

UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
FACULTY OF GEOGRAPHY
AND REGIONAL STUDIES

INSTITUTE OF SPACE ECONOMY

REGIONAL DYNAMICS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE

Editor :
GRZEGORZ GORZELAK



WYDAWNICTWA UNIwersYTETU WARSZAWSKIEGO

1988

CONTENTS

Introduction, <i>Grzegorz Gorzelak</i>	5
I Theory and Methodology	
<i>Antoni Kukliński</i> , Regional Problem – the Historical and Prognostic Experiences of Three Continents	7
<i>Maximo Lira</i> , Prebisch's Long March towards the Criticism of „Peripheral Capitalism” and its Transformation. A Comment	21
<i>Władysław Świtalski</i> , Regional Dynamics – Notion, Meaning and Models	43
<i>Stanisław M. Komorowski</i> , UNRISD-Mouton Regional Planning Series: Aims, Scope and Reception	63
<i>Harold E. Pepinsky</i> , Conditions for National Self-Reliance Reconsidered	75
<i>Ewa Szulc-Dąbrowiecka, Piotr Dutkiewicz</i> , The Role of State in Regional Development. The Example of Ghana	85
II Comparative Approaches in Regional Studies	
<i>Grzegorz Gorzelak</i> , The Cross-National Regional Comparisons in Europe and Latin America: Past Experiences and Prospects for the Future	93
<i>Gunnar Alexandersson</i> , Regional Development and Comparative Country Studies	109
<i>Juan Ramón Cuadrado Roura</i> , Economic Crisis and Regional Disparities: Challenge of Technological Changes	123
<i>Antoni Kukliński</i> , Regional Approaches in European Studies	143
<i>Roman Szul</i> , Space as an Economic and Political Factor. The Cases of Poland and Yugoslavia	157
<i>Rigoberto García, Weine Karlsson</i> , Regional Planning in Chile and Venezuela	173
<i>Antoni Kukliński</i> , Regional Development in Unitary and Federal States	183
<i>Agnieszka Mync</i> , Small-sized Countries of Europe: Suggestions for Comparative Studies	189
<i>Ryszard Stemplowski</i> , Latin America's Image in Contemporary Europe: A Case in the Social Construction of Reality	193
III Regional Studies in Europe	
<i>Jean-Bernard Racine, Antonio Cunha</i> , Services Agencies in Swiss Regional Dynamics: Polycentric Decentralization in Question	213

<i>Juan Ramón Cuadrado Roura</i> , Economic Growth and Regional Disparities Before and After the Crisis. The Spanish Case	231
<i>Knud-Eric Sabroe</i> , The Danes under the Crisis	245
<i>Grzegorz Gorzelak</i> , The Spatial Aspects of the Polish Crisis	253

IV Regional Studies in Latin America

<i>Peter Iadicola</i> , The Contradictions of Dependent Capitalist Development	269
<i>Angel Bassols Batalla</i> , Socio-Economic Changes in Mexican Regions and Crisis	281
<i>Lawrence S. Graham</i> , The Dynamic of Regional Development in Brazil. The Interaction between the States and the Federal Government in the Context of Rapid Change	289
<i>Edgar Reveiz Roldon</i> , The Urban and Regional Issue in Columbia, from the Theory of Regulation Perspective. A Hypothesis	303
<i>Peter Sjøholt</i> , A Dynamic Regional Development or a Reproduction of Underdevelopment? Some Findings from Peru 1972–1981	323
<i>Roman Szul</i> , The Regional Dynamics of Socio-Economic Change in Latin America	337
<i>Andrzej Bonasiewicz</i> , The National Strategies of Regional Development (The seminar held in Bogota)	351

V Post-Conference Comments of the Participants	357
---	-----

LATIN AMERICA'S IMAGE IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPE: A CASE IN THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

1. The Problem

Latin America constitutes part of the reality inhabited by Europeans. The latter's attitude to Latin America is shaped by their aggregate experience of Europe, Latin America, and the rest of the world on end. This knowledge functions in social practice as a reality, whereas change in the substance of this knowledge functions as a change of reality. Now, where does Latin America stand in this body of knowledge? What changes does this knowledge undergo? What are these changes contingent upon? What are their consequences?

The totality of problems under review being less than poorly researched, this paper does not go beyond an attempt at their preliminary and partial interpretation, possible at the initial stage of the investigations in progress.

In particular, I shall present three from among the very many levels on which the achievement of knowledge of Latin America is taking place. These I have identified with the help of two criteria: I am desirous of pointing the polar differences existing in the accuracy or relevance of the said knowledge, on the one hand, while attempting to identify groups under the dominant influence of any of the three kinds of knowledge, on the other. With this in mind, I have singled out: (a) the popular image of Latin America, i.e. the most wide-spread set of convictions observed in such countries as Spain, Great Britain, Sweden and Poland, (b) the scholarly image, created in the course of studies on Latin America, (c) the "official" image taking shape in the quarters responsible for decisions pertaining to political, economic and other relations with Latin American countries.

2. The Popular Image

When reflecting the image projected by Latin America, the European mind works like a shattered distorting mirror, with the most glaring instances of oversimplification and stereotypes to be found in the bits and pieces representing the popular level of consciousness.

For reasons which will better remain unexplained, years ago I surmised that the most complete picture of contemporary Latin America can be found in Spain. Today I am rather sceptical about it, and this despite the widespread and very impressive individualization in Spain of so many countries of the region, to mention Cuba, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, Panama, Venezuela, Puerto Rico and Peru, with the Antilles likewise easily identified. Gregorio Marañón was perfectly right when he said that the Spaniards regard Latin America as an emotive rather than cognitive issue. (Latin) America is part of the historical experience of a broad spectrum of Spanish society in which all classes and strata are represented. It had for centuries been regarded by them as an extension of Spain, indeed, as their alternative homeland, and with a much higher degree of emotional involvement than was the case with, say, the Portuguese, let alone the Italians.

