this time. This regards particularly the classifications based on development criteria.

We shall now examine this classification. The division of the world into developed, developing, and underdeveloped countries and to some extent also the division into centres and peripheries are derived from a simplified stereotype of development which has spread widely. According to this stereotype development became a synonym of economic progress, urbanization, industrialization, "modernization" etc. It was believed that this type of development will spread and involve inevitably the world as a whole. It was presumed that the differences between countries and continents will be successfully annulled by the spread on a world scale of ready economic and also social and ideological models elaborated in the most highly industrialized countries.

This simplified view on development led to the "measurement" of the world by means of simple scalar simplistically interpreted measures: the higher the position of the given country in the scale of increasing income per capita, the lower the simultaneous birth rate, the more developed was considered to be this country. People were classified not according to who they are but according to "what they possess", "how much they possess" and "how numerous they are". In this way extensive spheres of reality escaped notice. More or less consciously it was assumed, against the obvious dialectic of development that the history of the world will proceed without conflict in peace so that the less developed countries will be able to catch up regularly with the industrialized ones and become similar to them in economic and social matters.

This was above all the outlook prevailing in the West, spread mainly by the generation of technocracy formed in the period of economic and technologic boom of the 1950s and 1960s. A similar way of thinking, however, became common on a world scale, involving a part of the elites of the southern hemisphere.

The simplified development stereotypes have never been accepted universally, nevertheless, it is only lately that they have begun to undergo a more noticeable disintegration.

The great wave of contestation directed against the Atlantic philosophy of development in its many varieties started to rise with the emancipation of the countries of the so-called Third World. Representatives of radical social thinking in these countries considered the division of the world into developed and developing countries, centres and peripheries as false, as a form of obscuring reality by means of words.

Representatives of the countries of the southern hemisphere introduced into the world literature as early as the 1960s of this century the division of the world into the rich North and the poor South. The political and ideological divisions of the North seemed to them of no major importance. They, namely, accused the North as a whole of direct or indirect exploitation of the South, of accumulation on a planetary scale at the cost of the proletarian nations of the southern hemisphere.

From the whirlpool of contestation and struggle for influence in the emancipating countries of the southern hemisphere there also emerged a specific division into "three worlds" introduced by the Chinese politicians.

And what will be the classifications of our globe suggested by the world of Islam which is passing through a period of severe struggle, tossed by contradictions, and yet no doubt awakening from centuries of torpor?

#### DISINTEGRATION OF SIMPLIFIED DEVELOPMENT STEREOTYPES

##### PROGRESS IN THEORETICAL SCIENCE. NEW IDEAS AND CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT

In the latest decade the simplified development stereotypes have been undergoing accelerated disintegration within the Atlantic culture itself. Contemporarily a complex of concepts and ideas, desires and aspirations is forming which, at least in some extent, is different from those which were the driving force of modern times — an era which under our eyes seems to be retreating into the past. Among other things, the concepts and views on development, progress and growth change. The consciousness filters in that an unlimited economic development is impossible in a closed system like the Earth and so is the spread on a world scale of technological civilization in its present form.

The ideals of unlimited development and growth are displaced by the ideas of balance, order, stabilization, quality of life, ecological humanism, organic development, which should take into account the requirements of the ecological environment, the specific social-economic situations and historical traditions of the particular countries, regions etc. "A saving society" is envisaged, a society relying on its own forces. To these ideas refer concepts of a new international economic and legal order.

At the base of all these ideals lie the questions: if unlimited development-growth is impossible, what should be done to bring the world to a new equilibrium without shock and disturbance? To put it otherwise: what can be done in the contemporary development cycle to pass from the phase of exponential economic growth and exponential population growth to a phase of slow growth so that the contemporary development cycle would take the form of a logistic cycle?

The trend of thinking, grouping the advocates of a new balance and stabilization (this trend may be called the trend of reformist thinking) is by no means the only one in contemporary culture. There is also a wide development of catastrophic thinking. Its representatives argue that the process which we used to call and still call development has actually become a process of accelerated autodestruction of industrialized and industrializing societies. A process the symptoms of which are all the contemporary recessions reaching planetary dimensions, affecting both the West, East and the South, although they appear in various forms in the different parts of the world and particular countries. Representatives of this trend argue, that the return of the world, particularly of the Atlantic civilization, to a state of new equilibrium or its transition to some other state of existence cannot occur without shock and violent clashes. To support this theory experience from the past is quoted and scientific concepts proving the common occurrence of cyclicity and "catastrophes" in all development processes.

The geopolitical and geoeconomic terminology used by the catastrophists and radical reformers differs widely from the commonplace classification into developed and developing countries etc. Such definitions are used as "advanced countries in a state of regress", "countries of technological civilization in the phase of accelerated autodestruction" and "proletarian countries", "countries of misery and stagnation" etc.

#### CHANGES IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

The development of new currents in the Atlantic civilization or the revival in new form of very ancient trends may be considered, to put it simply, as the effect of two coupled forces: advances in theoretical science contradicting the simplistic concepts of progress and changes occurring in the real physical world.

The latest decade particularly characterized by an intensification of recessive phenomena has been a test of the adaptive abilities of the present social-economic systems and organizational structures. It revealed the fragility of international relations under conditions of contradictory interests, and bared many weaknesses of the world, but it also increased the social consciousness and released new forces tending to renewal. Therefore, one cannot say of the bygone decade that these were years of rising crisis phenomena, but rather years of the clash of various processes tendencies and pursuits under conditions of exacerbation of recession.

Various initiatives were undertaken in the latest years in order to apply in practice the idea of a new international economic and legal order and trials to establish a more stable peace, but on the other hand conflicts and contrasting interests multiplied.

In many countries efforts were undertaken to introduce social-econo-

mic reforms, new technologies and energy sources were searched for. In other countries such trials were not undertaken or did not bring the expected results.

In spite of happenings inhibiting economic growth and expansion of technological civilization, new centres of growth and wealth or even opulence (oil countries) developed in the latest decade, on the other hand, however, the poles or zones of extreme poverty became more distinct than in the preceding periods. The differences between the countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia deepened, as reflected by a new "generation" of stereotyped designations such as "third world", "fourth world" and "fifth world".

As the result of play of forces on the world stage, the systems of relations and dependences between states change and so do the boundaries of influence zones. In the latest decade new political and ideological forces appear on the international arena. Conflicts and contradictions, and on the other hand new linked common interests have appeared on the line North—South within the North and within the South.

More and more facts indicate that the 'seventies of this century have been a turning point. The era dominated by the expansion of technological (industrial) civilization and its organizational and conceptual superstructures is behind us. At the same time the world enters into a new historical period which probably will be of transitory character with sharp clashes between various tendencies and processes. The picture of the world undergoes changes under our eyes and no doubt will continue to do so.

#### ON THE INEVITABILITY OF FURTHER TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE · PICTURE OF THE WORLD

The picture of the world would undergo the most violent changes, if the prognoses of the pessimistic futurologists who foresee a breakdown of the unstable economic and political world equilibrium would come true. Drastic transformations within the world civilization would inevitably cause changes in the present economic and political system and interrelations on a world scale. This would affect among other things the situation of countries now referred to as Third World countries. In connection with this the Italian futurologist Roberto Vacca<sup>1</sup> says: "Other short-lived advantages might go to the benefit of countries called least developed which at present are dominated and dependent on advanced countries, the latter, however, are on the way to regress. If this regress will continue and deepen, the dominance of these countries will end,

<sup>1</sup> R. Vacca, *Demain le Moyen Age*, ed. A. Michel, Paris 1973, p. 188.

and this will be a relief to the less developed countries. But it will not last long because with time serious problems will arise, not only owing to the lack of goods sent by the countries which underwent regress, but also to new conflicts”.

The breakdown of the present world system would thus reveal indirectly what was of transient and what of durable nature in the evolution of the world. It would manifest among other things doubtlessly the durability of certain geographical-cultural circles which were traditionally the object of geographical studies, and which contemporarily have become “obliterated”, partly truly because of the unifying effect of industrial civilization and political and economic bonds, and partly spuriously, owing to the dominance of a specific outlook on the world in human thinking.

If the world civilization and the present systems of functional interrelations and dependencies would actually break down abruptly, geography would, contrary to the prevailing opinions on the further development of this sphere of science, paradoxically in the eyes of contemporary geographers, at least for some time regain its basic function. Geographers would have to describe anew the world emerging after the breakdown of industrial civilization.

It is hoped that the forecasts of pessimistic futurologists will not prove true. Perhaps the world will manage to remain for some time at least in unstable equilibrium. Nevertheless, considerable changes will occur. Particular nations and groups of countries will have to develop some variants of a “saving society” either by way of justified reforms or by way of “tightening one’s belt” on the order of superior authorities. These processes will inevitably lead to a regrouping of forces in the world and to changes in international interrelations.

It is, therefore, more than probable that — either by violent upheavals or by way of more evolutionary transformations — the world will undergo further changes in the nearest future.

The aim of the present paper was the discussion of the problem whether the use in geographical studies of the stereotyped divisions of the world, and particularly classification into developed and developing countries is justified.

The foregoing considerations lead to the conclusion that these divisions are becoming and will become more and more inadequate and misleading. It would seem therefore, that in geographical studies one should rather desist from the use of the obsolescent stereotyped divisions of the world, and return to the traditional divisions into geographical and historical-geographical regions. Or else attempts should be undertaken of new



fully justified divisions and classifications based on definite geographical, historical, economic, cultural or geopolitical criteria<sup>2</sup>.

Realization of these postulates, will not, however, change the natural human tendency to form new stereotyped simplified divisions. Nevertheless, geographers in their studies should use designations which are not misleading and which describe the true picture of the world adequately although in a simplified form.

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<sup>2</sup> Trials of such new classifications are already in progress in this country. Cf. S. K u r o w s k i, *Nowa geografia ekonomiczna Trzeciego Świata* (A New Economic Geography of the Third World), IGiPZ PAN (manuscript).



WIESŁAW ROZLUCKI

FROM MODERNIZATION TO BASIC NEEDS:  
IN SEARCH OF A PARADIGM IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES  
OF THE THIRD WORLD

The emergence of newly independent nations in Asia and Africa brought attention to their economic backwardness and challenged the social sciences to search for solutions to the problems confronting them. Within a relatively short period a large body of literature was published, providing theoretical explanations of underdevelopment and general models of development processes. Development studies of the Third World have been introduced in all major social sciences, thus making it possible to exchange experience and begin interdisciplinary research.

The incorporation of geographical research into development studies was facilitated by a logical — positivist approach, which has spread in geography since the late 1950s. A new spatial science paradigm aimed at the formulation of laws and theories of spatial patterns, using models and applying statistical methods to facilitate the search for generalizations (Johnston 1979, p. 81—82). This has brought research in human geography much closer to the scientific approach traditionally associated with economics and sociology.

This paper attempts to identify basic premises behind development theories in order to establish the conflicting approaches in development studies during the last three decades.

The concept of a paradigm, introduced by Kuhn (1962), may prove useful in this examination. According to Kuhn, progress in any science requires the formulation of a general pattern of research with regard to the phenomena under study. This pattern, or disciplinary matrix, common to a community of researchers, has been defined as a paradigm. Although widely in use, the concept nevertheless lacks clear meaning. In this paper the term paradigm is used as a general world view, a set of pre-theoretical not testable assumptions which define the subject under study. The assumptions of a paradigm determine the conceptualization of reality, value judgements and, to a certain degree, the criteria for reasonable and satisfying explanation. Thus a paradigm provides a necessary framework for interpreting the facts of real world.

However useful and necessary a paradigm may be in research, it nevertheless tends to limit the vision of research workers, in so far as problems and their solutions are defined only by and within the premises of the given paradigm. These limitations are not easily realized, as the assumptions of a paradigm are usually unspecified, or even unconscious, until a time when a new paradigm emerges. Since no paradigm can explain reality beyond its own premises, it is therefore desirable to identify the nature of a given paradigm, and determine the consequences of its acceptance.

#### THE MODERNIZATION-DIFFUSIONIST PARADIGM

The rise of systematic studies of development processes in the Third World can be traced back to the early 1950s. By the mid 1960s a large body of literature had been published, with a variety of approaches and proposed solutions to development problems. Despite this diversity, most of the research work lay within clear conceptual bounds and showed a common approach in methodology.

Any systematic study of the Third World has, directly or indirectly, to approach certain fundamental issues concerning the conceptualization of underdevelopment, the analysis of retarding factors as well as the prerequisites for economic growth, and finally the pattern and long-term objectives of development processes. Up to the early 1960s these very general problems were usually presented with a certain degree of similarity. It should be realized that development studies of that period, particularly within the English language sphere of influence, were strongly influenced by the neo-classical approach in economics and by structural-functionalism in sociology. These very much influenced the analytical framework of underdevelopment theories. Apart from that, certain concepts like the general idea of progress, developed by philosophers since the eighteenth century, have also been incorporated into the mainstream approach.

We could, thus, recognize a paradigm, which, though not introduced in a formal way, nevertheless underlay development studies of that period. The paradigm, which can be termed as modernization-diffusionist, was based on the following premises:

1. Underdevelopment is an original state of non-development, an early stage that every nation must pass through, before development begins.
2. Underdevelopment is characterized by low-level economic indices and certain features held to be typical of traditional societies.
3. The persistence of underdevelopment is a result of static equilibrium among the internal elements of the system, as well as their resistance to any intervention from the outside.
4. Development/modernization is a unilinear process of structural transformation whereby, through industrialization and economic growth,

traditional societies gradually acquire the characteristics of already developed nations.

5. Development/modernization may begin once a system of external linkages has been established to enable the flow of innovations and capital from developed nations.

It is possible to establish certain logical interrelations between the presented assumptions of the paradigm. Although they do not form a formal theory, they do provide a framework for construction of systematic theories. The assumptions of the modernization-diffusionist paradigm can be recognized in the major and most influential theories in the early period of development studies. Major examples include Rostow's theory of stages, Lewis' dual economy growth model, and a number of modernization theories in sociology.

The basic argument of Rostow's stages of economic growth rests on the persuasive assumption that modern economic development can be divided into five separate stages, from traditional society to mass consumption, with take-off as the most crucial stage (Rostow 1960). As a logical consequence, each society can be placed at a certain point on a uniform development line. The original state is traditional society with its inherent stagnation, and only after some external impact, assumed to be positive, are vital resources concentrated in the leading sectors and the take-off started.

Dual economy growth theories, best exemplified by the Lewis' (1954) model, are based on the assumption that in typical Third World economies two sectors can be distinguished. One of them is capitalist, modern, and dynamic, while the other subsistent, traditional and stagnant. It is then argued that an overall development can, or even should, proceed by the expansion of the modern sector which would subsequently benefit and transform the rest of the economy.

The dichotomous distinction between the modern and the traditional was much further developed by the modernization approach in sociology (Hoselitz 1960; Eisenstadt 1966; McClelland 1961). The distinction was often made by means of Parsonian pattern variables, such as status vs. achievement orientation, or particularistic vs. universalist attitudes. These variables were formulated in general terms, but being based on the experience of the already developed nations, tended to equate the modern with the present-day European or American social patterns. According to modernization theorists, characteristics found empirically in traditional societies are not only symptoms of underdevelopment, but also its cause. To promote development, therefore, modern patterns have to be introduced or diffused from the advanced countries to the Third World. The following process of development, usually described as modernization, was conceptualized as a transformation from the initial state of tradition towards the end state of modernity.

In the early 1960s this approach spread to a certain extent in geography, forming the school of geography of modernization (Soja 1968; Gould 1970). The emphasis in the geography of modernization was on the identification and study of key indicators, and through their statistical transformation to determine the spatial diffusion of modernization. The validity of empirical results, however, was much dependent on the type of indicators used and the very concept of modernization applied in these studies. E. Soja's (1973, p. 171) statement that twentieth century modernization can be conceptualized as westernization, reveals a common approach in the geography of modernization and the respective socio-economic theories of that, or rather earlier, time<sup>1</sup>.

#### THE DEPENDENCY PARADIGM

If there is a growing number of empirical or theoretical problems which cannot be properly conceptualized and solved within the existing paradigm, one may expect a tendency for a crisis in the paradigm and eventually a search for a new, presumably more adequate, analytical framework.

The development theories of the 1950s and early 1960s were not accepted uncritically. In fact, several propositions, such as the idea of unilinear change, were seriously questioned by a number of scholars operating within the existing paradigm, without however a consistent attempt at providing an alternative framework for development theories.

By the late 1960s the evidence was growing that the past experience and future development of the Third World could not be explained within the modernization-diffusionist paradigm. A number of researchers began to question not only the explanatory power of particular theories, but also the validity of the paradigm itself. The critique came from different sources but the leading force was that of the dependency school, represented mostly by the scholars engaged in research in Latin America (Frank 1967; Cardoso, Faletto 1969; Dos Santos 1973). It is not possible, however, to identify a unified and coherent theory of dependency, even less so after a decade since the emergence of the concept. Despite the controversies within the approach, the dependency theorists, and others authors inspired by them, have succeeded in discrediting the assumptions of the modernization-diffusionist paradigm and have introduced an alternative perspective in development studies.

The dependency paradigm can be seen as a new approach which gained support throughout the 1970s. It should be stressed, however, that this paradigm must not be equated with any particular dependency theory

<sup>1</sup> In a study of transport development in West Africa Taaffe, Morrill and Gould (1963) explicitly acknowledged that their model was analogous to Rostow's theory of stages.

in a narrow sense. It must be conceptualized as a general world view, a pre-theoretical vision rather than a system of interrelated propositions and research procedures. Bearing this in mind, it is possible to recognize the following assumptions of the dependency paradigm:

1. Underdevelopment is not an original state, but a product of capitalist development, a specific form of integration with the world capitalist system.

2. Underdevelopment is a state of disintegration or disarticulation of internal economic and social structures.

3. The persistence or rather reproduction of underdevelopment is a continuous process, which operates through the mechanisms of dominance and dependency.

4. Development is a multilinear, open-ended process, directed to satisfying the internal requirements of the economy and society.

