



Jamaica

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STATEMENT TO THE JOINT ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND  
DEVELOPMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND  
ON BEHALF OF THE COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN GROUP OF  
COUNTRIES

BY

RT. HON. EDWARD SEAGA, P.C., M.P., GOVERNOR FOR JAMAICA

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WE ARE GUESTS ON THIS OCCASION OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.

IT IS RIGHTLY SAID THAT THERE ARE FEW COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD  
ABLE TO HOST THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WORLD BANK AND INTERNATIONAL  
MONETARY FUND, BECAUSE OF THE DEMANDING LOGISTICS OF ACCOMMODATING SOME  
10,000 VISITING OFFICIALS, FINANCIAL LEADERS AND DIGNITARIES, WITH PRECISION,  
ATTENTION AND CARE. OF THOSE COUNTRIES ABLE TO MEET THESE DEMANDING STANDARDS,  
IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE THE RARE EXCEPTIONS.  
INDEED THERE ARE ONLY VERY FEW PREVIOUS INSTANCES OF THESE MEETINGS BEING  
HOSTED IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

IT SPEAKS VOLUMES, THEREFORE, FOR THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA THAT THIS ANNUAL MEETING HAS BEEN STAGED HERE AND THAT  
THE ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE WITH THE CUSTOMARY PRECISION, PERFECTION AND  
CARE ASSOCIATED WITH THE KOREAN PEOPLE. I SPEAK FOR MANY, I AM CERTAIN, IN  
OFFERING NOT ONLY APPRECIATION FOR THE WARMTH OF THE HOSPITALITY EXTENDED TO  
US, BUT ALSO IN ADMIRATION OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE OF  
WHICH THIS IS BUT A SYMBOL OF THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS.

I AM EQUALLY CERTAIN THAT THE PRIDE WHICH WE OF THE DEVELOPING

WORLD/



WORLD FEEL IN THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS IS NOT RESTRICTED TO THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF KOREA BUT CAN BE EXTENDED TO THE FAMILY OF SOUTH EAST ASIAN NATIONS WHICH HAVE SIMILARLY MADE GIANT STRIDES OVER THE PAST THREE DECADES TO REACH A POINT OF TAKE-OFF TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND STABILITY, THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF ALL OUR PLANS AND POLICIES.

THIS GROUP OF NEWLY INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES (NIC'S) AS THEY ARE KNOWN, ARE A POINTED REMINDER TO US ALL OF WHAT CAN BE ACHIEVED BY EVEN THE BATTERED AND WAR-TORN NATIONS AMONG US, MOSTLY DEVOID OF NATURAL RESOURCES, AS IN FACT IS TRUE OF THE LEADING LUMINARIES IN THIS CONSTELLATION OF BRILLANCE.

I SAY "DEVOID OF NATURAL RESOURCES" IN A POINTED AND SPECIFIC WAY BECAUSE THE SUCCESS OF THESE NATIONS POINT TO A DIRECTION WHICH WE MUST ALL EXAMINE IN UNDERSTANDING BOTH THE "WHY" AND THE "HOW" SO THAT WE MAY LEARN FROM EXPERIENCE, AND SHAPE OUR FUTURE FROM THE WISDOM OF THE PAST.

THE PREVAILING WISDOM OF THESE INSTITUTIONS, PARTICULARLY THE IMF, EMPHASISE ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES THROUGH TIGHT DEMAND MANAGEMENT. THE RESULT IS SEVERE AUSTERITY WHICH, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, CUTS SERVICES AND REDUCES GROWTH. THIS AUSTERE PATH CARRIES SOCIAL AND POLITICAL COSTS WHICH ARE OFTEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO THE FINAL OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING ADJUSTMENT WITHOUT SACRIFICING STABILITY.

