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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE INPUT-OUTPUT MODEL

by

GAMAL ELEISH, Ph. D.

National Planning Committee, Cairo

Historical background

Consistent thinking is no doubt "a moral obligation"[1] and if it is so for intelligent human beings it is certainly much more so for rational economists. But even a rational well disciplined economist is often at a loss when confronted with the highly complicated mechanisms which govern and rule economic decisions. This feeling of uncertainty is even more vivid when he is faced with the unsurmountable difficulties which he has to overcome when dealing with the so-called underdeveloped economies. These difficulties are further enhanced by such limitations, as the lack of statistics, which the latter economies put upon the tools with which he is acquainted and hopes to discover the "invisible hand" which turns the economic wheel in the more advanced economies. In such case, the ideal state of consistent thinking, although remains a desired goal, could not be lived up to all the time. But the rational economist, nevertheless, is in constant search for the proper analytical tool which keeps him within the vicinity of that thinking.

In fact the awareness of the economist of the considerable specialization within each sector of the economy and among the different economies, besides leading to the formulation of such elaborate theories as the comparative cost theory, made him always timid to explore the mysterious sphere of economic interdependency. Furthermore it led him to adopt a certain analytical tool, one which came to be known as partial analysis. This partial

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(1) This term is borrowed from a delightful memorandum written by Prof. Ragnar Frisch and published by the National Committee, Cairo, June 19, 1960.

analysis was a predominate feature of economic analysis up until a very short time ago. This is despite the equal awareness of the fact that the different sectors of the economy, whatever their degree of specialization may be, could not work in complete isolation from the other sectors of the economy. This awareness is clearly illustrated by the example of the "production of a pin" which Adam Smith forwarded to illustrate the extreme specialization within the economy.

Partial analysis, however, is an indispensible tool in economic understanding particularly if we desire to enhance our knowledge about the operation of the market economy. Marshall's partial equilibrium system in fact could be looked upon as a simplification of the equilibrium theory. However, it does not claim to be looking at the economy as an entity; but rather it traces the changes within individual sectors assuming, of course, that other things will remain unchanged. The changes in the behavior of the consumers and the producers of a particular commodity are examined, with prices and outputs of that commodity being the crucial points. This type of relationship is presented in a set of supply and demand functions, with changes in the level of income or of outputs of the consuming sector appearing as shifts in the demand functions. Similar shifts in the supply functions of the using sector may appear with changes in other uses of its inputs.(1) In fact, what the partial analyst would generally do is to isolate the effects of certain variables and attempts to detect the results of their interaction while assuming the other variables in the economy to be constant. While this approach is commendable in the sphere of physical sciences it is less meaningful in economics as the other variables rarely stay without changing. This is due, of course, to the complicated nature of the economic mechanism and the fact that there exists a great deal of interdependence among the different economic sectors.

The idea of interdependence in the economy, as we have mentioned before, was recognized by Adam Smith, and even by earlier economists.(2) The "Tableau Economique" in which Fran-

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(1) Chenery and Clark, "Interindustry Economics", p. 2.

(2) As early as 1759, a draft of what later developed into Wealth of Nations existed in Smith's notes but it was not until March 9, 1776, did the work come from the press. See Robert B. Downs, "Books that Changed the World," p. 42.

çois Quesnay [1] attempted to demonstrate the flow of wealth through the economy is but a definite recognition of that idea. In fact interindustry models are generally traced back to those "tableaux". However, it is generally maintained [2] that the present development in the field of interindustry economics is largely indebted to the inspiration provided by the work of "Leon Walras" who developed a complex and abstract model which made that phenomenon its main theme. He recognized the fact that "everything in the economy is dependent upon everything else" and his model was built with the aim of examining the requisits for general equilibrium. It contained a number of equations which described the cost structure in the production sectors, the consumers incomes and expenditures as well as the total supply and demand of the different commodities and primary inputs. He took into consideration the substitutability of one product by the other as well as assuming that industries would compete for the factors of production, two points to be dropped later, as we shall see, by Prof. Leontief. The Walrasian system was criticised later as being "an example of the emptiness of economic theory at this level of abstraction, since few interesting conclusions about economic reality can be drawn from the formal properties of the model, and the system as formulated does not lend itself to empirical verification." [3]

Other economists who contributed in this field are Pareto and Cassel who aimed at perfecting the model of Walras. However, it was always felt that their models had to be simplified in order that their functional relations could be statistically determined. At this point one should not underestimate the contribution made by Prof. Ragner Frisch of Norway in his paper "Circulation Planning" which appeared in Econometrica in 1934 in which he discussed the case of a closed economic system as well as that of an open one, both with determinants which were equal to 0.[4] In that article he put forward a set of equations which resembled in essence those of the Input-Out Model.[5]

However, it was Prof. Wassily Leontief who thought of these ideas not merely as theoretical sophistications but as an inspira-

(1) François Quesnay published his tables in 1758.
(2) Chenery and Clark, "Interindustry Economics", p. 2.
(3) Ibid, p. 3.
(4) Ragner Frisch, "Some Basic Notions of Input-Output Analysis", National Planning Committee, Cairo, 1957, p. 8.
(5) Ibid, p. 7.

tion for his great empirical work.(1) Unlike Prof. Frisch he discussed the case of an open system with non-vanishing determinant. Furthermore he was the first to attempt an empirical application of the general equilibrium theory. Although his work on an empirical model for the American economy started in 1931. his first results were published in 1936.(2) It was Prof. Leontief who simplified the Walrasian model to the extent at which it could be statistically determined. As we mentioned before, he dispensed with the limitations Walras put upon the factor supplies as well as that of substitution among inputs. In doing that he accepted the original assumption of Walras of fixed "coefficients of production." The Leontief model eliminates the effects of prices on the composition of consumer demand, and the demand for intermediate goods as well as that for the factors of production and in doing that it "precludes many of the adjustments characterizing the Walrasian Concept of general Equilibrium.(3)

As it could be observed the approach of a Leontief analyst would be in sharp contrast to that of a partial analyst. While the later studies the effects of changes in certain magnitudes and attaches no importance to the effects of these changes on the rest of the economy, the Leontief analyst considers the study of these changes his prime object. He takes, on the other hand, the equilibrium adjustment of input properties as given and does not attach great importance to the assumption of maximizing behavior.(4) Moreover he does not think of the changes in the supply and demand of the different commodities as a result in the changes in prices but rather due to changes in the demand function of the different sectors which are the result of changes in the levels of production. In the short run, the Leontief analyst would think of the changes in demands as having direct influence on output rather than on prices.

The aggregative income analyst, however, has much more in common with the Leontief Analyst. Uniform aggregate behaviors which generally could be determined statistically are corner stones in their analysis. While this is so the partial analyst attempts to

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(1) W. Duane Evans and Marvin Houffenberg, "The Interindustry Relations Study for 1947 U.S. Department of Labour, Bureau of Labour Satistics."
(2) Leontief's basic ideas were published in his article "Quantitative Input-Output Relations in the Economic System of the United States, . The Review of Economics and Statistics" Vol. 18, August 1936.
(3) Chenery and Clark, "Interindustry Economics", p. 3.
(4) Ibid, p. 4.

rationalize, on the basis of theoretical justifications, the changes involving certain isolated magnitudes. They both (i.e. the former) make assumptions about the autonomous elements in their systems and try to reach the effects of changes in these elements on the level of production or income through a set of coefficients indicating the structure of the economy in the case of the Leontief model or through a set of propencities indicating the response of the rest of the economy to these changes in the case of the aggregate income approach.

However, it must be remembered that a major point of difference still exists between the two analysts and that is the extreme importance which the Leontief analyst attaches to the interdependence in the economy, a point which the aggregative income analyst takes only into consideration but does not exert any effort to bring it into the forefront.

Since the publication of the input-output tables for the American economy for the years 1919 and 1929, remarkable progress had been made, both in techniques of constructing and utilizing the tables. For a while, the field of Input-Analysis was limited to a number of specialized economists. Although, still largely so the technique has become an obligatory course in economics and many economists are eager to learn more about it. Governments in different parts of the world have become aware of the usefulness of that technique in designing their economic policy and we find that an increasing number of them have constructed tables for their economies or are in the process of doing so. This, of course, is one of the remarkable results of the Leontief contribution to economic theory.

Recent developments in economics and statistics, however, provided us with alternative models. Linear programming techniques, although overcome the assumption of fixed input coefficients,(1) have so far been applied to the case of single plants. Nevertheless it presents a lineal continuation of thinking and offers other choices in the field of interindustry models.

As we will see later the input-output model has been criticised on several grounds. Some of these are valid and others have no firm grounds upon which to stand. The most common among the latter type is the attempt on behalf of some economists to

(1) Chenery and Clark, p. 3.

be little Leontief's great contribution on the account that it was, after all, an old Walrasian idea; but as someone said "everything of importance has been said before by someone who did not discover it."

Economic models, a positive step for consistent thinking

Economic models have become an essential tool in economic analysis. In fact, the latter depends a great deal on how the available data are set in such models. Although the economic analyst is limited in forming such models by the restricted availability of the required data more than by his ability to form them, at least theoretically, yet it is the formation of such models that lead to the discovery of the inconsistencies in the available data as well as the gaps in them. It has also become a recognized fact that in order to carry out a certain economic analysis one has to investigate and describe in a comprehensive manner the features of the economy which are of relevance to that type of analysis. These features are often expressed in terms of magnitudes of certain variables which among themselves describe the prevailing structure of the economy. However, in doing that certain definitional relations have to be satisfied. For instance the gross production from sector i could be expressed as an equal sum of the demand on the production of that sector for intermediate consumption plus the demand for final use. This definitional relation could be represented by the following simple equation :

$$Xi = N + Y$$

where N is the demand for intermediate consumption and Y is the demand for final use. But this is only one sector and only one relation. The economy, however, has other sectors and other magnitudes and all are governed by other definitional relations. To be consistent, one must make sure that these relations are fullfiled and not only one of them. If several macroeconomic magnitudes are estimated or planned independently such a requirement would necessitate considerable attention and care that it is safe to state that without the aid of a comprehensive economic model it would be next to impossible to reach any consistent conclusions.

But the definitional relations are not the only relations which should be fullfilled. An economy, at any point of time, has a

certain underlying structure and any consistent analytical approach should take this structure into consideration. *It would be absurd to think of a future development program which is incompatible with the prevailing structure of an economy.* However, this does not mean that one should think of a certain structure in a static sense but only to indicate that any deliberate change in that structure should be compatible with the underlying one. In any case there is always a set of structural relations which exist in the economy, the interrelations amongst which are highly complicated, a fact which makes the reliance on an economic model an indispensable tool if we ever attempt to examine intimitely the structure of the economy.

To illustrate the structural relations let us assume, on the other hand, that in order to produce one unit from sector j we need to have certain deliveries from other sectors plus a certain delivery from imports and other deliveries from primary factors like labor and profits on capital. This could be expressed as follows: $Xj = \Sigma i\ Xij + Mj + Vj (i = 1, 2, \ldots n)$ (2) where Xij indicates the delivery from sector i to sector j and Mj indicates the inputs from imports into sector j and Vj indicates the inputs of primary factors or the value added in sector j.

In the meantime these deliveries could be related to the production of sector j through a set of coefficients which indicate the proportion of each input needed for the production of one unit from sector j. This is assuming that there is a linear relation between the production of the sector and the inputs needed for that production. In other words we assume that the proportion of the inputs will not vary by a change in the size of production. These relations could be expressed as follows:

$Xj = \Sigma i\ aij\ Xj + mj\ Xj + Vj\ Xj\ (i = 1, 2, \ldots n)$ (3) where aij indicates the proportion of the input from sector i which is necessary for the production of one unit from sector j and mj indicates the proportion of inputs from imports which are needed for the production of one unit from sector j, and Vj indicates the proportion of primary inputs or value added created by a production of one unit from sector j.

This is only a simple illustration of a structural relation which describes the structure of only one sector of the economy. But there are many other sectors and there are as many relations of this type as there are sectors. Also there are many other types

of structural relations and any future development could not be conceived independently of the prevailing structure of the economy.

By now it has become clear that *unless we systematize the economic concepts, whether these are definitional or structural, in a comprehensive model we may never be able to reach constructive conclusions regarding economic problems which we have to deal with and even if we reach any such conclusions we will not possess a tool for testing their logical consistency.* Of course an economic model should not be conceived as a magic tool capable of answering all our questions and delivering answers with complete accuracy. Such models generally contain assumptions and reduce the complicated economic relation into simplified formulas and seek reasonable approximation of results. In fact this very nature of the economic models makes the question of what sort of specifications are relevant and necessary and what simplifications are permissible in the model we intend to use for a particular problem, a prominent one indeed. There is not one economic model to solve every economic problem, but rather for every problem a suitable model to deal with it. In this article we are only dealing with one particular model, i.e. the Input-Output model.