5. Development may begin only, if the present dependency or centre-periphery relations are severed.

The most important aspect of the dependency perspective is its emphasis on the role of external factors in the development and underdevelopment processes. It is argued that the origin, persistence, and even the concept of underdevelopment itself cannot be properly explained and theorized through the exclusive analysis of internal elements and their relations within a single nation-state. Any analysis, no matter how refined, of static equilibrium, vicious circles, or structural compatibilities among the internal factors is inadequate if it does not take into account, as an integral part of the analysis, the wider system of world economy (Amin 1970; Wallerstein 1974).

Internal features of dependent, peripheral economy and society are seen as symptoms rather than causes of underdevelopment. Internal structures are largely, though not exclusively, conditioned by the world capitalist economy, with its inherent tendency for creating centre-periphery relations.

The concept and pattern of development are also different in the dependency paradigm. Development is not conceptualized as a mechanistic transition towards some model situation, but rather as a dialectic process with its own logic and contradictions. Contrary to the industrialization emphasis and the growth obsession of the former paradigm, more stress is put on distributive justice and the satisfaction of the real needs of the population. To achieve these aims the external relations should be re-structured to promote a greater degree of self-reliance.

Parallel with the paradigm change in development studies, it is possible to observe a similar attempt in geography. One of the symptoms of the growing disenchantment with the spatial science approach in geography in general was the emergence of radical geography, with its emphasis on relevance and the study of processes that shape spatial pat-

terns. The new concepts of the dependency paradigm and radical geography have spread fairly rapidly, and are already apparent in several geographical studies of the Third World (Slater 1975a).

The main criticism in this field of research was directed against the already mentioned geography of modernization, and particularly against its derivative and simplistic theoretical framework. It has been argued that the supposedly value-free development indicators applied by the geography of modernization are in fact eurocentric constructs, stressing too much the role of cities and former colonial administration. In this sense, the geography of modernization studied more the extent of colonial penetration than the general development process (Brookfield 1973).

On a more general level, it has been pointed out that the mechanistic and uncritical acceptance of socio-economic theories has stopped geographical explanation at the level of surface phenomena (Slater 1975b). The growth of quantitative techniques in geographical research has far surpassed the development of the theoretical basis. Very often it has been the choice of a particular statistical method that has determined the conceptualization of the problem.

A new approach in geographical studies postulates that one must begin by understanding the nature of underdevelopment and its role in structuring space in the Third World (Brookfield 1973, 1975; Hinderink 1975; Slater 1975a, b; Lacoste 1976). The dependency perspective is seen as a promising analytical framework in providing a new conceptualization of development problems. Some authors argue, however, that a synthetic approach, based on both the modernization and dependency paradigms, should be sought in geographical development studies (Brookfield 1973, 1975; Ettema 1979).

#### THE 1980s: TOWARDS MULTIPARADIGM DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

The emergence of a new paradigm, and particularly its acceptance in the academic community, is usually a result of divergent forces, and any prediction in these matters is rather doubtful. It seems desirable, however, to identify certain determinants of the process.

The pattern of paradigm change depends on two interrelated processes: the methodological and ideological debate in the academic community, and the economic and political events in the real world.

As far as the academic debate is concerned, the modernization-diffusionist paradigm has not been totally replaced by the dependency perspective. A weak theoretical base, simplistic mirror-like opposition to the former paradigm, difficulties in operationalizing the concept of dependency, and inconsistent empirical results have seriously restricted the potential influence of the dependency paradigm.

At the beginning of the 1980s we have thus two conflicting paradigms



in development studies and a number of new concepts which have introduced a new problematic into the research (*Towards...* 1979). Among these one should mention ideas such as: basic needs (*International...* 1977), self-reliance (*The Role...* 1977), and ecodevelopment (Sachs 1976). It seems that these concepts may be able to introduce alternative perspectives in development studies in the 1980s. They all aim at the redefinition of the ultimate objectives of development and human economic activity in general.

The basic needs approach attempts to shift the emphasis from economic growth *per se* towards consciously pursued policies to achieve modest, but clearly defined and equitably shared benefits of development.

The concept of ecodevelopment, or ecologically sound development, "calls for specific solutions to the particular problems of the region in the light of cultural as well as ecological data, and long term as well as immediate needs" (Sachs 1976, p. 48).

The idea of self-reliance stresses the importance of endogenous development, the mobilization of internal resources and active participation of the population in formulating and achieving the development objectives.

The intellectual concepts are not, however, developed in a vacuum. Real-world events and processes both encourage the emergence of new concepts and provide empirical verification of their accuracy and workability.

From this point of view, the influence of the real-world in the 1980s is not going to be uniform with the effect of proving one or the other theoretical concept. While many developing countries will probably continue their dependent development, trying to make the best of the world market, others may find it necessary to pursue some alternative pattern. In any case it may be reasonably expected that in the 1980s we shall observe further diversification of development strategies, which will eventually lead to the rejection of the still unifying concept of the Third World.

Development studies in the 1980s must be prepared to provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of a variety of alternatives. It will no longer be possible to apply a universal conceptual and methodological apparatus in the analysis of such divergent development patterns as in Brazil, Tanzania, Hong Kong and Saudi Arabia. Each development strategy should be evaluated in terms of its own objectives and means of achieving them.

The diversity of real-world development paths should be, at least to a certain degree, reflected in the analytical approaches. The author of this paper believes that no single paradigm is able to embrace the problematic of development studies in the 1980s. The past experience of

the development paradigms proves this point. The new concepts of basic needs, ecodevelopment and the like, are even less able to provide a satisfactory general perspective. Since none of the approaches is able to conceptualize all the development problems, some kind of a multiparadigm situation may be expected, with each approach in turn more relevant than the others to deal with a particular problematique or with certain geographical regions<sup>2</sup>. This implies also that certain general concepts like underdevelopment, modernization or development will become meaningless, unless specifically defined within a given paradigm. Already many debates concerning problems of development in the Third World are affected by the different contexts in which these concepts and the related terms are used by scholars who each work with different paradigms.

With regard to geographical studies of development in the Third World, a similar multiparadigm situation may be expected in the 1980s. The prevailing spatial science methodological approach operates within a certain problematique and does not provide explanations of many development problems. More effort, therefore, should be directed to the study of the processes which shape the spatial patterns, to empirical evaluation of the development reality, and to the solution of pressing economic and social problems. It is at the same time unrealistic to expect with Brookfield (1978, p. 129) the emergence of a new, general theory of development to form a basis of research in this field. New and divergent ideas of development require alternative methodological frameworks. New approaches, recently developed in geography like behaviouralism, perception studies, marxist and radical analysis have much to offer both in theory formulation and applied geographical research.

A multiparadigm situation, which is bound to prevail in development studies, should not be viewed as a symptom of a crisis. On the contrary, taking into account the enormous problematique of development studies and their interdisciplinary character, the diversity of approaches can be seen rather as a logical stage in scientific progress.

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<sup>2</sup> This trend may be exemplified by J. Fiedmann and C. Weaver's (1979) "agropolitan approach", which seek to apply a basic needs strategy in territorial development of "densely populated, agrarian societies [...] typically found in Asia and parts of Africa" (*ibid.* p. 194).

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ANDRZEJ M. ZEROMSKI

ON RESEARCH PROBLEMS OF THE GEOGRAPHY  
OF DEVELOPMENT  
(AGAINST THE EXAMPLE OF THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES)

In recent years, in geographical sciences there appeared attempts at defining a new research field, the so-called geography of development (Connel 1973). They are a continuation as well as extension of problems of another geographic discipline, namely of the geography of the world economy (Boesch 1964; Rosin *et al.* 1977).

The attempts to define the research field of the geography of development are connected with, among the other things, an appearance of a new tendency in the international life that took place in the last decade. This is a globalization of developmental processes which at the present time, beside their progressing regionalization, is a characteristic feature of international economic relations.

In his article on the geography of development Rościszewski (1980) presented a set of basic reasons stimulating the development of this new research field. In his opinion, these reasons result from the fact of the growing interdependence of socio-economic developmental processes in the world and from the fact of their impact on the shaping of the global space.

The purpose of this article is an attempt at a definition of the research problems of the geography of development in relation to the Third World countries. There are new circumstances that, according to the author, should be taken into consideration by the contemporary socio-economic studies on the Third World. Namely, it should be emphasized that the past decade proved that the strategies of development applied to that group of countries turned out to be deceptive. Apart from the countries exporting mineral resources (chiefly crude oil) there has not come to a decided improvement of the state economy or of the life of societies living in developing countries. This has contributed to a general revulsion of the economic policy's orientation which may be described as a turn towards economic independence and self-sufficiency. This is tantamount to a greater than hitherto appeal to endogenic factors of

economic growth. This new orientation of the economic policy of the developing countries has found its reflexion in, among the other things, theses postulated by the New International Economic Order. We should stress that the orientation becomes ever more popular also outside the Third World region.

Determining the research problems of the geography of development of the Third World countries, at the beginning, requires a definition of some basic notions, namely those of the "socio-economic development" and of the "goals of the socio-economic development."

Till recently, the notion of the socio-economic development was considered in two aspects i.e. as production of goods and as socio-economic changes. In the period of the First Decade of Development of UN, the notion was extended upon a new aspect, covering problems of the dependence between man and environment (Iglesias 1975).

In connection with the above, let us discuss the notional range of particular aspects of the socio-economic development.

#### PRODUCTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES

These are the main constituents of the notion of development. The process consists in, first of all, the raise of the production of goods and services through combining the factors of production, i.e. land and raw materials, labour and capital and technology. We should stress here that this aspect of development made the foundation of sectoral approaches in the economic geography.

#### SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES

These make the most complex aspect of the notion of development. The results of research into these show that the problem of socio-economic changes may be treated within the following: individuality system, social system, as well as cultural system (McHale 1975).

The individuality system embraces the motivation complex of the individual activity that arises from one's need to realize various aims, commitments, and socially normalized system of behaviour. Thus the individuality system defines the set of conditions in which, in a given environment, the best individual behaviour can be realized. Problems of the individuality system and of the individual development in the environment are, among the others, a subject of the behaviourist geography's interests.

The social system or the system of the structural social activity concerns above all such institutions as: the family, political and economic groups and corresponding organizational forms. The social system includes sets of definite forms or patterns of behaviour. As yet,

it was above all social sciences, and especially sociology and political science who were interested in problems of social systems. In geographical sciences, the analysis of social systems was used by, chiefly, researchers into settlements, particularly into the economic basis and functional structure of towns, social areas, succession within towns etc.

The cultural system embraces systems of customs, behaviours, beliefs in different ideological and value systems and on different planes of life. Studies on these have been carried on, first of all, by ethnographic sciences. Also a broadly understood socio-economic geography takes an interest in the cultural system.

#### MAN AND ENVIRONMENT

Relations between man and environment are a new aspect of research into development. Studies on these relations have become a must, considering the ever more aggressive modern technology's penetration of natural processes, and also because of the population boom which "extended" the man's presence on the Earth. As yet, research into man—environment relations is chiefly the domain of ecological studies, which express these relations in a form of a linkage between the biosphere and human biophysical system and between the latter and the psycho-social system. Apart from ecology, ever more often economic and geographical sciences consider the man—environment relations from the point of view of the population—food or population—energy (raw materials) dependences.

Much more difficult and complex is the problem of defining the notion of the "goals of the socio-economic development." If we consider the notion of development in the sphere of technology, where development is identified with progress, i.e. with the improvement of the means of production, methods of production and conditions at work, then we may point to mechanization, modernization, new developments, classification according to type etc. as to the goals of development (Pszczółkowski 1978).

In the sphere of the socio-economic problems, it is agreed that the goal of development is the very man as well as social welfare. It is a universal and generally accepted definition, however, it considerably simplifies the problems of the goals of development. Firstly, because so formulated goals of development are interpreted (especially in relation to the Third World countries) in quantitative categories. Secondly, so formulated goals do not define the real problems of man's development at the present stage of evolution, which is an extremely important problem for the proper analysis of the socio-economic development and for the formulation of a development strategy.

The real problem of the humankind's development at its contemporary stage is undoubtedly the fact that man's cultural development

lags behind the time. In other words, mankind is unable to fully adjust ourselves to the changing reality we ourselves have created. The problem of the goal of development thus resolves itself into the "quality of life" and how it can be improved. Only through the proper development of the "man's quality" all over the world and through human powers can our civilized world become changed and its enormous potential be used to the benefit of mankind (Peccei 1977).

In connection with the above, the fundamental questions arise of what means should be at the disposal of a given socio-economic system and what factors should distinguish it so that it could lead to the improvement of the "man's quality." A general answer to these questions may be formulated as follows: to achieve this goal necessary are an appropriate socio-economic potential and an appropriate efficiency of a given socio-economic system.

Let us however, setting aside the reality, assume that such a system exists and that available are appropriate economic and human potentials. What then should the characteristics of the socio-economic system be, so that it could fully realize the goals of the improvement of the "man's quality"?

Let us consider the likely features of that system in the light of aspects of the socio-economic development.

Production of goods and services — the system is characterized by a high effectiveness of production, goods and services, is "imperceptibly" energy-consuming and materials-saving.

Social structure and its transformations — within the system are defined "man's internal limits", i.e. physical and psychical abilities of the individual. They find their expression in, among the other things, high productivity resulting from the specific moral code. Therefore, the system can develop these abilities without being detrimental to the man, through greater stresses etc. The system cultivates the man's cultural heritage, acts in support of preservation of the culture and language. It also acts within the framework of a genuine community of mankind, based on social solidarity and connected therewith approval of the social discipline.

Man—environment — the system is regulated by the "external limits" of nature, i.e. it uses mineral resources but remembering their limits. This way man takes advantage of the nature and at the same time lives in harmony with it. And last but not least, the system keeps modernizing the existing infrastructure (flats, industry, communication) and in a sensible way cares for settling people on its territory, ensuring them necessary ecological conditions (Peccei 1977).

The above attributes apply to a certain ideal, most favourable system that, had it existed, would have been able to fully realize the fundamental goal of development, i.e. the improvement of the man's quality.



No doubt, creation of such a system at the present moment is a Utopia. Let us observe however that in many countries of the world, in it in developing countries too, we can on many planes notice conscious actions whose aim to a greater or lesser degree is just the improvement of the "man's quality." Meant here are, for example, activities in support of raising productivity and decreasing its energy- and raw materials-consumptions, activities in support of modernization of infrastructure, attempts at defining the nature's "internal limits" etc.

In this situation should not we attempt to formulate foundations of a conception of the most favourable socio-economic system (or systems) within the framework of which it would be possible to realize the mankind's real problems in the future?

Our hitherto experience shows that formulation of such a conception is rendered impossible by fundamental obstacles resulting from the fact of great differentiation of forms and methods of management that are used in the world, from great differentiation of traditions, of recognized systems of values, styles of life etc. (*Alternative... 1978*).

According to the author, the obstacles result from, among the other things, the fact that searches we are discussing tend chiefly towards a definition of a certain universal model of the system, which might "function" in different socio-economic conditions of development. Whereas, should not we — taking great simplifications necessary here, for granted — look for this kind of a model within the framework of and for the determination of particular world's regions? In connection with this, there arises a question, what sort of regions should these be? No doubt, they should make possibly homogenous units, from the point of view of the socio-economic factors of development, and at the same time, they should be in the highest possible degree operative for the purposes of effective realization of activities for the improvement of the "man's quality." It seems that the greatest possibilities in this respect are offered by cultural regions, i.e. areas whose development has been based on certain definite, permanent systems of values, definite forms of behaviour, ideological systems etc.

Within the Third World six large cultural regions may be distinguished, namely: India, South-East Asia, Islamic countries, Central Africa, Latin America and South Pacific (Broek, Webb 1973). These regions may become a basis for dividing the Third World into first-level units, within which, during further investigations, further territorial division into smaller spatial units would be made.

It seems that geographical studies on cultural regions, while taking advantage of the present state of knowledge of problems of the socio-economic development, should, on the one hand, concentrate on attempts at defining characteristic determinants of development, and on the other, on the analysis of parameters of the best forms of man-

agement, including the scope of the effectiveness of actions undertaken to improve the "man's quality."

It is clear that the scope of the presented here research problems of cultural regions considerably surpasses the sphere of geographical sciences' interests. Therefore, the need for, among the other things, an interdisciplinary cooperation, mainly with social sciences. It seems also that there shall arise a necessity to revise some of the hitherto research methods in order to work out new ones that would be useful in studying the best models for the development of cultural regions. Yet, it is a separate problem, surpassing the framework of this paper.

Problems of the socio-economic development may not be considered separately from forms of the spatial organization of man's activity. At the beginning of this article I observed that the characteristic feature of international social relations is their globalization. Referring to the development of forms of spatial organization of man's activity we may then make a thesis, that this globalization should affect the shaping of the world-wide, global socio-economic space. Let us give some thought to a possible variant of shaping this type of space against the example of the analyzed Third World countries.

At the beginning, in the light of general regularities of the regional development, we may put a hypothesis, that the process of shaping the Third World space can mean a gradual "convergence" of sub-spaces of socio-economic cultural regions, i.e. national and sub-national socio-economic spaces. It seems that in the Third World, the condition necessary to the spatial development should be a formation within cultural regions of a specific "spatial order" that would ensure a merger of forms of organization of the socio-economic space in cultural regions' boundary zones.

The concept of the spatial order in the understanding of the present article, applies to such a form of the spatial organization of the economy that realizes the best model of the socio-economic development, i.e. the model that ensures a full realization of the basic postulate of the development's goal which is the "improvement of the quality" of man. Let us then make a distinction among contemporary forms of man's spatial organization.

In the light of the literature of the subject, we may distinguish two basic forms of the spatial organization of the economy.

The first, typical of developing economies, is conspicuous by the concentration of man's economic activity on certain areas fulfilling definite functions (e.g. agricultural, mining areas etc.). We observe then clear boundaries and spheres of influence of particular types of regions on their respective environments. This is the type of spatial organization of the economy we mean when we speak about the existence of certain regional, economic structures (Morris 1974).

