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PRIMEIRA MINISTRA

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

MARIA DE LOURDES PINTASILGO (defeated): The chapter "Research and Technological Development" is part of the Fourth Portuguese Development Plan 1974 - 1979 which considers itself to be the bearer of a "global model of development". My fundamental objection arises from the subordination of this chapter to the proposed "model". The guide lines of this "global model of development" are defined in a series of facts and directives which if they are taken one by one do not deserve too much negative criticism. However, they are stated within the context of a strong affirmation that: "the global sense of the evolution to be aimed at, ultimately, can only be attunement to developed Europe." I reject this main emphasis.

To this model of development, for a country which, besides having a very low per capita income, is facing one of the most difficult phases of its history (as the Prime Minister affirmed without evasion during his visit to London,) I find myself obliged to put a 'no' as categoric as the definition of the model of development which the Plan adopts appears to be to me.

My reasons for rejecting the model of competition with a developed Europe are varied; some reasons are of an ideological nature, others are of a methodological nature.

On the ideological level, I reject the idea that the life of a country be determined by the incentive of competition. History shows that competition is not the prime factor in determining the autonomy and survival of a people and even in countries, such as the U.S.A., where this competition is used as a guarantee of world success, it benefits only a minimal section of the population.

Moreover, I reject the idea that the model to be followed is that of developed Europe. In doing this, I adopt the unanimous opinion of sociologists who have devoted their research to development and who affirm: "the necessity of attributing to political, administrative and human factors the same priority as that given to material development." (Gunnar Myrdal in Asian Drama)



For this reason, even if we were to become more intensely integrated into Europe, I do not believe that the country should follow the same road because the structural conditions of the Portuguese nation are very different from those countries which make up what the Plan calls "developed Europe".

Why am I making this critique? I am making it in the name of the very context in which the Plan maintains it is situated: that of "a global model of development". In the first place, if we use correct terminology, a global model is not one which integrates all sectors and all regions of a society. It is, above all, a model which unifies the diverse aspects of a society, inspiring and enabling it to take its own historical evolution into its own hands. Such a model confers an all-embracing character to the finalities of man in his sociological, historical and ecological situatedness. That means: it is essential to know the men and women who will be the authors of this development, the mechanisms which move and inspire them, the ancestral forces which condition and determine them, the expressions taken by their common will in today's world, the tellurian reality that enables them to perform specific and creative activities and the living conditions which are necessary so that they can feel and express a truly human life.

A global model of development for Portugal would be one which integrates these diverse factors and extracts the parameters and variables from them in the decantation of experience which is inherent to a scientific interpretation of reality.

Moreover, it is the capacity which a society has of facing its own problems in an original way, even if they correspond to those of countries which are commonly called "underdeveloped" or "backward", that enables it, on the one hand, to find the springboard to a healthy self-reliance and, on the other hand, to become capable of discovering elements which are equally new and innovative in situations which are



considered to be "developed" or "advanced". Each time that a problem is treated with an interdisciplinary approach, the instruments of modern technology, the required creativity within the system, and the logic that gives rise to it, it is possible to arrive at an in-depth solution which is unique because it relates all the givens and universal because it is completely localized in time and place.

I believe that this capacity exists sporadically in Portuguese society and potentially in its people. I lament (and express this with a negative vote) the fact that the Fourth Plan of Development has not provided the necessary opportunity to discover this national capacity and, thus, to invent a new destiny.

By placing the problem on an ideological level, I wanted to underline the fact that the proposed Fourth Plan makes a political choice whose premises are debatable in the sciences of development and, up to a certain point, contradictory to the traditional principles of the nation in its cultural identity.

The methodological disagreement flows from all these ideological aspects. The theory of development which the Fourth Plan proposes makes men and institutions "adapt" to the growth of the economy. The problem thus posed can only lead to a growing gap between the created wealth and the men to whom, by right but not in fact, it is destined.

Moreover, the theory on which my observations are based can be found in any study on unified development. It is enough to quote an article from International Social Development Review, 1971, §3.

"Many of the expenses of the poorest countries represent a despairing attempt to compete from a disadvantaged situation in order to resolve the same type of problems with the same methods, instead of attempting to resolve those which arise from their own conditions."

Using more severe terms, the economist Stiglitz says: "The small economies can imitate us by following our methods for doing things this year, but not our methods of changing things next year."



A parallel criticism has been made in our country. Thus, the article "Development and Productivity", Jornadas de Produtividade de 1972, clearly states that: "It would not be correct to start from the principle that any economic development, just because it is economic, is a means of development now." Or, again: "Economic development is a means to development which must be acted upon so that it gives the greatest possible contributions in relation to social objectives. It is an active, demanding position through which the unified character of the socio-economic reality must be made use of, not only in the sense of avoiding all the eventual negative consequences (dehumanizing working conditions, pollution of the atmosphere, etc.), but, above all, to obtain the maximum positive social effects."

I do not wish to ignore the technical difficulties which a unified socio-economic global model of development presents. Such difficulties are recognized in the U.N. report on the World Social Situation, published in 1971, as arising from the "absence of methodological instruments which are adequate to the ends of an integrated planning". These difficulties today are the object of numerous studies which may be the beginning of a way to overcome them.