From 1907 onwards, the most readily available and complete source of information on Latin America was *The emigrant's guidebook* which set out to challenge the experiences of its readers, and the message it persisted in covering rang out loud and clear still in the late seventies.

The message left nothing to doubt: whoever places Iberoamérica above Spain in his value system has only himself to blame for his ignorance. If you happen to be a professional man or have a trade – said the guidebook – you must not draw any comfort from that, for once you go into business in that part of the world you will be clobbered by the competition made up chiefly of Englishmen or, for that matter, Germans. If you have no skills at all, you will be squeezed and exploited mercilessly, and you will be reduced to eking out miserable existence below the poverty line. Iberoamérica is, in fact, little more than a string of the capital cities of individual countries, with such amenities of modern life as transportation, telecommunications and, above all, security conspicuous for their absence in the provinces. So, all things considered, you can be perfectly happy working and investing in Spain.

In attempting to piece together Latin America's image in Spain, one would be well-advised never to lose sight of the true meaning of the historical experience which made the Spaniards look to the subcontinent as their alternative homeland.

In the sixties and seventies new elements came to the fore. Oil-rich Venezuela began to project a new clear-cut image, as did revolutionary Cuba (the loss of the island in the late nineteenth century was received in Spain as nothing short of national tragedy), the Panama Canal began to splash headlines, the Tupamaros

and Pinochet popped up on the scene and sent the ripples throughout the world while the guitar-strumming singer Victor Jara stepped into the limelight which had once belonged to Jorge Negrete. All this, however, has been lumped together under the designation of Iberoamérica, Hispanoamérica or—very rarely—*América Latina* and viewed against a rather blurred backdrop to this very day, despite the obvious distinctions currently being drawn between individual states in Spain. Latin Americans speak Spanish and the average Spaniard can easily tell the difference between the Argentinian, Cuban and Mexican accents which does not make the region look to him any more diversified than, say, his native Spain, complete with a plan of regional dialects of its own. To quote Francisco Morales Padrón, a scholar with a record of research into this problem in Spain, the popular image of *Latin América* is, in Spain, incomplete and erroneous.

While analysing that image in Britain, Alistar Hennessy says one is immediately struck by the survival in it of a host of nineteenth century stereotypes. Political instability, revolutions and armed coups (these are being regarded as one and the same thing), the towering figures of bemedalled generals in tinselled uniforms, the wealth of the landowners and the indescribably wretched life in the villages, corruption and machismo—these are the recurring clichés bolstered in our times by Hollywood movies which are not devoid of racist overtones to boot. To be fair, the name of Argentina rings very many bells in Britain, and the loss of this informal “fifth dominion” gave rise to an interest in Peronism, even though the latter’s popular base was never taken note of. Brazil has certainly earned itself a niche in the public mind in Britain, appreciative of its brilliant performance in football while Mexico is remembered for its revolution. On its part, the Cuban revolution initially touched off a heated debate among young people, notably within the undergraduate community, to be subsequently eclipsed by the developments in Chile and the arrival in Britain of some three thousand political refugees in the wake of toppling of the Allende regime. But, by and large, Latin America is being given a blanket treatment by the British public who can hardly distinguish between most of the individual countries of the regions. Characteristically, many people in Britain associate Latin America with the West Indies, find reggae to be as Latin American as samba if a bit more likeable, and Latin American folk and pop music enjoy tremendous popularity there.

One gets the impression that British always regarded Latin America as something much inferior to their overseas dependencies. That imperial filter caught a good deal of information about the subcontinent while the preeminence of Asia nad Africa was also largely responsible for the ethnocentrism of the British. The Latin Americans were always examined by the British through the prism of their attitude to the Indians from Bombay or the Sudanese. The Mestizo, looked at by the Spanish today as the ethno-cultural quintessence of *Latin América*, is regarded by the average Briton as a neighbour of the Mulatto who, in turn, lives next door to the Negro. What is more, Anglo-Saxon culture

has traditionally projected an anti-Mediterranean bias which has also to some extent rubbed off on Latin American reality. In a nutshell, the incomplete and erroneous Spanish picture of the Latin American subcontinent rubs shoulders with its British counterpart which also needs completion and correction.

Let us now contrast the foregoing with a reflection of Latin America in a Scandinavian country, namely Sweden, which looks back on the most impressive record of research in this area, primarily thanks to the effort of Magnus Mörner. Two factors help influence the formation of the popular image of Iberoamerica in Sweden. These are: conformism and extensive if not very diversified information available to the broadest segments of society. The consequence of this is a fairly uniform and widespread popular image. Social protest and conflict related issues have the biggest claim to the Swedish public's interest, followed by, predictably, the problems of social reform, the Cuban revolution, the epic of Che in Bolivia, the fate of the Alliance for Progress, the struggle of the Unidad Popular in Chile, the reform-oriented strivings of the military in Peru, and so on, and so forth. One cannot fail to notice the tremendous interest aroused by the Indian question. Although in this particular case one can still sense the presence of the Enlightenment-generated "noble savage" stereotype, the influence of the values imparted by Swedish society in human life is decisive. This implies the interest in not so much by-gone epochs, as in the Indians of present-day Brazil who lead a precarious existence forced upon them by the expansion of private capital, as well as by the activities of the government-controlled *Serviçao de Proteção dos Indios* in the late sixties.