BECAUSE OF THESE CONSEQUENCES, THE QUESTION INEVITABLY ARISES:  
IS THERE ANOTHER WAY, IS THERE AN ALTERNATIVE WHICH COULD AVOID THE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE FEATURES - SHARP REDUCTION OF SERVICES FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND SO ON, COUPLED WITH DRAMATIC REDUCTIONS IN STAFFING LEVELS,

INCREASED/



INCREASED COSTS OF BASIC NEEDS, AND ULTIMATELY A REDUCTION OF STANDARDS OF LIVING WHICH IS TOO SUDDEN FOR THE PEOPLE TO BEAR WITHOUT A DEMORALISING IMPACT?

IT IS HERE THAT THE CONSEQUENCE ON THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN THE PROCESS OF ADJUSTMENT TURNS NEGATIVE IN THE FORM OF PROTEST ACTION AND OTHER FORMS OF NON-SUPPORT FOR THE PROGRAMME OF CHANGE.

ODDLY ENOUGH, SO IMPORTANT IS THE PROGRAMME OF ADJUSTMENT, SO VITAL IS THE NEED FOR STABILISATION, THAT EVERY FORCE WITHIN THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEM NEEDS TO BE HARNESSSED TO ENSURE SUCCESS, TO KEEP THE LIFE-LINE OF CREDIT OPEN WITHOUT WHICH CONDITIONS WOULD BE INCALCULABLY WORSE. YET THE SEVERITY OF AUSTERITY IN THE PROGRAMME DESIGN, CARRIES ITS OWN SEEDS OF COUNTERPRODUCTIVE ACTION WHICH LIMITS SUCCESS. IT IS AS IF THE PREVAILING WISDOM DICTATES THAT SINCE THERE IS NO PATH OF PAINLESS CHANGE, IT MATTERS NOT HOW PAINFUL THE PROCESS MAY BE. BUT IT DOES MATTER-- IT MATTERS TO THE HUMAN ELEMENT WHICH IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS IS IN FACT THE TARGET OF THE ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME. WE DO NOT ADJUST ECONOMIC SYSTEMS; WE ADJUST THE LIVES OF PEOPLE WHO MAKE THESE SYSTEMS WORK. IT IS SHORT SIGHTED IN THE LEAST TO IGNORE THE HUMAN ELEMENT.

THESE INTENSE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL COSTS OFTEN LEAD COUNTRIES WITH IMF PROGRAMMES, IN SEARCH OF AN EASIER PATH, TO QUERY THE ULTIMATE BENEFIT OF THE PROGRAMME, AND IN DOING SO, TO MISTAKENLY DENOUNCE THE WHOLE ADJUSTMENT PROCESS.

TOO OFTEN, IT IS NOT RECOGNISED THAT WHEN ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES

DICTATE/



DICTATE THE NEED FOR IMF PROGRAMMES, AT THAT POINT THE LEVEL OF ADJUSTMENT REQUIRED IS INEVITABLY DRASTIC AND NO MODERATED COURSE OF CHANGE WILL THEN SUFFICE TO RESTORE ECONOMIC HEALTH.

BUT AT THE SAME TIME, ACCEPTING THE NEED FOR DRASTIC LEVELS OF CHANGE, DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY EMPLY AN EQUALLY DRASTIC PACE OF CHANGE, AND THIS IS THE ESSENTIAL FACTOR OVERLOOKED IN THE FRAMING OF THE TIME-TABLE FOR ADJUSTMENT.

THE DIFFERENCE IS ONE OF APPROACH BUT IS CRITICAL TO THE END RESULT, DETERMINING WHETHER CHANGE PROCEEDS WITH MEANINGFUL POPULATION SUPPORT BECAUSE THE LEVEL OF AUSTERITY IS MORE MANAGEABLE IN HUMAN TERMS, OR WHETHER THE INHUMAN FEATURES OF SEVERE AUSTERITY EVENTUALLY PREJUDICE ANY POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS BY THE EMERGENCE OF NEGATIVE FORCES WHICH ARE UNMANAGEABLE AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

IT IS HERE THAT THE SEEDS OF SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF IMF PROGRAMMES ARE GENERALLY SEWN.