The other form of the spatial organization of the economy appears in developed countries where in the geographical space there is a free flow of goods, people, information and where we practically do not state an occurrence of regional boundaries (except administrative ones) of the sort discussed above. In this case a given area (e.g. a country) makes a coherent economic organism whose particular territorial units, "saturated" with the differentiated man's activity, make a more or less integrated space. This form of a life organization in the space may be called an organized spatial economy.

The division into two forms of the spatial organization of the economy is very simplified and conventional. Within it a number of indirect forms exist. However, this is not the most important thing. Whereas we must agree with the fact that there is a certain gradation of the forms of man's management of the space, dependent on the degree of the socio-economic evolution of a given area. The development of these forms, i.e. the transition from lower to higher forms of the economy's spatial organization in the geographical space, is determined by the time and circumstances in which the economic order originates, that is by the situation in which there would occur an integration of national and sub-national sub-spaces and a development of the global space.

The above reflections lead to the next postulate concerning the range of geographic research into the development of the Third World countries. They should also concern the development of forms of the spatial organization of human activity within the framework of sub-national and national economic systems.

Just as it was the case with determining the range of studies on the best models of development, so in case of the forms of spatial organization very important is an appropriate research method apparatus. Still, it should be emphasized that there exists a considerably developed methodology of the geography of man which can be successfully applied in studies on the evolution of the organizational forms of man's activity within the geographical space.

Summing up, it seems we may distinguish two basic research subjects of the geography of development of the Third World countries. These are:

1. Basic research into the socio-economic development of the Third World cultural regions, taking into consideration the analysis of the parameters of the best models of development.

2. Research into development factors of the spatial order in the Third World cultural regions, taking into consideration the evolution of organizational forms of man's activity in national and sub-national cultural regions of the Third World.

Since the research problems of both these subjects are tightly connected with each other, it means that model studies on the socio-economic

development as well as studies on formation of the spatial order within the Third World's cultural regions should be carried on in parallel, all the more so that we cannot imagine a realization of the goals of "improving the man's quality" unaccompanied by a conscious activity in support of the improvement of forms of the spatial organization of the economy.

To end with, we should stress the fact that studies carried on by the geography of development of the Third World countries make a necessary link in studies on formation of the global space of the world economy. In connection with this, there appear prospects of undertaking a research into the interdependence of boundary zones' development between cultural regions of the Third World and those of the developed countries.

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MAKSYMILIAN SKOTNICKI

## ENVIRONMENT AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

To make an attempt at convincing geographers that relationship between environment and man's activity should be investigated seems to be an unnecessary effort, as the definition of this discipline already contains a clear statement that this type of research is indispensable. This subject was discussed at a conference organized in March 1979 by Warsaw University's Department of Regional Geography. It is evident that this basic subject has again come to the centre of interest, which is corroborated by the widely adopted premises underlying the protection of environment and improvement of standards of living. It is also associated with the "ecological" movement, representing — as it is well known — very varied aspects, starting with strictly scientific to political. Great interest in the subject "man and his environment" is also generally known; there is actually a flood of various publications emphasizing the threat of exhausted resources, damages done to environment etc. Relations between man and the further socio-economic development are being elevated to their proper place (among numerous new terms "eco-development" has been included in the title of a new periodical *Cahiers d'écodéveloppement*). In Poland, this subject has also been investigated for several years and numerous respective publications have also appeared like those issued by the Committee "Man and his environment" at the Praesidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences (which co-operates also in the realization of the UNESCO programme "Man and the biosphere"). However, and this is very unfortunate, geographers participate in research of that type in a slight degree. As it happens there is no unit within geographical circles that would adopt synthetic studies of relations between man and his environment as its main research subject (of course, such studies are undertaken by individual workers representing various geographical disciplines).

However, it should be remembered that it is neither theoretical problems, fundamental research, nor the purely practical domains (pollution, protection of resources etc.) with which geographers should be concerned. It is most important that they should take an active part in

solving the most essential problems of the present time, such as the ways along which the future social development should proceed, the crystallization of new ideas associated with the inevitable change of the systems of values and behaviour, as well as of the hierarchy of social needs, which mankind should work out if an ecological catastrophe is to be prevented and the danger of a universal crisis, connected with the present-day approach to the numerical growth of population, depletion of resources, degradation of natural environment, is to be eliminated. The threat will persist, if environment continues to be treated only as a means to an end, as a factor enabling people to acquire wealth understood as the growth of production of goods and services, and not as a value in itself, and a component of this wealth as a general well-being.

Certain current notions should, of course, be revised because:

1) purely economic criteria do not suffice for the determination of the satisfaction of needs;

2) interpretation and criticism of such ideas as the "zero growth" should be carried out not only because of methodological reservations as regards its premises, but also because the notion of development is there understood not exclusively from the economic point-of-view;

3) economic, quantitative growth must, of course, be associated with social (a just division of produced goods) and political (broad participation in government) transformations.

However, it is not easy to imagine that in the long run such associations are likely to take place, if aspects of the environment in which they should occur are not taken into consideration.

For example, such indices as the gross national product, even when it is most accurately computed, do not suffice for the determination of the level of the socio-economic development. This happens not only because disproportions in the situation of individual areas are very large, which has its effect upon the value of the index, and because the index does not provide any information as to the wealth of individual people, but before all because when the level of the socio-economic development is determined, criteria associated with the humane interpretation and not narrow economic notions of the development should be taken into account, criteria of ethical, social nature. Among them such values as those which satisfy the needs of mankind like the unpolluted natural environment are acquiring a deeper significance and will undoubtedly go higher up not only from the point of view of economic procedures.

Of course, those problems affect not only developed countries, though in affluent societies they have become of primary importance either because environment is largely "used up", or because leisure time is longer and demand for new goods stronger. Those problems are also vital for undeveloped countries though their main concern is to ensure economic growth and they do not think that at this stage so much

attention should be paid to environmental policies (this was clearly seen, for example, at the conference in Stockholm in 1972), even if poverty and lack of modern technologies bring about also an excessive devastation of environment. Man's basic needs should undoubtedly be satisfied. But it is well known that the preservation of the current value systems resulting from entirely economic objectives and their universal distribution must create a vicious circle: in undeveloped countries it is impossible to achieve the same standard of living as in highly industrialized countries, and at the same time neither side can tolerate the state when existing disproportions remain unchanged (actually they are even aggravated now), because this may endanger safety of the whole world. The new hierarchies of values, mentioned above, may help to reach correct solutions. Undeveloped countries may find in those hierarchies all that is now lacking in developed countries or has been wasted by them; they may have at their disposal such goods which are needed and are in short supply in industrialized countries. Studies of relations between man's activity and nature, attempts to determine proper environmental policy should be made in undeveloped countries not only when threat to environment has changed into a tragic catastrophe as it happened in the zone of Sahel, which eventually has inspired a real flood of various studies. General studies concerned with development should also be approached from a new angle. For example, such subjects should be included as the determination of regional inequalities in development, or the delineation of peripheral and central areas. Would, for instance, the interpretation of results adopted in "the geography of modernization", popular in undeveloped countries and based upon criteria used so far, not differ from the present interpretation, if those criteria were duly revalued?

Surely, geographers should have much to say about all those problems. Their contribution can be quite important. It may range from a discussion on the ways of determining the meaning of "wealth" not in the sense of the "gross national product", but as a "gross national welfare", to research into relations between nature and man's activity carried out not exclusively from the angle of production, but including also the aspect of possible harmony (or its lack) between these two spheres. If such research is synthetic, that is if it fulfils the objective of geography, it might serve as a means enabling mankind to avoid successive "ecological traps" into which it has fallen following interventions undertaken because of identified threats to environment, increased numbers of population etc. This type of research may also be used to verify assessments of economic activities. Whether or not those activities are rational can also depend on the degree to which and the way in which environment is "used up".

The geographer seems to be the most suited scientist to undertake

those studies, synthetic in their nature. If geography is torn into separate disciplines, such studies will become difficult, or even impossible, and this will lead to a total exclusion of geographers from this currently most important research into problems posed by the new approach to trends determining the further development of mankind. A profound reflexion is needed to formulate properly the objectives of geography, both as regards the research subject and the gist of teaching.

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RECREATIONAL POTENTIAL OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES  
AND FORMATION OF THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE  
OF THEIR ECONOMY

Recreational problems do not take any essential place either in the studies of spatial structure of developing countries' economies, or in the practice of social and economic planning in these countries. However there is the urge of many developing countries to encourage the development of tourism as an important means of getting currency. The increasing efforts to strengthen and develop the tourism infrastructure are known, however, oriented mainly to the comfort of rich foreign tourists. But the idea of mass recreation in the majority of developing countries is not quite understood nowadays, which may be easily explained by the conditions of various other real difficulties in these countries.

In this connection one must note, that underevaluated are (especially for the far future) spatial as well as some ecological aspects of inevitable, to our mind, great development of recreation in these countries, which boast their natural conditions and recreational resources.

The scale of recreation (i.e. all of the kinds of recreation, tourism, sanatoriums etc.), using appropriate natural preconditions, is permanently increasing in the whole world. They will increase even more in the nearest decades, when at least  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the world's population will live in the cities. The need to get rid of the psychological and physiological pressures generated by the severe rhythm of modern urban life is a vital necessity for people living at the end of 20th and the beginning of 21st centuries.

Recreation with its medical-biological, socio-cultural, economic functions and of course with its problems concerning natural resources and environment, takes an important place in modern life and in scientific research as well. These studies, as all of the branches of science nowadays, gives birth to such a powerfull flow of publications, that it is rather

difficult to cope with even for groups of scientists<sup>1</sup>. A new discipline appeared, namely, recreation geography. The new theoretic monography recently prepared and published in the Institute of Geography, Academy of Sciences of the USSR (*Teoreticheskiye...* 1975) strengthened the methodological and the methodical basis for studying the geographical aspects of recreation. That is why it is not necessary for us to consider a number of general positions in this field in more detail, although this monograph as well as many other large western studies on recreation is founded almost exclusively on the experience of economically developed countries within moderate climatic zone.

The traditional recreation centres and zones in moderate climatic zones and in some other regions undergo higher and higher pressure, loosing their recreational qualities despite of the efforts to rationalize their usage. Because of this, first of all, the vast areas of warm all the year round tropical countries with their exotic nature become the unavoidable potential reserves to satisfy the majority and maybe even the main future world demands in recreation. Modern and even more so future transportation facilities decrease the importance of distances to any recreation zones.

Nowadays under the conditions of economic backwardness of the majority of developing countries their national demands in recreation often seem to be not such very important problems compared to other vital socio-economic difficulties and other vital needs. But the world-wide process of urbanization, also increasing in the developing countries, social progress in some of them, all this already forms the preconditions for the development of their own national demand.

In the developing countries, as well as everywhere else, the organization of any type of recreation requires the following:

- a) availability of natural recreation resources (natural preconditions);
- b) the organization and development of the complex of recreational infrastructure;
- c) the introduction of recreation into the branch-structure of national economy as well as into the balance of labour resources;
- d) the definition of place for recreation within the territorial structure of the economy, taking into account the peculiarities of settlement networks and systems;

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to mention as an example the bibliography of works (only in Russian) on a narrow problem of education in the field of environmental protection, published in 1979 in Moscow by the Institute of Scientific and Technological Information (Mamayev 1979), which is not full at all. And even this bibliography mentions 1000 books, booklets, publications, having more than 50 thousand pages, to read all of which would take more than a year. And multilingual information on recreational problems, including tourism, and taking into account only the publications of more or less scientific character is much larger.

e) due account of ecological factor in the development of recreation, i.e. its influence on the environment, natural resources, on the quality of natural recreational conditions and resources in particular.

We will consider the last two aspects, closely connected with each other, in more detail. Each of them requires taking into account the increase of demand in territories for recreation accompanying its strengthening within the national economy as well as the quality of these territories. Recreation is everywhere accompanied by different kinds of sharpening of ecological situations, depending on the pressure on recreational territories and level and organizational forms of recreation (extensive, intensive or transitive between first two forms).

The territorial and ecological aspects of organization of recreation form the subject of mostly geographical studies. Under the conditions of prevailing extensive forms of using the recreational resources, the territorial aspects are most of all connected with the natural preconditions of recreation. This theoretical foundation of recreation geography is quite proper for the practice and perspectives of evolution of recreation activity in the majority of developing countries in the near future.

Among the developing countries which nowadays are situated in the large recreation zones of the world with intensive forms of recreation we must first of all mention a number of Mediterranean countries of Northern Africa, Asia, some island countries of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, partially countries of Southern and South-Eastern Asia (India, the Philippines) and Latin America.

The transit forms of organization of recreation is characteristic of many Latin America and some Asian and African countries — the combination of mostly coastal areas of intensive recreation with modern infrastructure and of extensive forms of exploitation of recreational resources in the continental regions.

For the majority of tropical countries of Africa, Asia and Southern America, especially for those which do not have a sea-coast, the most extensive forms of organization of recreation are typical, which are sometimes based on the satisfaction of foreign tourists wish to "touch" exotic tropical nature.

The recreational systems represent very complex and complicated phenomena, but all of them are based on this or that usage of the territory. In the first stage of their formation, when extensive usage of natural recreation resources usually prevails in the developing countries, recreation more often needs large territories. But as the intensification of this resource usage takes place, as well as the improvement of recreational infrastructure and complication of recreation systems, the territories of separate "islands" of recreation may become rather small. However the total area of lands, used for this branch of the economy very seldom decreases with its development.

Some land resources which are not suitable for agriculture and other branches of the economy (mountains, specific natural landscapes which have, for example, aesthetic attractions etc.) may be used for recreation. However the increase of scale of recreation and especially at the stage when it acquires all-year-round and mass character may rather rapidly spoil the local natural preconditions for recreation. Under these conditions and when extensive forms of recreation prevail, recreation may become an active factor in the general degradation of the natural environment and a number of natural resources.

There are already many examples of such processes. It was very well shown in the study of ecological consequences of only pedestrian movements of tourists, even in rather stable landscapes of the moderate zone (Kostrowicki 1970). Even these seemingly mini-scale disturbances of landscapes in the majority of tropical ecosystems may lead to much more serious consequences for the protection of the recreational and general natural resources potential of the territory.

So any increase and development of any forms of recreation will need more and more land resources. For many, if not for the majority, of the developing countries it may, because of different reasons, lead in the future to more or less serious conflicts in the evolution of their territorial structure of the economy.

It is possible to avoid such sharp conflicts if enough due attention will be paid beforehand to the analyses of perspectives of formation of territorial recreation systems in the developing countries.

The practice of national and regional planning in the developing countries in this respect has given till now very few examples of due account of territorial aspects of perspective development of recreation as well as of its ecological aspects. The same may be said also about the scientific research of territorial structure of these countries' economies although there are many economic works based on the "input-output" method, and financial efficiency of the tourist infrastructure in the developing countries, and so on.

As an example of these kinds of studies we may mention the studying of problems of development of recreational (tourist) infrastructure in India, where by the beginning of the 1970s foreign tourism has become a very important branch of the national economy, and where some measures are taken to promote the development of foreign tourism in most parts of the country (*Tourism...* 1970). There are similar examples for Nepal, some countries of Eastern Africa, Central America, Oceania etc.

In the countries of Southern Asia the year 1975 was declared "the year of tourism" but it gave success only to the publication of advertising literature. Of course there are some cases of deep analyses of approaches to the rational organization of recreation territorial systems

within the economy of tropical countries with due account of the environmental protection measures, as was made for Cuba (Carmona 1976).

The models formation of the territorial recreation systems are developed for the USSR, for a number of socialist countries, some developed capitalist countries and the territories which are closely connected with them such as the Bahama or the Bermuda Islands. It is very difficult to use these models for the real situation of the majority of developing countries of Africa, many countries of Asia and South America. If it still may be somehow done for theoretical evaluations on paper, the direct introduction of these models into the practice of developing countries is automatically almost unreal. The evaluation of the developed in the theory of recreation geography balance "recreation resources — recreation needs", including also the territorial aspects of recreation, is possible only if we may describe quantitatively both resources and consumers well enough. And for the developing countries we most often have here "an equation with two unknown variables".

The practice of wide development of recreation in the world in its very different organizational forms satisfying its above-mentioned functions shows the special importance of territorial needs of recreation. In Poland, for example, nowadays more than 1/6 of the territory of the country's territory but this already does not satisfy recreational needs of lands owned by the federal government are used for recreation. In the South African Republic this figure amounts to 3 per cent of the country's territory, but this already does not satisfy recreational needs of even the white population of this country, and the African majority of the population of the SAR still is really deprived of their right to recreation.

In the developing countries of Africa the territorial recreation systems, including in the tropics mainly national parks and other reserved territories, fully or partially satisfy the needs of only foreign tourists and occupy 0.8—1.0 per cent of these countries' territories on the average. Such figures may be approximately considered characteristic of many developing countries in other regions too.

This index already shows low levels of recreation within the territorial structure of the economy of developing countries as well as still weak usage of recreational potential of these countries. At the same time there are no clear evidences yet, that perspective plans of development of economy and its territorial structure in the majority of developing countries would seriously take into account the large demands in lands for the formation of recreation systems on them, adequate to the potential possibilities. We cannot as well say that scientific studies of problems of territorial structure of economies in developing countries, undertaken in these countries and even more often made by scientists in them, take into account to a necessary degree the enormous recreation potential of

the developing countries, its real economic importance for these countries, social and ecological importance in the global scale in the more distant future, as well as the above-mentioned spatial aspects.

The consideration of this question in this connection, to our mind, gives a possibility not only to reveal its essence but to think once more about real practical value and realism of many approaches to the geographic problems of the developing countries and in particular to the analyses of territorial structure of their economy and especially to the forecasting of parametres, which are considered to be useful for its improvement in the interests of these countries and the solving of some global problems of the near future.

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THE THIRD WORLD AND THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES  
IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEMANDS OF THE NEW  
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Hitherto problems of the Third World countries were considered in the aspect of their relation to the developed capitalist countries. Sure, the grasp like this is one-sided and presents an incomplete and misleading picture of the world of whose three elements, only two relations are analyzed: between the developed capitalist countries and the socialist countries, and between the developed capitalist countries and the Third World countries. To delete this gap, we should consider the third relation: between the Third World and the socialist countries. The geography of the world problems of development, if it is to honestly realize the research programme it is assigned, must consider this third relation — all the more so that the latter contains consequences of new arrangements and new situations on the global scale.