In Sweden, social radicalism has been the salient feature of the image of Latin America ever since the sixties when it eclipsed others. Its carriers represent primarily the younger segments of the populace. Furthermore, that picture reflects fairly accurately the role of the United States, largely as a consequence of that country's behaviour in Vietnam. It also echoes Sweden's interest in Africa. Needless to say, Sweden too has its share of egotism and ethnocentrism, but I am inclined to believe that these are much more pronounced in Britain. The Swedes also display a great deal of interest in Latin American music and, to a lesser extent, sports.

Now, how does Poland fare against this background? What is the popular image of Latin America in this country? Crucial to the answer to this question is the research conducted by Tadeusz Łepkowski.

Immediately after World War II, Polish society's interest was focused on Europe and the big powers, which was hardly surprising given the impact of international developments on the situation in Poland. However, it was also back in those days that the stereotype of Argentina as a heaven to Nazi war criminals surfaced here. Smilar if less unequivocal views were also held of Brazil and Paraguay at that time. This kind of attitude subsequently smoothed the way for

the reception of the criticism of Peronism which had been labelled as Fascism both by the Communist movement and the U.S. State Department.

In the fifties, Latin American governments were placed next to Western Europe as the most faithful allies of the United States and the main props of the „free world”, and this view further added to the image of the subcontinent here. Many Poles then chose to take a very favourable view of Latin America, as they also preferred to interpret in their own way both Stalin's denunciation of „20 representatives of 20 Latin America countries who currently make up the most obedient army of the United States in the United Nations”, and the East European media's contention that the Communist movement in Argentina and Brazil was going from strength (Prestes' legend). However, at the same time, a genuine educational and cultural revolution was under way in Poland which laid the groundwork for a broader reception of information about Latin America.

Proper conditions for a refinement of the subcontinent's image here were created in 1956–1958, when a *sui generis* information revolution opened the floodgates to the flow of books and press publications from the West, fuelled the development of private correspondence with Polish communities in Latin America and welcomed in cohorts of foreign tourists. The period under discussion also saw the expansion and diversification of information on Latin America in the press, radio and shortly thereafter – television, some of it contributed by Poland's first correspondents to be accredited in the region. Add to this the proliferation of popular book publications, a dramatic rise in foreign travel, both private and official, and the expansion of research, and the picture of the new situation in Poland will be complete. The sixties pushed the popular interest in Latin American things to dizzying heights.

Throughout the period in question (1956–1976), the popular image of Latin America in Poland remained under the potent influence exerted with varying degree of intensity by the party and government-controlled media. And the image of the subcontinent they projected, according to Łepkowski, boiled down to the following points: Latin America is potentially rich and looks to a great future, from which it will not be deflected either by sharp social conflicts or exploitation, or both; Mexico, Brazil, Peru and Panama are the most advanced countries of the region and they have reforms, nationalization and the state's active involvement in the economy to thank for that; Cuba furnishes a glorious example of a nation which radically did away with subservience to imperialism; progressive and national liberation movements are playing a very important and positive role while contributing to the world anti-imperialist front; a similar and possibly more important role is being played by the Latin American Communist parties – participants in world congresses attended by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – which are responsible for the creation of broad democratic fronts in their respective countries; progressive governments made up of military

reformists, the populist and social-democratic movements have a positive role to play; all far-left movements, *guerrilleros* and other terrorists are of questionable reputation and therefore objectionable.

A very important component of that image was culture – with an emphasis laid on the pre-Columbian period, the contemporary novel, the cinema and, above all, folk and pop music. What is more, the media did not miss sports, notably soccer in Brazil and Argentina, with less attention devoted to the general progress of sports in Cuba. In this picture there is ample room for Polish emigres and Latin Americans of Polish extraction, both credited with a considerable contribution to the development of their countries of residence, the assessment of their worth and importance locally being geared to the degree of their identification with their Polish roots. Not without significance, I think are some blanks in this picture which include, characteristically, the lack of information about the attitude of the military governments of Brazil and Argentina to the opposition. When looking for a political-ideological keynote of this very terse analysis, one should consider the Cuban revolution, the activities of Che Guevara and the armed left, the performance of the Chilean Unidad Popular when in office and the role of the Indian factor.

The Cuban revolution generated a tremendous interest in Poland, even though at the initial stage ignorance and dogmatism played havoc with press information here (see paper by Tadeusz Milkowski on Cuba as depicted by the Polish press in 1953–1961). The years 1959–1961 marked the apogee of this interest. “That revolution was believed to be romantic, enthusiastic, full of zip and drive, authentic, anti-bureaucratic, anti-schematic, anti-dogmatic and – a good many Polish observers stressed that! – enjoying the genuine support of the vast majority of the people. Cuba’s evolution towards the East European model of socialism was by and large interpreted as the outcome of the inept handling by the U.S. administration of the Castro government” (T. Łepkowski). Later, Cuba’s shining popular image was peppered with some critical notes in response to that country’s foreign and economic policies.

It is worth noting that, on the other hand, the image of Che Guevara here, superficial as it was, was unquestionably positive. In the public mind he was placed alongside Polish nineteenth century revolutionaries and insurgents who had fought for their country’s independence. Equally positive was the reaction to Chile then being reformed by Unidad Popular, and so the news of the death of Allende – as indeed of the fate of Che – was received in Poland with profound sorrow.

In the past, Latin America has been regarded by the broad public as a certain whole, even though that public recognized some differences existing among Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Haiti, Peru and Panama. The Poles have displayed a lot of interest in Latin American politics, but much greater fascination has been exerted on them by local customs and traditions, certain

ethnic issues, folk and pop music and, above all, soccer in Brazil and Argentina. They were very sympathetic towards the Indians whom they viewed as the latter-day Incas, Mayas and Aztecs, but that sympathy was seasoned with ethnocentrism and patently devoid of any understanding of their current plight. On top of that, the Poles had a less than hazy notion of the role of the Mestizos, let alone the Blacks in Latin America.