THE REASONING BEHIND THE NEED FOR SEVERE AUSTERITY AND DRASTIC CHANGE IS THE SHORT TERM NATURE OF IMF AGREEMENTS - A MAXIMUM OF THREE YEARS. THESE SHORT TERM PROGRAMMES ARE INVARIABLY EXTENDED TO TWICE AND THREE TIMES THE LENGTH OF THE INITIAL PERIOD AS A RESULT OF THE INABILITY OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED TO MEET THE TARGETS DICTATED BY POLICY PRESCRIPTIONS FOR RAPID SHORT TERM CHANGE.

WHAT IS WORSE, EVERY YEAR OF EXTENSION OF THESE PROGRAMMES SIMPLY EXTENDS ORIGINAL TARGETS SET ON THE SAME COURSE OF A DRASTIC PACE OF CHANGE. INEVITABLY, WHAT BEGINS AS A THREE YEAR ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME HAS TO STRUGGLE TO ACCOMPLISH THE SAME ENDS OVER SEVEN YEARS OR MORE, WITH A HUGE TOLL IN



HUMAN SUFFERING AND NON-SUPPORT FOR PROGRAMME TARGETS. YET IF THESE PROGRAMMES WERE ORIGINALLY DESIGNED TO BE ACHIEVED OVER SEVEN YEARS THEY COULD BE ACHIEVED WITH MUCH GREATER PEOPLE-SUPPORT AND LESS SOCIAL COST PRODUCING A WELCOME CHANGE OF GOODWILL FOR IMF PROGRAMMES.

WHETHER THE CURRENT IMF POLICY TO IMPOSE DRASTIC SHORT TERM CHANGE, RATHER THAN GRADUAL MEDIUM TERM ADJUSTMENT, IS SUCCESSFUL, CAN READILY BE ASCERTAINED IF WE NOTE THAT THIS POLICY OF SHORT TERM ARRANGEMENTS HAS FEW REAL SUCCESS STORIES TO SHOW TO ITS CREDIT. SOMETHING IS LACKING, AND I REPEAT THE OBSERVATION, THAT WHAT IS AT FAULT, IS THE PACE MORESO THAN THE SUBSTANCE OF ADJUSTMENT.

WHAT IS EVEN MORE DISTURBING IS THE DRAMATIC FALL IN REQUIREMENT FOR FUND RESOURCES FROM SDR 9.2 BILLION IN 1983 TO SDR 6.4 BILLION IN 1984.

THESE ARGUMENTS POINT TO THE DIRECTION OF A SOLUTION: EXTEND THE MAXIMUM PROGRAMME PERIOD AVAILABLE. THE THREE YEAR EXTENDED FUND FACILITY (EFF) SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO A SEVEN YEAR PROGRAMME WITH AN EASIER PATH OF ADJUSTMENT TO ENABLE THE HUMAN ELEMENT TO BE A MORE IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGE, WORKING WITH THE PROGRAMME OF ADJUSTMENT, NOT AGAINST IT.

WHEREVER WHOLE NATIONS OF PEOPLE ARE INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVING MONUMENTAL CHANGE, IT MUST INEVITABLY BE A TIMELY ONE. THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTH EAST ASIA, OF WHICH KOREA IS BUT AN EXAMPLE, GREW FROM BATTERED WAR-TORN IMPOVERISHED LEVELS TO THE SUCCESS STORIES OF TODAY, NOT IN THREE YEARS OF MONUMENTAL CHANGE, BUT IN THREE DECADES. THE CHANGE REQUIRED OF COUNTRIES WITH IMF PROGRAMMES TODAY ARE NO LESS MONUMENTAL. BUT THE GREAT DIFFERENCE IS THAT THE PERIOD OF ADJUSTMENT ALLOWED IS BUT



A FRACTION OF THE TIME, TOO SHORT TO CARRY THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE WHO ARE, AFTER ALL, THE REAL TARGETS OF CHANGE, THE RESULT IS THAT THE HUMAN ELEMENT BECOMES A NEGATIVE FORCE RATHER THAN A POSITIVE RESOURCE.