The underlying concepts of the input-output model

The Input-Output Model and its utilization has been extensively discussed by many writers and the literature on that subject is increasing rapidly.(1) However, as these articles intend to put before the reader , who may be entrusted by such work, the experience of the writer in the field of construction and utilization of the Input-Output model in a developing economy, we find it necessary to refer, in as simplified way as possible, to the basic concepts of that method as well as the mathematical aspects (2) involved in its utilization. We will be dealing mainly with the simplest input-output model or that which is refered to as the "open Leontief model." It is called an "open system" because it treats certain sectors of the economy as exogenous sectors. In other words the magnitudes of those sectors are generally considered as given and not derived from a solution of the model. As the stock of capital needed for the creation of certain pro-

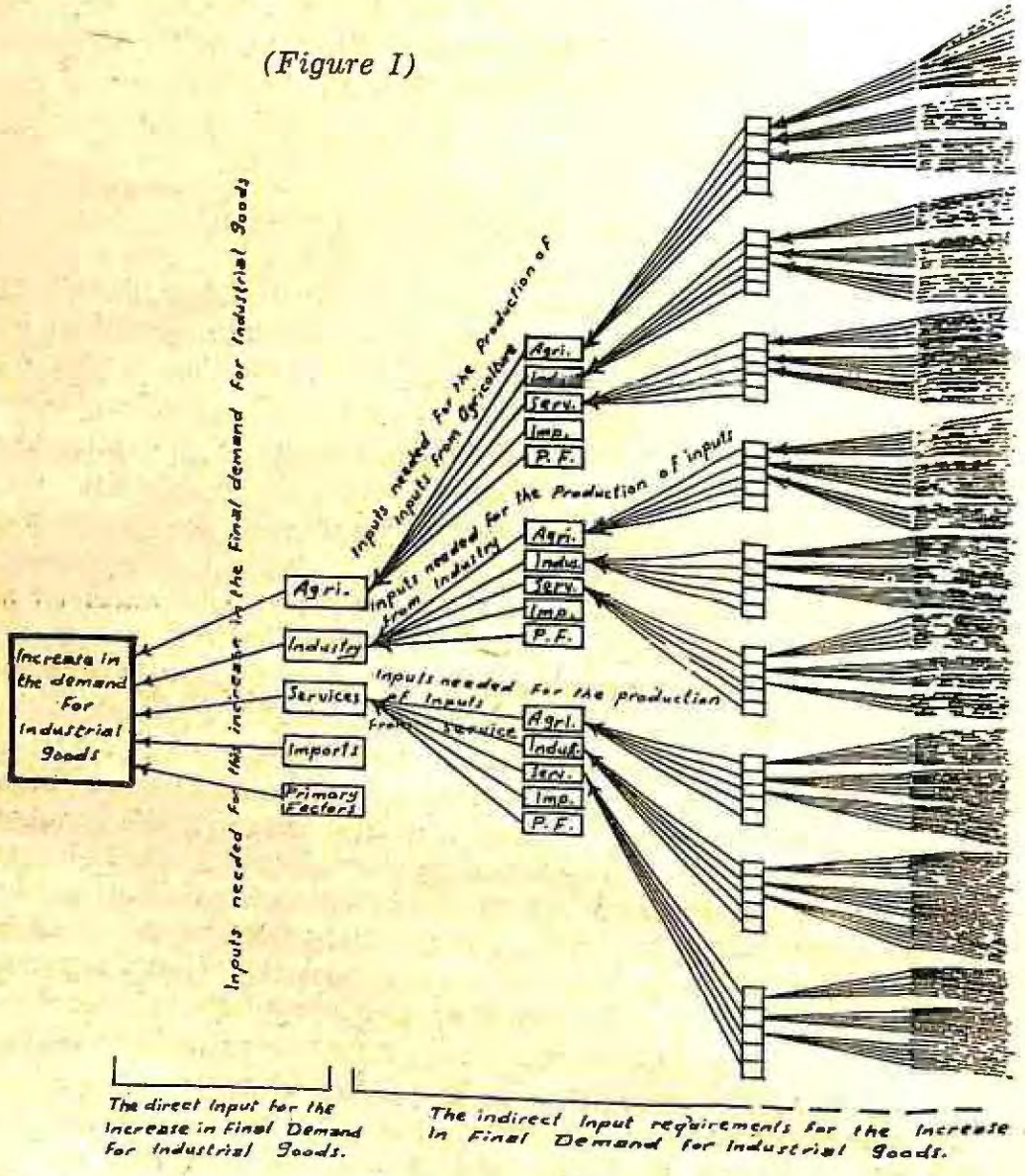
(1) See "Input-Output Bibliography", by Charlotte E. Taskier of the Harvard Economic Research Project, a United Nations Publication.
(2) This will be discussed in future articles.

ductive capacities is included in that exogenous part of this system, it is therefore considered a static model because we will be unable to reach a solution which tells us the amount of capital requirements which satisfies our particular target. These points, however, may be discussed in some details later but reference to them was made only to indicate *that there are other complicated forms of the input-output model.* Nevertheless it is safe to state that these forms could be treated as generalizations of this simple model.

As we have mentioned before, the input-output method is another form of general equilibrium analysis. It is based on the cost structure of the different types of production and like all the other economic models it rests upon certain assumptions about economic behavior and observes certain definitional relations among its variables. But unlike many others, the input-output model is a multi-sector model and aims mainly at illustrating the interdependency among the different sectors of the economy. One can hardly conceive of any change in the demand for the production of one sector without this change having a chain of direct as well as indirect reactions on the other sectors of the economy. Let us assume for instance that with an anticipated increase in per-capita income we were able to project, through utilization of such tools as income elasticity of demand, certain increase in the demand for industrial commodities. Let us also assume that all industries could be grouped into one sector and that we know the inputs needed for the production of that sector. *Table I* makes it clear that in order to produce industrial goods, the industry sector would require inputs from the other sectors. It will have to buy agricultural products, energy, industrial products from itself, transportation facilities, construction activities, and services and some imported goods as well as primary inputs. These purchases represent the direct input requirements for the production of the sector industry. But this is not the whole story as these purchases represent in themselves increases in the demand for commodities from the sectors concerned. And those increases in demand mean increases in production and in its turn the increase in the production of every sector requires a variety of inputs of raw materials, intermediate goods and imports. In fact, the very essence of interdependency among the different sectors of the economy is responsible for the creation of a series of reactions which are generally extended to an ever increasing number of

sectors. Although the impact of these reactions become progressively weaker (1) yet their total is significantly large to be ignored. The complicated nature of these direct and indirect reactions could be easily conceived in the following illustration.

(Figure I)



(1) This fact will be refered to in a later article when we discuss the iterative method of solving an input-output problem.

(2) Notice that imports and primary factors do not require inputs. However, this does not mean that import requirements as well as those of primary factors are restricted to those appearing in the direct input requirements as the production increases needed to satisfy the direct requirements still need inputs from imports and primary factors.

However, it must be remembered that this complicated mechanism which the above illustration made crystal clear, is only the product of an increase in the demand for the production of one sector. Now it is left to the imagination of the reader to consider the case where the demand for other commodities increase simultaneously as they generally do in practice. *Here we are faced with the dilemma of quantifying these reactions and as one can see it is beyond any human mind to trace such reactions except through a systematic tool of analysis.* In fact, this is the greatest asset of the input-output table. It could tell us, through a set of coefficients, which are generally refered to as "the coefficients of direct and indirect requirements", the total requirements from each sector to satisfy a certain increase in the demand for some commodities. *This, being the case, the input-output table, could provide us with answers to a variety of questions which are of great importance particularly in the field of national plannnig.* For instance what would be the effect of a particular investment program in road construction or irrigation. These effects could be translated as total input requirements from both domestic production and imports, labor requirements, value added created and others. In such case an investment fund could be conceived as expenditure on goods and services, including labor, from the other sectors and if so it could be thought of as increases in the demand for those goods and thus we can, through the above mentioned coefficients, trace their effects.(1) As can be seen the inputs required for such investments will not be the type designed to satisfy the consumers needs directly but rather through being an essential part for the production of the finished goods. *In this case, the application of such criterions as the income elasticity of demand in order to predict the requirements for such commodities would be extremely difficult and may even be inconceivable. The input-output table, on the other hand, provides us with a particularly suitable device for such prediction. This is due, of course to the very nature of the table which does not overlook the complexity of the relationships among the different sectors but rather emphasizes it.* The coefficients of "direct and indirect requirements" in this case are the only answer. The table could inform us also of the repercussions of certain government policies, such as increases in taxation, more government investment or increase

(1) This point will be examined in greater detail later when we discuss the application of the table to certain problems in Egypt.

in public works. All these actions could be conceived as having direct effects on the demand for the different commodities and their repercussions on the different sectors of the economy could thus be determined. As will be described in a later article in greater details the input-output table provides us with a unique tool for calculating the effects of an import substitution policy. This is of paramount importance particularly in a developing country where industrialization generally tends to substitute imports by local production. In this case it is extremely important to calculate the net savings in imports which such policy may lead to.(2) This could be easily done through the input-output table as it enables us to calculate the direct and indirect requirement of imports for any particular demand. In short, the input-output method is most suited for solving the problems where the complex characteristic of interdependency is involved.

The input-output model and the concept of national income accounts

Those who are familiar with national income accounts and its underlying concepts will feel at home when being introduced to the input-output method. They both provide us with a system of accounts which cover the whole economy and, in fact, they are complementary to each other. However, there is a basic difference between the two methods, the reason for which could be traced to the ultimate purpose which each aims to serve. As for national income accounts, it aims at measuring the value of goods and services produced by the entire economy within a specified period of time, normally one year. The national income accountant, therefore, is interested in the final results of the economic activities and hence, he only considers the net effects of all the dealings which take place within the economy. To do that he avoids double counting and therefore deliberately disregards transactions between the different productive sectors. It is there, in fact, where the basic difference between that method of accounting and the input-output method lies. The latter being a main body of the interindustry analysis which concerns itself mainly with the interrelations arising from production, attaches a distinct importance to the flow of goods and services from one

(2) This adoption of such method may be offered as a good tip to the economists of the Ministry of Industry. The indirect effects are so important that they should be taken into account.

productive sector to the other. It is this interdependence among the different sectors which the input-output table aims to bring to the limelight and in doing that double counting becomes an accepted phenomenon. Also as we indicated before the input-output model is most helpful in dealing with the problems where the structural interdependency is the crucial factor and where the more simplified framework of national income accounts could be of very little help.

To illustrate the relationship between the input-output table and the national income accounts we have utilized the data of the 1954 input-output table for the Egyptian Economy to construct the three tables given below. Table 1 shows clearly how in calculating the G.N.P. we avoided double counting. In both sides of the table our starting point was the gross value of production. In the left side the value added in the three sectors was calculated simply by subtracting from the gross value of production in each sector, the value of inputs required for the production of that sector. For instance the value of any particular input, say industrial goods has to be subtracted from the value of the gross production of the sector which consumed it as it has already been calculated in the production of its own sector. This fact leads us to realize how in measuring the G.N.P. we are really more concerned with the value of the final goods produced by the whole economy. This end could be pursued by constructing an account similar to that given in the left side of Table 1 which shows the value of the sales of every sector to final demand purposes. As it is clear this was reached at by subtracting from the gross value of production from each sector that part of its production which was sold for intermediate consumption purposes. If we add up the value added from the three sectors which appear in the left side of the table and also add the final sales from the three sectors which appear in the right side of the table we should find that the two totals are equal. However, this is not so in our example [1] simply because we have to deal with imports and also with a certain portion of the value added which appear in the final demand sectors of the input-output table, i.e. Table 2. In fact we had to follow this course in order to show how the figures in our three tables are related and how the gross national product could be

(1) An illustrative example with no imports involved could be constructed to show how the total of the value added is equal to the total of the final sale.

TABLE 1

(Figures in thousand Egyptian Pounds)

GROSS NATIONAL INCOME			GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT		
AGRICULTURE			**AGRICULTURE**		
Gross Production		400,814	Gross Production		400,814
Inputs from			Intermediate Sales to		
Agriculture ...	47,481		Agriculture ...	47,481	
Industry	15,170		Industry	205,790	
Services	148,734		Services	92	
Imports	16,500				253,363
		227,885			
Value Added		172,929	Final Sales		147,451
INDUSTRY			**INDUSTRY**		
Gross Production		898,765	Gross Production		898,765
Inputs from			Intermediate Sales to		
Agriculture ...	205,790		Agriculture ...	15,170	
Industry	253,615		Industry	253,615	
Services	99,358		Services	48,288	
Imports	66,966				317,073
		625,729			
Value Added		273,036	Final Sales		581,692
SERVICES			**SERVICES**		
Gross Production		554,561	Gross Production		554,561
Inputs from			Intemrediate Sales to		
Agriculture ...	92		Agriculture ...	148,734	
Industry	48,288		Industry	99,358	
Services	28,659		Services	28,659	
Imports	7,313				276,751
		84,352			
Value Added		470,207	Final Sales		277,810
Total Value added in the three Sectors		916,172	Total Final Sales.	1.006,953	
+ Value added in the final demand Sectors		137,935	+ Imports for Final demand ..	82,105	
			+ Value added in the final demand sectors ...	137,935	
					1,226,993
			— Total Value of Final demand imports		172,884
TOTAL Value Added (Gross National Income)		1,054,109	(Gross National Product) .		1,054,109

calculated from them. Now in order to equate the two sides of Table 1 we should add to the total of the value added in the three sectors the part of the value added which appear in the input-output table within the final demand sectors. This will give us a total of value added of 1,054,109.(1) As regards the left side of the table we should add to the total of the final sales the value of the imports needed for final demand purposes and also the same figure of value added which appear in the final demand columns of the input-output table. And then we should subtract the total of imported goods. In other words we try to reach a figure which represents the value of goods and services which were available for final demand and then by subtracting the amounts of imports from it we can reach a figure which represents the gross national product which appears on the left side to be also 1,054,109.

However, before leaving Table 1, the reader's attention should be attracted to the fact that there should not necessarily be a certain correspondence between the value added in each sector and the sectors contributing to the bill of final goods that is despite the fact that the total of the value added from all sectors should equal the total of the final sale of goods and services after subtracting the value of imports. In fact it often happens that a sector may have a large contribution to the gross national product at the time when its contribution to final demand is of minor importance. This is largely the case with industries producing intermediate goods.(2)

As a contrast to table 1, table 2 shows how the interdependency among the different sectors of the economy form an integral part of the formation of an input-output table. The deliveries among these sectors stand clear and double counting becomes permissible, in fact deliberate. In order to reach the gross production from the agricultural sector we add up the amount of that production which went to intermediate consumption and that which went to final demand. This is despite the fact that the value of the part of the agricultural production which went to intermediate consumption will form an integral part of the production of the sector which consumed it and thus will be embodied

(1) This figure is in thousand Egyptian pounds. In other words it means 1,054 million pounds.
(2) This point will be handled in more details when we discuss the characterists of the Input-Output table.

again in the value of its production. It is therefore obvious that the total of the column of gross production in table 2, is not to be compared with the total of the final sales which appear in the right side of table 1. In fact it is the total of the column of final demand after deducting the total amount of imported goods that should be compared with the total given in the right side of table 1 as they obth indicate the amount of gross national product by use. In the meantime the gross national product by source of origin appears in table 2 as the row of value added which could be compared to the total of value added given on the left side of table 1. The correspondence between the column of final demand and the row of value added in table 2 could be easily illustrated by the following equation

$$\Sigma i\ Yi - \Sigma j\ Mj = \Sigma j\ Vj \quad (4)$$

where Yi is the final demand for commodity i and Mj is the inputs from imports to sector j and Vj is the value added in sector j. Using this equation we get

$$1{,}226{,}993 - 172{,}884 = 1{,}054{,}109$$

which is the gross national product and exactly the same figure which we arrived at in table 1.