In the mid-seventies, the mounting political crisis in Poland brought about a decline of interest in the Third World. However, that period is also remembered for a great diversification of information on Latin America resulting from an enhanced interest in that region shown by the Catholic press and, to a lesser degree, from the availability of the relevant research findings.

To be sure, any popular image of Latin America stems from incomplete information. What is more, such an image is a mirror of Europe. Although it is getting more and more refined, in the European representation of Latin America one cannot fail to detect certain characteristic features of Europe's self-portrait. The essence of the popular image of Latin America lies in its bearers' awareness of the deficiency of information in their possession, on the one hand, and in their ignorance of its being a function of their European value system and heritage, on the other. In other words, Europocentrism is not just there: its impact is both fundamental and elemental.

3. Latin American Studies

Although the European studies of Latin America are of some antiquity, having started back in the days of Alexander von Humboldt, they did not begin to flourish until the nineteen sixties. In the late seventies, there were roughly 1,800 scholars on this continent conducting full-time research into Latin America and its affairs.

With its 700 researchers, some of whom double as academic teachers, 17 specialist courses at 10 universities, 26 periodical or serial publications and as many as 90 institutes in pursuit of their own studies and boasting specialist libraries, the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin reign supreme in this field of endeavour. Add to this Europe's largest and best library devoted to Latin American themes based in West Berlin which features upwards of 500 thousand volumes – four thousand periodicals, 40 thousand maps, 12 thousand gramophone records, etc., and the picture of that country's performance will be more or less complete.

The list of European master performers in this domain further includes France (about 300 researchers), Great Britain and the Soviet Union (at least 170 each). Spain boasts the best-stocked libraries and archives, as well as some 150 Latin Americanist scholars, Italy and the Netherlands have fallen behind the leading quintet.

In the remaining countries, individual researches or tiny groups thereof press ahead with their pursuits in the face of a paucity of relevant book and press publications, the glorious exceptions being Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium and the German Democratic Republic.

In Poland, there are some 70 persons actively involved in the Latin American studies. Most of them teach Spanish or Portuguese focusing their attention primarily on Latin American, Spanish and Portuguese literature (in 1977 they taught the above subjects to a total of 250 students, most of them in Warsaw) and allowing research proper to drop in their scale of priorities. Only a handful of people are actually conducting research into Latin American languages or literature, with political, economic, sociological or medical themes attracting the attention of mere individuals. One can single out four principal fields of research in Poland. They are: (a) anthropology with archeology and ethnology, (b) history, (c) geography, (d) natural sciences and geology, with a total of some 30 persons active in these fields.

It is worth stressing that Europe's leading nations in terms of the number of researchers and the size of their libraries, namely, the FRG and West Berlin, France and Britain, as well as Spain with its most impressive stocks of archive and library material, have among them about 1,200 Latin American experts and 8 out of 100 biggest specialist libraries in this continent. To all likelihood, the big four have 90 per cent of books in Europe's specialist book collections. This represents an immense concentration of forces and resources, and to fully grasp its meaning, let us take a closer look at some facts and figures illustrating Latin American studies there.

The subject-matter composition of the Latin American research in Spain is the resultant of both the impact of tradition and the policies pursued by the post-war Franco government which took advantage of its relations with Latin America to break out of its political isolation. To achieve this end, it promoted the studies of colonial Hispanoamérica at the expense of the "dangerous" historical-sociological research into current developments. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to notice that the no less authoritarian Salazar regime produced no meaningful progress in Portugal's own Latin American studies.

In the remaining countries of Europe, the development of the Latin American studies began in the sixties. Things looked similar in the United States, where out of two thousand doctorates earned in the years 1949–1968, some 1,500 were conferred in the post 1958 period, the Cuban revolution serving as something of a watershed here.

The preliminary analysis of research in three of the most advanced countries of Europe points to differences between each and every of them. The most numerous (West German) group of scholars happens to be the least involved in the humanities, for instance. This is particularly true of historians who are relatively few and far between both in the FRG and West Berlin. For the sake of

Table 1

Distributions of Latin Americanists (percentage)

Major Disciplines	Country of residence			
	Spain	G. Britain	France	FRG*
History	59	25	19	6
Anthropology				
Etnology	18	9	19	7
Archeology				
Geography				
Geology	2	14	15	20
Languages				
Literatures	14	19	17	9
Sociology	2	10	8	16
Economics	0	9	10	15
Political Sciences				
Law	2	7	5	11
Natural Sciences				
Technology	3	7	7	16
Medicine				
Others				

* and West Berlin

comparison, in the United States in 1971 historians accounted for about 23 per cent of all Latin American scholars. On the other hand, one is impressed by a remarkable convergence of interests of FGR (plus West Berlin) and French scholars, as many as 50 per cent of whom work on the same countries and regions of Latin America while displaying the well-nigh identical scales of priorities at that. Whatever differences there exist between them, they stem from the German presence in Central America and Chile, and the French presence in the Antilles. And there again one cannot resist a comparison with the United States: given the preponderance of Mexico and Brazil, in this order, research into Puerto Rico and

Table 2

Scales of Priorities in the FRG and France

Priorities in terms of	France	FRG*
Countries	Brazil Mexico Peru Columbia Venezuela Argentina Bolivia	Brazil Mexico Peru Columbia Chile Argentina Bolivia
Regions	Andean Caribbean Central America	Andean Central America Caribbean

* and West Berlin

Cuba figures prominently there. It is interesting to note that Cuban-related issues are only of peripheral importance to German, let alone French experts.