I RETURN TO WHERE I BEGAN: THE NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES OF SOUTH EAST ASIA TOGETHER WITH JAPAN, THE INDUSTRIAL GIANT, HAVE CLEARLY ESTABLISHED BY THEIR SUCCESS WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BY ECONOMIES WHICH ARE VIRTUALLY DEVOID OF NATURAL RESOURCES BUT WHICH HAVE MADE THEIR PEOPLE THEIR BASE OF RESOURCE. MANY OTHER COUNTRIES WITH DEEP ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE BETTER OFF POTENTIALLY, HAVING BOTH NATURAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES. IF THESE TWO RESOURCE BASES CAN BE MADE TO WORK IN CONCERT PRODUCTIVELY, NOT IN OPPOSITION COUNTERPRODUCTIVELY, WHAT GREATER THINGS YET ~~THEY~~ MAY ACHIEVE!

I TRUST THE IMF WILL NOT FAIL TO RECOGNISE THIS LESSON TO BE LEARNED.

ONE MORE POINT MUST BE MADE: TO ADOPT AN EXTENDED PROGRAMME OF ADJUSTMENT REQUIRES NO EXTRA FUNDING SINCE THE TERMS OF A THREE YEAR PROGRAMME GENERALLY ALLOW FOR MUCH LONGER PERIODS OF REPAYMENT OF THE DRAWINGS PROVIDED BY THE PROGRAMME.

INDEED, BECAUSE THE PERIOD OF THE PROGRAMME OF ADJUSTMENT IS MUCH SHORTER THAN THE REPAYMENT PERIOD, REPAYMENT GENERALLY CONTINUES LONG AFTER THE PROGRAMME CEASES DURING WHICH THE FUND NO LONGER HAS ANY SURVEILLANCE ROLE. I SAY NO MORE IN REGARDS TO THIS PARTICULAR POINT WHICH I BELIEVE WILL NOT BE LOST TO THE MANAGEMENT OF THE FUND.

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NOT ONLY ARE THE EXTENDED FUND FACILITY THREE-YEAR PROGRAMMES OF THE IMF TOO SHORT, BUT THE COMPENSATORY FUND FACILITY (CFF) PROGRAMMES NEED SIMILAR RETHINKING.

AT A TIME WHEN THE BASE OF THE PROBLEM OF SO MANY DEBTOR COUNTRIES IS THE DRAMATIC FALL IN EXPORT EARNINGS RESULTING FROM THE COLLAPSE IN PRIMARY COMMODITY PRICES AND MARKETS, IT IS INCOMPREHENSIBLE THAT THE COMPENSATORY FUND FACILITY, WHICH WAS DEvised TO DEAL WITH SUCH CASES, IS, IN FACT, A SOURCE OF LITTLE ASSISTANCE, FALLING FROM SDR 3.4 BILLION IN 1983 TO A MERE SDR 0.8 BILLION IN 1984. WE SUPPORT THE VIEW THAT QUOTAS UNDER THE CFF SHOULD BE ELIMINATED AND CONDITIONALITIES SOFTENED TO MAKE THE RESOURCES OF THE CFF MORE AVAILABLE.

FINALLY, I TURN TO ANOTHER RESOURCE FLOW THAT IS CURRENTLY A NEGATIVE DRAIN RATHER THAN POSITIVE GAIN IN THE TRANSFER OF RESOURCES FROM THE DEVELOPED TO THE DEVELOPING WORLD. THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IS TO INCREASE NOT DECREASE THESE FLOWS.

YET LAST YEAR, DEBTOR COUNTRIES EXPERIENCED A NEGATIVE FLOW OF RESOURCES TO COMMERCIAL BANK CREDITORS, AND THIS IS LIKELY TO BE INCREASINGLY SO AS LONG AS COMMERCIAL BANKS RESTRAIN NEW LENDING AS THEY NOW DO.

