BUILDING BLOCKS FOR ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

A PROGRESS REPORT FROM THE THIRD SYSTEM PROJECT

Part I: Alternatives for survivors

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- Battlefields
- Establishing and enforcing accountability

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This is a progress report from the 'third system project'. The project has been organized by the International Foundation for Development Alternatives at the request of the Dutch and Norwegian governments in the context of the preparations for the new international development strategy to be discussed by the General Assembly of the United Nations later this year.

The project's principal goal was to try and broaden participation in the development discussion by offering a platform to the 'third system', that is to those who endeavour to listen to and to reflect the views of people never or rarely heard\(^1\). This was seen as a means of deepening the content of the discussion.

More than 50 institutions and over 500 men and women from all regions of the world were involved in the project through 119 specific activities, many meetings, and contributions to the IFDA Dossier. The Dossier, which is the main vehicle of the process, is sent to 8,000 addresses, roughly half in the industrialized countries and half in the Third World.

This report is presented in two parts.

Part I provides one perception of the experiences, approaches, ideas and proposals embodied in the contributions to the project. It is best understood as an introduction to Part II.

Part II describes the process and lists the articles which appeared in the 16 issues of the IFDA Dossier published between January 1978 and April 1980 and the activities carried out. The latter include the supporting papers and other documents (most of

\(^1\) The concept of "third system" is explained further on p. 69 below.
them yet unpublished), the meetings which took place in the context of the project and the names of those who, in one way or another, contributed to it.

The search for a people-centered development shapes the structure of the report. It first attempts to place the current discussion on development and international cooperation in the geo-political context of the planetary struggle for power and resources. Then to describe some elements of alternatives for moving from a dominated to a liberated society. Strategies and actions are formulated and undertaken by actors in specific spaces. They are not the same in the village as in the General Assembly of the United Nations, yet these are elements of a social continuum. Both parts of the report are articulated around the four spaces of development - local, national, global, Third World. To underline the interdependence of spaces and avoid unnecessary repetitions, the third chapter of Part I is arranged according to certain key 'battlefields' common to all spaces. The last chapter (Establishing and enforcing accountability) sketches out a proposal rooted and amenable to implementation in all battlefields and all spaces.

The recognition of the principle of accountability and the establishment of adequate enforcement mechanisms - both in the inter-governmental sphere and in the third system - should become a key instrument to start removing stumbling blocks which impede another development and international cooperation.

Nyon, 29 February 1980
PART I: ALTERNATIVES FOR SURVIVORS

MENACE AND HOPE

The 80s are emerging in a haze of uncertainty. Formidable menaces hang over mankind - nuclear annihilation and the worsening of under-development - and yet the decade is rich in possibilities. Conditions exist to sustain the hope of a meaningful life for all, for every man, woman and child. The restructuring process which would make this possible has started. It is seen as a threat by most of those who are still in control, internationally and nationally, and they will resist change with all their killing might. Menace and hope, hope and menace, are thus inseparable. The questions are: Will we survive? Who will overcome - the people or the present power structure?

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The international order which took its present shape after the 1939-45 war is no longer viable.

The centre - the industrialized countries - used to control the resources of the periphery and, in particular, secured for itself unrestricted access to cheap energy which conditioned its technologies, growth and patterns of production and consumption. This era has gone. Where Iran's Prime Minister Mossadegh tried in vain in 1953, today almost all Third World countries exporting oil have succeeded: they control its supply and fix its price.

The Third World hardly existed in 1945. The 1955 Bandung Conference marked the beginning of its awakening. In 1980, it is a significant political force. It is not free from internal conflicts - which are often, by proxy, those of the superpowers. Rather than building on the richness of its differences - in its cultures and resource endowments, for instance - it remains vulnerable to the differentiation policies of the North. The giant - the majority
of mankind - is still drowsy. But it is a giant, and the day it is fully awake, the face of the world will change.

At Bretton Woods in 1944, the Western powers designed their post-war world economic order and the institutions to operate it: the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the so-called "World Bank". Now, the Third World has formulated its own project, the New International Economic Order.