It goes without saying that the facts and figures presented above are only an approximation to a picture of the Latin American studies in the countries under discussion. One is further tempted to add that:

- the studies in question keep developing world-wide;
- the greatest impact in this realm is being exerted by the professional groups of the United States and Great Britain which between them account for more than a half of the global community of Latin American experts (in 1971 there were 2,700 of these in the U. S. alone) and publish in the world's most commonly known language (English);
- the cutting edge of German research work is blunted primarily by the poor knowledge of the German language internationally;
- the availability in most of Europe of published research findings of scholars working in Latin America is highly unsatisfactory;
- so great is specialization and the supply of information in the principal centres that a considerable number of individual researchers have failed to develop a coherent and comprehensive „scientific” picture of Latin America;
- personal contacts with Latin America and among individual scholars internationally are rather slender in some cases, and inadequate in others, to mention the USSR which boasts a sizeable group of experts, primarily in the field of social sciences, as well as a Latin American Institute and impressive collections of books;
- in many countries, such as Poland, for instance, the Latin American studies do not enjoy the sufficient backing of the authorities which hold the purse strings;
- the range and scope of Latin American studies have shrunk of late and they are now proceeding at a much slower pace;
- painfully slow is the process whereby the Latin American studies help form a popular image of the subcontinent.

Bearing in mind that incomplete information and vigorous Eurocentrism are the prime movers in the formation of the popular image of Latin America, one must also remember that a researcher's view thereof is the outcome of his conscious exploration of Latin American realities amidst strivings for control of the influence of the ideological factors determining his Europeanism. Whatever similarities there may exist between the two, the expert's view of Latin America differs substantially from its popular image in that it carries a payload of comprehensive information reined in by methodological discipline. On the other hand, it is worth remembering that both the popular image and the expert's view of Latin America stem from the social perception of reality which, in turn, helps create that reality. This assertion not only seeks the status of a philosophical thesis. It is, above all, its sociological implication that matters here. For assuming that it is the European experience that conditions the European perception of

Latin America, then, while examining that perception we must take into account the social determinants of the contemporary processes governing the perception of European reality and having a share in its creation. By the same token, if we come round to recognize, for instance, that the paramount debate of our time centres around comparisons between Europe's foremost socio-economic systems and that the European record of civilizational advancement figures as the criterion of development, then any European diagnosis of Latin America's situation, as well as a prognosis for that region must be examined with a due account taken of the diagnosticians' position vis-a-vis both the afore-said systems and the European criterion of development. "Development" and "system" – these two notions have finally arrived in this paper.

4. The Development Debate and the Images

The concept of development has an exceptional role to play these days. Being an item of paramount importance in the reference system of the contemporary European as he follows the events in Latin America, this concept reduces to order the intellectual processing of information on this region while influencing economic and social diagnoses and forecasts and, consequently, developmental strategies and decisions taken by governments, corporations and the like. Simultaneously, the discussion on development furnishes both Europeans and Latin Americans with a broad avenue for communication.

Development today has every reason to claim the title of the idea most frequently used and – abused. And this raises few eyebrows because this is the term of arguably peerless ambiguity. Even after picking apart the subtleties of its definition, one would be hard put to it to distinguish between stereotype and scientific category inherent in its usage. In our time, the conception of development in common usage is both a product of an optimistic vision and articulation of social interests, and an instrument of critical analysis. Furthermore, it is difficult to anticipate in which direction the said debate will unfold. One can only suppose that some time in the future the conception of development will speak more about our mental condition than the processes and structures we are engrossed in examining. The rise and fall of the idea of progress give much food for thought in this connection.

To be sure, development can be interpreted in terms of duration, because the continued existence of society or, to be more precise, a social system, is grounded in the constant maintenance of the socio-ecological equilibrium. By this token, development could be conceived of as being synonymous with a process, whereby a certain type of society steers changes in a manner ensuring its very survival, the broad concept of change in this context encompassing both extremes: productive forces and ideology. However, development thus defined is nothing else than process of preservation of a social formation, in line with the

two fundamental tenets of sociology and within the framework of Marxist political economy. In discussions on Latin America a much narrower meaning is imparted to this term, which still does not make it unambiguous. While following the line of reasoning pursued by the participants in this European or – more exactly – world-wide debate, it is worth bearing in mind a few facts underlying it.

Firstly, quite transparent is the motivation guiding research in development. Diagnosing the historical development of Latin America is usually viewed as a prerequisite for selecting future development strategies. This attitude is responsible for crops of highly controversial argumentative publications which simply cannot be free from ideological conditioning, the relatively little-known debate involving Soviet Marxists being a case in point.

Secondly, development is not always discussed with a definite community in mind. When it is, the communities are singled out for a review, the political and/or territorial organization to which they belong (state), culture or region (e.g. South America or the Carribean regarded as one region) being applied as criteria governing the selection. Needless to say, there may exist considerable differences between such regions. What is more, the time factor is not always taken into account. More frequently than not, however, the debate will centre around a concrete society set in a definite period of time. But by and large, the authors find it difficult to resist the temptation to indulge in generalizations, which is fraught with the following perils: on the one hand, hypotheses arrived at on the basis of observation of a single region – say, a part of Europe – are sometimes uncritically presented as general theories; on the other, attempts are not infrequently made to present hypotheses which are general in nature but pertain to a single aspect of life (e.g. economy) as keys to the understanding of all social processes.

Thirdly, the researchers' attention is invariably drawn by a number of aspects of development, such as economic, political or, for that matter, cultural. The most important of them all, however, is the problem highlighting the connection between the socio-economic system established in a given region, or society, and formations evident throughout history, which prompts analyses of the relationship between feudalism and capitalism in Latin America.