To conclude this parallel which we tried to draw between the input-output table and the national income accounts table 3 is presented. It shows how the input-output data could be arranged in national accounts form. It also makes clear how the idea of interdependency among the productive sectors is thrown in the background by grouping all those sectors in one, the business sector. The rest of the table comprise other sectors which are traditionally used in national accounting. These sectors give breakdowns of final use and primary inputs. As it is the case with the previous tables, the gross national product could be calculated simply by utilizing equation 4. According to table 3 the total of final demand would be

$$156{;}279 + 189{,}570 + 757{,}155 + 123{,}989 = 1{,}226{,}993$$

utilizing the above equation we get

$$1{,}226{,}993 - 172{,}884 = 1{,}054{,}109$$

which is the same figure as that which we got from the other tables. The above tables however give emphasis to the complementary nature of the two systems of accounts.

AN AGGREGATED INPUT-OUTPUT TABLE FOR EGYPT, 1954

Table 2

(In Thousand L.E.)

Purchasing Sector Producing Sector	*Agriculture*	*Industry*	*Services*	*Final Demand*	*Gross Production*
Agriculture ...	47,481	205,790	92	147,451	400,814
Industry	15,170	253,615	48,288	581,692	898,765
Services	148,734	99,358	28,659	277,810	554,561
Imports	16,500	66,966	7,313	82,105	172,884
Total Inputs ..	227,885	625,729	84,352	1,089,058	2,027,024
Value Added ..	172,929	273,036	470,209	137,935	1,054,109
Total Output ..	400,814	898,765	554,561	1,226,993	3,081,133

The general characteristics of an input-output table

So far we have been talking about the input-output table in general terms. But in order to have a better grasp of the underlying concepts of that table and to be able to follow later on the mathematical interpretations of these concepts it is essential to examine more closely its general characteristics. For this purpose we present table 4 which is an aggregation of the 1954 input-output table for the Egyptian Economy.(1) The input-output accounts are a form of double-entry book-keeping the main function of which is to record the transactions between the different sectors of the economy. We could, therefore, say that the concept of a sector is a corner stone in the input-output analysis. For this purpose a sector may be an industry, a household or any sort of economic entity which would be able, because of its functional characteristic to receive inputs from other sectors and also to deliver outputs to other sectors or to the rest of the world. These transactions are generally flows of goods or services from one sector to the other and they are generally attributed to a certain period of time and related to a certain production. They could also be measured in physical terms, i.e. (tons, bushels, etc.) or in value terms, i.e. (dollars, pounds). As regards the transactions in all the tables in this book they are given in value terms and in that we are following a general tradition set by Professor Leontief. This procedure, of course, has its own merits and will be appreciated later when we consider the mathematical interpretation of the input-output table. However, it is generally the case that most of, if not all, of the initial data which are used in the construction of the input-output table are in physical units. In evaluating these physical units, producers' prices are generally used with all trade margins and transportation margins being grouped in separate sectors, and allocated to the using sectors. However purchasers' prices could also be used. Although come maintain that they produce less satisfactory results. Moreover the input-output table is based on the accounting identity that the total deliveries from every sector are equal to the total inputs used by that sector. This means that the total output of a sector should correspond to the total input including those from primary factors to that sector.(2)

(1) This table was constructed by the input-output unit, which is part of the National Planning Committee, Cairo, Egypt.
(2) The underlying wisdom of the idea that the total output of every sector should correspond to the total input to that sector will be discussed later.

THE 1954 INPUT-OUTPUT DATA ARRANGED IN NATIONAL ACCOUNTS FORM

Table 3 *(Figures in Thousand L.E.)*

Purchasing Sector Producing Sector	*Business*	*Government*	*Foreign Trade* (Exports)	*Household Consumption*	*Gross Investment*	*Total Receipts*
Business	847,187	49,784	189,570	669,474	98,125	1,854,140
Government .	175,030	—	—	10,432	—	185,462
Foreign Trade . *(Imports)*	90,779	7,277	—	48,964	25,864	172,884
Households ...	741,144	99,218	—	28,285	—	868,647
Total Payments	1,854,140	156,279	189,570	757,155	123,989	3,081,133

As we will see later this is not particularly true on the sectoral level in the case of final demand and primary factors nevertheless their aggregates, by definition, should be the same.

The data, as we can see from table 4, are arranged in a checkerboard table in which each sector is represented both by a row and a column. This is particulary true for the productive sectors or those which consume intermediate goods in order to execute its function which is the production, either of other intermediate goods or goods for final use. In the case of table 4 those sectors are 7 and in this case the table could be described as being of the order of 7×7. These sectors form actually the main body of the table and they are often referred to as the interflow matrix. Larger numbers of sectors could be included in this interflow matrix but their number could be conceived as a function of the availability of the required data as well as the level of disaggregation desired to suit the type of analysis we have in mind. Quite often tables are prepared with more rows of this type than columns and in this case the table is referred to as a rectangular table and it is most useful if we desire greater details of the inputs.(1) The original 1954 table for Egypt is of the order of 83×83 and that for 1959 is of the order of 33×33.

If we read along the rows, the figures indicate the distribution of the output of the sectors and if we read along the columns the figures indicate the inputs required by each sector. However, before attempting to read along the rows and columns it may be of some help to divide the table into quadrants, each containing a number of sectors which are at least of homogeneous accounting characteristics. To start with we can group together sectors 1 to 7 and let us call it quadrant I. Those sectors will be called the productive sectors simply because they are the sectors which perform the productive operation, and in this sense they form the main body of the interindustry accounts. In executing this function they need inputs not only from themselves but also from imports and other primary inputs. At this point it is important to emphasise the difference between the inputs from the productive sectors or what are often called the "produced inputs" and the "primary inputs" as this will have a significant influence on the solutions of the input-output problems. As for the first

(1) Reference will be made later to the usefulness of constructing such tables and the methods of solution.

type of inputs they are the kind of inputs which are produced by the productive sectors themselves and there is a definite relationship between their production and the inputs required for that operation. These inputs are the ones which will be considered later in the solution of the model particularly when we want to arrive at the indirect effects of a certain final bill of goods. As for the primary inputs they are called so simply because they are not produced within the system. For instance imports are considered so because they are produced in other countries and their production does not represent any claims on the resources of the economy. Equally true they do not have indirect effects because they are not produced within the system and do not require any inputs. Consequently in solving for the amounts of imports needed for the production required to satisfy a final bill of goods, we will not have to worry about those indirect effects which we generally consider when we deal with the produced inputs. But the main type of primary inputs are those which are grouped in row No. 10 and called value added. They are called so because they are the difference between the gross production and the total inputs required for that production. A breakdown of this row will show inputs of labor, profits on capital and other item which compose what we called the value added. Finer breakdowns could be achieved and this of course depends on the type of analysis we have in mind. If we are interested in calculating the labor requirements for a certain investment program then labor inputs in the shape of wages should be made distinct. Similarly if we are interested in the distributed ownership income then this should appear as separate inputs and so on. Like inputs from imports these inputs are produced exogenously from the system; also there is not definite relationship between the supply of such inputs and a certain set of inputs as it is the case with produced inputs. The supply of labor for instance is not produced through the purchase of the working force and so it is the case with the rest of the primary inputs. If we group row 8 & 10 and stop at column 7 this will give quadrant II which shows the inputs of primary factors into the productive sectors.

As we have sectors which show the supply of the primary factors we have others on the demand side which could be referred to as primary sectors or generally known as the final demand sectors. They are considered primary sectors because the inputs purchased by them do not physically produce their output and

consequently we find that these inputs do not vary proportionally to the outputs of these sectors. This is particularly true of the government sector and household. These form the columns 9 to 14 and they are different from the productive sectors (columns 1—7) in that the purchases of the former represent the ultimate goal of the economic system while the activities of the latter sectors are a means for achieving that goal. The figures appearing in these columns represent thoes goods and services which went for final use during the accounting period. In this table the final demand sectors are only 6 but finer breakdown of these sectors are sometimes desirable. For instance the sector investment could be broken down to different types of investments. The reason for that of course is that every investment has its particular input structure. This is particularly important if we desire to study the effects of different types of investment on imports, employment, production requirements, etc. It is also an essential step for constructing a capital matrix and of paramount importance in investment programming in general. Similarly the sector exports could be broken down to exports to different countries. This is particularly important in a country with limited supply of hard currencies. In this case it may be useful to distinguish between exports to the hard currency areas and exports to other areas. It is equally important if we are constructing a table which shows regional trade.

As it is the case with the productive sectors these sectors receive inputs from the productive sectors and from the primary inputs sectors. The primary inputs in this case appear in our table under only two sectors, household consumption and government consumption and they represent domestic help in the first and government salaries in the second. To complete the division of our table let us call quadrant III that which includes the primary inputs into the final demand sectors that is the quadrant which comprises the cells from rows 8 & 10 and columns 9—14. Let us also call quadrant IV that which includes the inputs from the productive sectors into the final demand sectors, i.e. the quadrant which includes the cells from rows 1—7 and columns 9—14.

From the above we can see that the input-output table is distinctly divided into four sections or as we called them, quadrants. This, in fact, underlines the basic design of this type of

interindustry accounts which is derived by dividing the demand for commodities into intermediate and final and the inputs into produced and primary. The first distinction is sometimes [1] paralled with that which is made in Keynesian income analysis between "induced" and "autonomous" elements. In the case of the input-output model the induced elements are those which are included in quadrants I and II. They are called so because their magnitudes depend on the autonomous part of the table. As we indicated before the sector to be included in the autonomous section of the input-output table and the breakdown of these sectors depend largely on the type of analysis we have in mind. Table 4 is in conformity with what is known as the open Leontief model and as we mentioned before it is called so because of the fact that the magnitudes of the final demand sectors are autonomously decided upon or they are given. On the other hand when $\sum i\ Yi = O$ or in other words when all the autonomous elements are included within the induced part of the model then it is described as being a closed one. This type of model is generally discussed under dynamic models and a great deal of work was done in this field by Professor Leontief and his assistants at the Harvard Economic Research Project.[1] Sometimes, however, only part of these autonomous demand sectors are included in the interflow matrix (quadrant I) and in this case they become part of the induced elements of the model and their magnitudes will be derived then from the solution of the model rather than exogenously of it. A typical example of this would be the inclusion of household consumption which would be represented in the interflow matrix by a column and a corresponding row which shows household income and in this case a certain definite relationship is assumed between household consumption and household income. Of course the number of such sectors to be included in the autonomous part will always depend on the type of analysis we have in mind.

From the above description of the table we can also see that the input-out model is based on the idea that a fixed set of inputs are required for the production of each sector and that these inputs vary proportionately to the size of production. However this is only true in the case of the productive sectors which are included

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(1) Chenery and Clark, "Interindustry Economics", p. 15.
(2) See W.W. Leontief, "Studies in the Structure of the American Economy", 1952.

in quadrant I. And if this is so then the inputs to every sector will be expressed as ratios to the total value of the production of that sector. Moreover we can see that the input-output model is based on the idea that the total outputs of every sector will be equal to the total inputs to that sector including the primary ones. Again this is only true in the case of the productive sectors and although the aggregate totals of the primary inputs including imports should by definition equal the aggregate of the final demand columns yet this is not so on the sectoral level. In fact the primary input row (only row No. 9) shows the gross national product by sector of origin and the final demand columns (excluding the value of imports) show the gross national product by destination. As for quadrant I it shows all the intermediate transactions and any figure in its could be looked upon in two ways. If we read along the column the figure would indicate that the sector in question has bought this amount from the sector which is represented by the row which corresponds to that figure. On the other hand if we read along the row the same figure would indicate that the sector which is represented by that row has sold the indicated value of input to the sector represented by the column which corresponds to that figure. The total of quadrant I would indicate the amount of intermediate consumption from domestic production and if we add the total inputs from imports to the productive sectors this will give us the total intermediate consumption which was required for the total production in the economy which appear as the total of column 16. Similarly the figures appearing in column 8 indicate the total intermediate sales from the corresponding row to the productive sectors and if we add each of these figures to its corresponding figure in column 15 which shows the total delivery from the corresponding row to the final demand sectors then we get figures which represent the gross production for every row. These are included in column 16.

Besides its valuable analytical use the input-output model presents a system of national accounting which in many senses is superior to that of the national income accounting. Moreover

the particular framework of the input-output model largely facilitates the use of a wide variety of data and the mere fact that the totals of each column should be equal to the corresponding row provides a check on the consistency of the data on specific levels rather than that which is achieved merely by equating the overall total of income and production as it is the case in the National Income Accounting. My experience in the field of the construction of the input-output table showed me how the attempt to construct such tables reveal the numerous gaps in the available data, gaps which should be filled if a better understanding of the economy could be achieved.

MARKET STRUCTURE FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN EGYPT (U.A.R.)

by

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Introduction :

The purpose of this study is to promote better understanding of the marketing problems in the Egyptian Agriculture under the first Five-Years Plan 1959-1964, and to indicate ways in which the existing marketing practices may be improved. An efficient marketing system is of great importance to Egyptian agricultural exports, which are an important source of the foreign exchange needed for the purchase of capital equipment and other essential imports at this stage of the economic development. Evidence of the need for improvement in marketing methods and organization is forthcoming on all sides of this study. This research is an attempt to measure the impact of the Egyptian economic development plan and the shifting of consumption patterns upon the balance between production and consumption of the agricultural products in the Republic.