Relations between particular elements of the global economic and geographic arrangement are characterized by both cooperation and conflicts. Yet, in the traditional grasp, more is said about the latter. Let us stick to that convention and consider the present and future conflicts between the Third World and the socialist countries.

The conflicts will become more distinct when we analyze the content of the programme developing countries try to impose upon the whole world, the so-called New International Economic Order. To understand the problem, should be traced out the point of issue of the world's division into three standing apart systems.

In 1976, rough criteria of that division presented the following picture: capitalist countries comprised 18 per cent, socialist countries (together with China) 32 per cent, and the Third World the rest, i.e. 50 per cent of the world's population. Whereas the world national income (both that produced and that consumed) was divided quite otherwise: capitalist countries produced 63 per cent of the world output, the socialist countries — 21 per cent, and the Third World — merely 16 per cent. If we now divide the share of these particular groups in the income by the share of

their population, it shall turn out that the per capita income in the capitalist countries was 3.5 times higher than the world average, in the socialist countries (including China), it was  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the world average and in the Third World  $\frac{1}{3}$  only. In relation to the Third World, the per capita income in the capitalist countries was on the average almost 11 times higher, whereas in the socialist countries (excluding China) — 4.5 times. This inequality scale also points out to the scale of the problem that can be described as a general, serious imbalance in the world economic system, the imbalance whose background is economic but whose effects are of a political character as well. And so, the Third World which feels these disadvantageous effects of inequality most acutely, with the moment it realized the community of its interests, began to pronounce itself in favour of a change in the situation and in the world economic order in general. The most extreme demand in that matter was the conception of the New International Economic Order, formulated few years ago.

We should realize that the programme of that New International Economic Order makes a challenge to the whole hitherto economic order in the international life. However, it is an oversimplification to presume that this challenge is directed only at the Western industrialized countries as at the traditional advocates of that order. It is equally directed at the socialist countries, euphemistically called by the NIEO programme "the countries of the centrally planned economy". Although the socialist countries, because of their ideological assumptions, also contest the present world economic order and desire to replace it with a new one, but their new order differs considerably from that suggested by the Third World. The latter in many aspects is much more radical and proposes solutions inconsistent with those the socialist states would like to and partially realize in their respective countries.

Let us briefly present the aims and principles of the New International Economic Order and point out to those controversies.

The purpose of the New International Economic Order is offsetting the development levels between the Third World and the rest. This will take place when the differences between the poorest and the richest groups of the countries are no higher than triple, because that might be the highest difference tolerable in the world to be. To achieve this, the growth rate in the Third World should be accelerated up to 5 per cent yearly, whereas the rest of the world should decelerate their respective rates of growth (e.g. the West should fall to the level below 2 per cent a year). Sure, the accelerated development of the Third World ought to be financed by someone. It can be achieved only through a redistribution of the world income. It requires a transfer of real resources from rich to poor countries, and, of course, in this transfer the socialist countries may not be missed. The real resource transfer to the Third World must have two forms: an institutionalized, as it were, automatized aid in form



of grants and a relief, as well as in a form of a new international division of labour in industry. The changes in the international industrialization division should consist in that that the developed countries limit their traditional labour- and resource-consuming industries, give up a part of their production capacity and instead help create those industries in the Third World countries and buy their products. Involved here are such traditional branches as metallurgy and textile industry. The developed countries should also, free of charge, render accessible to the Third World, results of their research and patents as well as aim their research potential at works tending towards the satisfaction of the Third World's needs.

To be able to fulfil these New International Economic Order demands, capitalist countries as well as the socialist ones should remodel their strategies and economic policies and also change their systems of socio-economic values. The hitherto prevailing philosophy of the quantitative economic growth is incompatible with the New International Economic Order. The philosophy of economic growth should be replaced by one of the general welfare. In the economic policy, it must find expression in a control over the technological development and in following social costs of technical progress, careful resource consumption, application of resource- and energy-saving production methods and in general, in basing the economy on many limits to both production and consumption. In particular reconsidered in the developed countries' food-stuff economies should be some of their goals that hitherto made their guiding principles. First, meant here is the meat consumption which is an indirect grain consumption, but from the point of view of agricultural areas necessary to produce that "indirect grain" this is an ineffective consumption. Thus the high level of meat consumption in the developed countries is an encumbrance to the New International Economic Order. Required is also a revision of the agricultural model which in the industrialized countries is very much capital- and energy-consuming. From the world balances of the limited resources and energy, it results that this model cannot and should not be spread and instead brought back or given support should be more labour-consuming forms of agricultural production.

Such a fundamental transformation of the world economic order, of the forms and directions of the world economy, of course, requires a suitable ideological setting which would present the new system of social values on the global scale, and thus account for the political and economic demands of the New International Economic Order. That ideology is as follows: the world together with all its resources is the so-called common heritage of all mankind; it may not be owned by particular countries; it gives everybody the right to take advantage thereof; it requires a joint (world) system of management participated in by everybody; it may be utilized for peaceful purposes only and it must be pre-

served for future generations. From the common heritage doctrine there ensue the postulates of the so-called re-interpretation of the national sovereignty concept, which simply means a limitation to the hitherto territorial sovereignty of particular states for the benefit of the international power which would manage that "common heritage of mankind". This world power would calculate limits to the consumption of raw materials, scarce goods and some lines of production (e.g. war industry) for particular states. Transgression of those limits would be imposed a tax, collected by the World Treasury, appropriated for the aid to the development of the Third World.

As we can see from the above, the New Order doctrine does not confine itself to economic problems but tries to, in a new way, settle those that are fundamental to social and political order of the world. That is why it is more rightly to speak about a New International Order than, restrictively, about the New International Economic Order. The doctrine, formulated in the interest of the Third World, tends not only to a transformation of the capitalist order but is also at variance with the international order recognized and desired by the socialist countries and with some intrinsic features of their economies. And so, unacceptable to these countries is any curtailment of their state sovereignty. The economic strategy of the socialist countries is framed for the quantitative growth, just like it is the case in many developed capitalist countries. The socialist countries' economy is resource-, materials- and energy-consuming, thus it is at variance with the restrictions the New International Order wants to impose. As far as consumption goes, the socialist countries tend to its substantial increase, among the others, to the increase of meat consumption. Also the socialist countries' agriculture is being transformed towards a larger materials and energy consumption.

These contradictions between the economic order implemented by the socialist countries and the demands of the New International Economic Order, which is the ideology of the Third World, are added by increasing discrepancies of the current policies of these two worlds.

It is becoming ever more distinct that the socialist countries must fight with the Third World countries for their position in the social division of labour in the field of industrial production. The main point is the competition for markets and newly industrialized Third World countries, with their cheap labour at their command, are becoming an ever stronger competitor.

Next, the socialist countries compete with the Third World for the capital markets of the developed capitalist countries and for international lenders. The demand for capital in the Third World can decrease the influx of capital to the socialist countries. The socialist countries shall also be ever more pressed by the developing countries to open their own markets and to enlarge the international exchange in general. At the

moment, the trade between the socialist countries and the Third World is just marginal (2 per cent of the world's turnover), and in its structure, still prevailing is the import of raw materials from the latter.

Also, a competition for food, and specifically for grain, shall aggravate. Both the socialist countries and the Third World are grain importers and every crop failure in the first, shall cause a world grain deficit, the rise of prices and reduction of exports to poor Third World countries. Therefore, in the interest of the latter, the New International Order postulates the Third World's self-sufficiency as far as food is concerned, and condemns the ineffective agriculture of those countries who in spite of their vast lands (e.g. Brazil) are unable to feed their own population and burden the world's grain balance.

Recently growing has been the tension in the sphere of raw materials as well, though till now the socialist countries had been the Third World's allies. The oil cartel's, the so-called OPEC's, policy expressing itself in endless increase in oil prices, which at the end of 1979 reached nearly 200 dollars a ton, had been initially treated by the socialist camp as something hitting exclusively at the rich capitalist countries. At the present moment however, as the socialist countries have become oil importers from the hard currency zone, too, they start realizing the fact the high oil prices demanded by OPEC countries drain their own national income as well, and cause direct difficulties in the economic development of their respective countries.

Another sphere of resource conflicts is the sea fishing and the problem of the freedom of seas and oceans in general. That fine principle, though originated in the 17th century, perfectly suited the doctrine of the common heritage of mankind which was an important element of the New International Order. Unfortunately, it was first called in question just by the very Third World countries who thought they might become the owners of what had not had an owner yet. At the same time, they wanted to protect their fisheries from industrialized countries' wasteful fishing. Still, the result has been such that the fishing fleet of those socialist countries who themselves have no long casts, have been pushed away from the rich in fish coastal waters or they have been compelled to share their fishing crop with the country "owning" a particular coastal belt, that is most often with one of the Third World countries.

And last but not least, the resource and energy needs of the Third World and its industrial and development ambitions cause that with the limited balance of world resources the hitherto strategy of competition between the socialist and capitalist countries becomes ever more incompatible with the new world order postulated. The strategy hitherto based on the assumption of unlimited world resources, and this being so, with their higher rate of growth, the socialist countries sooner or later would surely be on level with and then would gain on capitalist countries. At

present, it turns out that in the face of the scantiness of the world resources, pushing the accelerated growth has its limits, and moreover, it takes place at the cost of the developing countries. From the Third World's point of view, economic as well as military competition between socialism and capitalism is a costly amusement of the rich, which the limited in its resources world can no longer afford.

These objective and growing contradictions between the socialist countries and the Third World are usually belittled or even made no mention of in the scientific and political literature of our countries whereas there prevails a picture of the Third World as of a group of states who are a natural ally of the socialist camp. This is the case however, when estimating the situation in a general. Yet, when this become specific, then conflicting interests immediately cause different estimations of particular proposals of the New Order and a critical attitude of the socialist countries towards the solutions it presents. The difference becomes especially distinct when the Third World tries to address its economic and political demands not only to the developed capitalist countries but to the socialist countries as well. This is what J. Pajestka writes about this subject when presenting to Polish readers the New International Order principal documents: "[...] developing countries [...] in the heat of their political struggle, in some respects, carried things so far that in discussions on New Order programmes, [...] they treated the socialist countries almost on an equal footing with the highly industrialized Western countries who — as is well-known — in their majority had been colonial metropolises. Such a treatment met with the retort of the socialist countries [...] The New Order programme [...] must be one of the transformation of international economic relations in which reflected would be justified interests of all members of the international community, and not only of some of them" <sup>1</sup>.

The special 1976 statement of the Soviet government turned down the claims of the Third World as expressed in the New Order programme, even more sharply. The following is the wording of the Soviet position: "The purposes of the consolidation of the exploitation policy are also served by absolutely groundless endeavours to include the socialist community into the schema of division into poor and rich countries and thus by putting the socialist countries into the same category with the imperialist powers as far as the historic responsibility for the economic underdevelopment and neo-colonial exploitation of the developing countries are concerned. There is no warrant and indeed there cannot be one for making the same demands on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the developing countries make on the developed capitalist countries,

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<sup>1</sup> J. Pajestka, *Nowy Międzynarodowy Ład Ekonomiczny* (New International Economic Order), Warszawa 1979, p. 11.

including the demand on the obligatory transfer of a fixed part of their global product to the developing countries, in form of an economic aid”<sup>2</sup>.

If we accepted this reasoning, then the socialist countries would merely perform a role of the catalyst in international processes, and the dispute would be contended just by the South and the West. In such a situation we might indeed treat the possible discrepancies between the South and the East as non-essential. Yet, the Third World countries' position is different. Authors of the New Order programme expressly say: “The assumption that negotiations about the new international order are an exclusive affair between the West and the South is improper — both theoretically and practically. While elaborating a strategy of transformations, we may not treat the three worlds as blocs or monolithic entities standing in opposition [to one another — S.K.]. The world is too complex, and the problems at stake too important to accept such a simplified point of view. The countries of the centrally planned economy should become organically included into the negotiations about the new order in the world [...]” As far as the argument of “indemnity” for the old sins of the colonialism goes, the New Order programme has the following answer to it: “[...] creation of the international order concerns something much more significant, both in the category of time and that of space — it concerns the world of tomorrow and all the countries therein. Such an enormous undertaking with so far reaching implications cannot leave out of account such a great power like the Soviet Union, either it cannot be realized without her”<sup>3</sup>. And when speaking about the most vital thing, about the transfer of aid to the Third World countries, the programme states: “The new, outlined structure of the transfer of resources requires also a considerable effort in order to plan the mechanisms owing to which the richer countries of the centrally planned economy could become of much greater importance here than they are at the moment”<sup>4</sup>.

As we see, the dissent is strong. It concerns not only particular institutional solutions or quite substantial burdening of the socialist countries, too, with the aid to the Third World, but the very comprehensive interpretation of the modern world. As we know, the New International Order proposals base on the assumption that world is one, that it is tied by hard and fast interdependences, which justifies a global scale introduction of something like a “world planning”, “world treasury” etc. That is just the interpretation of the world that is contested by the socialist side. Though J. Pajestka distinguishes “spheres of common interests, comprising all the states and nations of the world, without which it would be

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 328—392.

<sup>3</sup> *O nowy ład międzynarodowy* (For a New International Order), Warszawa 1979, p. 86f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

impossible to assure peaceful conditions of development in the future", but, as he writes, "this sphere of common interests is surely much more inconspicuous than it is suggested by Western studies" (and also by the NIO programme — S. K.). And thus, concludes Pajestka: "It is something different [...] to plan or programme on the scale of one country or integration group, and something quite different — on the world or regional scale"<sup>5</sup>.

Thus, in this perspective, the world still remains divided and this division by no means becomes lightened by such ecological slogans like the one from the Stockholm conference, running: "one earth". The earth is one but people living on it are not! They are divided.

The co-existence of the idea of one world and that of the divided world, in a fundamental way frames the subject of the economic geographer's, dealing with the problem on the global scale, subject of his geographic and economic studies. The dialectic of the relationships between the Third World and the socialist countries causes a rise of new concentration centres, new transfer itineraries, new areas of development and underdevelopment — in short, of new economic geography of the world. This new geography, being on the one hand formed by the New International Order demands, and on the other, by the old divisions along the line East—West, must be incessantly investigated.

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<sup>5</sup> Pajestka, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

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## BASIC CONCEPTS OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THEIR EMPLOYMENT IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Lately elaborations of regional aspects of national plans and realization of the active economic policy in many developing countries, including the African ones, laid special emphasis on various modern concepts of regional development. First of all the concepts of an economic region and integral regionalization, poles of development and centres of growth, industrial and industrial-agrarian complexes etc. were widely employed. According to E. B. Alayev (1973, p. 80) these are "the problems of regions" which are elaborated by regionalists of some developing countries on the basis of theories and methods adopted in socialist and developed capitalist countries.

These concepts should serve as theoretical and methodological guidelines for regional policy of young states, which are usually faced with various urgent and complex problems: progress of productive forces in several backward regions, regulation of territorial proportions of the national economy at large, transformation of the former territorial settlement structure (Gornung *et al.* 1979).

The choice, principles of elaboration, and pattern of employment of the concepts of regional development strongly determine particular trends of regional programmes and trends in a given developing country. Therefore the study and evaluation of specific manifestation and application of these concepts acquires actual scientific theoretical and practical significance. Investigations of this kind are of great interest for scientists from the USSR and other socialist countries, pursuing consequent Lenin's policy of comprehensive cooperation with developing countries, including African states. In the opinion of Soviet geographers the efficiency of this cooperation, its immediate and long-term results as well as subsequent perspectives "are closely connected with the scale of scientific researches on the problems of these countries, careful study of their natural and labour resources, territorial and branch structure of the economy" (Gerasimov *et al.* 1978, p. 282).

The present article based on the new data of some African countries attempts to consider several results of elaboration, evolution and employment of the main regional concepts, much attention being paid to those of them which are of national importance, i.e. cover regional set of problems, relating to the whole country. The article should be regarded as a logical development of the author's previous contributions particularly devoted to this problem (Utkin 1968, 1977).

Elaboration and employment of regional development's concepts is mostly advanced in those African countries where the formation and organization of regional planning and pursuing regional policy is notable for several subsequent stages. As a rule the first stage includes elaboration and attempts of implementing separate projects and programmes aiming at the progress of the most backward or poor regions (or the so called "problem regions"); in several countries this stage envisages selection of potential regional centres of development as the primary kernels of perspective regions.

At the second stage regional programmes and plans usually cover the whole or nearly the whole area of an African country by enlisting the main units of administrative-territorial division: provinces, departments, *vilaya* (*vilayete*), districts, administrative regions etc. In some countries regional programmes were not nominally included into the frame of national planning but actually they were integral parts of national economic policy which faced the major problem of transforming established colonial economic structure and its territorial aspects into a new national one.

These initial stages in the development and realization of regional policy and regional planning which were fully or partially tested by the majority of African countries took place in the 1960s and early 1970s. From the point of reaching the main final goals they may be estimated as not effective enough. It may be explained to a considerable extent by the absence of local practical experience and poor scientific elaboration of conceptual basis of regional development in a country, enjoying various structures of economic activity, as well as by the mechanical imitation of certain principles of regional planning typical of western countries. The latter reason may be illustrated by a rather significant case — a regional project concerning economic development of Western Rif in Morocco, known under the title "Derro project" (*Le développement...* 1965).

Western Rif is a backward rural region in a mountainous Rif district in the north of Morocco with an area of 1.8 million hectares and population of 1350 thousand people (acc. to 1960 Census). The project was formulated in 1959—1964 by the UN Special Fund through the mediation of FAO. Its cost amounted to 2328.8 thousand dollars. Thus it exceeded the bounds of usual regional planning and laid down the foundation for complex development of productive forces of this overpopulated area



with 87 per cent of rural dwellers having very low incomes (775 dirhams on average or 155 dollars a year per family).