This level, the discovery of adequate methods for an integrated planning is key. Its importance is as relevant to macrosocial application in the large autonomous regions of Portuguese territories as it is relevant to microsocial application in any other community or institution with an autonomy of its own. In my opinion, the discovery and working out of these methodologies should be the absolute priority of "Research and Technological Development".

But the chapter "Research and Technological Development" is framed by the section on "Sectors of Support to Economic Activity". This is the same as saying that, even if the outlook of the Plan as a whole were different and if the internal options of research were others, the framework condemns this chapter to be a mere instrument of



economic mechanisms.

When a country faces its future, it asks the questions that its historic moment requires. And it is these questions which will be the object of research, even though it be necessary to change course, cut grants, dethrone chiefs, invent sectors as yet unexplored by study or action. Some will maintain that the subordination of "Research and Technological Development" to the parameters of the present moment restricts the liberty of the researchers. They might argue that this would be a limitation of certain highly specialized fields of pure research because it proposes problems which are apparently more modest since they are more direct and concrete. And I ask: who is the freer? The researcher who directs his perseverance and his creativity in response to the human and social necessities of a country, or the researcher whose daily efforts are ultimately dictated by the laws of commerce or by the inexorable mechanisms of competition? Who is the freer?

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It is in this context that I criticize the order of the first point of the chapter under consideration on "Strategy for Development -- General Co-ordinates". There are four co-ordinates of the "Policy of Science and Technology" which are the basic guide lines for the period of execution of the Plan. In my mind, one should determine the others, namely the one called "Suitability of the System to the Necessities and Priorities of our Economic and Social Development Process". Indeed, from its study depend the conditions of "Expansion of the National Capacity for Scientific and Technical Research", the forms of "Organization and a Coherent and Integrated Administration in Scientific and Technological Activities", the determining criteria of "Productivity of the Resources Voted to Research".

The second point of the chapter under consideration is "Programming of Actions to Be Undertaken -- Political Measures". This chapter, because of the subordination to economics that it supposes, is not able



to go beyond a certain tabulation and does not establish correlations or, at the very least, hierarchies. To be sure, the "establishment of global structures of coordination" is seen as a priority, but the exigencies of a scientific coordination are not followed through. I refer to the need to decompartmentalize in order to discover the real (and not theoretic or fictitious) knots and the common problems in relation to which the structures of coordination need to be built.

The sub-chapters "Research in the Public Sector", "Research in Institutes of Higher Learning", "Research in Business" could, thus, be reviewed in a renewed perspective of problems, characteristics and means of research which have traditionally been given to them and which the Plan easily accepts without question.

Let us consider research in private ^{enterprises} (both profit and non-profit making.) There is nowhere a reference to the need for these enterprises to develop their own projects of research. I believe insertion in concrete reality leads projects to help towards greater adaptation to national priorities. The coefficient of healthy pragmatism of such projects is a valuable asset which should not be disregarded.

It would also be worth asking if, at a time in history when the university (This its younger element can only express negatively.) refuses to be an ivory tower outside social, economic, cultural and political reality, it is justifiable to have a "corner" of "pure" research within its walls in order to preserve the university institution for the high speculations of fundamental research.

It would also be worth asking if the identification of politics and administration with research is evident or crystal clear. This question arises from the existence of a number of facts which can be observed daily, such as: the experience of introjection of the norms of the establishment, the oscillating character of political changes and its repercussions on the very logic and autonomy of research, the unconscious mechanism of self-censorship which politically loaded proposals necessarily create in the researcher because of previous politically ineffective experiences.



We come now to the third point of this chapter "Priority Fields of Research". The project presents a sectorial division which, because of the variety of aspects it touches, ends up neutralizing all the questions without underlining those that really have priority. I believe that this fact results from the ambiguity with which the concrete solutions resulting from the economic outlook of the Plan are presented. It is here that it reveals itself to be non-operational.

The project sees the "social sections" as priority fields of research because of the "rapid process of industrialization and of the influx to the large centers. It seems to me that this aspect, although important, is secondary. On the other hand, research in the field of "social sections" lacks a more complete and more oriented expression than that which is essentially enunciated in the text. Although I recognize the validity of the introduction of new fields which presuppose a new orientation for themselves, on seeing them totally juxtaposed, I ask myself if they correspond in fact to any direction at all. A clear direction would be needed in order to face the worsening social situation of the country.

Two aspects of the so-called "social sectors" seem to have been completely overlooked as priority matter for research: firstly, the adequate utilization of all the potential human resources for the mobilization of all the country in its social project; secondly, the mechanisms for the participation of all the population in the articulation of its socio-cultural reality, in the formulation of its community interests, in the joint decision with the Executive on the ways to resolve the concrete problems.

I find it strange, too, that the role of research in the field of intermediate technologies which could serve the Portuguese situation has not been pointed out. Again, this question comes from the awareness of the human and social situation of the country. In the face of poor