Development of Egyptian agriculture :

Egypt's basic economic problem is compounded of two elements; the population is rapidly increasing, and the agricultural land available to support this population is quite limited. Its long range economic needs are to increase the agricultural land, to improve the productivity of the agricultural production, and to create the employment opportunities outside agriculture.

Although Egypt has an area of approximately 250 million acres, the cultivated portion of the Nile Valley and Delta amounts to 6 million acres or 2.5 percent of the total area. Most of Egyption agriculture is dependent upon perennial irrigation, which

allows more than a single crop per year, but the old basin method of irrigation which limits production to one annual crop is still in use in 700,000 acres as in Upper Egypt. However, the average rate of cropping about 1.8 crops per year; this gives the country an equivalent of 10.5 million acres of crops.

The population of the United Arab Republic was estimated in 1960 census at approximately 26 millions of which about 66 percent represent the rural population and 33 percent represent the urban population, and the remainder totalling 1 percent represents the inhabitants of the deserts, the oases and Sinai. About two thirds of the working population are engaged in agriculture.

Thus the basic economic problem of the limited agricultural land is of course related to the population which is growing at accelerating rate currently above 2.5 percent a year. During the half century 1900-1950 the population of Egypt doubled from 10 to 20 millions; yet during the same period, the cultivated area increased only 16 percent and the total equivalent crop surface only 37 percent. Each acre surface must support nearly 2.5 persons plus the domestic animals necessary for farming and transportation. In Egypt, the major field crops are cotton, cereals, onions, sugar cane, beans, groundnuts, flax and many vegetables and fruits. Cotton is the principal cash crop and the country's main source of foreign exchange. It generally makes about 17 percent of the area in the crop and accounts for 25% of the national agricultural income. The total annual production amounts to 450 thouands tons of cotton fibers in 1959, of which 25% is locally manufactured, the remainder being exported. Wheat is the principal winter crop and accounts normally for 15% of the crop area and makes up 9% of the value of the agricultural national income. The annual local consumption of wheat is about 2.25 million tons, against 1.5 million tons locally produced, thus a balance of 0.75 million tons that has to be imported annually.

Livestock production in Egypt represents an important sector of agriculture, as it accounts approximately of L.E. 110 millions or about 25% of the national agricultural income.

The emphasis on the agricultural development in United Arab Republic is justified by its basic importance in the economy of the Republic. With about 66 percent of the persons gainfully employed in agriculture and about 50 percent of the national

output represented by agricultural production, any significant economic progress must begin with agriculture. Obviously, any rise in the standard of consumption must be based on a large supply of food grains, and this must become primarily from more efficient agricultural production.

Agriculture will for a long time be the most important occupation of the people of Egypt. Even a very ambitious industrial development program can provide employment for only a part of the natural increase in the labor force, but this new job opportunities in industry and commerce would relieve somewhat the pressure for employment in agriculture, and to that extent affect favorably the productivity of those remaining in agricultural employment.

There is another reason why primary emphasis must be given to agricultural production. A balanced development program must provide for increasing production in those fields in which there is demand. By far the greatest part of the increase in demand arising from the higher incomes that will come with the development of the economy, will be for agricultural products.

NEW ERA OF EGYPTIAN AGRICULTURE

First Five Year Plan

The planning of the economic development program in Egypt started by setting as its main objective the doubling of the national income within ten years starting from 1959. This is to be attained in two stages, each covering five years. The First Five Year Plan calls for the investment of L.E. 1,697 million. It places great emphasis on the development of agriculture, thus it will lay out about L.E. 362 million in the agricultural sector, representing 23.4% of the total investments. The planned outlays on power, railroads and communications are intended to serve the economy as a whole, but to a very large extent such investment will be of special significance to agriculture. A considerable part of the development expenditure of a non investment character, such as extension, health and education services are for the rural community, and are intended to increase the well-being and efficiency of people working in the agricultural sector. The purpose of the Plan is to bring about a general increase in productivity throughout the economy so that the national income at constant prices will be increased from an estimated L.E. 1,294 million in 1959 to an estimated L.E. 1,764 million in 1964; and the agricul-

tural national income from an estimated L.E. 400 million in 1959 to an estimated L.E. 562 million in 1964.

The agricultural development program for the United Arab Republic has among its main objectives the solution of the two main problems confronting agriculture, namely, the shortage in cultivated land and the low productivity of the agricultural resources now in use.

Out of the total agricultural investment L.E. 198 million will be invested in agricultural expansion projects, and L.E. 164 million will be invested in projects designed for increasing the productivity of already exploited agricultural resources. The agricultural expansion projects will reclaim about 600,000 acres during the next five years, in addition to the one million acre which will depend on the water that will be made available after the constitution of the High Dam. It also includes the conversion of 700,000 acres from basin irrigation to perennial irrigation. The projects for increasing agricultural productivity consists of irrigation and drainage improvement project; agricultural mechanization; and the projects of the Ministries of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, as well as agricultural agencies such as soil improvement, crop improvement, diversification of agricultural production, crop protection, consolidation of agricultural holdings, and fisheries development and other projects.

The execution of this program is expected to yield an increase of 25% in agricultural production. It is also estimated that the grain production will be increased by 31%, milk production by 33%, and meat production by 30%. The value of agricultural production, on account of this increase is expected to rise from L.E. 613 million to L.E. 764 million whereas agricultural income will rise from L.E. 400 million to L.E. 562 million. The total number of those engaged in agriculture will rise from 3,240,000 to 3,800,000, thus providing extra employment for about 560,000 agricultural laborers. At the same time, the wages paid to agricultural laborers will rise from L.E. 135 million to L.E. 171 million.

Targets for the principal agricultural crops are shown in Table (1). A substantial increase in food grains production is perhaps the most important phase of the program. The objective is to permit a small increase in per capital consumption. While it is hoped that by the end of the Plan, the need to import food

grains will have been eliminated, this will probably not be possible without some control over consumption. The planned increase in raw cotton production is intended to allow a reduction in exports of this fiber and an increase in production of cotton manufactured.

During the period in which the planned investment is undertaken, the demand for imports will increase. This increase will take place because of the greater need for equipment and the greater demand for consumer goods. In the longer period, as the economy will be developed and incomes increase, the rise in production and consumption will necessitate a larger volume of imports of consumer goods, raw material and equipment.

As Egypt succeeds in securing foreign capital for investment under the Plan, the immediate pressure of payments will be relieved, but it will be necessary in the future to earn foreign exchange to meet current import requirements and the service obligations on foreign capital. A balanced development program must take into consideration not merely balance in the expansion of the different sectors of the domestic economy, but the need to maintain the balance in foreign payments.

If the development of the economy is properly related to those fields in which Egypt can expand production efficiently, and for which demand can be found at home and abroad, the payments position will reach a proper balance. The targets for expanded production are related to the goods for which a known demand exists at home. For food grains, oil crops and animal production expansion to meet increased home demand, has already been noted.

The plan has been in operation for one year starting 1960.

The structure of agricultural marketing in Egypt:

In Egypt the problem involved in the marketing of certain agricultural products, especially those vital to the welfare of the country, are deemed such as to warrant direct government participation in farm products purchasing, processing, storage and distribution. Because of the political and economic significance of the Egyptian cotton, the government often assume direct control on both basic marketing policy and detailed execution, and operate the necessary facilities by the Egyptian Cotton Commission.

TABLE 1: **Targets under Egypt's Five Year Plan, for Principal Agricultural Crops 1959-1964 and Estimated percentage Increase in 1964 from 1959.**

Crops	1959			1964			Percentage Increase from 1959 to 1964		
	Acreage 1000 Fed.	Production 1000 Ton	Value L.E. million	Acreage 1000 Fed.	Production 1000 Ton	Value L.E. million	Acreage %	Production %	Value %
Cereal Crops	4721	5528	138	5130	7245	183.1	8.7	31.1	32.7
Leguminus Crops	520	301	12.4	535	478	17.9	2.9	58.8	44.4
Oil Crops	81	929	9.3	140	1105	12.1	72.8	18.9	30.1
Sugar Cane	116	4400	10.3	136	5120	12.0	17.2	16.4	16.5
Fiber Crops	1778	490	126	1790	570	156.3	0.7	16.3	24.0
Vegetable Crops	490	3565	29.7	500	3915	36.2	2.0	9.8	21.9
Fruit Crops	117	1035	17	132	1180	20	12.8	14.0	17.6
Grazing Crops	2400	4692	65.8	2550	5741	75.2	6.2	22.4	14.3
Animal Production	—	1451	109.6	—	1893	130.2	—	30.5	18.8
Milk Production	—	1083	32.5	—	1440	43.2	—	33.0	32.9
Meat Production	—	330	49.7	—	400	60.3	—	21.2	21.3
Fishing Production	—	120	12.4	—	160	17.1	—	33.3	37.9
Total	10223	23924	612.7	10913	29247	763.6	15.4	25.5	24.6

Source: Determined from the data of the National Planning Committee; Cairo, 1960.

Small cotton growers sell cotton to the village merchant or carry it to local market (halaka) where it is sold by auction to brokers or merchants. The merchants dispose their cotton to the Egyptian Cotton Commission, after the cotton is ginned and pressed and dispatched to Minet El Bassal Market, usually after it has been pledged against an advance with a bank. The Minet El Bassal spot market brings together the merchant sellers on the one hand and the Egyptian Cotton Commission and the exporting companies on the other hand. Business is transacted through spot brokers whose elected committee, is charged with the determination of standard types and the fixing of price differences between grades and varieties tendered in fulfilment of the transactions.

The need for the maintaining reserve stocks of cereal in public hands makes the government intervene to secure equitable distribution of short supplies. Many direct government purchasing, storage, and distribution programs stem from such emergencies. The cereal reserve held in public hands may be built up by purchase from domestic producers at harvest time, and thus serve a stabilizing purpose, or be imported later in the season.

The Ministry of Supply resells to millers the requested cereal, as well as the amount imported from abroad to complete the country's growing deficit, on this it bears a loss since the price of imported cereals is higher than that fixed internally. This loss, which of course, constitutes a price subsidy benefiting mainly the low income consumers, increased from about L.E. 8 million in 1949, when imports of wheat amounted to 1/2 million ton to about L.E. 16 million in 1958 when imports rose to about 3/4 million ton, part of this was, however, stockpiled.

Storage facilities are needed to implement such policy. New permanent facilities of storage are erected in Alexandria and Cairo with a total capacity of about 100 thousand ton and it is planned to construct other storage facilities in areas producing surpluses and at key transport junctions by the General Organization of Storage.

The cereal markets in Egypt is still underdeveloped. It has received little attention and control of the government, and hence there are wide variations in grading and purity and absence of standardization in quality. An attempt to enforce better standards, and grading, is now being made.

However, the bargaining position of both wholesalers and retailers of fruits and vegetables is strong by the high degree of concentration that exists in the wholesale fruits and vegetables markets in Cairo and Alexandria, although there is some supervision of the Ministry of the Economy.

Egyptian farmers have the opportunity to sell their livestocks and some agricultural products in the producers markets that held weekly. There are about 300 markets of this kind in the United Arab Republic. Such markets are usually supervised by local municipal authorities which undertake the responsibility for maintaining order and cleanliness and fair sales procedures.

The Agrarian Reform Law of 1952 provided for the organization of cooperatives of all farmers owning no more than five feddans in land reform area. These cooperatives are to perform various services as loans, supply, sale, and organization of production. About 350 cooperatives of this kind were constituted until 1960. Besides these cooperatives, there are about 3,800 agricultural cooperatives of purchasing and credit.

In 1960, the government constituted a National Agricultural Cooperatives Council under the Ministry of Agriculture supervision. The Agricultural and Cooperative Credit Bank stands to finance the agricultural cooperative movement. All the farm controlled cooperatives may be considered an important factor in raising or maintaining farm prices, as well as reducing the cost of farm inputs and marketing costs. However, their influence on farm prices is considerably curtailed by the government controlled prices for the interest of the consumer.

Market possibilities under the new plan :

The proposed diversification of Egyptian agriculture is intended to be broadly in harmony with expected patterns of domestic consumer demand and the export potentialities in the near future.

The redistribution of land under agrarian reform laws reducing the landowners share to 20 percent of the crop value would contribute to a substantial improvement in the income of the farmers. Also the execution of the various projects under the Ten Year Development Program and the public works programs implies sizeable rural employment opportunities adding to the rural

incomes. Therefore, it is important to analyse the likely impact of this increase in money incomes of the masses on consumer demand.

In Egypt, food (mainly grains) is the largest single item accounting for a major portion of the expenditure of the consumer. Next in importance is expenditure on clothing and housing. All the other items together account for only a minor percentage. This is clearly noticed from the family expenditure pattern of the Egyptian Sample Survey of 1960, for 6,373 families shown in Table 2 and Table 3. The average rural income group in the sample had monthly expenditure on an average of L.E. 12, of which 63% accounted for food items and 7.7% for clothing. All other items together accounted for 29.3%. The average urban families group in the sample had monthly expenditure on an average of L.E. 12, of which 47% accounted for food expenditure, and 12% for housing and 8.1 for clothing. All other items together accounted for 32.9% — tables (2) and (3).

The impact of an increase in consumer incomes on demand would be broadly within consumption pattern described above. An indication of the extent of increase in demand for the various individual food items arising out of the increases in consumer incomes may be shown by studying table (4) showing income elasticities of demand for food items in Egypt on the part of income groups with a per capita income equivalent to L.E. 40 per year. These figures are broadly representative of the consumption propensities of the U.A.R.

Thus, for instance, a 10 percent increase in total food expenditure results in a 6 percent increase in expenditure on bread and cereals, 11.3 percent increase expenditure on meat, fish, eggs and so on. It is observed that the income elasticities of demand for meat, milk products, fats and oils, sugar and beverages are significantly high, while that for bread and cereals is only moderate.