Nevertheless, proclaimed principles of complexity, as the western experts saw them, were not adequately transformed into real elaboration of the plan, thus limiting substantially perspectives of its development. Besides, the mountainous region of Western Rif, singled out according to homogeneity of natural and socio-economic conditions, turned away from the economically bound North-Western Morocco, particularly from Garb fertile plains. Later an independent project had to be elaborated for Garb (Sebu project). Development of Western Rif according to Derro project was not in this way "added" to the general regional scheme of national economic development because integral regionalization of the country had not been conducted at that time. As a result the project could propose only a limited selection of trends relating to perspective development of a region. The authors of the project could not specifically combine agricultural specialization of the region with the perspectives of industrialization.

As for the experience of using administrative-territorial units for the realization of regional planning we can mention certain positive results along with numerous lame attempts. For example, in Algeria in 1967—1973 "special programmes" of regional development within the frame of separate *vilais* (former departments), which were rather big territorial units in terms of area and population, were elaborated and implemented simultaneously with national planning. For all that the concept of regional development within the frame of these programmes underwent substantial transformation during the years of their functioning. The first programmes usually covered the whole area of *vilai* but the subsequent ones concentrated efforts and means on the advance of more backward subregions. For instance, the programme designed for Annaba *vilai* (1973) envisaged investments for developing 35 of the most backward communes, located remotely from the local centre, Annaba town. One milliard dinars was allocated additionally besides the national plan for their development and Annaba town, which got money through the national plan, was excluded from the regional programme. Along with overcoming regional disproportions in distribution of infrastructure and socio-cultural development, special programmes were directed towards utilizing local resources for the industrial development of a region. All these measures facilitated diversification of branch structure of industry and it is more rational geographical distribution. The latter, in its turn, promoted complexity of production and upsurge of living standards of the population inhabiting backward regions in the south and in the centre.

This case, though not very typical of African countries, indicates the important role played by the state sector and the general socio-political

orientation of the country in realizing programmes of regional development, even though its concept was not approved on the national scale at this stage. The 1970—1973 Algerian plan of development contained only some elements of this concept: principle of decentralization of economic activity and several indications of the preliminary measures aimed at the organization of the territory, arranging regional statistics, conducting regional investigations, revising and transforming administrative-territorial borders etc. (*Plan quadriennal 1970—1973*).

The 1970s witnessed a principally new stage in the development of regional planning and pursuing of regional policy in some African countries. They are conducting a full-scale or partial regionalization of national development plans on the basis of the main concepts of regional development (an economic region and regionalization, poles of development, industrial complexes etc.). It should be mentioned that each country has worked out its own variant of the concept.

Perhaps, the concept of economic region was most thoroughly elaborated by Moroccan regionalists, though their methodological approaches varied from plan to plan. Initial elements of this concept can be traced even in the first five-year plan of 1960—1964 when the criterion of homogeneity (uniformity) was declared a leading one among various economic, social, geographical, historical criteria of an economic region. This plan as well as all the plans of African countries of the first generation did not hold any specific scheme of economic regionalization of the country, though it pointed at the centres of potential economic regions (*Plan quinquennal 1960—1964*).

Later on, an idea of homogeneity of economic region as a leading criterion experienced radical evolution. The national network of economic regions elaborated in Morocco in the early 1970s was based on the criterion of internal coherence of a region for the purpose of grouping contiguous provinces which have or may have geographical and socio-economic links facilitating their joint development and joint organization of their territory. With regard to preserving administrative system and administrative borders the whole number of provinces was included into each economic region. In such a way 7 economic regions which have covered all the territory were formed. In the plan of socio-economic development of Morocco for 1973—1977 an economic region as "territorial limits of economic growth" is characterized first of all by the relatively more advanced internal links (presence of the regional centre of development, hierarchical urban network, transport communications) in combination with administrative structures, as well as by a vast territory, number of population and potential resources (*Plan de développement... 1973—1977*).

The Algerian four-year plan of 1974—1977 formulated socio-economic goals of the policy aimed at organization of the territory and earmarked

economic regions or zones for achieving these goals. The latter consists of medium-term and long-term forecasting of urban and rural settlement system, particularly the process of rural migration and urbanization in order to execute effective impact over them (*Plan quadriennal 1974—1977*). The concept of economic region or zone of this plan is based on the principle of homogeneity of natural and socio-economic conditions, though for the purposes of grouping 704 communes (local administrative-territorial units) of the zone numerous socio-economic and natural-geographical criteria were employed including the level of modern economic development and evaluation of the perspectives in each zone, per capita incomes of local people etc. According to this principle and other criteria 6 economic regions in the form of latitudinal zones were singled out, thus being rather typological than complex individual territorial formations. They are destined primarily for revealing social pattern of the country and its evolution including also "the zones most sensible to rural migration". Evidently this task goes together with a more general goal of Algerian regional policy for the advance of backward areas and accelerated development of all the regions of the country for the purpose of emphasizing its socialist orientation.

It may be assumed that these concepts of a region and regionalization, despite some variations, are elaborated and employed in African countries with regards to the wide experience of the Soviet Union, achievements of the Soviet geographical-economic school in this field, though this process takes place as a rule rather spontaneously than purposefully. Practical organization responsible for bilateral cooperation in creation of basic industrial and infrastructural branches, particularly in African countries, do not always appreciate the role of regional approaches in technical and economic development.

The concept of growth poles formulated by the French economists Perroux and Boudeville became widely spread in some African countries. But practical implementation of this concept in its initial form under the conditions of different modes of economy, typical of Africa, is associated with numerous difficulties and requires at least further elaboration especially for agrarian countries. For example, in Morocco modification of the concept aims at concentration of investments and other activities of the state sector not only for the benefit of industrial development of a relatively big city, selected as a growth pole, but also for modernizing agriculture of the adjacent area. The number of big cities selected as perspective growth poles (Oudja, Agadir, Marrackesh, Fez and Tanger) do not correspond to the number of economic regions.

Employment of the growth poles concept in Algeria emphasizes diffusion of the process of industrialization both in the pole regions and outside their limits with particular reference to the medium- and small-scale industry. Starting from 1970s Tunisia rejected any purposeful policy of

creating growth poles in the backward inner areas (contrary to previous activities) and chose the way of priority development of coastal areas; the process which will intensify regional disparities in the structure of economy and population.

This brief analysis of formulation, evolution and employment of regional development concepts in regional planning and realization of economic policy in several African countries lays stress on the great scientific-theoretical, practical and ideological significance of studying and estimating them, and on the necessity to elaborate them on a wider scale.

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ZUZANNA SIEMEK

## TURKEY — AN EXAMPLE OF THE DEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

The contemporary development of the Third World countries takes place in conditions of intensified relations between their respective national economies and global international arrangements. These ties, although they undergo modifications, in their majority consist of subordinating the Third World to the developed countries. This way, they are interpreted by the radical trend of the socio-economic sciences, whereas the Third World's development is defined as a dependent development (Amin 1973; Frank 1967).

Situations of dependence regard the shaping of trade relations, flow of capital, investments, innovations. They find their reflexion in the Third World countries' internal life as well, they affect their respective economic policies, the structure of their regional space, settlement systems, and especially urbanization systems.

The dependence factor makes these hardly developed economies sensitive to external decision-making centres. Considering the fact that majority of the Third World governments prefer the strategy of economic growth based chiefly on the principle of modern industrialization — it is of importance. For, as we know, the process of development and modernization of industry requires an implementation of complex technologies. At the same time, it is necessary to invest big outlays for purely productive investments as well as for infrastructure investments that go together with them. Otherwise, the emerging industries are not very efficient, and thus they remain on the level of underdeveloped industries. Meanwhile the Third World as a whole does not have at its disposal either a sufficient capital or technical and human means to cope with this sort of its needs unaided. Thus, it scrambles for foreign investors' aid. There emerges a series of financial and technical dependencies but also those of location, for the industry entering the Third World forces the right of the selection of place, which — in given conditions — ensures them maximum profits.

In the Third World, the only areas promising big profits are big

towns, because only they provide necessary conditions. They usually fulfil important political, administrative and commercial functions which make their contact with the outside world easier. They often are a converging point of the absolute majority of the country's more modern production branches and services and are provided with at least the most fundamental infrastructure. Moreover, big towns are the country's biggest demand and supply markets for commodities as well as for man power. Consequently, it is here that the foreign capital heads for. The private, domestic capital is bound for these areas as well, because the advantage of the highest profits is its prevailing factor in decisions concerning the location of its investments, too. After all, the public capital, to a large extent, concentrates its attention on "economic poles of attractiveness" (Ward 1969), and to a much lesser degree, on areas where prospects for profits are poor.

The selective character of investments results in the fact that growth efforts made in the Third World countries lead to an immoderate concentration of economic activities in but a few centres or urban regions. Small towns and rural areas are left aside and, relatively, lose their chance to participate in the process of national development. The economic polarization becomes more intense, and the regional arrangement of the country's space disintegrated. The society becomes progressively divided by ever growing income and standard-of-living disproportions. Mass emigration of people from neglected to better developed regions becomes a natural phenomenon. Depopulation, particularly as regards productive age-groups, of some and overpopulation of other regions, bring negative consequences to both. In the first, the result is a decline in their ability to react to growth stimuli, whereas in the latter, there emerge difficult to solve problems of unemployment, shortage of accommodation, high urban and social costs. There comes to the situation in which there appear the traits of the process that is sometimes termed in literature as "internal colonialism" (Amin 1973; Frank 1967).

The up-to-date economic policy of the Third World countries, in spite of certain attempts to level inter-regional disproportions, is not conducive to the process of a uniform development. For the main target of the majority of governments in these countries, is the maximum growth of the national income, based on the principle of the "initial supremacy and cumulated causality" (Friedmann 1972), and not the general social development.

Few signs of a decentralization of the economic activity, as one might call poles of growth created in undeveloped regions, have a very limited impact on the appearance of positive changes. First of all, intentionally organized and fostered poles of growth occur but sporadically. Besides, if they do bring in modern forms of organization and production, they constitute, just like developed urban centres, separate structures in rela-

tion to the traditional economy. Contact among them, and more so, diffusion of new developments, is made difficult. In the opinion of some authors (Berry 1969), the growth poles, by their outlandishness, can cause polarization processes within the regional economic system.

Theoretical studies on the Third World point to the need of adopting a new strategy of development. It is argued that preference for economic growth without any attention paid to the social aims may not be a basis for the general development of the country. It is necessary to weigh the spatial division of national powers and means as well as integrate the systems of production and exchange of goods. Thus, it is important to include in the process of the system's creation and functioning both urban and rural areas, big and smaller settlement points (Fu Chen Lo, Salih 1978; Rondinelli, Ruddle 1978).

The above statements, applying to the Third World in general, when applied to specific countries, look more or less specific, depending on their particular internal and external characteristics. Turkey can be one of the examples.

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Turkey is included in those Third World countries whose level of economic development is relatively good. Her industry, started in nineteenth-thirties, represents quite a variety of production branches, though in the most part it is small and not very modern. It is characteristic that Turkey's key industry in its major part belongs to the public sector. Similarly, the state has a substantial share in fundamental investments in technical infrastructure, especially in that relating to the communication network and installations. Agriculture constitutes the greatest sector of the country's economy. It employs about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the population (Sunday Üner 1974). Usually, it is a subsistence agriculture, connected with the traditional ways of farming, but a part of the land represents a higher technique of field-crop production and supplies the country with agricultural products, making 60 per cent of Turkey's whole export value (Wilson 1977).

However, the present situation of Turkey is very complicated. Its foreign debt reached 14.2 billion dollars, and servicing it, according to estimates for 1980, amounts to 2.2 billion dollars. The world energy crisis as well as a vehement rise in expenditures on importing oil and its products means that Turkey has to face enormous currency difficulties and a balance of payments deficit (McDermott 1980).

The picture of contemporary Turkey is in a sense connected with the Ottoman Empire's eighteenth and nineteenth century economic dependence on Western Europe. In that period, under the influence of the Western economics, the pattern of irregularity of the spatial management of the country was started and lasts till nowadays.

The Aegean and Marmara regions<sup>1</sup>, the most advantageous to Mediterranean agriculture and profit accumulation, became as if enclaves of foreign capital and were organized with a view to the needs of the international market. Whereas they were very loosely connected with the economy of the vast remaining Turkish territory, which remained stagnated and undeveloped.

The political changes (the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire and the proclamation of the Turkish republic in 1923), a general economic growth as well as activities aiming at liquidation of disproportions in the spatial development of the country resulted in the subsequent shift of emphases in the regional management. The principal assumptions, however, did not break down the original arrangement. The regions first drawn into the market economy system and where the first in the country foundations of the economic infrastructure were established, are still pre-eminent above the remaining regions. Thanks to the effect of the law of the "initial supremacy and cumulated causality" mentioned, they offer better conditions of development of production and commercial activities and attract the major part of investors.

In the Republic's regional policy, three main directions can be distinguished. In the initial period, when attempts were made to become independent from the influence of foreign states, the authorities tried to weaken the western regions' domination and to stimulate the development of the interior. With this aim in view, Istanbul was deprived of its highest state and administrative functions and Ankara became the capital. Construction of the country's first bigger industrial plants was started in several of Inner Anatolia towns, and at the same time, the first railway lines were carried to hitherto isolated areas. Although in result of these efforts the centre of the country's gravity shifted slightly towards her interior, still, the signs of making undeveloped areas more active were barely perceptible. The endeavours were limited to the rise of individual centres — what was of no consequence to the development of their hinterland.

Following the World War II, Turkey found herself within the circle of the United States' political interests. In connection with this, she was embraced by the American government's "economic aid" as well as by that of a number of international organizations. Turkey's acceptance of this aid made her dependent on decisions of foreign powers and wrecked her earlier attempts at the economic independence.

During the first two post-war decades, Turkey obtained big credits and subsidies. Yet, these did not create conditions to build the economic

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<sup>1</sup> According to the present administrative division the Aegean and Marmara regions include the following provinces: Aydin, Balikesir, Bursa, Çanakkale, Edirne, Izmir, Istanbul, Kirklarelli, Kocaeli, Manisa, Mugla, Tekirdag.



foundations of the country. The aid was granted with clauses stipulating for the priority for construction of communication infrastructure and of military objects which would both serve strategic aims. The regional policy, if the government's endeavours of the period might be called like that, was dominated by decisions taken by the foreign and by the emerging, native, private capitals. This way, particularly developing were western regions and besides backed up was the development of a few places in the country's centre and on the Mediterranean coast. Eastern regions were of no interest either to public or to private investors (Ali-bekov 1966; Robinson 1965).

After the 1960 coup d'etat, which started the period of the so-called Second Republic, there appeared in Turkey short-lived attempts to sanify the economy and to base it on the internal financing. Organs of planning were called into being, 15-year perspective plan of socio-economic development was worked out, that took into consideration abolition of inter-regional disparities. In that period, the necessity to back up the development of Eastern Anatolia was stressed for the first time (Tekeli 1975)

Theoretically prepared programmes of the development of the country were realized in the infinitesimal degree. When they were being elaborated, it was assumed that the private sector would take a substantial part of their burden. The public sector was to prepare the basic technical and social infrastructures as well as the construction of an initial industry on those areas which would not attract other investors. The facts showed that the programmes had not taken into account the realities, either in relation to the tasks to be fulfilled by the individual or public contractors. In spite of the efforts of a part of the ruling group, the situation in Turkey grew ever more difficult — credits were getting smaller and they were granted on less easy terms. The country had extremely modest means at its disposal to carry on the programme and reform projects which might stimulate the national potential were blocked by the opposition.

In the pattern of the country's development that was accepted, the main role was to be played by industrialization, based on a cooperation with foreign industry, in spite of all its negative consequences. The Turkish government hoped for high rentability from industry and an incitement to the remaining branches of production. The great rate of improvement of the economy has been desired not only for the sake of the growth tendency, characteristic of any country. This is the condition Turkey must fulfil in order to obtain the full member status of the EEC by 1995. Thus, the course of development was subordinated to that aim. In the Turkish reality the development only appeared to be planned, in fact it betrayed all the features of spontaneity. The Turkish control over the foreign capital's activity was practically of no importance.

Table 1. Status of foreign capital

Year	Capital brought in	Profits transferred
	(TL × 1000)	
1960	11,372	15,810
1970	120,001	67,673

Source: IKA Dally Bulletin 26/4/1971 (after Kogomens RR. 1978, *The limits of modernization in Turkey*, Amsterdam).

Nobody interfered with the choice of branch or location of investments, either nobody imposed hard conditions concerning the outflow of profits from the areas they were made. The data concerning the amounts of transferred profits illustrate this (Table 1).

Control over domestic enterprises who often entered into partnership with the foreign ones was also limited. And last but not least, in conditions of a permanent political and economic chaos, the very state did not effectively use the means accessible to it.

As a result, in the most neglected regions of Inner and Eastern Anatolia changes were very slow. The government directed a part of industrial investments there, but they were not co-ordinated with other socio-economic activities and therefore could not contribute to a development of diffusion centres for the innovations in the adjacent areas. Besides, the greater part of investments supported by the Industrial Development Bank as well as a substantial part of new State Economic Enterprises were located in the Aegean and Marmara regions. In the nineteen-sixties three western provinces (Balikesir, Istanbul and Izmir) were allocated 15.4 per cent of public investments. The share of the remaining 64 provinces, apart from Ankara in the country's centre, which were allocated 9.5 per cent and eastern Elazig 4.2 per cent respectively (Keban hydro-power station was under construction), was from a few per cent (Adana 3 per cent) to just a fraction of per cent, e.g. Bingöl, Hakkari 0.2 per cent (Ilin and Inanc 1967). Private investments contributed to the emergence of the grossest disproportions in regional management, which could be appeased by no government of Turkey. According to the data available (IKA... 1974) up till August 1974, the Aegean and Marmara regions were allocated about 63 per cent of the total sum invested by the private capital, whereas Inner Anatolia together with Ankara about 13 per cent. Thus hardly 6 per cent fell to other regions. The reason behind it were, of course, great differences of profitability of capital outlays.