Growth in the centre was to trickle down to the periphery. It did so trickle, to the extent necessary to extend the space of the centre, with the cooption of local elites in the centre's power structure. Some contradictions obviously separate them, but they are secondary since they bear only on the redistribution of privileges within the system. But, in the country which provided the most spectacular example of cooption and was utilized as a strategic sub-centre of domination, an unprecedented popular uprising informed by fundamentally non-Western values has swept away a whole regime and its former ruler is now virtually prisoner on an island in the Pacific Ocean. Not far away from this St. Helena, another popular landslide has disposed of another dictatorial regime long supported by the Western super-power. If the promise of their origins is kept, Iran and Nicaragua may be seen, by the future historians of our time, as the forerunners of a new Spring of the peoples.

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At Yalta in 1945, the United States of America and the Soviet Union carved up what they considered the world. With the exception of Yugoslavia, the provinces of the empires had to comply. Japan and Germany were defeated, Western Europe exhausted. China was largely ignored; today it has emerged as a major power. Those defeated act as challengers and the dependence links of the others have been loosened.

Stalinism increasingly has to rely on military might to maintain
or extend its control over people as recently exemplified in Afghanistan. Further, and more significant in a long term perspective, if we are allowed one, stalinism's performance has been such that no one any longer identifies socialism with it. On the contrary, and contrasting with the narrow profit orientation of the capitalist model, socialist experiences and experiments are germinating in all continents. Difficulties and contradictions notwithstanding, the promise of pluralism is now socialist.

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People are taking over control of their affairs. The empires are falling apart and the internal contradictions of the Roosevelt-Stalin order are growing. Its space is thus reduced from both ends and the result may be its final collapse. But the reactions of the challenged super-powers are also a major threat to peace, to development, indeed to our survival. The super-powers and sometimes their clients/rivals are no longer satisfied with simply refusing what they call concessions. They become more aggressive.

Are we heading for an East-West war, cold or hot? For a renewed condominium of the super-powers on our future, which would only be the prelude to a real North-South confrontation? Or, beyond the present crisis, is there any hope for a new and genuinely people-centered international order?

Warships of the two super-powers watch each other in the Indian Ocean, close to the oil routes. Nuclear missiles, land or sea-based, are primed for immediate launching and, should the button be pressed now, for the destruction of the planet before you have time to read this report. The probability of accidents is increasing: on Friday 9 November 1979, at 10.50AM Washington time, a computer error, which might have resulted in a nuclear attack (or counter-attack, it does not matter) was discovered six minutes before it would have been irreversible. This remains largely unreported by the media. Mankind is under constant threat of terminal catastrophe.
In the meantime, three factors—super-power rivalry, scramble for resources and perhaps simply an attempt to stimulate ailing economies—are fuelling a new armaments build-up and the militarization of economies and societies in the North and in the South alike. This enormous allocation of resources to the military complex increases the risk of war and diverts resources from the satisfaction of people's needs. Further, the export from the North to accomplices in the South of the technology of repression extends the life of undemocratic regimes and postpones pressing social change.

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Another catastrophe is already a daily experience for the hundreds of millions in the Third World whom the existing structures prevent from satisfying their basic needs for food, health, shelter, cultural identity, power over their lives, and creativity—their essential rights as human beings. Is it necessary to mention also the absolutely poor, most of them yet unborn, whose number may reach 700 million by the end of the century according to one of the IBRD scenarios?

Even in the North, behind the mystifying statistical veils of the growth of the "gross national product" or of plan implementation, poverty has not been eradicated. While physical survival is no longer at stake for most and unprecedented levels of material comfort have been reached for many, maldevelopment is present under different guises: growing unemployment for millions coupled with unnecessarily long working hours for others; deep fears about the Faustian bargain of nuclear energy; advertisement-programmed consumption in the West and aspirations to Western lifestyles in the East; super-exploitation of migrant workers; alienation of people to powerful bureaucracies, whether private or public. The crisis in the dominating North differs in its nature from that in the dependent South, but it is no less
serious. It is not only one of recession, unemployment and inflation. These are but the signs of a deep structural and historical maldevelopment based on a pattern of growth and resource use geared to private profit and power and not to the satisfaction of human needs. Further, this pattern, based on the control of the planet by the North, is no longer tenable.