The main features of the projected expansions in the agricultural sector is the importance given to oil crops, animal products and fruits and vegetables. This step towards diversification of agricultural production is in lines with the expected demand patterns inside the United Arab Republic, as well as with the export possibilities.

TABLE 2: **Percentage of the Items of the Total Living Expenditures for the Average Rural and Urban Family in the United Arab Republic — 1960.**

Items	Urban Family %	Rural Family %
Food	47	63
Clothing	8.1	7.7
Housing	12	5
Personal expenses	5.6	6.7
Education	3.7	—
Health maintenance	3.1	2
Fuel	—	3.5
Transportation	3.9	1.8
Investment	—	3.8
Miscellaneous	16.6	6.8
Total	100	100

Source: Determined from the data collected by the Bureau of Census, Cairo, 1961.

TABLE 3: **Percentage of the Items of Food Expenditures for the Average Rural and Urban Family in the United Arab Republic — 1960.**

Items	Urban Family %	Rural Family %
Cereal and beans	27.2	41.8
Meats, fish and egg	19.8	16.4
Milk and dairy products	14.2	13.4
Fruit and vegetables	13.7	8.2
Beverages and others	12.6	11.7
Miscellaneous	12.5	8.5
Total	100	100

Source: Determined from the data collected by the Bureau of Census, Cairo, 1961.

TABLE 4: **Elasticities Coefficients of Food Expenditure in Relation to Total Living Expenditure in Egypt — 1955.**

Items	Elasticities Coefficients
Total food expenditure	0.92
Bread and cereal	0.59
Pulses	0.59
Sugar	0.88
Meat, fish and eggs	1,13
Milk products	0.91
Fat and oils	1.22
Beverages	1.48

Source: Determined from data collected in 1955.

The effect of the doubling in the per capita income on the demand for agriculture food products is very important. With rising consumer incomes, consumption of animal products and fruits and vegetables would tend to rise fast, as shown by the income elasticities of demand for these items. The suggested increases in production of these items should contribute to a considerable extent towards affording the Egyptian population a more balanced and nutritive diet. Also export prospects to the European Countries and Middle East countries are highly attractive for these items. Substantial increases in foreign demand for the Egyptian fruits and vegetables is expected. Demand for the Egyptian citrus is expected to increase from 20 thousand tons annually to approximately 50 thousand tons during the next ten years.

The increase in cereal, and leguminous crops production have been planned mainly for the purpose of increasing domestic supplies of human food and animal feed to support livestock expansion. The magnitudes of projected increases in cereal production have been worked out bearing in mind the likely increase in domestic consumption.

A significant expansion in Egyptian cotton production has been anticipated because of excellent prospects for improving yields and thus reducing costs, which in turn would substantially improve the market possibilities for Egyptian cotton. World trade in cotton

which totaled 13 million bales in 1955-56, will increase moderately to about 16 million bales in 1965. Thus the distribution of the annual foreign demand for the Egyptian cotton over the next five years, which will be approximately 1.5 million bales will be distributed on a basis of 30 percent to Western Europe and 30 percent to the Eastern Europe and the remainder to the Asian markets.

Development of agricultural marketing research :

Although some agricultural economic research has been carried on in Egypt for many years, marketing research is still in its early stage. Agricultural marketing research depends heavily on statistical series and the right kind of statistics are seldom available. For example, in price analysis there is usually a need for daily, weekly and monthly quantities and prices whereas usually the only data available are yearly average data. Because of the lack of such basic data, the first attempt for research should be of a fact finding nature. Research at this stage is heavily dependent on the cooperation of many governmental agencies under the supervision of the Ministry of Planning in the collection of data. It will be possible to progress to the next stage of development when basic data has been accumulated.

The Ministry of Agriculture is showing concern with marketing problems, and there is a section of Agricultural Economic Administration, set up to carry out marketing research projects and to provide some of the current marketing data required by the Ministry.

Marketing Research in Egypt should be classified under one or more of the following headings :

1. Economic analysis of the various agricultural commodities : This type of study does not usually solve specific marketing problems, but does assemble and make known the basic facts about marketing situation, as well as defining the economic problems of the agricultural commodities.

2. Cost and Margin studies : These studies are narrow in scope but do provide answers to specific questions.

3. Outlook Studies: These studies are usually concerned with supply, demand and consumption trends and their projection into the future.

4. Policy studies: These studies are broad in nature and require careful interpretation.

5. New products, new marketing practices studies: These studies include an examination of changes in consumer packaging; consumer preference; handling methods and equipment; canned, dried and frozen food trends; wholesale and retail merchandising.

Conclusion:

To appreciate the relatively recent emphasis placed on agricultural marketing by farmers and their organizations in Egypt, it is necessary to realize the tremendous changes that have taken place in the Egyptian economy generally and in the agricultural sector particularly. While these developments have been fairly continuous since 1952, they have been more drastic since 1960, and have greatly altered the structure of Egyptian agriculture.

In comparison with most other agrarian economies, Egyptian agriculture is already developed to a great extent.

The possibilities of increasing production on existing agricultural land are limited. Overcrowding of people on the land is in itself an obstacle to increasing its output. The Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture hopes, however that over all production on existing lands may be raised in the next decade by 25 percent as a result of vigorous methods to improve irrigation and drainage, optimum use of fertilizers, control of plant and animal diseases and pests, and the use of the improved strains of seeds.

But any hope for the alleviation of the downward trend of living standards in the United Arab Republic, in the immediate future depends upon an increase in arable land acreage through irigation or reclamation projects which have started from 1953.

Construction of a high dam offers a temporary solution because it could increase the total amount of arable land by 25 percent within ten to fifteens years. Agriculture production might then keep pace with population increases for the next few decades. The extent of the domestic and foreign markets is another factor

limiting economic dévelopmeni. Agricultural economic studies especially marketing studies in United Arab Republic have not been developed to the standards that would enable agricultural planners to form a comprehensive idea of the situation and outlook of agricultural production. It is for this reason that the First Five Year Plan has given a considerable attention to these agricultural economics research and has included a number of projects to promote agricultural marketing studies. This research aims to determine the potential marketing development on a sound basis studies and will also be carried out on improving agricultural marketing practices, methods and organizations, in order to provide better opportunities for both producers and consumers.

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ÉTUDES SUR LA THÉORIE ÉCONOMIQUE DE L'IMPÉRIALISME

I — INTRODUCTION ET BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Z. A. NASR

1. — Nous nous proposons de soumettre au lecteur une série d'articles consacrés à l'étude de la théorie de ce phénomène que tout le monde s'accorde à désigner aujourd'hui par l'expression *impérialisme*. Si nous nous décidons enfin à publier ces recherches c'est peut-être aussi bien par un certain sentiment de découragement que par souci de contribuer au déblaiement d'un terrain difficile afin que d'autres puissent avantageusement reprendre l'effort là où nous l'avons interrompu et réussir une tâche que nous n'avons pu parfaire : l'élaboration d'une théorie complète, tant sur le plan de l'analyse logique que sur celui de la recherche historique, de ce qu'un auteur a justement considéré comme

> "one of the most baffling subjects not only of modern but of all times — the relation between the less and more advanced economies of the world." (1)

Parler de découragement tout au début de ce travail pourrait peut-être surprendre, mais nous sommes convaincu qu'à beaucoup de chercheurs du Tiers-Monde ce sentiment, tantôt vague, tantôt aigu, n'est pas étranger ; nous nous contenterons ici d'évoquer les difficultés d'une œuvre artisanale isolée face à un problème d'une aussi vaste portée historique. Aussi ne s'agira-t-il pas pour nous de tenter une interprétation détaillée du phénomène impérialiste, mais bien de quelque chose de beaucoup plus modeste : une simple exposition, plus ou moins critique, plus ou moins systématique, de ce que des penseurs sérieux nous offrent depuis la fin du dix-neuvième siècle au sujet de la théorie économique de l'impérialisme.(2)

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(1) H. Frankel, *The Concept of Colonization*. Oxford, 1949.

(2) Le choix de cette limite dans le temps est, cela va sans dire, assez arbitraire mais correspond à un consensus presque unanime qui situe "l'ère impérialiste" dans la seconde moitié du siècle dernier. Pour une étude des théories antérieures à 1850 on consultera tout particulièrement: Klaus E. Knorr, *British Colonial Theories 1570-1850*. Toronto, 1944.

Nous espérons que cette délimitation du but que nous nous sommes proposé, une page, souvent négligée, de l'histoire des doctrines, aidera à excuser l'usage assez étendu que nous ferons des citations et des renvois, d'autant plus que la plupart des passages reproduits (en français) appartiennent à des langues peu courantes parmi nous.

2. — Nous aimerions pourtant croire que, malgré toutes les réserves de la section précédente, cette série d'articles pourra contribuer sérieusement à trancher la question, maintes fois débattue, de savoir s'il s'agit quand on parle d'impérialisme d'un autre slogan politique aidant à pavoiser de nos jours tant de capitales ou d'un concept ayant un contenu scientifique réel, digne d'un effort d'analyse théorique.

Sur un plan plus modeste mais pédagogiquement non moins utile, nous souhaitons que ce travail réussisse enfin à introduire la théorie de l'impérialisme dans le domaine des études économiques universitaires en R.A.U.; l'échec d'une tentative précédente datant de 1954 (1) ne nous laisse, malheureusement, que peu d'espoir à ce sujet. Ceci explique, en partie, le choix du français dans cette étude, choix qui évitera, par ailleurs, de troubler des innocences bien méritées et d'ébranler des suffisances qui le sont moins.

Nous serions pourtant agréablement surpris si notre entreprise ne se réduisait pas à un monologue livresque et solitaire.

3. — Passer sous silence le problème, les problèmes que pose l'impérialisme à la théorie économique est une solution facile mais dangereuse, qui risque d'aboutir tôt ou tard à l'adoption plus ou moins consciente de positions idéologiques qui ne sont pas les nôtres. Plus dangereuse et plus futile encore cette attitude qui consiste à déclarer que l'ère des impérialismes est révolue dès que l'on choisit de parler d'autre chose, de *tutelle*, par exemple, ou de droit international en général; les analyses pseudo-juridiques à cet égard ne servent même plus à brouiller les cartes, et l'on ne peut que sourire en entendant entre autres tel auteur affirmer dans une revue sérieuse que :

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(1) Dans un manuel de langue arabe: Z.A. Nasr, *Les Relations Economiques Internationales*. Le Caire, 1954.

> "In spite of this complete change of attitude towards dependent peoples [il s'agit de l'adoption du régime de tutelle qui mettrait apparemment fin à toute exploitation] it is to be regretted that the term imperialism is still employed in a loose sense with reference to the legitimate aims of nations to extend their trade and influence throughout the world... The attitude of Great Britain towards Egypt has been called imperialistic, though the latter nation is not a part of the British Empire... what is involved is not the imperialism of exploiting subject peoples but rather the safeguarding of strategic international highways for the benefit of all nations." (1)

Plus divertissante encore cette affirmation d'un auteur qui nous déclare doctement que la place que l'impérialisme pourrait à la rigueur (!) trouver dans la science économique est déjà occupée par cet "appareil d'analyse moderne" qu'est la notion de *domination*, notion introduite, comme on le sait, en France par F. Perroux.(2) Il faut vraiment vouloir s'attirer à tout prix le redoutable qualificatif d'économiste vulgaire pour soutenir que cette plate théorie — l'épithète n'est relativement pas trop forte — de l'économie dominante puisse se substituer à celle de l'impérialisme ; à moins qu'on ne veuille, en jouant sur les mots, escamoter un chapitre important de l'histoire de la pensée économique.

4. — Il est inutile, nous semble-t-il, d'insister sur l'attirance qu'une étude de l'impérialisme exerce sur un économiste arabe ; le monde arabe a été — il l'est encore en partie — un terrain modèle pour le jeu des influences impérialistes sous toutes leurs formes. L'exemple égyptien, jusqu'à la moitié du vingtième siècle et les transformations révolutionnaires récentes, constitue un cas si typique qu'il est à l'origine d'une expression spéciale traduisant une forme particulière de l'impérialisme, l'*Aegyptisierung*, forme à mi-chemin entre la dépendance économique et financière et la colonisation pure et simple.

Pourtant dans cette étude c'est aux chasseurs que nous nous intéresserons surtout et non à la proie,(3) et ce pour diverses raisons. Nous pensons d'abord que le problème crucial pour cette dernière est, à l'heure actuelle comme il l'était dans les contro-

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(1) P.M. Brown, *Imperialism*, American Journal of International Law, 1954.

(2) M. Moret, *Impérialisme et Domination*. Revue d'Economie Politique, 1952. F. Perroux distingue deux composants de ce qu'il appelle *"l'effet de domination"*: la différence de bargaining power et la différence de dimension. Voir notamment : F. Perroux, *ESquisse d'une théorie de l'Economie Dominante*. Economie Appliquée, 1948. La littérature d'expression non française a été en général "little impressed" par le tapage qui entoure cette théorie en France.

(3) G.W.F. Hallgarten, *Imperialismus vor 1914*, München, 1951 (p. 32-33).

verses du début du siècle, celui du lien logique, réel ou supposé, entre expansion coloniale et système économique; ensuite, un travail plus complet devrait se pencher tant sur l'histoire des puissances impérialistes que sur celle des régions sous-développées afin de tenter l'explication du dynamisme exubérant des uns et de la stagnation impotente des autres. Notre propos est, comme nous l'avons dit, bien plus modeste : il s'agit de savoir comment la pensée strictement économique a essayé de rendre compte de l'expansion occidentale moderne. On ne saurait évidemment, dans ces limites étroites, aborder sérieusement la question grandiose de savoir pourquoi, historiquement, le monde s'est départagé en colonisateurs et colonisés, en sujets et objets. L'inégalité des rythmes du développement historique est encore l'une des questions qui attendent de la science une réponse convaincante.