Fourthly, discussions on development cannot avoid raising the issue of the yardstick with which to measure that development. The application of the qualitative criterion often leads to identification of social development with economic growth. One can then talk about different levels of development, be it high, medium or low, let alone zero development, positive development or negative development. While the search for the qualitative criterion goes on, questions are raised about the nature, type, direction and stages of development... The most frequently encountered qualifiers include: backwardness, underdevelopment, surreptitious (perverse) development (growth), uneven development, peripheral or dependent development, and these surface alongside

Europeanisation, modernity, modernization, colonial feudalism, neocolonialism, internal colonialism, imperialism, subimperialism, dependent development, dependent capitalism, medium-developed capitalism, and the like.

All the acts and processes of measuring boil down to comparisons. This, in turn, rakes up the question of the methodology of comparisons, i.e. of the ideal type or model of development. And it is precisely this that represents the veritable centre of gravity in discussions on development, even though there is no shortage of doubts surrounding the validity of the scope of comparison as such. The worldwide debate in the late seventies on the development of Latin America, the broadly-conceived Third World and overseas dependencies was a threepronged affair. One of the prongs sprang from the notion of imperialism and looked back on the oldest tradition. The second and third emerged from the conceptions of modernization and dependent capitalism respectively. The above-mentioned classification is not separative in nature, and this not only because of the predominance of the eclectic approach in the debate. To the contrary, there is a tangle of links connecting the prongs in question, and I am anxious to stress that.

Preeminent among "the classic theories of imperialism" today is Lenin's doctrine, with strong influence being wielded by that of Rosa Luxemburg and, to a lesser extent, Bukharin's and Sternberg's views which still command some following. For very many years, these concepts had maintained a monopoly, and it had not mattered very much that the overwhelming majority of sociologists, historians and economists the world over were not familiar with them. What I am saying is that nothing equally systemic existed back in those days as an alternative to Marxism. This role was taken on only after World War II by a new doctrine of modernization, spawned by structural functionalism. Later, in the mid-sixties, yet another school of thought emerged which drew upon Marxism, structural functionalism and the systemic approach – in this order, and in which the notion of dependence held a pivotal position (dependent development, dependent capitalism, etc.). However, it would be worth stressing that functionalism (modernization) is still very much alive and kicking, and that research into imperialism does not display signs of imminent demise either. The latter, in fact, has recently yielded a crop of publications whose authors draw heavily upon the tradition of classic research into imperialism while availing themselves of the contribution made by adherents of the concept of dependent development, and even utilizing the legacy of the early nineteenth century classic school of political economy, and all this to forward theses on unequal exchange or the movements of capital on the world market.

The substance of the debate on development is known well enough. What still remains to be known is the degree of the influence exerted by these orientations upon the images of the subcontinent.

I suppose that research will furnish evidence to the effect that (a) a major

responsibility for the popular image is borne by some vulgar version of the modernization doctrine and that (b) Latin Americanist experts are endeavouring to cohere into some kind of a vision both the modernization approach and thinking patterns proper to the dependence current.

The question now arises which one of the principal trends has a meaningful impact upon European power elites and the groups of experts surrounding them? For the time being, only a tentative answer can be provided, and one prompted by intuition alone: the overwhelming majority of these people, so it seems, are carriers of an incoherent and eclectic vision replete with the modernization doctrine in its crudest form, with Eastern Europe remaining under the conspicuous influence of a strange mixture of modernization concept and vulgar Marxism; the image of Latin America these people are helping to perpetuate stands closer to the empirically verifiable popular image rather than to the ideal picture of the region drawn by Latin Americanists; the "official" image remains under the visible influence of vigorous Europocentrism.

Now, what consequences has this official image for Europeans and Latin Americans? What influence does it exert upon research on Latin America in the nineteen eighties? There can be only one answer, assuming that my tentative diagnoses are correct ones on balance, one can define that influence as momentous, multidirectional – with only some of the intellectual trends getting neutralized in the process – and, shall we say, conservative.

5. General Conclusions and Hypotheses

There are many varieties of the popular image. They are the outcome of contact between disparate streams of information and value systems on different levels of perception and analysis in individuals, social groups and the like. One cannot fail to notice differences between these images in individual countries. However, some of the differences taken note of by the researches result from the variety of research methods applied by the authors of the publications on single countries I have referred to in this paper. Only comparative studies can provide an answer to the query about the substance of the common denominator in the pan-European picture, as well as the connection between the popular image of Latin America and the popular pictures of other aspects of Universal reality. What is certain, however, is that each and every version of the popular image is made up of a certain number of stereotypes which have been shaped, among other things, under the influence of Eurocentrism and the modernization doctrine. A characteristic feature of the popular image is its spontaneous emergence in people representing a low level of awareness of the factors conditioning their knowledge of Latin America, and its consequences, and showing little desire to grasp either.

Developed primarily in the sixties and seventies, Latin American studies

represent a differing area of the social creation of reality. I, for one, centered my attention on research first and foremost. The absence of any research whatsoever on the community of Latin Americanists has prevented this author's commitment to any particular line concerning the image of Latin America proper to this group of people. It will not be wrong, however, to assume that it differs widely from the popular image. The former is incontrovertibly closer to objective reality. Nevertheless, it would be hard to find even one such expert, let alone a group, knowledgeable enough on the current state of research on all the provinces of Latin American studies. What is more, the number of scholars and the size of library collections are, among other things, indicative of a highly uneven pace of progress of Latin American studies in individual countries. I am also inclined to believe that this state of affairs is further emphasized by a very high level and volume of Latin American studies in the United States whose influence accelerates, expands the scope of and brings refinement to the performance of countries leading in the field, while encouraging widespread imitation and/or uncritical acclaim of US research findings in places which are at the tail-end of the procession. Still, it is worth remembering that the progress of science is a world-wide phenomenon which may assist some of the most eminent scholars in arriving at an image of Latin America projecting a high degree of integration of some closely related provinces of knowledge, with due emphasis laid on the current state of research internationally. And it is possibly this group of scholars that can be described as conversant with the research results achieved in Latin America itself.