Spatial inequalities in the development of Turkey are vital and great. They concern phenomena of the economic and social life. They are noticeable in the level of urbanization and in processes of the urban growth. They are very clearly marked in the production profiles of towns, their functions and significance to the country's activation.

To illustrate this problem, let us mention that the Aegean and Marmara regions constitute the only more coherent area of Turkey where the production profile is differentiated and the commercial activity is developed. Up to 1976, it was there that 58.8 per cent of the total of the fixed assets was invested and about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the country's industrial enterprises were concentrated<sup>2</sup>, they also gave almost 65 per cent of the whole production (on the basis of data provided by *Yillik Imalat...* 1976). From all the trade companies established in Turkey in 1975, 46 per cent of them were established in this area; they had at their disposal 62 per cent of the whole capital (on the basis of data provided by *Istatistik Yilligi* 1977). This region is also most accessible owing to relatively good road, railway and air-lines and seafaring.

In comparison with other Turkish regions, this area is highly urbanized. In 1975, 34 per cent of the urban population concentrated just here, on the area constituting 14.3 per cent of the whole country's territory, and the number of towns inhabited by 20,000 and more people<sup>3</sup> amounted to 5.2 towns per 10,000 sq. km., whereas the national average was 2.1 (on the basis of data provided by *Istatistik Yilligi* 1977). Moreover, towns of the Aegean and Marmara regions make two distinct groupings which can be defined as urban complexes. Whereas on the remaining areas, with the exception of Adana, urban centres are distributed as if they were "islands" (Siemek 1973).

Both those complexes and towns neighbouring them develop, to a large extent, owing to their industrial functions and services connected therewith. The biggest western towns — Istanbul and Izmir — are the country's leading production and commercial centres, with which a number of other industrial towns are linked, like: Bursa, Izmit, Manisa, Balıkesir. At the same time, the production base of the towns of the remaining areas, is usually limited to small industry, chiefly to that of consumer goods. It can stimulate the growth of the resources production but it does not attract other industrial branches and its impact on the modernization of the economic and social life is minor, too. Only Turkey's capital, Ankara, which is the converging point of the central political, administrative and commercial functions as well as some regional centres like Eskisehir, Kayseri in central Turkey (Inner Anatolia), Adana in Southern Turkey (the Mediterranean Sea region), Samsun and Zonguldak (on the Black Sea) have better developed industrial and service sectors (Tümertekin 1973). These towns, however, with the exception of Adana, as it

<sup>2</sup> All the manufacturing establishments in the public sector and the establishments working ten or more people in the private sector were covered.

<sup>3</sup> According to the official Turkish classification, a settlement counting up to 20,000 inhabitants and enjoying the town status is recognized as a country town — kasaba, only bigger settlements (20,000 and more inhabitants) are defined as towns — şehirler.

has been already mentioned, develop without closer functional connections with the regions surrounding them.

Strong disproportions are also marked in Turkey's social development. Generally speaking, the standard diminishes in the eastern direction. However, this simplified pattern is disturbed by big towns which, no matter to which region they belong, provide for better social services and automatically raise the average indices of respective provinces. Table 2 gives examples of a few extreme values.

Table 2. Chosen coefficients of the social development

Provinces	Number of physicians per 10,000 population in 1975	Number of hospital beds per 100,000 population in 1975	Literate population* in per cent in 1970	Number of T.V. per 100,000 population in 1975
Ankara	18.4	403.0	69.8	5,462
Istanbul	19.8	549.5	77.2	8,786
Izmir	14.7	321.1	68.8	6,539
Bittis	0.5	66.9	29.4	12
Hakkari	1.1	47.6	22.5	2

Source: Compilation of data from *Istatistik Yılıgi 1977, Ankara 1977; Ulaştırma İstatistikien. Özet Tabıdan 1974-1975 (Geçici Sonuçlar)*. Ankara 1977.

\* People six and more years old in relation to the general number of population in the same age.

Turkey has also the potential conditions for a further development — various mineral resources, a possibility to grow industrial crops, rich human reserves. And yet, the Turkish reality faces serious restrictions, making the mobilization of her riches difficult. These are: above all, the persisting social undevelopment, including huge parts of the country as well as glaring disproportions in the level of management which decrease the country's ability to develop; lack of basic economic reforms, like a land reform, and reforms of administration — like making the competences of the provincial and district executive powers greater; obvious ineffectiveness of actions undertaken by the central government in face of contradictions in aspirations of numerous socio-political groups; and last but not least, Turkey's dependence on both foreign market and capital. It is an extremely important factor, which lies heavily on the direction of her development. In this situation, it is necessary to adopt such a strategy of development that would check the unreasonable concentration of human and material resources in chosen regions and would enable a polycentric integrated development of the country's space. It will allow for starting and utilizing Turkey's own powers and means.

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TATIANA A. BAKLANOVA

## SPATIAL PROGRESS OF URBANIZATION IN MODERN BRAZIL

In the developing countries urbanization, as a many-sided process, is a leading factor of the spatial concentration of economic activity and spatial redistribution of population. It is correctly regarded as a major element of the functioning of the sectoral and spatial structures of the economy in their unity. The studies of urbanization in the system of transformation of the national economy's territorial structure requires analysis of the spatial pattern of this process while discussing important problems of economic development of the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

In view of the above, it is undoubtedly, of large interest to analyse the spatial progress of urbanization as an important component of this process. "Attention of geographers is especially attracted by the spatial progress of urbanization, by the successive growth of the network of large centres and involvement of new (earlier lowly urbanized) areas. Extremely important, from the geographical point of view, are the changes in the mutual position of the urban centres which form hierarchical systems, amalgamation of urban agglomerations into still more complex bodies, the spatial pattern of the distribution of the outposts of urbanization, its foci (nodes), advanced lines, networks etc." (Gokhman *et al.* 1976).

Brazil is the largest Latin American country and one of the most interesting on this continent from the socio-geographical point of view. It can be viewed as, to a certain extent, a representative example of the centre-periphery model, which is typical of the spatial structure of the developing economies with their especially sharp disparities in the levels of development of economic regions. Brazil possesses all the spectrum of sectoral and integrated economic regions, from rather developed ones (industrialized and urbanized) to the most backward.

For instance, the zone of influence of the South-Eastern region, headed by Sao Paulo has already overgrown the national limits. At the same time, the North-East of the country is one of the world's most depressed regions. There is also colonization of new regions, going on in Brazil,

primarily in the Amazon basin, and that has large importance not only for Brazil, but also for industrially developed capitalist countries.

Under high regional disparities in socio-economic conditions (of 5 major economic regions — see Table 1) it is, undoubtedly interesting to analyse the spatial progress of urbanization.

Table 1. Dynamics of the regional redistribution of the urban population, per capita income, and net economic product in Brazil

Regions	Urban population		Per capita income		Net economic product	
	[%]		[%]		[%]	
	1940	1970	1949	1970	1940	1970
Brazil	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
North	3.2	3.1	1.7	2.0	1.1	1.0
North-East	26.3	22.6	14.2	12.2	10.9	5.8
South-East	56.1	55.7	66.5	64.5	75.6	80.3
South	12.3	14.0	15.9	17.5	14.0	12.0
Central-West	2.1	4.7	1.8	3.8	0.4	0.9

Source: compiled from *Censuses economicos e demograficos* for the related years.

Vast dimensions of the Brazilian territory enable to reveal vividly and objectively the growing polarization of the economic space, characteristic of the whole group of developing countries. It results from the overtaking population growth in the cities. Also increased is non-uniformity of the urban structures in separate areas of the country due to the regional specifics in the development of urbanization processes.

In 1970 the urban population was 53 million persons (56 per cent of the national population). That means, that in the post-war decades the country became much more urbanized. The 1970 Census counted 1734 settlements in Brazil having urban status, with population less than 2 thousand persons. According to the US statistical data, that considered as urban centers only those settlements that count no less that 20 thousand persons, the country has 303 urban centres. The table 2 shows the disparities in the urban structures (the ratios of the urban centres in different classes).

The major sources of urban population growth still are migrations from rural areas. Small and medium sized towns attract 35 per cent of migrants. But the major part of the migrants flow is "absorbed" by large and the largest towns. Owing to this reason these towns continuously experience a worsening of the employment indices and conditions for the quickly increasing masses of urban citizens.

As is argued by some Brazilian authors, the attractiveness of urban centres is determined by the growing capital concentration and expansion of activities in the secondary and tertiary sectors (Davidovich 1978). Mi-



Table 2. Regional and size distribution of urban centres in 1970, and population growth in 1960—1970 in Brazil

Regions	Urban sizes												Total growth
	20—50 thous.	% growth	50—100 thous.	% growth	100—200 thous.	% growth	200—500 thous.	% growth	500—1000 thous.	% growth	1000 thous.	% growth	
Brazil	188	68	55	61	36	70	16	85	3	50	5	56	61
North	3	118	2	96	—	—	1	84	1	57	—	—	78
North-East	42	64	11	57	7	60	3	60	1	54	2	34	54
South-East	103	62	25	64	21	78	9	86	—	—	3	56	60
South	33	80	15	54	7	58	1	40	1	41	—	—	55
Central-West	7	108	2	88	1	103	2	181	—	—	—	—	138

S o u r c e : *Censuses demograficos e economicos 1960, 1970.*

grations from rural localities are closely related to the continuing crisis of agriculture.

In this period the largest urban growth was observed in the Central West of the country; this was to a considerable extent due to the movement of the national capital city to the west, deeper into the country, and owing to the close vicinity of the region to the rapidly developing Belo Horizonte. For instance, in 1960—1970 over  $\frac{1}{4}$  million people have migrated to the Brasilia metropolitan area. This example illustrates the correlation of the spatial progress of urbanization with colonization (development of capitalism "in width").

The urban system being part of the general spatial settlement pattern of Brazil is subdivided into 9 subsystems (metropolitan areas): Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre, Salvador, Recife, Belem, Fortaleza and Curitiba. They concentrate about a half of the urban population, and over one quarter of the total national population.

During approximately a decade starting from the beginning of the 1960s the population of these nationally largest metropolitan areas increased by over 9 million people. And the major population increase took place not in the central cities, but in the peripheral zones of these metropolitan areas excluding Salvador, Fortaleza and Curitiba (Davidovich, Buarque de Lima 1975). This is accounted for by deterioration of living conditions in the cities, by movement of production processes from the central cores via peripheral zones, partly due to sharp environmental deterioration (Sao Paulo, Belo Horizonte), and by the swelling of the tertiary sector of the economy in the peripheral zones (Recife, Rio de Janeiro, Fortaleza).

The level of urbanization widely ranges both among the major regions of the country and within them. The highest level is observed in the South-East, 72.7 per cent, in other regions it is below 50 per cent. This is considerably due to the historic factors in the development of the national economy's spatial pattern. In the middle of the 18th century the North-East was not included into the category of backward regions. The leading Brazilian specialist in economic history Simonsen (1962) states, that in 1976 the North-Eastern export exceeded more than twice the South-Eastern export. Economic inequality between the South-East and the North-East has its start as early as the 19th century. The source of regional disproportions was the growth of coffee export, that was the specialization of the South-East, and that produced the bulk inflow of migrants, as compared with the slower growth (and then direct decrease) of sugar and cotton export from the North-East. This has caused so heavy a disproportion in the industrial development and urbanization level.

The process of urban systems formation — one of the most complex forms of urbanization is going on in Brazil in a very unequal and peculiar way. This is primarily due to the "domestic colonialism". A large city acts as a metropolitan state towards the centres of lower ranks, which is due to the presence of two sectors in the national economy — traditional and modern ones.

The essential features of the economy's spatial structure and formation of urban systems result from the centre-periphery system, under which the region with more developed economy pools various resources from backward regions. With the development of internal factors of economic development there appears the objective necessity to expand the domestic market for the centres that have developed on the basis of inequality. Existing methods of regional planning still fail to eliminate considerably the gap in the levels of development between the centre and periphery. Each centre exercises its influence through urban subsystems forming around it.

Classification of the regions of Brazil on the basis of centre-periphery interaction (Faissol, Ferreira Lopez 1976) enabled to find the national cores: South-East, Southern region, and the federal district Brasilia, and also the national periphery — all other regions. The national periphery includes the "depressive periphery" of the North-East with the subcentres — Fortaleza, Salvador, and Recife, and the "regions of new resource development" — the North and Central-West with the subcentre — Belem.

There can be revealed the hierarchical structure and the level of polarization of the Brazilian urban system. Four subsystems are subdivided:

— the major node of development, the central core (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Belo Horizonte);

- direct surroundings of the central core (close periphery), characterized by a relatively average level of economic development;
- the second rank core in the North-East, with the regional centres Recife and Salvador;
- periphery, remote from the centres, and economically backward.

Of considerable interest is to reveal and measure the spatial differences in the urbanization levels of individual regions, to determine the spatial configuration of urbanized areas, affecting the formation, development and maturity of the national urban system.

In Brazil there have formed two national urban systems — São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Some metropolitan agglomerations have regional importance (Recife, Porto Alegre etc.). A considerable part of agglomerations undergo either an initial stage of metropolitanization process, or completely lacks it.

As was already said, the development of the two largest agglomerations resulted in formation of two urban systems of national importance, numbering over 5 million persons each, with close functional, market and other links within these systems. At present they have practically merged and have turned into a two-core conurbation, its zone of influence spreading over the total national territory. It is closely bordered by the third largest national agglomeration — Belo Horizonte, that is rapidly growing, and can, in the near future, well become the third core of the continuous urbanized field in the South-East of the country.

Calculations of "urbanization scales" (Davidovich 1978) by some Brazilian geographers have proved, that the largest urban centres interact with each other more intensively, than with their direct surroundings. Development of the peripheral centres in these systems is largely determined by their proximity to the cores. Here, the urban system presents hierarchy, close to the equilibrium. Still, the state of equilibrium can hardly be attributed to its functioning, as inside the core there exist depressive areas.

High population concentration (conurbation of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Belo Horizonte accounts for 22 per cent of the national urban population) results in excessive pressure on the environment and its degradation. For instance, studies have shown that further spatial concentration of economic activities and population in the São Paulo agglomeration become economically non-profitable because of the need in higher investments for environment protection. However, the growth of São Paulo is still intensively going on.

In the North-East urbanization is especially unequal. Thus, in the states Maranhao and Piaui rural population predominates, and in the state Pernambuco the level of urbanization is considerably higher, mostly due to the development of Recife metropolitan area. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the total urban population in the North-East lives in 22 towns with popula-

tions above 50 thousand persons. Three largest urban agglomerations of the region — Recife, Salvador and Fortaleza are also large ports of national importance. The zone of their influence exceeds the boundaries of the states, where they are located. They actually represent the North-Eastern centres, subordinate to Sao Paulo.

The problems of spatial decentralization of production and population in the national largest agglomerations, of eliminating environmental degradation by way of creating a more optimal urban system, are still left unsolved in Brazil. This is generally typical of the developing countries.

Periphery is characterized by low urbanization development levels and low "penetrating ability" of average and small-size towns. But the state capitals, these specific cores of the periphery, are characterized by higher urbanization levels and more dynamic development.

At the same time more and more pronounced become new features of the spatial progress of urbanization. The urban networks and systems become denser beyond the limits of major metropolitan agglomerations, the role of average-size towns in agricultural regions, orientated towards the domestic market, is increasing and a number of other processes are going on. This is both connected with the development of capitalism and the growth of the domestic market.

As a reaction to the impulse, produced by large centres, new towns appear, partly due to the movement of production processes and mostly as new resource development centres. There takes place the shift of urbanization to the inner regions, that was already mentioned above. This entails the development of new centres as outposts for movement towards new resource borderlines. The examples of creating Goiania and Brasilia can be cited.

Colonization of Amazon and other resource-regions entails intensive transport development there. In the development of the Amazon region much attention is paid to the development of towns. For instance, there exist projects for constructing new town Maraba (*Assault...* 1978). As supposed, the population of the new town will amount to 200 thousand persons in 1980. Its development, based on iron ore deposits of Serra dos Carajas, would attract migrants from other North-Eastern regions.

Construction of the Belem—Brasilia road promoted emergence of such new centres as *povoado* along construction routes. Initially they had both rural and urban (300—400 persons) features, and then transformed into urban-type settlements, small-size towns (4 thousand persons). The tendency to enlargement of such settlements persists and this suggests that *povoado* can become one of the perspective forms of urban development in the Amazon region.

Thus the analysis of the spatial progress of urbanization in Brazil has

shown, that it develops in width to the regions of colonization and in depth within the South-Eastern region, and is determined by the specifics of the modern stage of capitalism development in Brazil that is now acquiring monopolistic features.

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## SOME GEOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURAL INTENSIFICATION IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Historically, the growth of traditional agriculture was due, primarily, to the increase in cultivated areas, which had the tendency to correspond to population growth. This is quite normal since under subsistence agriculture, aimed as much as possible to meet the requirements of the farmer's family itself, the increase of production was determined primarily by the changes in population. Since its growth was rather small, both relatively and absolutely, especially if compared with modern figures, and due to high mortality in times of epidemics, crop failures and wars, and high infant mortality, the increased reproduction could be attributed during many centuries to the extensive factors only. Enough to say, that the now densely populated island of Yava, having about 75 million inhabitants, numbered only 15 million people as long as 150 years ago.

At present the situation with the land resources is considerably different, although Yava, where the rural population density exceeded 1 thousand persons per sq. km. in several regions, and at places — even 2 thousand persons per sq. km., and other densely populated areas do not give the general picture. And so, a negative attitude towards population growth in the developing countries should be considered as unmotivated and as ignoring the historic experience, that has proved this growth to be an important stimulus for intensifying agriculture and other economic processes. Analysis of the major demographic phenomena demands taking into account, on one side, certain "population-resources" relations in definite individual developing countries, and on the other side, the general socio-economic factors. As applied to agriculture, of special importance is the land ownership pattern. For instance, in the opinion of some Latin American scientists, under the same agricultural technology changes in land ownership patterns enable to increase three times labour inputs and investments in agriculture due to intensification of agriculture that is basically extensive in the great latifundia of landlords (Grosman 1975).