I NEED HARDLY REPEAT HERE THE MANY CALLS FOR REVIEWS OF INTERNATIONAL DEBT OBLIGATIONS. IT IS WRONG TO BELIEVE THAT THE DEBT PROBLEM HAS BEEN REALLY CONTAINED. IT HAS BEEN CONTAINED IN GLOBAL ACCOUNTING TERMS, BUT AT GREAT COST TO GROWTH AND TO THE HUMAN SERVICES WHICH ARE INTOLERABLE AND NOT SUSTAINABLE IN THE MEDIUM TERM.

A MAJOR STEP COULD BE TAKEN TO RESTORE A POSITIVE FLOW OF

RESOURCES/



RESOURCES TO DEBTOR COUNTRIES FROM COMMERCIAL BANKS IF THE REPAYMENT OF COMMERCIAL LOANS WERE ROLLED-OVER BY THE BANKS INTO TRADE CREDITS FOR RAW MATERIALS AND CAPITAL GOODS IMPORTS.

FURTHERMORE, THE COMMERCIAL BANKING COMMUNITY WOULD HOLD MORE SECURE PAPER AGAINST CURRENT INDEBTEDNESS IN THE FORM OF TRADE CREDITS, THAN IS THE CASE IN THE LONGER TERM NOTES WHICH ARE CURRENTLY PREJUDICED BY THREATS OF DEFAULT OR UNILATERAL DEFERRAL.

THIS PROGRAMME OF ROLL-OVERS OF CURRENT DEBT PAYMENT AND RESCHEDULED PAYMENTS, WOULD CONSTITUTE INVALUABLE ADDITIONAL CREDIT SUPPORT TO DEBTOR NATIONS WITHOUT A REQUIREMENT FOR NEW MONEY TO BE FOUND.

PERHAPS, IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN THAT AT THIS CRITICAL PERIOD ~~WHEN~~ THE CHOICE EXISTS BETWEEN PERPETUATING INTOLERABLE LEVELS OF HUMAN SUFFERING IN ORDER TO SERVICE DEBT, AND CALLS INCREASE FOR UNILATERAL LIMITATION OR CANCELLATION OF DEBT, THE COMMERCIAL BANKING COMMUNITY WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO SEEK THE GOODWILL WHICH CAN BE GENERATED BY A PROGRAMME OF RE-LENDING THE PROCEEDS OF REPAYMENT SO AS NOT TO BE REGARDED AS CHAMPIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF HONOURING THE PRIMACY OF DEBT OVER ALL OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

THIS IS AS VALUABLE A COLLATERAL IN TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AS THE ENHANCED VALUE OF GRADUALLY SUBSTITUTING TRADE CREDITS FOR TERM LOANS WOULD REALISE IN BANKING SECURITY. IT WOULD BE A WELCOME SIGN OF RECOGNITION BY THE BANKING SYSTEM THAT, IN THE LIGHT OF THE PREVAILING CRISIS, THIS IS NO TIME TO REDUCE EXPOSURE WHEN ALL OTHER PLAYERS ON THE STAGE ARE SEEKING NEW WAYS TO INCREASE INVOLVMENT AND ARE THEMSELVES MAKING NEW COMMITMENTS. THIS IS NO TIME FOR ANY PLAYER TO FALL OUT IF WE ARE TO ENSURE THAT THE PERFORMANCE PROCEEDS TO A SATISFYING END.

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IN CONCLUSION, LET ME VOICE THE HOPE THAT TOO MUCH RELIANCE WILL NOT BE PLACED ON GLOBAL FIGURES OF PERFORMANCE WHETHER IN WORLD TRADE OR GLOBAL GROWTH. EXPERIENCE HAS TOLD US THAT GLOBAL ACCOUNTS MASK SERIOUS UNDERLYING AREAS OF WEAKNESSES.