In the European community of Latin Americanists one can often hear concern voiced over the consequences of the insufficient control of the influence of ideology (Eurocentrism, class or group consciousness, party loyalty, nationalism, etc.) on the course of the studies. However, this influence is a fact of life, which is not and, indeed, cannot be subjected to full control, despite new and subtler research methods being worked out. That is why the image arrived at by Latin Americanists cannot be free from stereotypes. Quite possibly of paramount importance here is the valuation attached to the concept of development amidst the confluent impact of the modernization doctrine (still the strongest of them all), the dependence concept and historical materialism.

The "official" image is a different story, even though it contains certain elements of the popular image and – to a lesser extent – the evidence of scholarly influences. The impact of Eurocentrism and the modernization doctrine, so conspicuous here, is tinged with a drop or two of declarative Marxism in Eastern Europe. The peculiarity of this approach lies in its giving prominence to a high value attached to the concept of stabilization which, for a number of reasons, ranks higher than the value given to development, with stabilization not infrequently viewed as a precondition of development. Furthermore, the official image contains an element which is missing from the scholarly one, namely, the

knowledge of current tendencies detectable in the power elites of individual countries of Latin America. It seems, however, that only very small groups of people can be privy to such trends, the usefulness of this kind of intelligence being limited by the remaining elements of "official" knowledge.

Ubiquitous as Eurocentrism is, it still does not mark its presence under the same guise with the same force. For instance, one of its extreme forms discernible primarily in the popular image borders on racism, whereas sophistication prevalent in the expert and "official" images consists in a dogmatic interpretation of historical materialism. The popular image contains a vigorous and spontaneous variety of Eurocentrism whereas in the image created by Latin Americanists, Eurocentrism is under scrutiny and control. However, one must also take note of doctrinal Eurocentrism which amounts to a conscious application of the European model inherent in all these kinds of images, even though its impact may be on the wane. And, last but not least, one must be mindful of differences existing between various forms of Eurocentrism. For instance, racism can be tinged with national hues imparting tell-tale differences to German, French, Polish, English and other brands of racism.

Most of the authors interested in this set of issues hold the view that the stereotypes' share of the popular image has been shrinking since the sixties. So it is quite likely that the official image has been gaining in contents. On its part, Eurocentrism is slowly losing influence. But how about development related stereotypes? Are they also on the wane? One cannot eliminate this possibility, especially in areas where they blend with Eurocentrism. However, the question arises if the development stereotypes can be reduced to Eurocentrism. I do not think so, and West-centred reductionism and voluntarism are largely responsible for that.

One cannot miss the analytical significance of the three kinds of images I have distinguished in this paper, or whatever images can be identified in this manner. Social practice displays a propensity to integration, that is to say, homogenization: (a) individuals as well as groups are carriers of knowledge representing a specific combination of disparate images of Latin America, (b) individual images are becoming alike. The integrationist trend stems from two premises: firstly, Latin America as an objective reality is one, hence the corresponding subjective relativity – the socially constructed images of Latin America rolled into one – is potentially one as well. Secondly, television is of growing importance in the shaping of Latin America's image, the inevitable uniformity that it imposes resulting not only from the fact of its being the most extensive avenue of information in Europe, but also from its ability to integrate – like no other medium – all manner of components of what is being referred to here as the image of Latin America: ludique and philosophical, accoustic and visual, aesthetic and scientific, national and international, and so on, and so forth. The question about ways of following this integrationist trend invites a reply to the effect that is

necessary to endeavour to analyse both objective and subjective reality. For example, Latin American studies should follow in the footsteps of the historical sciences, within the framework of which both history and historiography are being examined. One must, therefore, study both the reality of Latin America and the socially-constructed European reality of Latin America. It goes without saying that this directive is binding not only for Latin American studies.

To end, may I return for a while to the matter which has been mentioned a few times in this paper, namely, to the nineteen sixties which, it will be remembered, marked a watershed in the process of creation of Latin America's images. It is obvious that in Latin America the period in question was fraught with the social conflict of growing intensity. Of much greater significance, however, was that the conflict erupted in the late fifties in the region escalated into a world confrontation between the two superpowers (the Cuban revolution and the Caribbean crisis). That particular conflict, so it seems, was of much greater consequence for the development of Latin American studies and the refinement of the subcontinent's image – both popular and official – than other aspects of relations between Latin America and Europe (trade, the flow of capital and information, migration of people, etc. over the past centuries and years), as well as the relatively autonomous processes stimulating the development of science or, for that matter, general development processes in Europe and North America. If that is really the case, it means that the formation of the image of Latin America, i.e. the accumulation of integrated and more relevant knowledge, will in the future be contingent upon, above all, whether or not Latin America becomes a hotbed of world conflict. A social change in real Latin America gives origin to a change in the socially constructed-reality (of Latin America) in Europe (1982).