5. — Un mot, enfin, sur un point malheureusement délicat. La théorie de l'impérialisme, comme on aura amplement l'occasion de le constater, est profondément marquée par la pensée marxiste; il est vain d'éluder cette vérité ou de nier, comme certains aiment à l'afficher, toute contribution marxiste à l'étude du mécanisme de l'économie capitaliste.(1)

Nous ne sommes pas marxiste mais nous ne sommes pas non plus systématiquement et aveuglément anti-marxiste dans la mesure où le marxisme n'est qu'une tentative d'appréhension scientifique ; aussi nos efforts tendront-ils à préserver une sorte de "neutralisme scientifique" qui nous permettra, nous l'espérons, d'éviter dans la mesure du possible les écueils que dressent face à cette attitude les tenants des deux camps. Nous savons bien pourtant que toute étude "non-engagée" de la pensée marxiste est, presque par définition, suspecte aux yeux des deux parties ; il nous suffira de rappeler néanmoins aux plus méfiants à gauche, ce conseil assez caractéristique d'un "pur".

> "Il faut en finir avec le fait que par suite du caractère limité de leurs connaissances ou pour toute autre raison, certains travailleurs scientifiques rangent en bloc parmi les réactionnaires tous les économistes des pays capitalistes qui ne se placent pas sur la plateforme du matérialisme dialectique." (2)

(1) C'est ce que fait, par exemple, A. Lerner qui ajoute: "Neither have Marx's contributions in the field of politics or sociology or anthropology or in any other field, been such as to impress the experts in those fields" (*Marxism and Economics: Sweezy and Robinson.* Journal of Political Economy, 1945, p. 76).
Voilà encore l'un des chemins les plus sûrs pour mener à la ruine la pensée académique.

(2) V. Diatchenko, *Les tâches du travail de recherche scientifique dans le domaine de l'économie.* Voprossi Ekonomiki, 1955/10.

Quant à droite, nous dirons que si nous nous sommes longuement penché sur les auteurs d'obédience marxiste, c'est qu'on leur a laissé prendre le quasi-monopole des recherches sur l'impérialisme et qu'il est grand temps que les économistes occidentaux prennent conscience de l'importance du sujet aux yeux des hommes de science du Tiers-Monde et du besoin que nous avons d'y voir plus clair, de comprendre et d'expliquer les ruines qui nous entourent.

INTRODUCTION

Nous traiterons dans cette introduction de deux questions qui nous serviront de préliminaires : dans une première section nous essaierons de démêler parmi les diverses définitions du terme "impérialisme" celles qui nous semblent les plus importantes, et ce afin de choisir la formule sur laquelle sera basée cette étude; une seconde section sera consacrée à passer rapidement en revue la plupart des théories non-économiques de l'impérialisme, ce qui nous convaincra, je l'espère, que rien de bien décisif n'a été négligé en limitant la recherche au domaine de l'économie, du moins sur le plan de l'effort théorique.

A. — DÉFINITION DE L'IMPÉRIALISME

1. — Le terme est, comme on le sait, d'origine assez récente; ce n'est que vers la fin du dix-neuvième siècle qu'il fait son apparition [1] dans la littérature anglaise pour désigner un mouvement de protestation contre l'indifférence des gouvernements libéraux de Sa Majesté au sujet des colonies. Une *Ligue impérialiste* plus ou moins active réclamait le resserrement des liens de la métropole avec les territoires dépendants d'outre-mer, dans le sens notamment de l'application d'un système de préférences commerciales et de la promotion d'une politique d'assimilation en vue de la formation d'une *Greater Britain*. Cette acception du terme persiste dans la littérature anglo-saxonne jusqu'au début du siècle, bien après son abandon par la pensée continentale.[1] Celle-ci n'avait pas tardé, en dépit de grosses divergences dans les détails, à se cristalliser autour de deux conceptions principales :

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(1) Le mot semble pourtant avoir été rarement employé auparavant sous le Premier Empire dans le sens de puissance ou dignité impériale.

(2) Voir, par exemple, J.S. Nicholson, *The Economics of Imperialism*, Economic Journal, 1910. A. Loria parle à ce sujet "d'impérialisme commercial", l'impérialisme tout court ou "l'impérialisme économique" serait la colonisation classique de territoires neufs et peu peuplés. A. Loria, *Les deux notions de l'impérialisme*. Revue Economique Internationale, 1907.

a) Pour la première, l'impérialisme est une politique d'expansion d'une communauté hors de ses frontières nationales, expansion ayant pour objet une domination politique ou économique. C'est dans ce sens que l'impérialisme se rapproche le plus de ce qu'on entend par *politique coloniale* ou *colonialisme*, de l'agression d'un Etat plus puissant contre une communauté plus faible dans le dessein d'acquérir des avantages politiques ou économiques. Il ne s'agit plus alors, comme dans l'acception originelle du terme, d'une idée ou d'une doctrine, mais d'un fait, d'une action qui implique l'intervention d'un sujet, l'Etat dans la plupart des cas.(1)

b) La seconde désigne par impérialisme non pas une certaine politique mais une certaine période historique: celle du capitalisme dès la fin du dix-neuvième siècle; on parlera alors de l'impérialisme comme d'un ensemble de caractères identifiant un stade, une phase de l'évolution du système capitaliste. L'expansion extérieure, la politique coloniale, la recherche de sphères d'influence... tout cela ne constituerait que des aspects d'une certaine époque comparable au point de vue conceptuel à l'esclavagisme, au féodalisme, au capitalisme dont elle ne serait en somme qu'une sous-période.(2)

Il ne saurait être question d'élaborer à ce stade ce qu'implique cette dualité dans l'acception du terme. Contentons-nous ici de remarquer simplement que la seconde conception est propre à l'extrême-gauche orthodoxe, alors que la première est adoptée par des auteurs de toutes nuances.

2. — Mentionnons, à côté de cette cristallisation autour de deux conceptions fondamentales, deux autres tendances, fréquentes mais scientifiquement négligeables :

a) Celle qui nie toute portée scientifique à l'expression et ne lui accorde que le statut d'un slogan de parti.

> "Le mot impérialisme n'appartient pas à un effort de conceptualisation proprement scientifique mais simplement au domaine de la lutte entre partis politiques." (3)

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(1) Ou des organismes privés à pouvoirs semi-publics comme les grandes Compagnies commerciales à charte du XVIIème siècle.

(2) C'est, comme on le sait, la thèse fameuse de Lénine, *L'impérialisme, dernière étape du capitalisme*, édition russe parue en avril 1917.

(3) O. Spann, *Imperialismus*, Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, 4ème édition, 1923.

Esquive trop facile évidemment car, comme le remarque J. Hashagen,[1] la recherche scientifique ne doit pas s'arrêter là où l'abus dans l'emploi d'un terme commence; la confusion qui entoure un sujet devrait pousser à un redoublement des efforts d'analyse plutôt qu'à leur relâchement.

b) Une autre tendance aboutit à diluer le sens du terme et lui ôte toute désignation spécifique, ce que l'on retrouve d'ailleurs presque toujours dans toute controverse ayant pour objet une analyse de concepts.

Seillière, par exemple, assimile l'impérialisme à cette "volonté de puissance".

> "cette tendance primordiale de la Nature humaine qui pousse les individus tout autant que les groupements sociaux plus ou moins étendus, à se préparer de leur mieux un avenir de tranquillité et de bien-être par l'exercice et l'augmentation rationnelle de leur puissance." (2)

Essayant d'identifier un concept voisin, la colonisation, S.H. Frankel (3) voit partout des *colonisateurs*, même dans la création d'une industrie nouvelle, d'une nouvelle école de peinture ou d'architecture, d'une religion ou d'une science nouvelle. La connotation politique est évidente : mal inspirés serait-on de critiquer ou de s'insurger contre l'activité bienfaisante de cette élite créatrice.

D'autres vont même plus loin et parleront de l'impérialisme comme d'un type de religion qui identifie la volonté du Seigneur à telle ou telle institution, à tel ou tel ordre temporel; le Christianisme, l'Islam, le nazisme, le socialisme révolutionnaire, seraient alors des religions impérialistes.(4)

Tout cela ne vaut pas la peine qu'on s'y attarde et appartient à une époque révolue où toute recherche se réduisait à un jeu sémantique stérile.

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(1) J. Hashagen, *Zur Deutung des Imperialismus*. Weltwirtschaftliche Archiv, 1927. Voir aussi du même auteur: *Der Imperialismus als Begriff*. W.A. 1919/20. On trouvera chez cet auteur un catalogue des diverses définitions de l'impérialisme ainsi qu'une bonne bibliographie.

(2) E. Seillière, *L'impérialisme démocratique*, Philosophie de l'impérialisme, Tome III, Paris, 1907, (p. 4).

(3) Op. cit. p. 7.

(4) W.A. Brown, *Imperialistic Religion and the Religion of Democracy*, 1923.

Les impérialismes

3. — Politique d'expansion externe ou système propre à une phase historique déterminée, voilà donc, semble-t-il, l'alternative fondamentale qui s'offre à nous. Il est évident que la deuxième conception a l'avantage de limiter le problème et le rend abordable, la première ayant le tort d'être trop générale et, partant, historiquement indéfinie : une politique d'expansion à l'extérieur est un phénomène que toutes les périodes de l'histoire ont connu, aussi son interprétation risque-t-elle soit de nous mener à des formules tellement vagues qu'elles perdraient toute efficacité dans la recherche, soit de nous obliger à distinguer divers types d'impérialismes, quitte à élaborer une théorie plus ou moins spéciale pour chaque variante du phénomène.

Cette dernière attitude se rencontre à chaque pas dans la littérature de notre sujet. L'un (1) distinguera, par exemple, entre *l'impérialisme féodal* ou *l'impérialisme de l'élite* qui caractérise l'époque mercantiliste, *l'impérialisme bourgeois ou capitaliste*, puis tout récemment *l'impérialisme populaire* auquel participent même les couches prolétaires de la nation. Le premier se baserait sur la force brute, le second sur la pénétration économique, le dernier sur des méthodes "culturelles".

L'autre (2) préférera situer l'impérialisme féodal à l'époque de l'apogée du capitalisme : la production augmente, les débouchés sont insuffisants, le système, menacé par la crise, tente d'y échapper par la conquête de nouveaux territoires. Impérialisme féodal pourtant car à cette époque le pouvoir politique est encore entre les mains d'éléments pré-capitalistes qui ont tendance à résoudre leurs difficultés par la conquête et la guerre. Lorsque le pouvoir passe aux classes bourgeoises nous assistons alors, après la première guerre mondiale, à un *impérialisme commercial* : de grands empires s'affrontent et s'efforcent de s'assurer une viabilité autarcique. On renonce dans ce cas aux méthodes brutales, à l'agression, pour adopter des moyens plus discrets, plus civilisés ; la pénétration économique prend le pas sur la pénétration militaire. L'ère des dictatures connaîtra à son tour un *impérialisme social*

(1) Christian Eckert, *Alter und Neuer Imperialismus*, Kieler Vortraege 39, 1932.

(2) A. Grabowsky, *Der Sozialimperialismus als letzte Etappe des Imperialismus*. Basel, 1939. Voir de même les articles de l'auteur cités plus bas dans la bibliographie.

basé sur une mixture d'éléments capitalistes et d'éléments socialistes; toutes les couches sociales y trouvent leur compte, même les ouvriers puisque

> "l'impérialisme produit les marchés comme ses fabriques produisent les marchandises".(1)

Un troisième exemple enfin, celui de W. Sulzbach,(2) qui distingue à son tour trois types d'impérialismes : *l'impérialisme antique* de peuplades menacées par la faim, *l'impérialisme princier* qui accroît le nombre des sujets et des contribuables et, par conséquent, la puissance d'une oligarchie aristocratique, et enfin *l'impérialisme national* de l'époque démocratique qui ne s'expliquerait d'après l'auteur que par des raisons psychologiques.

4. — Aucune raison logique ne s'oppose évidemment à l'adoption d'une définition "générale" de l'impérialisme qui s'appliquerait à tout phénomène d'expansion, quitte à procéder ensuite, comme dans les exemples précédents, à une typologie plus ou moins convaincante.

Mais, outre les difficultés que présentent nécessairement des coupures assez arbitraires dans le temps, il semble, en effet, superficiel de vouloir réunir sous une même rubrique des exemples d'expansion politico-économique aussi disparates que, pour n'en glaner que quelques-uns, les conquêtes d'Alexandre, de Rome, de l'Islam, des Croisades, du Nouveau-Monde, des Indes, les guerres napoléoniennes, la course aux colonies d'avant-guerre, les agressions nazies... sans compter quelques exemples plus proches de nous. A la thèse tranchée et circonstanciée de l'extrême-gauche on ne pourrait alors qu'opposer une construction élusive, condamnée dès le départ à la défensive.

Aussi croyons-nous plus utile de choisir une définition qui impliquerait une délimitation historique du phénomène ; il ne s'agirait plus d'étudier tous les cas d'expansion mais seulement l'expansion de la période capitaliste, celle, après tout, qui nous intéresse le plus.

On pourrait croire que cela revient à adopter une position classique de l'extrême-gauche, à quelques nuances près : l'impérialisme, étape de l'évolution capitaliste ou l'impérialisme, politique d'expansion de la période capitaliste, les deux thèses sembleraient de prime abord assez voisines. Il n'en est rien et l'on verra

(1) Grabowsky, op. cit. (p. 14).
(2) *Imperialismus* in Handwörterbuch der Soziologie, Stuttgart, 1931.

par la suite qu'un monde sépare les deux définitions, ce qui explique le refus féroce qu'oppose le marxisme orthodoxe à tout relâchement du concept léniniste.

