These policies, which took effect last year, have caused the Turks to wonder why a country as rich as West Germany is so concerned about a few more foreigners. While the visa requirement has led to a slowing of the migration flow, it has not stopped it.

Many Germans feel their government has made only a gesture toward coming to terms with the abuse of asylum. Anger at the bogus "refugees" residing in the country has continued to mount. Local authorities have started to punish some foreigners who have asked for asylum but have not, in one way or another, "behaved themselves," taking away part of their welfare subsidies.

As both foreigners and Germans trade heated accusations, the climate in many German cities grows more hostile. Simply keeping new refugees out—if this were possible—will not resolve the ill feelings. While Germany's dilemma is not at all unique (there are millions of temporary immigrants from countries like Turkey scattered throughout Western Europe), it does have an added dimension: Because of its Nazi legacy Germany remains on probation. Sensitive to criticism, the Schmidt government has declared it will give the highest priority to developing an Ausländerpolitik during the 1980s, with the goal of increased understanding and tolerance between Germans and foreigners. Given the enormous economic, social, religious, and language differences—differences that have stubbornly persisted—this is a formidable challenge. If it is to be met, it may well mean that Germany must accept what Hitler vowed it never would—a heterogeneous, multiracial society.

John Dippel is writing a book about modern Germany.

EXCURSUS 3

Robert J. Myers on THE REVOLT AGAINST MODERNITY

Where economic, religious, and political values come in conflict there are consequences for the international political process, for trade, and for business. At a recent CRIA conference the forces of traditionalism and modernism were the subject and the United States was the focus.

Where do these forces come into conflict domestically? It was asked; and where internationally, in ways that affect our relations with other societies? Indeed, are these forces inevitably in opposition, or are various social "models" simply part of a continuum, a mixed model—participants in a long-term historical process with an indefinite outcome?

The conference concentrated not on international case studies but, rather—in the words of Professor Seymour Martin Lipset of the Hoover Institution—on "political movements and political reactions to social tensions involved in modernization," especially in America. All participants agreed that the ethical principles applied to development of our domestic society and to maintaining its place in the world order are central to an informed appreciation of what is happening in the world today.

The process of modernization was described as the change from human energy to other forms of energy—electricity, oil, coal—and the harnessing of those energy sources to produce material goods. "We can specify the institutions that have brought about modernity," noted sociologist Peter Berger. "Above all is the technology that has produced industrial civilization."

That civilization was of necessity a powerful engine of change, pushing aside the traditional ways of ordering society. Until recent decades these changes in the economic scene were welcomed uncritically for the most part. Since the 1970s, and especially in America, the side-effects of what is now called postindustrial society have been attacked by both the Left and the Right.

"Leftists criticize society from the vantage point of a belief in a future Utopia, described as more egalitarian, democratic, more participatory on the part of the mass," said Lipset. "Difficulties of the present are attributed to the exploitative powers of a dominant ruling class. Rightists emphasize the prior existence of a good integrated society that once characterized their nation. They believe that the malaise, the problems of contemporary society are results of abandoning the values and social relationships that characterized the golden age of the past." The public perceives environmental movements, for example, as left-wing protests against modernity; forces opposing changes are generally thought to issue from the Right.

The mainstream religious bodies in America have probed at modern economic development all along the way, testing and appraising economic changes to determine whether they pay due regard to the whole of creation and how well the system answers mankind's material and spiritual needs at a given time.

As Berger expressed a contemporary point of tension: "What is involved is modern values against postmodern values. The Moral Majority represents those values that produced the industrial order; the other side represents a reaction against those values."

Dr. Richard Whalen, president of Worldwide Information Resources, Ltd., had a different formulation: "The revolt against modernity is a revolt of the confident against the self-critical, self-doubting, the postmodern."

Phyllis McGrath of Stauffer Chemical Company emphasized the need to resolve a conflict that, in some cases, was more apparent than real: "There are things in traditionalism that none of us wants to do away with, even though we are for modernity. The 'small is beautiful' people are against technology, but they are for information technology. The same groups talk about alternative technologies or appropriate technologies rather than antitechnology. This is true for both sides of the argument."

It is the sluggish growth of the American economy that has made postindustrial society increasingly subject to criticism, both of its objective shortcomings and its underlying values. The Moral Majority, to cite a frequently named group, champions the values of the industrial age—the family, the work ethic, traditional religious values. Robert Smylie of the United Presbyterian Church
placed this development in theological perspective: "Modernism had a sense of the immanent God, the notion that God was close and within us; the Moral Majority, as Fundamentalists, stress the transcendent God. God and God's role in life depends on what the interpreter of the revealed word says that it is. The individual is not the interpreter as he was in the modernist tradition."