REFERENCES

- Alperovich, M.S., 1968, „La historia de los países latinoamericanos y su estudio en la Unión Soviética”, *Ibero-Americana Pragensia*, año II, pp. 181–207; (cont. in:), año III, 1969, pp. 241–264.
- Anderle, A., Benkő, J., Toth, A., 1980, „La imagen de América Latina en la Hungría de los siglos XIX–XX”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 6, I parte, pp. 33–54.
- Berger, P.L., Luckmann, T., 1966, *The Social Construction of Reality*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Carmagnani, M., Casetta, G., 1980, „La imagen de América Latina en la Italia de los siglos XIX y XX”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 6, I parte, pp. 55–62.
- Ferno, R., Grenz, W., 1980, *Handbuch der Deutschen Lateinamerika-Forschung. Institutionen, Wissenschaftler und Experten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Berlin (West)*, Neuere Veröffentlichungen, Bonn-Hamburg.
- Hennessy, A., 1980, „La imagen de América Latina en la Gran Bretaña de los siglos XIX y XX”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 6, I parte, pp. 105–124.
- Holznier, B., 1968, *Reality Construction in Society*, Cambridge, Mass.

- Kubia k, B., 1979, „Historia y cultura de México a los ojos de los polacos 1945–1975”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 5, pp. 43–65.
- Kula, M., 1982, „Ameryka bliska i daleka” (Near and distant America), in: M. Kula, *Ameryka Łacińska w oczach Polaków. Antologia* (Latin America as seen by the Poles), Warszawa, pp. 5–48.
- Latinskaya Amerika. Entsiklopedichesky Spravochnik*, 1980, I, A–K, pp. 103–105.
- Lavrov, N.M., 1980, „La imagen de América Latina en la URSS”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 6, I parte, pp. 125–130.
- Lepkowski, T., 1980, „La imagen de América Latina en la Polonia de los siglos XIX y XX”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 6, I parte, pp. 131–169.
- Martinière, G., 1980, La escuela de los 'Annales' y las Américas Latinas 1929–1949”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 6, II parte, pp. 133–153.
- Mesa-Lago, C., Kregar, S.A., (1980?) *Latin American Studies in Europe*, Pittsburgh.
- Miłkowski, T., 1976, „La problemática de la revolución cubana en la prensa polaca 1953–1961”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 3, pp. 179–193.
- Minguet, Ch., 1980, „La imagen de América Latina en la Francia de los siglos XIX y XX”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 6, I parte, pp. 171–198.
- Morales Padrón, 1980, „La imagen de América Latina en la España de los siglos XIX y XX”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 6, I parte, pp. 199–136.
- National Directory of Latin Americanists*, 1971, Second Edition, Biographies of 2,695 Specialists in the Social Sciences and Humanities, compiled by... Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Repertoire des recherches Latino-Americanistes en France*, 1979, Toulouse.
- Sibemmann, G., 1980, „La imagen de América Latina en textos alemanes del siglo XIX y XX. Preliminares para su investigación”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 6, II parte, pp. 285–293.
- Stang, G., 1980, „América Latina en el espejo del sistema educacional noruego, 1814, 1977”, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 6, II parte, pp. 295–332.
- Stemplowski, R., (ed.) 1983, *Dzieje Ameryki Łacińskiej od schyłku epoki kolonialnej do czasów współczesnych* (The History of Latin America from the Decline of Colonial Era to Modern Times), Vol. 3: 1930–1980, Warszawa.
- Stemplowski, R., 1979, „Modernisierung-Theorie oder Doktrin? Anmerkungen eines Lateinamerika-Historikers”, in: Conze, W., Schramm, G., Zernack, K., (eds.), *Modernisierung und national Gesellschaft im ausgehenden 18. und im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin (West.), pp. 9–27.
- Stemplowski, R., forthcoming, „Rozwój jako przedmiot dyskusji” (Development as a Topic of Debate), in: Stemplowski, R., *Ameryka Łacińska – dyskusja o rozwoju* (Latin America: a Debate on Development), Czytelnik.
- Stols, E., 1980, „A descoberta da América Latina como terra de missao e continente – problema pela opiniao católica belga”, 1895–1970, *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 6, II parte, pp. 343–361.
- Suarez, I.L., Sánchez, E.M., 1981, *Latinoamericanistas en Europa*, 1981, Amsterdam.
- Szeynis, W.L., 1979 “Klotschkovski and the other participants of the debate on capitalism in the contemporary Latin America”, in: *Latinskaya Amerika*, 1 and 2.
- Woga, von, P., Evers, T.T., 1973, „Lateinamerikanische Theorien zur Unterentwicklung, Das Argument”, *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Sozialwissenschaften*, Haft 2–6, pp. 404–454.
- Zarubiezniye tsentri po izucheniyu Latinskoj Ameriki*, 1970, Vol. 1, 2nd edition, Moskva.

APPENDIX 1. Sources

1) Papers on Latin America's image in Europe of the 19th and 20 th centuries: France (by Ch. Minguet), Hngary (by A. Anderle et al.), Italy (by M. Carmagnani and G. Casetta), Great Britain (by A. Hennessy), Poland (by T. Łepkowski, and T. Miłkowski, and B. Kubiak), Soviet Union (by N. Lavrov), Sweden (by M. Mörner), Spain (by F. Morales Padron);

2) Most statistical data come from the following publications:

- Carmelo Mesa-Lago, S. E. Miller and S. A. Kregar, *Latin American Studies in Europe*, Pittsburgh 1980
- R. Fernoud and W. Grenz, *Handbuch der deutschen Lateinamerika-Forschung...*, Hamburg 1980
- I. L. Suarez y E. Sanchez M., *Latinoamericanistas en Europa* (1981), Amsterdam 1981
- *Repertoire des recherches Latino-Americanistes en France*, Toulouse 1979
- *Dzieje Ameryki Łacińskiej*, (Editor in chief) T. Łepkowski, Vol. III Warszawa 1983

3) My own publications, and my personal interviews in Poland, USA, FRG, Great Britain, France Spain, Sweden, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Soviet Union and Argentina.