Posons donc ici, comme point de départ de notre travail, qu'il s'agira d'exposer les théories qui ont pour objet principal l'interprétation de la politique expansionniste des pays capitalistes modernes. Le choix de cette formule s'explique par deux considérations :

a) D'abord par le fait que pour un chercheur du Tiers-Monde l'aspect le plus intéressant du problème est l'expansion externe de certains Etats, la conquête, militaire ou économique, de colonies ou de semi-colonies, le colonialisme.(1)

b) Le choix semble en outre éviter un piège qu'il importe de reconnaître dès le début de la recherche. Assimiler l'impérialisme à une période historique donnée, à savoir le capitalisme à partir de la fin du dix-neuvième siècle, risque de mener logiquement à une capitulation en faveur de la thèse marxiste orthodoxe: l'existence d'un lien nécessaire et indissoluble entre capitalisme et politique d'expansion coloniale, ce qui reste à démontrer. Plusieurs auteurs pourtant "bien pensants" se sont laissé prendre à ce piège qui semble cependant assez évident.(2)

5. — C'est donc à l'impérialisme comme politique d'expansion coloniale des pays capitalistes que nous nous intéresserons particulièrement dans ce travail. Que cela ne nous empêche point de reconnaître néanmoins que beaucoup d'auteurs, même en dehors de l'orthodoxie marxiste; rejettent expressément cette position.

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(1) Un trait caractéristique: l'arabe désigne couramment par une seule expression (al-Isti'mar) l'impérialisme et le colonialisme; certains textes d'inspiration marxiste ont essayé, sans succès d'ailleurs, d'introduire un néologisme: "al-Imbérialia", pour l'impérialisme exclusivement.

(2) C'est le cas de la définition célèbre de Schulze-Gaevernitz (*Amerikas Ueberimperialismus* in Die Wirtschaftswissenschaft nach der Krieg, 1/1925): "Cette étape de l'époque capitaliste dans laquelle le capital financier subjugue à l'aide du pouvoir politique des territoires extérieurs dans le dessein d'une exploitation monopolistique de leurs ressources naturelles, matières premières et forces de travail (dans ce dernier cas souvent au moyen de l'impôt) avec la tendance de former un empire mondial autarcique englobant toutes les zones et produisant toutes les matières premières". Le nouveau Handwoerterbuch der Sozialwissenschaften adopte comme définition de l'impérialisme dans sa "période classique" (1880-1914) la formule précédente. Heinz Maus, *Imperialismus* in Hwb.d. Sozialw, 1956. (Nouvelle édition du Hwb.d. Staatswissenschaften).

"La politique coloniale n'est, comme le protectionnisme et autres procédés économiques semblables, qu'un symptôme de l'impérialisme; elle n'épuise pas son essence. L'histoire coloniale n'est pas l'histoire de l'impérialisme, la politique coloniale n'est pas sans plus l'impérialisme." (1)

On ne saurait être plus catégorique ; mais qu'on nous permette de répondre que si le colonialisme n'épuise peut-être pas "l'essence" de l'impérialisme, il en forme de l'avis unanime une pièce maîtresse, disons même *la* pièce maîtresse ; il est bien difficile de concevoir une politique impérialiste non colonialiste. Aussi est-il permis, à notre avis, de concentrer la recherche sur cet aspect fondamental, sur cette manifestation si l'on veut, du phénomène, quitte ensuite à ajouter tel ou tel autre élément sur lequel il serait éventuellement utile d'attirer l'attention. Ceci dit, nous ne nous laisserons point entraîner à un débat oiseux sur l'essence et la forme, le nécessaire et le fortuit, passe-temps pourtant favori chez certains auteurs du siècle dernier.

"Colonialism exists under conditions of modern capitalism, but it is by no means peculiar to such conditions: it has existed in a variety of historically known social systems. Hence if imperialism is identified with colonialism, it is not at all an historically specific concept." (2)

Si la question se ramène simplement à spécifier historiquement le concept, nous croyons l'avoir déjà fait en limitant notre sujet à l'expansion impérialiste du capitalisme moderne ; c'est à l'impérialisme des pays capitalistes, à l'impérialisme "classique" si l'on préfère, que nous nous intéressons ; cela n'est-il pas suffisant pour laisser dans l'ombre les phénomènes analogues qu'ont connus d'autres systèmes sociaux au courant de l'histoire ?

Il ne s'agit pas dans ce travail d'interpréter les conquêtes de l'antiquité ou du moyen-âge ; il ne s'agit pas non plus — et c'est encore un point en notre faveur — de savoir s'il existe actuellement un impérialisme non-capitaliste ; nous ne voulons pas être victime d'une association d'idées courante et ne coller l'étiquette

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(1) A. Salz, *Das Wesen des Imperialismus*. Leipzig u. Berlin, 1931 (p. 8).

(2) P.M. Sweezy, *A Marxist view of Imperialism* in The Present as History, New-York, 1953 (p. 81).
Ce souci de spécifier historiquement le contenu d'un concept dans la définition même de ce concept se retrouve chez beaucoup d'auteurs:
"Ou bien toute expansion historique est de l'impérialisme et alors la définition du terme devient si générale qu'elle perd toute valeur scientifique... ou bien l'on se limite à un ensemble donné de faits historiquement déterminé, ce qui permet une démarcation précise du phénomène et l'élaboration de ses caractères spécifiques".
F. Dulberg, *Der Imperialismus im Lichte seiner Theorien*. Diss. Basel, 1936.

impérialiste qu'à certains pays à l'exclusion de certains autres. Tous ces problèmes, intéressants en soi, sont en dehors de nos préoccupations immédiates ; n'y a-t-il pas là un souci de spécification historique suffisant ?

Un mot n'est qu'un mot et c'est la réalité qu'il évoque qu'il importe de préciser, de définir dans le temps et dans l'espace.

B. — INTERPRÉTATIONS NON-ÉCONOMIQUES DE L'IMPÉRIALISME

1. — Le but de cette section n'est *pas* de divertir le lecteur aux dépens de quelques auteurs qui ont tenté d'expliquer l'impérialisme en dehors d'une analyse strictement économique ; ce n'est pas non plus d'administrer encore une fois la preuve que l'économie politique est la plus élaborée des sciences sociales. Nous ne pouvons prétendre, d'ailleurs, être suffisamment informé des efforts tentés par les sociologues, les historiens, les publicistes, les juristes, les psychologues, pour nous permettre ces libertés ; peut-être même que c'est par une sorte de déformation professionnelle que nous trouvons plus convaincantes les théories économiques de l'impérialisme.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il nous a semblé utile de donner ici, en guise d'introduction, quelques exemples de l'interprétation du phénomène en dehors de la pensée économique, ne serait-ce que pour attirer l'attention sur la nécessité d'une appréciation judicieuse des recherches à entreprendre dans un travail plus complet.

Un mot d'abord sur l'emploi que nous faisons de l'expression *interprétation non-économique*. Que les facteurs économiques jouent un rôle fondamental dans l'interprétation historique en général et dans celle de l'impérialisme en particulier, cette vérité n'est plus à l'heure actuelle qu'un lieu commun. Ceci pourtant n'a pas empêché quelques auteurs de ramener l'explication du phénomène à un domaine extra-économique, psychologique ou biologique par exemple ; d'autres, tout en réservant une place à l'économique, ont préféré mettre l'accent, conjointement ou exclusivement, sur le non-économique. Ce sont ces deux courants que nous englobons dans l'expression "interprétations non-économiques"; une théorie, comme celle de Schumpeter, dans laquelle l'élément économique forme partie intégrante d'un ensemble comprenant d'autres éléments, ne sera pas incluse dans cette section.

L'impérialisme, phénomène psychologique :

2. — Prenons comme représentant de cette interprétation W. Sulzbach chez lequel elle assume, semble-t-il, la forme la plus élaborée. Pourquoi un Etat moderne, un pays démocratique, comme l'étaient par exemple l'Angleterre ou la France au tournant du siècle, adopterait-il une politique d'expansion extérieure ? Une telle politique, selon Sulzbach, s'expliquerait à une époque où des monarques, entourés d'une noblesse rapace et avides de puissance, cherchaient à multiplier par les conquêtes le nombre de leurs sujets et à étendre par là l'assiette de leurs impôts et redevances. Mais à l'époque moderne ? Pour l'auteur faire appel à ce sujet à un quelconque intérêt économique est inefficace. Intérêts de la nation dans son ensemble ? Le progrès des indigènes, des races de couleur, rend toute exploitation directe malaisée, du moins dans la mesure où cette exploitation est effectivement rentable. Intérêts de la bourgeoisie ? Il faudrait d'abord expliquer comment cette classe pousse-t-elle les ouvriers à servir des intérêts qui ne sont pas les leurs ; il faut, en outre, ne pas oublier que parmi les victimes des guerres coloniales, la bourgeoisie compte une partie de ses fils. Soutenir, enfin, que ce sont les industriels qui profitent d'une politique impérialiste néglige le fait qu'il leur est plus favorable de placer leurs ressources dans des investissements rentables à l'abri des aléas et des sacrifices d'une guerre expansionniste.

> "Croire que les capitalistes, les banquiers, les exportateurs, les gros industriels... etc., à la suite de je ne sais quels conciliabules et sur la base d'un calcul des gains probables, décident d'assaillir des peuples étrangers, croire que tout ce qui est proclamé au sujet de l'intérêt de la nation, de la gloire, de la défense nationale... etc., n'est que phraséologie jetée froidement en pâture aux masses, voilà qui est irréel et absurde." (1)

Après s'être ainsi magistralement défait des "facteurs économiques", Sulzbach nous offre, à son tour, son explication de l'impérialisme. Il évoque à ce sujet quatre considérations :

a) la volonté de puissance qui habite chaque individu;

b) l'ardeur belliqueuse et la joie du combat;

c) la glorification du courage, synonyme de soldatesque et facteur important de l'érotisme féminin.

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(1) W. Sulzbach, *Imperialismus* in Hwb. der Soziologie, Stuttgart, 1931.

d) la gloire et le prestige d'une nation qui inspire la crainte et le respect. Si l'honneur national exige, comme c'est le cas pour un mouvement nationaliste ou une reconquête de territoires perdus, une politique d'expansion, l'auteur nous propose de parler alors d'*impérialisme dynamique*; s'il suffit de défendre simplement l'intégrité des frontières nationales, l'impérialisme est alors *statique*. Cette distinction permet à Sulzbach de définir l'impérialisme comme

> "cette tendance d'un Etat à défendre ou à étendre le domaine de sa souveraineté",

définition assez bizarre puisque l'auteur nous déclare ensuite que cette tendance recrute ses adeptes parmi la jeunesse romantique, les fonctionnaires, les militaires, les intellectuels.

Tout cela, comme on le voit, est bien superficiel ; pourtant Sulzbach a le mérite d'avoir au moins tenté d'expliciter, quoique bien sommairement, ses "facteurs psychologiques", ce qui n'est guère le cas chez d'autres auteurs pour lesquels l'étiquette psychologique sert à peine à voiler le néant. Pour un E. Schultz, par exemple, la tendance à l'expansion défie toute analyse logique, elle ne s'explique que par des instincts ataviques irrationnels, ceux de la haine et de l'agressivité ; l'impérialisme est le fait des *forces obscures du subconscient.*(1) Pour Ch. Eckert il s'agirait plutôt, ce qui nous avance beaucoup, d'un complexe de supériorité, de *Herreninstinkten.*(2)

L'impérialisme, phénomène biologique :

3. — Il n'est pas étonnant de retrouver parmi les théories de l'impérialisme des conceptions qui s'inspirent d'un biologisme ramené le plus souvent à un darwinisme caricatural. Un exemple caractéristique :

> "Since societies are organisms, one can deduce a priori that they will conform to all the laws of biology."
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> "Nature is a vast field of carnage. Between living creatures conflict takes place every second, every minute, without truce and without respite. It takes place first between separate individuals, then between collective organisms, tribe against tribe, state against state, nationality against nationality. No cessation is possible. Living means fighting."

(1) E. Schultz, *Das Wesen des Imperialismus*, Nord u. Süd, Berlin, Mars 1929.
(2) Ch. Eckert, *Alter und Neuer Imperialismus*, Kieler Vortraege 39/1932.

> "This subordination of the less fit individual and collective organisms to the more fit, this is justice in nature : an incorruptible but implacable justice which knows no pity, but which gives to each with absolute impartiality the place due to its merits. It is the struggle for existence which determines this place. If one animal is less perfect than another, he must serve as prey. If one society is less perfect than another, the first must work for the second." (1)

Cette conception de la société, de l'Etat ou de la Race (selon tel ou tel auteur) comme un organisme, un être vivant assimilable à une personne physique, soumis à des lois analogues et doué des mêmes tendances, relève, à notre avis, soit d'un verbalisme déclamatoire soit d'une mystique sur laquelle l'analyse scientifique n'a guère de prise. Cette mystique qui rejoint, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, celle d'un nombre de publicistes (2) pour lesquels l'Etat n'est pas un mode d'organisation sociale mais la *forme de vie la plus imposante* (Kjellén) (3) ou *un organisme humain de sexe masculin* (Bluntschli),(4) aboutit, tout comme la plupart des théories pseudo-psychologiques, à une apologie sans vergogne de l'impérialisme, des conquêtes et de la guerre.

L'idée de puissance :

4. — Le mysticisme — on serait tenté de dire la mystification — n'est pas l'apanage exclusif des interprétations psychologiques ou biologiques de l'impérialisme ; on le retrouve aussi dans ces explications plus ou moins hybrides qui mettent l'accent sur l'idée de *Puissance* comme attribut essentiel de l'Etat. Qu'est-ce que l'Etat ? Le Pouvoir, la Puissance, "die Macht", par définition. Il est donc normal que l'attitude, la politique de chaque Etat soit

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(1) J. Novicow, *La Politique Internationale*, 1886 (Paris), cité dans W.L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism 1890-1902*, N.Y., London, 1932, (p. 86-87).

(2) Dans le sens de spécialistes du droit public. Ceux-ci d'ailleurs ne semblent pas avoir consacré beaucoup d'efforts au problème de l'impérialisme. Voir cependant: Leo Gross, *Pazifismus u. Imperialismus — Eine kritische Untersuchung ihrer Theoretischen Begründungen*, Wiener Staats- u. Rechtswiss. Studien, 1931.
Plusieurs définitions de publicistes sont citées pp. 307-309, Note 1.