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As we enter the 80s, it seems obvious to more and more people, North and South, East and West, that whatever its forms mal-development pervades the planet.

The material conditions exist which could ensure to each human being a life free of material want; yet for the majority of mankind this threshold has still to be reached. Appropriation of resources by military expenditures and affluent lifestyles result in the poverty and repression of hundreds of millions. Here lies the fundamental difference between the development problématique in the North and that in the South. Here is the only acceptable asymmetry: the primary responsibility of the North to bear the cost of transition from maldevelopment on a worldwide basis.

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This is the context within which has to be seen the current debate on the New International Development Strategy, the New International Economic Order and the New Round of Global Negotiations. Without this perspective, real problems would remain obscure. In this light, on the contrary, it becomes possible to identify the problems, assess what could be done about them, and sketch out alternatives for survival - and, if successful, for survivors.
In the present political situation, an international development strategy would be at best an euphemism. A strategy makes sense only when the will and the power to implement it are present. The intergovernmental community, from Stockholm 1972 to Delhi 1980, has adopted many declarations and plans of action. But for energy - to be discussed in conferences yet to take place - no subject seems to have been left out: environment; water; desertification; population; employment; women; trade and development; raw materials; development and international cooperation; technical cooperation among developing countries; science and technology; habitat; health; culture and education; disarmament; food; agrarian reform and rural development... What is missing is not one more declaration and yet another plan of action. It is national action and global negotiation on the unsolved issues on the international agenda: energy, finance, trade, and global commons, as a package; and disarmament. Real negotiations. Or, if the North persists in imposing a structural confrontation on the South, unilateral action by the latter.

The only meaningful strategy, in such circumstances, would be for those who suffer from the existing order, and have always been frustrated, to organize themselves and to force change. Organization of countervailing power is obviously outside the reach of the third system project. But the mobilizing power of visions of preferred futures is considerable. The third system project, while not constituting a blueprint for an alternative development strategy, is a modest step in this direction. The work of associations and individuals which it stimulated contributes to sketching out what seems required to promote another development and a progressive new international order. What has been done so far is not only the source of this progress report but, above all, the foundation of further work.
THE FOUR SPACES OF DEVELOPMENT

'Development' as conventionally understood has failed, and is no longer acceptable. It is less and less accepted. The search for alternatives requires some preliminary clarifications and some new definitions.

The recent history of the concept of "development" can be traced to the years following the 1939-45 war. A major political fact, the emergence of the Third World, brought home to the North the idea that something was wrong in the state of human affairs. Victors tending to be parochial and materialistic, some of them thought that what had been good for them would be good for the others. There was a precedent: the Marshall Plan and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had contributed to the reconstruction of most of Western Europe. The recipe for the Third World was there: it was only to be applied. Injections of capital, technologies, expertise would help in reproducing the model. 'Development' would thus descend on the darker part of mankind.

Much of the discourse, and, more important, of the action, still reflects this conventional wisdom, which was largely internalized by the élites in the South. It rests on two principal fallacies – one historical, the other conceptual. The former has been largely disposed of, at least theoretically: under-development is not the bottom rung in the ladder of history. It is the consequence of colonisation and imperialism.

The conceptual fallacy is rooted more deeply. Some still consider that 'development' refers to things and can be reduced to capital accumulation, economic growth and economic restructuring. They confuse what may constitute - if socially meaningful - the basis of development with development itself.

Development fundamentally refers to human beings, to every man and every woman, to the whole man and the whole woman. It is a human
experience synonymous with the fulfilment of individual mental, emotional and physical potentialities.

Development, even in its most subjective dimension, does not happen in a vacuum. Human beings, like the societies they form, are at the same time conditioned and free. They are conditioned by history and culture, by biological rhythms and access to resources, by the level of social productivity and the institutional environment. They become free in the process of learning to understand and transform nature - in an ecologically prudent way - and society itself, a process in which personal and societal development interact. Participating in this societal process is a source of fulfilment.