The above does not contradict the idea that deceleration of population growth rates in the developing countries, especially in those devoid of "free" land resources for colonization, can help to solve the problems of unemployment and others, although only passively. This does not lead to "eliminating" of existing contradictions, but only hinders their further development. But this hindering of growth in land and labour resources disproportions should also not be ignored, since it helps to gain some extra time for intensifying agricultural production.

The extensive way of development ensured major agricultural production increase in the developing countries in the first decade after the Second World War, and the task of further development of virgin lands cannot be deleted from the agenda. According to the FAO, in Africa about 22 per cent of lands suitable for cultivation are involved in agricultural production, in Latin America 11 per cent. Only in Asia does this index reach 83 per cent, but it is in the Asian countries that food deficit is the most acute, and the population nutrition level is much lower than the one recommended by science both in calories and in proteins content.

On the global scale the best "theoretical" variant puts the cultivated area (crop lands, cultivated grazing lands etc.) at the utmost level of 1.4 billion hectares at present and up to 3.2 billion hectares in the distant future. Taking into account that population growth (approximately by 75 million persons annually) and intensification of animal-breeding, necessitating the increase in forage consumption, require an annual growth of grain crops production by 32—33 million tons, the extensive way of development means the need to extend the areas under grain crops by 15—18 million hectares in the whole world (Norman 1975). Hence, land resources are sufficient for grain crops production for about 100 years more, mainly due to the reserves of lands suitable for cultivation in Africa and Latin America. However, according to the available estimates, it is hardly possible to expect the increase of cultivated lands to exceed 10 per cent by 2000, particularly because it would require huge financial investments. At the same time, it is expected, that the world demand for food products will grow by 88 per cent as compared to 1970 (Chancellor, Goss 1976); the share of the developing countries in it, according to our estimates, will be about 5/6. Hence, the growth of food production will be based mainly on intensification, the process initiated by the "green revolution" in the developing countries.

The potential for further expansion of cultivated areas is the subject of lively discussion in the developing countries, which is quite understandable taking into account land shortage of the vast strata of peasantry, the acuteness of the food problem, and tension of social relations in the rural areas. The relativity of the notion "lands suitable for cultivation", that can change under new economic and technological conditions, and inadequate knowledge of the land resources in these



countries make it difficult to give a reliable appraisal of the situation. Much depends on the approach.

Although the areas of the uncultivated lands, but suitable for cultivation and perennial crops, are put in high figures in relation to the developing countries, the best of them are already under cultivation. The major lands left as objects for colonization are those in arid regions, lacking reliable sources of irrigation, or in the humid subtropics; moreover both of them cannot be considered as completely unsettled. Their agricultural development is rather complicated in the technological aspect. In many cases its ecological aftereffects are not clear.

Depletion of land reserves, suitable for sporadic colonization by the farmers themselves, persuades the states to accept the financial pressures for developing new territories, and that also hinders further extensive development of production. The accumulated experience of the colonization movement has shown that success of such activities depends much on the thoroughness of the preliminary techno-economic surveys for the colonization projects, financial assistance to the new-settlers, correct formulation of the social policy and several other factors, among them the natural specific of this or that region.

Let us refer to the experience of colonization of the humid tropics in the Papaloapon river watershed (Mexico), carried out in the 1950s. Under intensive and abundant precipitation, active deforestation and employment of the newly-acquired territories for agriculture have led to the development of dangerous erosion over considerable areas. Except for richer soils of the alluvial plains, the local soils have lost about 50—60 per cent of their natural fertility in two years of exploitation, and its restoration takes many years. The tendency is observed of turning deforested areas with the initial idea of cultivating them for pasture-lands; this causes underemployment of the rural population in the regions of new development. Thus, a farmer-colonist, who cultivates an area 3 to 4 hectares from 10 hectares in his holding, spends about 70 per cent of his working time on agricultural operations, while a colonist-animal breeder, who owns a farm of 10 hectares — less than 20 per cent. Hence, it is true that the projected expansion of the programme of colonization of new regions in the humid tropical zone requires the development of general concepts including, necessarily, the ecological aspects (Restrepo 1976).

In our opinion, a number of developing countries, for instance Brazil, Ecuador, Nigeria, Indonesia, still have the potentialities for expanding agriculture to new vast territories. But in the majority of unpopulated regions the natural conditions are severe and require massive efforts, also in the scientific and scientific-technological aspects, to make the use of these territories economically effective.

Let us note that in the areas with a predominance of shifting agri-

culture, expansion of cultivated areas is at present usually accompanied by a decrease of the fallow period. This process is an imposed one, urged by the population growth, and leads to the increase of total crop production and a drop in labour productivity due to the decrease in soil fertility. It can hardly be referred to as "expansion" of agriculture, and still less as production intensification. So, shifting agriculture, under which there is no sharp boundary between cultivated and uncultivated lands, requires other criteria, not developed yet, than those used for characterizing the trends peculiar to plough agriculture on the permanent fields.

The constrains for further extensive agricultural development in the developing countries have forwarded to the fore-front the problem of increased productivity in the agrarian sector of the economy, and hence, of intensification and the corresponding modernization of the sector at the present stage. While estimating the potentials for intensification it is important to note that these countries can borrow the scientific-technological achievements from outside. They should not be obliged to pass the normal succession from the less to more complicated types of mechanization and technological progress, including usually numerous intermediate stages of modernization, that was characteristic in its time for the West since theoretically they are able to adopt the most advanced technologies.

However, the economic and social aftereffects of such adoption of innovations can far from always be clear. Hence, the difficulties in solving the problem, that was never faced by the industrially developed countries, of the most preferable technology, taking into account the available labour, financial, natural and other resources. And, although it is comparatively easy to make, for example, a simple evaluation of the economic effects from introducing the improved varieties of seeds and fertilizers into agricultural practice in the developing countries, still, it is much more difficult to develop the correct attitude towards these technological innovations that lead to production mechanization under rural labour surplus.

In general, there appears to be a need for the objective appraisal of the positive and negative features of traditional agriculture in order to reveal its inner potentialities and the ability to advance.

In the great variety of attitudes towards traditional agriculture one can detect two opposite, and at the same time convergent, points of view. According to one, traditional agriculture has well adjusted to the local physiographical conditions by empirical ways in the course of accumulating experience of many previous generations. The indirect indicator of this elasticity is the numerousity of local varieties of agricultural crops, sensitively responding to the natural specifics of the territory (for instance, in Bangladesh one finds about 1200 cultivated varieties of rice).

Therefore, despite its use of primitive tools traditional agriculture can-

not be correctly referred to as primitive. This conclusion was put forward, among others, by a Soviet orientalist L. B. Alayev, who made a considerable step forward in this problem, having differentiated the attitude towards agricultural technologies and the tools of labour. He showed (Alayev 1965), that in accumulated experience and skill Indian agriculture did not loose, as compared to the European one, from the period of establishing British rule. Moreover, as early as the 18th century it had developed such farming systems that started to appear in Europe only recently. But the other component of productive forces, i.e. the tools which were not adjusted to this system of production, happened to be much less developed and this hindered the achievement of high labour productivity. This characteristic, based on the historical evidence, has not lost its value if applied to the present situation as well.

The traditional agricultural techniques are hardly substitutable in those severe natural conditions where they are implemented, since they ensure conservation of soil fertility with the smallest labour and material resources inputs. It should be noted, that the economic development in the agricultural sector takes place in the framework of some natural systems. The latter are transformed by man into agroecosystems by means of eliminating from the natural systems those elements, that are undesirable from the point of view of production, and their substituting by others useful for man. This usually goes along with simplification of the system, and, as a result, it partly loses its former stability. Along with that, agroecosystems usually get some additional energy from outside (besides solar energy), and are subject to other antropogenic impacts designed to "eliminate" or lessen those natural constraints that negatively affect the yields.

Agroecosystems of the moderate climatic zone resist quite successively these external impacts. This is supported by the fact that the arable lands intensively exploited in many parts of Europe and North America retain, for a long time already, their high productivity. This quality, characteristic of the above ecosystems, was termed as "plasticity"; and it is much less present in those ecosystems situated in the tropics, especially in Africa (Fernando, Thomas 1977). Low quality of many types of tropical soils negatively affects the stability of local agroecosystems, therefore modern agricultural technologies should take into account their low "plasticity" and the emerging danger of irreversible degradation of the environment. The above is not always present in the appraisals of traditional agricultural practices "from outside".

Another point of view initiates from the idea that subsistence agriculture is characterized by inflexibility and conservatism, which promote conservation of low labour productivity peculiar to it. Cultivators are not inclined to experiment and hence react temporizingly to technological and agro-technological innovations, failing to use the chances to uplift

production available at the modern stage. Hence, traditional agriculture can develop only slowly, very gradually, and under conditions of high population growth rates. This affects negatively the total economy of young independent countries.

The above opinions have, evidently, some objective foundations resulting from the inward contradictions and dual character of the traditional subsistence economy itself. The studies, carried out in the latest decade have proved that in "pure" form both these approaches are hardly, completely correct if viewed independently, but each of them has some positive sense. Besides, they should not be completely opposed to each other, since the resistance of subsistence economies to the changes dictated by the economic and technogenic factors is possible only due to their good adaptation to the natural environments, "blending" with it.

The Polish geographer Skotnicki (1977) has arrived at the following conclusion while analysing his observations in the countries of West Africa: now, as in the past, African cultivators manifest everywhere their readiness to implement new methods and ideas if it meets their requirements and is devoid of administrative persuasion. Wide diffusion of adopted agricultural crops (in the pre-colonial period — manioka and maize, and in the modern period — of various commercial crops, often despite administrative resistance) evidences for the extreme perceptivity of African cultivators and their ability for adoption; the later was and still is not a passive, but an active reaction to a new situation, able to resist successively the policy of administration if it contradicts the interests of a producer.

At the same time, using the data of field investigations in southwestern Tanzania, it was stated (Knight 1974), that despite important innovations in African agriculture the system of traditional food crops remains unchanged. All the families of local rural communities provide for themselves, as usual, by their own production of the major food crops. Despite the external manifestations of commercial agriculture, the African cultivators prudently preserve the former subsistential forms of providing food products.

Summing up, one can say, that the conservative influence of religious traditions, customs and social structures cannot be fully denied, but in most cases the conservative element, present in the traditional subsistence agriculture, is far from being irrational, and has a definitely "material" basis: the desire to insure, even though minimally, protection from famines and from full dependence on the market.

At the same time, the active reaction on the changing situation does not mean that distribution of the material and labour resources in the farmer's economies comes close to the optimal one; on the contrary, in such situations it often appears far from that, as was shown by investigation in Tanzania (Ruthenberg 1968). To a certain extent this con-

clusion does not appear unexpected, since under subsistence agriculture the cultivator has to meet the great number of his requirements from production of his own farm, and hence, of considerable difficulty is even to develop the very system of values. Still more difficult is the task of allocation of resources depending on the existing system of preference.

We deliberately limited ourselves by the African examples, in order to try to create a more integrated picture using the data on this, the most "agricultural" continent. It is basically true for the Asian and Latin American countries.

The above enables to state, that in the last decades the possibilities of expanding agriculture to new territories have greatly shrunk in the developing countries, especially within Asia where the resources of lands fit for cultivation, but unexploited, are in many large regions already close to exhaustion. Hence, in part, the acute necessity for intensification of agricultural production. This process was observed in the past, but there is a need in its realization on a qualitatively new level. Traditional economy, as we have seen, does not in principle refuse innovations, their diffusion in the rural areas of the developing countries is also determined primarily by the economic factors. Hence it is not correct to treat it as a lowly adjustable system.

There is a need in an impulse, to make the pressing intensification of agriculture, that is already necessitated by the development, even though slow, of the productive forces of the young independent countries in the post-colonial period, to acquire more visible manifestations. Such impulse has resulted in a number of countries from creating new high-yielding varieties of grain crops and the then following the "green revolution". Rapid development gave it the effect of a sudden and unexpected phenomenon. However, the analysis of the pre-requisites for agricultural development witnesses in favour of the regularity in the emergence of the "green revolutions". Obviously, not by chance, it is primarily restricted to the countries of monsoon Asia that most acutely suffer from land shortage and has a spot localization, although the geography of the "green revolution" is still awaiting its thorough analysis.

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SHAPING OF SPATIAL ORGANIZATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA \*  
IN 1850—1930 UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE PLANTATION  
EXPORT-ORIENTED ECONOMY

The phenomena which have been occurring in the Central American economy constitute one of the most striking examples of how the dependence of the Third World's socio-economic policy on the processes, taking place in the developed countries, affect the first. Within the underdeveloped countries Central America is almost a classic example of an area dominated by the agricultural, export-oriented economy, i.e. by plantations. Emergence of this sort of an export sector of agriculture was not only the result of specific environmental conditions of this region, conducive to the development of the plantation agriculture, but also, if not above all, the effect of the raising demand for definite products on the Old World's market. It specifically affected the character of economic structures and the way space in Central America was organized.

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During all its history, Central America has been characterized by a prominent agriculture. However, in the colonial period there did not develop there, like it was the case in Antilles, Venezuela and Brazil, an export, plantation-slave economy. It was the outcome of: (1) the limited number of the local man power, and (2) the local Spaniards' inability (because of their meagre capitals) to purchase African slaves. In these conditions, the Spanish agricultural economy in Central America of the colonial period was organized mainly in a form of the hacienda. Beside them, there developed the European settlers' peasant economy, too. However, both these types of farming were oriented to, first of all, satisfy the producers' needs<sup>1</sup>. Thus, we cannot describe the Central American

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\* Into this area included area: Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. These, together with the Mexican state of Chiapas and a part of the state of Tabasco made the kingdom of Guatemala, subordinated to the vice-royalty of New Spain in the colonial period.

<sup>1</sup> R. Quiros-Guardia, *Agricultural Development in Central America. Its Origin and Nature*, Madison (Wis.) 1973, p. 14.

economy of the colonial period as export-oriented. Yet, it does not mean there were no trade contacts between this region and the Old World. Unlike a number of other parts of Spain's American empire, Central America could not offer Europe raw materials or food. Still, like the whole South American region, it made a source of capital derived from selling industrial products made in Europe there. However, profits from that trade fell not to Spanish but to British businessmen, for the latter practically monopolized the trade with Central America<sup>2</sup>. That fact had a by no means trivial effect on the phenomena occurring in that region in the second half of the nineteenth century.

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When in 1821 the Central American countries gained freedom, power there fell to the local agrarian and commercial bourgeoisies. However, liberation from Spain did not mean an automatic socio-economic development of the region, yet. In reality, still in the colonial period, interests of the Central American economic surplus was either seized by the those of Great Britain. This way, breaking the ties of the colonial dependence meant getting in direct and absolutely unrestricted trade contacts with this new world pole.

At the threshold of its independence, however, Central America did not have a developed export sector whose production would allow her to come into bilateral contacts with Great Britain. That is why the local agrarian bourgeoisie tended to create it by all possible means. The outcome of their doings was founding first coffee plantations in that region in the years 1821—1850. Yet, the process was being hampered by a lack of market as well as by the scarceness of the local capital. It was as late as at the end of the eighteen-forties that in result of opening the British market to Central American products there started a dynamic development of the export-oriented plantation-type agriculture.

Thus, the turn of the eighteen-forties marked the beginning of the new epoch in Central America's economic history. Obviously, this fact did not change the form of her dependence, on the contrary, it made the development of her socio-economic structures even more dependent on Great Britain. As far as in the colonial period Central America was merely a market for British industrial products, in the second half of the nineteenth century, it became a source of coffee, which was next sold by the British on the European market, at a great profit. Thus, emergence of the export-oriented agriculture in that region led to an organic connection between the Central American economic system with

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<sup>2</sup> „[...] the illegal import of English goods equalled that of the French goods, and together they constituted more or less 90 per cent of the whole Latin American import". *Dzieje Ameryki Łacińskiej* (A History of Latin America), Warszawa 1977, vol. 1, p. 172.



the British market — making the first unable to function without the latter. Moreover, in that period, Great Britain became the plantation agriculture's basic source of capital (both in the colonial period and later, the rate of big landowners' accumulation was very low; the major part of the Central American economic surplus was either seized by the British or spent to purchase imported luxury products).

Making the development of the plantation-type agriculture dependent on the British capital and market, allowed the English to shape the Central American economic structures freely. Through a consciously formed structure of their industrial exports to that region (chiefly ready-made consumer goods) as well as through a selective transfer of capital invested almost exclusively in the development of the plantation infrastructure (the British did not invest directly in production), they effectively hampered a development of any economic activity outside the agriculture.

Thus, at the fall of the nineteenth century, Central America continued to be a preeminently agricultural region. Unlike however, in the colonial period, the entirety of her economic structures, following the creation of the plantation-type agriculture, was oriented to the export production, and the export of coffee became the basis for the region's economic growth. In 1880, the export of this beverage made 92 per cent of the Guatemalan<sup>3</sup>, 98 per cent of the Salvadoran and Costa Rican<sup>4</sup> and 90 per cent of the Nicaraguan<sup>5</sup> export values. Following the year 1850, the ever growing European demand for coffee was the factor stimulating Central America's coffee plantation economy. The 1890—1924 doubled consumption of coffee made the Central American plantation economy raise their coffee production 3.5 times<sup>6</sup>. In 1900 the region became the world's leading coffee supplier, it supplied the world market with 18.3 per cent of the latter absorbed<sup>7</sup>.

The above data point to an almost total dependence of the Central American socio-economic development on the plantation-type export-oriented economy, and thus, on the foreign markets' demand — uncontrolled by the countries of the Central American region.

The last three decades of the nineteenth century witness a gradual weakening of the British domination of the world economy. The deep economic depression of 1893—1897 led to a number of reshuffles in the power

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<sup>3</sup> S. A. Mosk, *The Coffee Economy of Guatemala 1850—1911: Development and Signs of Instability*, Inter-American Economic Affairs, vol. IX, 1955, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> G. Niederlein, *The State of Nicaragua*, Philadelphia 1898, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> W. H. Ukers, *All about Coffee*, New York 1922, pp. 192, 279f.