The strains on the American economy are causing a rethinking of its economic role in the world as the increasing dependence on others for markets and resources becomes more severe. And the U.S. is not alone in this. As was noted by economist Jeremiah Novak: "We are in the same boat with every developing country, because the choices are the same. The government must cut back, interest rates must decrease, wages must be frozen, prices must be allowed to rise until profits go up and new investments can be generated."

Despite the problems discussed, the conclusion was essentially optimistic. Economic growth offers many opportunities to deal with increasing population and food problems, to humanize our technology, and to ensure that change will be constructive change. As Klaus Agthie, vice-president for international operations development of Continental Can International, concluded, growth is not simple expansion. "What keeps the whole society, the human being or society. The answer to problems of growth is change. You do something different."

Robert J. Myers is President of CRIA.

EXCURSUS 4

Leonor Blum on BRAZIL’S NORTHEAST: PROGRESS REPORT

Much has been said about the dire circumstances of the Brazilian Northeast: the waterless and sewerless favelas of Recife, Salvador, Fortaleza, and Natal; the rural dwellers who stream to these swollen cities, fleeing famine and a land-tenure system that has resisted reform; an urban work force that is itself 20 to 30 per cent underemployed; a life expectancy ten years below the national average; the tax scheme of the '60s that managed to attract Southern capital but failed to utilize local raw materials, saw profits plowed back into parent companies in the South, and made a mere dent in Northeast underemployment.

There are a few projects, though, that hold out hope for some of the area's ten million poor. The most spectacular have been joint ventures of the Brazilian government, multinationals, and Southern private capital. The integrated petrochemical plant at Camaçari in the province of Bahia is one such example.

Financed in part with loans from the Interamerican Development Bank (IDB), the plant produced 50 per cent of Brazil's petrochemicals last year and brought in $2 billion in sales. Officials proudly point out that the plant utilizes Bahian oil and gas and power from the Paulo Afonso hydroelectric generators. It is plugged into the liquid bulk terminal at the new port of Aratu, only a few miles away. The installations are technologically impressive by U.S. standards; pollution control devices are already in operation. There are even plans to run the entire complex on hydroelectric power and sugar cane waste. However, the employment provided by this costly industrial complex, while impressive, will total only twenty thousand, a mere fraction of the area's underemployed.

Another cooperative venture is the new industrial port complex of Swape, thirty-five miles from Recife. When completed, this deep-water port will incorporate a ship repair shop and a fertilizer, a steel, an aluminum, and a cement plant. Still, only the fertilizer plant will produce for Northeastern consumption. The others will also be far more capital- than labor-intensive.

In tackling the painful problems of the area in the past few years, Brazil's military government has shifted its focus from industrial development to social relief for favelados and to a few agricultural programs. With gubernatorial and municipal elections coming up in 1982 and presidential elections in 1984, the government is attempting to generate popular support. Loans from the World Bank and the IDB to Banco Nacional de Habitação (BNH) help favelados improve their homes. Slum dwellers are also encouraged to obtain low-interest loans to install plumbing, electricity, drains, and sidewalks in their favelas. There will be schools and job-training centers. The question, of course, is whether these efforts are big enough and soon enough, but the aim is to better the lives of several million favelados by 1985.

Owing to the poverty of the land of the Northeast and the recurrent droughts, the area's salvation does not lie in agriculture. But some hope for alleviating the employment problem is presented by an integrated agrarian-industrial effort. The United Nations Development Program and the IDB in the past five years have helped fund irrigation projects that are opening new lands to colonization. World Bank loans are earmarked for small farmers, and extension services are being created. Then too there are special colonization programs in the Amazon—the new agricultural frontier—and expanding industry in the South, which act as safety valves for the excess labor.

As for those who remain behind in the sertão, the arid interior plains in the region, the only hope is in a radical land redistribution program. Eighty-five to 95 per cent of the Northeast's rural income falls to large land owners, who subutilize both land and labor. In 1970 establishments of more than a hundred hectares—70 per cent of all agricultural installations—employed only 13 per cent of rural labor and cultivated only 38 per cent of the land they owned.

Though they have no statistics to confirm it, World Bank officials suspect the situation in the rural Northeast has been changing for the worse. Many workers have been released as crops have shifted from cotton and cacao to cattle and sugar. (Cattle-raising, though well suited to dry regions, requires little labor; sugar, though labor-intensive, requires workers on a seasonal basis only.) The more intensive use of land, which is characteristic of land redistribution, does not automatically bring about regional development, nor does it necessarily increase productivity. It does usually raise the income of farmers and provide greater employment.

If land redistribution is followed by agricultural planning and development of labor-intensive industries that utilize such local raw materials as sugar, there is hope for Brazil's stepchild region. Its integration into the booming "Proalcool" program, which converts sugar into combustible alcohol, could be particularly rewarding for the Northeast, since Brazil is already producing alcohol-run cars and aims at increasing its production each year.

Leonor Blum is a freelance writer specializing in Latin America and a student at the School for Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University.