(3) R. Kjellén, *Der Staat als Lebenform*, Berlin, 1924.

(4) "La nature *organique*, ou mieux *psychologique — humaine* de l'Etat, n'est guère comprise encore. Certains savants demeurent perpétuellement étrangers aux idées organiques ou psychologiques, de même qu'il est des hommes incapables de sentir la musique ou de goûter la peinture." M. Bluntschli, *Théorie Générale de l'Etat* (Trad. française, Paris, 1877 — Economistes et Publicistes Contemporains), p. 63.

animée par un but suprême : l'extension de cette puissance, c'est-à-dire, entre autres, la subjugation de communautés ou de peuplades étrangères. Cela d'autant plus que la vie internationale n'est en réalité qu'une jungle où la loi du plus fort est toujours la meilleure.

D'après cette conception, l'impérialisme c'est surtout une action de l'Etat hors de ses frontières ; que les moyens utilisés soient économiques ou politiques, culturels ou militaires, il s'agit toujours d'une intervention consciente du pouvoir, d'une puissance qui cherche de par sa nature à croître. Conception hybride, disons-nous, car elle débouche le plus souvent sur des considérations psychologiques, biologiques ou même économiques, destinées à infuser, tant bien que mal, quelque vie à l'abstraction stérile Etat-Puissance.(1)

L'impérialisme, phénomène démographique :

5. — Mentionnons enfin une thèse qui a l'avantage de vouloir se baser sur des faits objectifs : celle qui ramène l'impérialisme à une pression démographique. Un Etat déborde de ses frontières quand l'accroissement de sa population atteint un degré qui l'oblige à chercher une solution de ses difficultés à l'extérieur.

> "...il y a un fait simple et naturel qui, tôt ou tard, pousse irrésistiblement tout Etat à sortir de ses frontières et attaquer les autres sociétés pour les exploiter... Ce fait c'est la fécondité des femmes. L'accroissement de la population force chaque société à augmenter les moyens de subsistance, mais, comme l'accroissement de la production du sol qui se trouve possédé par cette société ne peut pas dépasser certaines limites, il ne lui reste donc qu'à songer à exploiter les sociétés voisines ou bien, chez les peuples situés aux bords de la mer, les sociétés transmarines." (2)

Nous retrouvons là chez le "père de la sociologie" les éléments traditionnels de la pensée économique classique : l'exubérance démographique et la loi des rendements décroissants aboutissant tôt ou tard à la surpopulation.

Une variante un peu plus élaborée est adoptée par J. Gompert (3) qui estime que le facteur crucial dans l'interprétation du

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(1) Un bon exemple : A. Salz, op. cit. Sections I et IV particulièrement. Voir aussi du même auteur: *Der Imperialismus der V.S.*, Archiv f. Sozialw. u. Sozialp. 50/1923.

(2) L. Glumpovicz, *Sociologie und Politik*, Leipzig, 1892, Traduction française (même titre), Paris, 1898.

(3) J. Gumpert, *Erscheinungsformen u. Wesen des Imperialismus*. Schmollers Jahrbuch, 1954. *Das Gesetz der wachsenden Souveraenitaet* ib. 1953.

phénomène impérialiste a trait au problème de *l'espace*. L'impérialisme ne serait, selon cet auteur, qu'une forme de la politique des grands espaces, de la *Grossraumwirtschaft*. La pression démographique fait de l'importation une nécessité vitale pour l'Etat; pour importer celui-ci est obligé d'exporter, l'échange international devient donc un élément indispensable à la survie de la nation. Mais ceci constitue inévitablement un facteur de dépendance vis-à-vis de l'étranger, dépendance intolérable qui risque de porter atteinte à l'intégrité et à l'autonomie nationales. Nécessité donc d'une part, menace de l'autre, comment résoudre cette contradiction ? Pour concilier l'économique, international par sa nature, et le politique, toujours jaloux de son caractère national, l'Etat adopte une politique d'expansion territoriale destinée à lui assurer une existence autarcique.(1)

En somme ce serait la surpopulation qui, en dernière analyse, expliquerait l'impérialisme. Cette thèse n'est pas bien convaincante et les critiques formulées à son encontre ne lui laissent plus à l'heure actuelle qu'une audience journalistique de plus en plus réduite.

On a constaté d'abord que les politiques impérialistes n'étaient pas toujours et forcément le fait de pays surpeuplés, les exemples classiques à cet égard étant ceux de la France et des Etats-Unis. Quant aux pays d'émigration, quelques chiffres suffisaient à démontrer que les territoires nouvellement conquis, les colonies africaines ou asiatiques, n'absorbaient qu'une fraction insignifiante du courant des émigrés; ceux-ci continuaient à donner la préférence aux contrées classiques de l'immigration : l'Amérique du Nord et l'Australie. Les quelques exceptions à cette vérité — Afrique du Sud, Algérie et Palestine — s'expliquaient par des circonstances particulières.

Ensuite qu'est-ce au juste qu'un pays surpeuplé ? La surpopulation au sens absolu du terme caractérisait-elle réellement ces pays impérialistes prétendument surpeuplés ? L'Angleterre, l'Allemagne, l'Italie ou même le Japon, sont-ils réellement des exemples probants ? L'évolution économique, le progrès technologique, la transformation des structures sociales, tout cela peut résorber et a résorbé effectivement l'excédent démographique dont se plaignaient certaines économies à une période donnée de leur

(1) C'est là un des arguments favoris de la Géopolitique. Voir plus bas la section 6.

histoire. Un pays n'est surpeuplé que dans la mesure où il ne réussit pas à réaliser les adaptations, les mutations propres à porter un remède efficace à ses maux ; ce n'est donc point de pression démographique qu'il s'agit en réalité mais bien d'une tare, d'une incapacité dans le système économique et social qui le rend inapte à assurer un niveau d'emploi suffisant et qui l'oblige à se lancer dans des aventures impérialistes. De la démographie nous sommes ainsi ramenés à l'économie politique, à une théorie économique du phénomène.

La "Geopolitik" :

6. — L'interprétation non-économique de l'impérialisme atteint finalement sa variante la plus exaltée dans ce véritable pot-pourri qu'est la "Geopolitik" des auteurs allemands d'entre les deux guerres. Quelques vagues considérations sur l'influence des facteurs naturels, de la géographie sur la politique des Etats et l'humeur des individus, une bonne dose de darwinisme social, de croissance "biologique" inévitable, de lutte pour la vie... etc., quelques chiffres comparatifs sur la densité démographique (de la nation et de ses voisins !), quelques slogans au timbre sinistre — Lebensraum, Volk ohne Raum, Grossraum — une trouvaille peu originale : la théorie du vide politique, en un mot un mélange disparate d'arguments pseudo-scientifiques, voilà ce que la Géopolitique nous offre comme justification de l'agression et des conquêtes coloniales.

Le seul point que nous relèverons à ce sujet a trait à l'explication géopolitique du colonialisme par la disparité géographique des métropoles et de leurs dépendances. La différence de climat, des ressources, de la faune et de la flore, rendrait souhaitable l'intégration d'un noyau industriel (européen le plus souvent) et d'une périphérie agricole plus ou moins tropicale, en une entité politique dont les éléments se compléteraient utilement. L'impérialisme serait donc une nécessité dictée par le besoin d'assurer à l'Etat une base géographiquement diversifiée, un espace englobant des régions complémentaires.

L'argument est spécieux : l'échange international, le commerce débarrassé de toute contrainte pourrait tout aussi bien surmonter les difficultés imputables à la localisation des ressources. Que certains Etats aient choisi, à certaines époques de l'histoire et surtout à l'époque moderne, de substituer la conquête au négoce, la

domination à l'échange librement débattu, voilà précisément le fait que nous cherchons à expliquer. La diversité des ressources naturelles comme l'une des bases de l'économie internationale est une chose, en faire un motif d'agression colonialiste en est une autre.(1)

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Que c'est dans l'analyse économique que se trouvent les éléments d'une explication de l'impérialisme, voilà, disions-nous, une vérité qui frise à l'heure actuelle la platitude. Encore faut-il déterminer quels sont au juste ces éléments, quelle est leur nature, leur importance, leur rôle ; quels sont les liens, réels ou supposés, qui les rattachent à un système social donné. Questions auxquelles nous consacrerons de longs développements dans l'espoir de ranimer une controverse qui semblerait peut-être désuète à certains mais qui pourrait au moins avoir le mérite de contribuer à briser ce monopole tranquille qu'exploite aujourd'hui le dogmatisme sclérosé et suffisant de l'orthodoxie marxiste.

(1) Les doctrines de la Géopolitique allemande ne sont pas, heureusement ou malheureusement, courantes parmi nous. Le sujet et ses ramifications d'après-guerre mériteraient une étude critique détaillée de la part de nos spécialistes ès-sciences politiques.

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DEFINITION OF UNDER-DEVELOPMENT (*)

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I. - *PROPOSED CLASSIFICATION*

The term, "under-developed" is far from being accurate. A classification is here proposed of the different stages of development. It takes into consideration two factors: economic potentialities and the application, or non-application, of an economic programme or economic plan. There are five categories of countries, namely: (1)

1. — *Poor Countries*: These do not possess sufficient economic potentialities, nor do they apply any policy or programme.

Hadramout, in the Arabian Peninsula, and some islands could be mentioned here. Anyhow, this classification is mainly academic.

2. — *Under - developed, or backward countries*: This term should apply to the countries which possess economic and human resources, but do not apply any economic programme or plan, for some reason or another, like imperialism in collusion with indigenous capital and monopolies. In such cases, the country is in a state of social rigidity, and lives in "Poverty amidst plenty".

3. — *Developing Countries, or economically emergent or nascent states*: These have resources and have an economic plan. The government intervenes in the national economy, but the national product is still low.

4. — *Semi-mature countries, quasi-developed or economically intermediate countries*: Here, there are resources and there is a developmental plan. Substantial progress has been achieved, but these countries have not yet reached the stage of maturity. Illustrations are afforded by countries of Eastern Europe, Soviet Russia, Japan, Italy (owing to the Mezzogiorno).

5. — *Developed, or mature economies*: These countries have reached a high stage of development, with high per capita incomes. Examples are the U.S.A., Britain, France, Federal Germany, Tchechoslovakia, Australia, New Zealand.

(*) A summary of the article published in arabic in this issue.
(1) Some of the definitions are the writer's suggestion.

II. - *FEUDALISM, CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM*

The writer poses the following question: is there any direct connection between under-development and feudalism, or capitalism? No direct link is deemed necessary.

Feudalism, of the *classical type*, provided for protection and decent living for the inhabitants of the manor as a whole. Poverty and under-development can only be associated with what we may call "*Contemporary feudalism*", or "*quasi-feudalism*, or possibly "*Capitalistic feudalism*", (1) whereby the manorial lord (or tribal chief) has repudiated his economic responsibilities vis-à-vis his community and has become an individualistic capitalist, exercising only the prerogatives, but not the duties, of his position.

As for capitalism, one has really to distinguish three phases. Under-development is associated with "*nascent capitalism*" and "*declining capitalism*", but not with "*prospering, or mature capitalism*". (2)

Socialism is both a means and a philosophy, aiming at economic growth and higher standards, through multi- or pluri-annual plans.

III. - *UNDER-DEVELOPMENT AND IMPERIALISM*

Is imperialism the cause of under-development? Imperialism is not the only cause, otherwise how to explain the prevalence of under-development before imperialistic domination? All one could say is that imperialism is one cause (an important one) among other causes. There is inter-dependency.

Imperialism brings about specialisation in one agricultural crop, or some extracting industry (ie. one-crop economy). Obstacles are often put on the way of industrialisation. The tax system remains inadequate. Foreign trade has a lopsided structure, in the sense that the "dominated country" imports consumption goods, and exports raw materials to the "dominating country".

Imperialism, in a word, tends to perpetuate the lopsidedness of the economic structure, and the rigidity of the social structure of the African and Asian states.

IV. - *CHARACTERISTICS OF UNDER-DEVELOPMENT*

They could be summarised in the following points:

1. — *Low national and per capitaincomes*. This includes the maldistribution of income.

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(1) We use the term capitalistic, rather than capitalist, since capitalism is a further stage of development and a distinct one. (Compare the terms Socialist and Socialistic).

(2) ie. the in-between stage of capitalist development.

2. — *Economic exposure*, owing to specialisation in some raw material (one-crop economy).

3. — *Economic dependency*; By this we mean dependency on foreign capital and investments, dependency on foreign banking services (i.e. immature indigenous banking system) and membership of some monetary bloc or area.

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ـ القطن
ـ التجارة الخارجية يناير / مارس سنة ١٩٦١
ـ الاوراق المالية
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— La portée économique, financière et monétaire des dernières lois fiscales en "République Arabe Unie".
— Le sens économique et social de la semaine des 42 heures.
— L'organisation de la dette publique extérieure en Province Syrienne.
— A la recherche d'un équilibre économique nouveau au Liban.
— Summary of events.

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— La circulation fiduciaire.
— La situation de la B.C.S.
— Le regroupement des banques.
— L'activité bancaire.

Le marché des changes

Le Coton.

— La situation générale.
— L'approvisionnement cotonnier.
— Le marché local du coton.
— Les exportations cotonnières.

Le Commerce Extérieur :

— Le trafic du Port de Lattakié.

R.A.U. — EGYPTE

Monnaie et Crédit :

— La circulation fiduciaire.
— Situation bancaire.

Le Coton :

— La situation générale.
— L'approvisionnement cotonnier.
— Le marché cotonnier.
— Les exportations cotonnières.
— La consommation locale.

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— Le trafic du Canal de Suez.
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LIBAN

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IRAK

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— L'activité bancaire.

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— La situation agricole.
— Les marchés céréaliers.

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R.A.U — EGYPTE

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LIBAN

Finance, développement, transports.

IRAK

Finances, activités industrielles, activités commerciales.

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