LAST YEAR, WORLD TRADE GREW BY AN ASTOUNDING 8.8% UP FROM A VERY WEAK 2.1% IN 1983. BY THAT ACCOUNT MOST DEBTOR COUNTRIES SHOULD HAVE EXPERIENCED REVIVED EXPORT EARNINGS TO ENABLE THEM TO BETTER SERVICE DEBT. IF THIS WERE SO, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN FEWER CALLS FOR UNILATERAL DEBT LIMITATION OR CANCELLATION.

THE FACT IS, OF THIS 8.8% INCREASE IN WORLD TRADE MOST OF THE PERFORMANCE WAS A RESULT OF INCREASED TRADE AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL GROUP AND A SMALL NUMBER OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

INCREASED WORLD TRADE BY ITSELF IS NO PANACEA. NOR INDEED, WILL GLOBAL GROWTH BE SUCH A PANACEA.

WHAT IS REQUIRED IS TO DEVISE PROGRAMMES WHICH TARGET RESOURCES TO THE SPECIFIC AREAS OF NEED IN A MANNER WHICH CAN BE UTILISED, CASE BY CASE.

IT IS IN THIS LIGHT THAT THE PROPOSALS IN THIS PRESENTATION ARE MADE, NONE OF WHICH REQUIRE ADDITIONAL FUNDING, ONLY RELAXATION OF PRESENT POLICIES TO ENABLE THE BETTER AND MORE MEANINGFUL UTILISATION OF WHAT EXISTS.

IN SUMMARY, LET US CLEARLY RECOGNISE THAT THE PATH FORWARD POSES

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NO EASY, PAINLESS WAY TO RESTORE ECONOMIC HEALTH.

DEMAND MANAGEMENT TO IMPROVE FINANCIAL HEALTH MUST CONTINUE AND AUSTERE MEASURES CANNOT BE AVOIDED.

BUT A BALANCE MUST BE STRUCK SO THAT WHAT WE GAIN IN IMPROVED FINANCIAL HEALTH IS NOT LOST IN REDUCED GROWTH.

THE IMF HAS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN ENABLING COUNTRIES WITH SEVERE DEFICITS TO BUY TIME IN THE PROCESS OF RECOVERY WHILE THE WORLD BANK ASSISTS THESE ECONOMIES TO BE RESTRUCTURED TO ACHIEVE SUSTAINED GROWTH.

THE POLICY REFORMS ON WHICH THESE INSTITUTIONS BASE THEIR LENDING PROGRAMMES ARE ESSENTIAL DISCIPLINARY MEASURES TO LAY A SURER FOUNDATION FOR ECONOMIC HEALTH.

BUT THE ROAD OF RECOVERY IS NOT A SHORT ONE; FOR MANY IT IS A PATH THAT STRETCHES WELL INTO THE MEDIUM TERM FUTURE. FOR THIS REASON, THE COMMITMENT OF NATIONAL POPULATIONS IS ESSENTIAL TO THE PROGRAMME OF ADJUSTMENT AND RECOVERY. NO SUSTAINED MARCH TO THESE GOALS CAN BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT THE PROSPECT OF TOTAL COMMITMENT AND SUPPORT OF THE HUMAN RESOURCES OF THE NATION.

THIS SUPPORT CAN BE FORTHCOMING IF THE PROGRAMMES OF CHANGE ADOPT A MORE HUMAN FACE; IF THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IS MEASURED IN TERMS WHICH PEOPLE CAN MORE READILY ABSORB, AND IF THIS PROCESS RECOGNISES THAT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS CHANGE IS NOT MERELY A PROCESS WHICH GENERATES A GREATER YIELD FROM EACH MACHINE; IT IS MORESO, ABOVE ALL, THE MEANS BY WHICH WE ADJUST AND RESTRUCTURE THE BELIEFS, THE ATTITUDES AND VALUES OF THE <sup>MEN</sup>~~MEN~~ BEHIND THE MACHINE.

I THANK YOU.