<sup>7</sup> FAO, *La economia del café*, Serie sobre productos No. 33, Roma 1961, p. 61.

system among the leading countries. At the moment it ended, Great Britain had to face a new competitor: the United States who as early as at the beginning of the twentieth century took over the role of the country-pole towards Latin America.

Already in the eighteen-seventies the North American businessmen had started to gradually force the British out from Central America, and at the turn of the century theirs was a decidedly better position. Yet, at the beginning, they did not invest in the region's agriculture but concentrated on carrying on Central American government contracts to build railways to serve the plantation areas and to link them to ocean ports. In 1897 nearly 73 per cent of the direct North American investments in Central America were in railways. The Americans, just like the British before them, did not invest in the development of the region.

From the mid-eighteen-nineties, however, North American businessmen have started to invest larger sums in the Central American agriculture. Yet, like the British businessmen, they concentrated their whole attention on the export-oriented plantation sector. But as far as the English stimulated the regional development, chiefly by means of investments in plantation infrastructure, the Americans started to invest their capital directly in the production sphere. Yet, they were not interested in taking over the coffee plantations, created in 1850—1890, from the hands of the local agrarian bourgeoisie. In the years 1890—1930 they made active the hitherto economically unutilized areas of the region through establishing banana plantations, unknown in Central America till that time.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, the Central American export-oriented economy, till then based exclusively on coffee, was enriched with one more type of plantation — that of banana. Banana plantations developed above all in Honduras, Costa Rica and Guatemala. The North American United Fruit Company, established in 1899, became almost the sole banana producer and exporter. The major part of profits obtained from the sales of bananas on the North American market thus fell to that company. This way, the profits coming from the development of this field of the export-oriented agricultural economy did not serve the economic growth of Central America. Besides, the United Fruit Company equipped the plantation areas it owned with a complete and complex infrastructural system, both in the sphere of production as well as services, that allowed it to be absolutely independent from pressures exerted by particular Central American governments.

The developing banana plantations deepened the to-date dependent character of the region's economy. At the end of the nineteen-twenties, Central America continued to be an agricultural area, with plantations prevailing therein. Like it was the case with coffee plantations, the rise of banana plantations was not an autonomous phenomenon, resulting from

the specific needs of the Central American countries. It was a process induced from outside and aimed at satisfaction of foreign markets' needs. It was on them that the region's economy was absolutely dependent.

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The plantation-type agriculture played a very important role in the shaping of the socio-economic spatial organization of Central America. At the turn of the last century, because of the ever growing Western European demand for coffee, the subsistence agriculture as well as a part of haciendas, settled by the Spaniards in the colonial period, were transformed into the plantation-type agriculture. In conditions of fastly growing population, it led to great migrations from plantation areas. Ousted people settled the areas surrounding plantation regions. A peasant subsistence agriculture developed there. Another vital consequence of the switch-over of the areas settled by the Spaniards in the colonial period was an appearance of a food deficit there. That is why already at the turn of the eighteen-nineties, the basically subsistence agriculture of the areas adjacent to coffee regions, became transformed into the peasant commercial agriculture and started supplying plantation areas with food. With this aim in view, the latter were connected with the subsistent agricultural areas by a few lines of communication. However, they were not, as one might think, a passage for diffusion of new developments. In reality, they were "drainage passages" for the economic surplus, worked out on the areas of the commercial peasant agriculture. That was an effect of launching the mechanism of an unequal trade exchange. Thus, those "passages" started to serve plantation regions not only with food but with capital as well.

That is why we may speak about the existence of a number of spatial arrangements of the centre-periphery type in Central America, at the turn of the last century. Internally integrated and equipped with a fine road and urban centre systems have made plantation regions. Adjacent to plantations, areas of the peasant commercial agriculture, equipped with but a few roads that converge concentrically in plantation regions, and with a few relatively small urban centres have made the peripheries. It must be stressed however, that plantation regions of central functions have for centuries not dragged into their influence the whole of the Central American space, but merely a relatively small, neighbouring areas of the commercial peasant agriculture. The rest of the region continued to be dominated by the natural Indian farming. It was the outcome of, above all, the fact that the extent of food production and of the amount of the economic surplus taken over from the periphery, as yet, satisfied the needs of the plantation regions of central functions. Therefore there was no need to draw into the sphere of their influence, the whole of the Central American space. Considering this, we may speak about the

existence, in that region, of a disintegrated space — which was expressed by an emergence of a number of functionally and horizontally separated from one another spatial arrangements of the centre-periphery type. Yet, these arrangements were linked to ocean ports, and through them, to foreign markets.

The 1900—1930 emergence of banana plantations on many coastal plains did not lead to a change in the above-discussed spatial arrangements. In principle, banana plantations constituted a closed and self-sufficient economic and spatial system. Apart from plantations, it included railway lines, trade network, hospitals, power stations and even villages and towns that had not existed there before<sup>8</sup>. Not one of the infrastructural elements mentioned went beyond the limits of areas licensed to the North American United Fruit Company. This way, these areas were functionally, apart from the man power, completely isolated from the Central American coffee regions of central functions and from the peripheries subordinated to them. Whereas the isolated banana areas did not build up peripheries that would supply them with food and capital. It was not simply necessary. On the territories licensed to it, the United Fruit Company developed, beside the banana production, a production of food necessary for it, while the whole capital invested in banana plantations came from the USA<sup>9</sup>. Thus one can safely describe the banana plantations established at the turn of the century as economic and spatial enclaves.

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. M. Wilkins, *The Emergence of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from Colonial Era to 1914*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1970, p. 160.

<sup>9</sup> S. May, G. Plaza, *The United Fruit Company in Latin America*, New York 1958, p. 183.

FLORIAN PLIT

## NATURAL ENVIRONMENT DEGRADATION ON AFRICAN "MARGINAL" LANDS AND "PERIPHERAL" AREAS

In contemporary studies on the degradation of the natural environment, ever more often stressed are social, economic and political aspects of that phenomenon. One of the proofs is the 1977 UN conference in Nairobi, devoted to desertification. During the conference equal attention was paid to natural as well as socio-economic problems (*Desertification...* 1977). It is in so far justified as the reason of degradation is just the very man's activity. Also ever more attention is paid to investigations of the so-called "environmental problems" of the developing countries. Among the other things, it was observed that natural calamities more frequently "afflict" countries of the Third World than the developed countries. Ball (1975) even estimates that 90 per cent of the global number of natural calamities fall on the first of them (however, all attempts at precise estimations are very controversial). It also seems that at least on some Third World areas the frequency of natural calamities is now higher than it was the case in the past. At least with some of the calamities, for instance with droughts, connected is the acceleration of the natural environment degradation.

Commonly considered as being in a special danger of natural calamities are marginal areas, for example mountains, dry and semiarid areas where farming and especially cultivation and cattle-breeding are limited and their development meets many obstacles. A larger part of those marginal areas are at the same time, when considering the socio-economic spatial differentiation, peripheral areas (though in many cases peripheral areas are not marginal and lie far from them). It is just when a given area is both marginal and peripheral that the danger of natural calamities becomes particularly imminent and the connection between those and the natural environment degradation very distinct and tangible.

What are the relations between man and his natural environment there, what mechanisms lead to imbalance and its tragic effects? Do we have to deal there with a specific determinism that limits man's activity? Let us try to investigate two examples of marginal areas of Algeria

and Morocco north of the Sahara (High Atlas, the Shatt Plateau and Sahara Atlas) and the Sahel zone south of the Sahara (within the compass of Mauritania, Mali, Senegal, Upper Volta, Niger and Chad). At the same time these are peripheral areas. In Algeria and Morocco they perform that function in comparison with the "central" areas of a developed industry and an intensive, often modern, agriculture along the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts and in the Tell zone. Whereas the whole Sahel can be treated as a peripheral area in comparison with the countries lying on the Gulf of Guinea where found are large urban centres and cash crop areas. Apart from Senegal, their own "inner central areas" in the Sahel countries are much less developed and perform a lesser role. Even migrations are mainly directed abroad, and not to their own centres.

The above examples have been chosen because of a certain similitude as well as because of the fact that natural environment degradation had assumed large and at the same time imminent proportions there. Well-known are the tragic results of the last drought in the Sahel and a similar tragedy can soon happen to Algeria and Morocco. In other regions of developing countries, generally a similar degree has not been reached, nevertheless if the present tendencies of land exploitation are maintained, we can be apprehensive of the evolution towards the same direction.

The reason of the natural environment imbalance on those areas, just like on many other peripheral territories, is a steady growth in the number of population. The ways of farming have not been considerably changed — the land exploitation preserves its extensive character. Since the efficiency growth does not keep up with the increase in the number of population, the growing demand for food is covered by an extension of arable lands and of the stock. Although proper statistics are wanting and this fact does not allow for a thorough study of those changes, however, even approximate data inform on their proportions. In the Sahel zone, following the Second World War, the stock grew systematically, achieving its top level in about 1970. In general, it was two—three times larger than a quarter of the century earlier while the pasturage system did not change in a significant degree and the grazing acreage even grew slightly smaller. In Algeria the sheep population pastured on the steppe, impetuously grew from the moment of independence (1962) till 1975. Though the estimates are only approximate it is supposed that the growth in that period was at least double. In the Algerian steppe zone, the crop growing acreage at the beginning of the 1970s was estimated at 1—2 million hectares: utilizing mainly the lowlands, it already encroached on the lands of an average yearly rainfall of below 200 mm. In Morocco, agriculture developed considerably in the south and east (the Moulouya valley and the neighbouring areas, Tazzarine). In the Sahel zone, the northern line of agriculture using no artificial irrigation, after the war,

frequently moved 200—300 km northwards and regionally encroached upon the areas of average yearly rainfall of below 300 mm. Wide-spreading agriculture (especially with the use of ploughing) on the areas adjacent to the desert brought about the land erosion whereas the growth in the number of animals led to overgrazing the pasture (the degradation was the worst near wells, where not only all the food was eaten up but the soil was additionally crushed by hoofs — which activated the deflation). Even in normal years pressure on the natural environment is so great, that the balance becomes ever more unstable. Gillet (1968) describes the degradation of the Chad flora in result of overgrazing few years before the disastrous drought started, i.e. during a relatively humid period. In mountain forests of Algeria and Morocco, and especially in cedar forests, it is very difficult to regenerate the stand of trees. In many complexes there is no natural regeneration at all, in others it occurs only in spots difficult of access for grazing (on the slopes of the Djebel Cheliah in Aurès in Algeria, in rock rifts). On the steppe covered with alfalfa in the proximity of places particularly endangered by deflation one can observe a formation of small initial sand-drifts just behind separate alfalfa clusters.

However, even little climatic disturbances can bring about disastrous effects. Well-known example of the 1968—1973 drought in the Sahel is by no means isolated. Less known are degradation processes and those of desertification on the northern confines of the Sahara, though they achieved considerable proportions there and can become a barrier to the development of agriculture (Le Houèroux 1968, 1973; Plit 1979). In High Atlas, in 1979, the degradation processes were subject to acceleration. At the beginning of that year, it was heavily snowing there and there occurred shortage of fodder for sheep and goats. Shepherds started to bring their animals heads of the *Quercus ilex* oak. Some forest complexes of several hundred hectares' acreage became thus almost completely destroyed. What will be the results of another snowy winter if there are no more oaks?

What can the results be of a likely several years' drought in the Maghreb countries? Imminence of such a calamity is real — Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia lie in the zone of high variability of rainfalls. They can change from one year to another. In general, the last decade has been humid. Admittedly, droughts do occur but only locally and for a little while only (e.g. at the fall of 1978 in eastern Morocco). In spite of the governmental aid (supplies of fodder from other parts of the country) and of the easment to drive animals, they result in relatively high losses of the stock. The last great drought took place in 1944—1945. In Algeria died then about 7.7 million heads of sheep (77 per cent of the whole stock), at the same time the losses in the Territoire du Sud reached 90 per cent, and on the Shatt Plateau 80 per cent (Lehuraux

1948). In Morocco the corresponding losses amounted to 7 million sheep, 5 million goats and above 600 thousand heads of cattle (Miegeville 1952).

The above estimations are rough only but they give good information on the proportions of that disaster. It must be at the same time kept in mind that in the years 1944—1945 the situation was in many aspects better than at present — the pasturage areas were bigger, the degree of degradation smaller, forests occupied larger areas and they were less degraded. It was just the very grazing in forests that allowed a part of the animals to survive. A possible calamity of a wide and sustained drought could — if it is not prevented in time — bring about effects approximating in their proportions those of the Sahel disaster.

An additional factor contributing to the natural environment degradation is looking for firewood. In the proximity of medium size towns of the Sahel, within the radius of dozens of kilometres, there at the present moment spread out areas barren of trees. Having devastated pistacia and acacia on the Algerian and Moroccan steppe, now nomads burn *Artemisia herba alba* roots. To gain the firewood the last High Atlas forests, including cedar ones, are being devastated, and where there are no more trees, used are thorny xerophytes. From 1973 onwards, since the increase in the bitumen prices, the situation has markedly worsened. In many Third World countries given up was searching for other than wood combustibles. In Morocco given up have been projects of supplying with gas many rural settlements. Admittedly in the Sahel, experiments have been made to use solar energy and the so-called “biogas” cookers but these are still experiments only. In developing countries the “energy crisis” is as acute as in developed countries (cf. on this subject Eckholm 1976).

Do we have to do with a “vicious circle” here? The accelerated degradation of the natural environment is the effect of the deteriorating conditions of living of a growing number of population. In order to survive those people usually have no other choice than to exploit the natural environment even more and thus to speed up the disaster. The easy supply of new, attractive goods rouses ever growing needs — the desire to satisfy them is one more factor contributing to the ever increasing environment exploitation. Desturbing the ecological balance has become characteristic of the ever larger number of peripheral areas. It is to be desired that a tentative classification of peripheral areas from the point of view of their being endangered by natural calamities should be done. Results of such a comparison could turn very interesting and useful in further studies as well as in regional planning.

An excessive intensity, hypertrophic development of traditional techniques of soil exploitation can lead to an ecological disaster. However, equally poor effects were achieved by implementing various forms of intensive soil exploitation on the marginal lands. Still confining ourselves



to the Sahara edges, we can give an example of big stock-raising farms in the zone of the Sahel. Those farms carry on the stationary breeding, to a great extent oriented towards commodity production. Some few such farms were organized in some countries in the years following the last world war, usually with the foreign interest in the enterprise. During the last drought, the degradation of the natural environment of those farms, often assumed disastrous proportions, much more dangerous than on the neighbouring grounds of the traditional migratory breeding. Even after the abundant summer rains of 1974 regeneration of flora within the borders of stock-raising farms turned out to be very difficult, some changes could be irreversible (e.g. Ekrafane in Niger — cf. Beauvilain 1977). The project to modernize animal farms in the steppe zone of Algeria through founding shepherds' cooperatives, in spite of considerable outlays, has been just creeping, and among its negative effects one can mention an accelerated plant degradation in the proximity of those coops (generally, however, accompanied by the coincident improvement of vegetation within them — Plit 1979). Attempts at implementing intensive cultivation on the Mediterranean steppes, especially at deep ploughing, also produced negative effects because they made soil erosion and desertification easier (e.g. in Tunisia).

Since both traditional and modern attempts at increasing production have failed, then perhaps in fact, the natural environment of the areas discussed here, erects an insurmountable to the agriculture barrier. Such a view would have a distinctly deterministic tinge. Almost all geographers remain wary of so positive, ultra theses; however, many representatives of other lines, touching upon environmental problems only marginally (ethnographers, economists etc.) frequently ascribe the environmental barrier to the restraint on the development conditions in the Sahel. One may even speak about a certain "geographical neo-determinism", though it is not usually shared by geographers (one can detect it even in some of the formulations of the second report of the Club of Rome when the report discusses the perspectives of agriculture in the Sahel — Mesarovic, Pestel 1977).

Still, it seems to me that there are chances to further develop agriculture on the marginal areas of Africa, and the way to overcome that environmental barrier should be a modernization of the traditional techniques of land exploitation. Owing to the centuries' old experience they are adjusted to local conditions of the natural environment or at least they consider certain elements worth to be utilized. For example, the seasonal changeability of the natural environment conditions in semiarid areas stimulates the seasonal migrations of animals and thus some system of land utilization imitating nomadism. Yet, such a "modern nomadism" should be to a great degree oriented towards commodity production and integrated with economic needs of independent states.

It is also vital to take into consideration the growing necessities of life of the nomads. The Mongolian, Soviet, American and to some extent also South African experience prove that development with preservation of the land utilization system can be achieved. However, all attempts at modernization of nomadism should be done very cautiously so that they could really serve the interests of those involved. Unfortunately, because of propaganda, political, prestige and similar reasons it is too often "forgotten" in the countries lying on the Sahara and its outskirts.

As a side-note to the problems of natural environment degradation on the Sahara fringes, two other things should be mentioned. First: often the disintegration of traditional social structures becomes a factor conducive to degradation. We can quote here ever less at present abided by laws on breaking trees and their branches on the Tuareg grass-lands of Ahaggar as well as that on restricting the grazing on reserve *agdal* pastures in Morocco (also on seasonal pasturage on mountain pastures, aiming at protection of new and not resistant to devastation plants). Another important problem is that it so happens that slogans of environment protection are taken advantage of in order to carry the solutions typical of the capitalistic economy. That was also the case in the Sahel where boosted has sometimes been the idea of large stock-raising farms, run by a foreign capital and replacing the traditional wandering economy that allegedly "degrades the environment in excess" (Giri 1976). However, when making these plans of "aid", forgotten were the people who would thus lose their means of subsistence, as well as the very land "protected" since the breeders would move from the alienated grounds to other regions where the pressure of animals on the environment would be greater and therefore the ecological imbalance even worse.

Only such a development, that would be harmonized with the natural environment conditions of a given area can (at least partially) ensure it against effects of future natural calamities and prevent the environment degradation.

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Cena zł 50.—

ISBN 83-04-00951-X  
PL ISSN 0373-6547

<http://rcin.org.pl>