The development problématique can thus be defined in an objective way: the society, its economy and polity, ought to be organized in such a manner as to maximize, for the individual and the whole, the opportunities for self-fulfilment. Developing, as the etymology suggests, means removing the husk - that is overcoming domination; liberating; unfolding. Development is the unfolding of people's individual and social imagination in defining goals, inventing means and ways to approach them, learning to identify and satisfy socially legitimate needs.

Development, thus defined as liberation of human beings and societies, happens, or better, is lived by people where they are, that is, in the first instance, in the local space. The other spaces - national, Third World, global - may either prevent or promote a people-centered development. These spaces form a continuum whose interaction should constantly widen the possibilities of development.

There is development when people and their communities - whatever the space and timespan of their efforts - act as subjects and are not acted upon as objects; assert their autonomy, self-reliance and self-confidence; when they set out and carry out projects. To develop is to be, or to become. Not to have.
Development is lived by people where they are, where they live, learn, work, love, play, - and die. The primary community, whether geographical or organizational, is the immediate space open to most people. It is in the village, the neighbourhood, the town, the factory, the office, the school, the union's local, the party's branch, the parish, the sports club, the association - whatever its purpose - that personal and societal development first and best interact.

Most societies - and the world - are run from the top, each layer of authority trying to reproduce the models it receives from above. Officials, bureaucrats, technocrats, managers, teachers, leaders, priests, in a word the "authorities", all know best. They dispense the law and the orders. The people had better adjust, or they will be dealt with as deviants.

If democracy means people's power, such a vertical set up is undemocratic. If diversity is essential to human survival, as it is to that of nature, this set up is fatal because it brings about uniformity of mankind. If it ever worked, it is no longer workable: the unification of the planet has made the unit far too large for the élites - a few million out of four billion - to manage, even with arsenals of computers.

A reversal of authority

Unfolding people's creativity requires a reversal of authority. Starting from the base of society, each unit should be able to initiate its own course of action, and solve all the problems it is able to solve. This is the essence of self-reliance and self-management. Problems beyond the reach and perspective of primary

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1/ See pp. 88-98 below.
AID AND GROWTH

(Source: Nico, Tageblatt, Zürich 3.12.77)
1. Dominated society

People

Labour-market activities

State

Professions

Non-market activities

Economic power

Communications

2. Liberated society

People

Labour-market activities

State

Professions

Non-market activities

Economic power

Communications

Effective social control

Self-management

Communications

Third system

Self-control
communities would be solved by larger units - from the village to the world - according to the nature of the task and in such a manner as to ensure the participation of those concerned, as well as the accountability of those exercising power.

The movement from a dominated to a liberated society is another way of expressing this reversal of authority. It can be illustrated by a comparison between two figures.

Figure 1 - the dominated society - shows the asymmetry and unidirectional character of existing links between systems. People are dominated by the state and/or economic power assisted by their specialists - technocrats, doctors, architects, journalists, lawyers and others. The role of these often disabling professionals is guaranteed by their monopoly of knowledge and supported by laws, rules and regulations which only they know how to use. All this limits people’s self-reliance. Beyond straight repression, people’s minds and time are dominated through two major channels: labour market activities, both private and public; and communications.

Figure 2 - the liberated society - offers a clear contrast: it is based on symmetry and mutuality. Within the people, the third system has set up an endogenous communication network nurtured by people's creativity. The market is subject to control both of the state and of people, as producers and consumers, through self-management and effective representation. The monopoly of the professions is reduced by both people's control and the professionals' effort to assume their social responsibilities. The non-market sector has been decolonized, increasing the space for autonomous activities and relationships with the labour market sector.

These two figures picture two extremes in the institutional gamut. Actual situations lie somewhere in between, and the paths leading
from maldevelopment to development are many. The same signposts will be seen on them all: the conditions for the full exercise of civil rights, including the right to promote change; the decolonization of culture and of the communication system; effective social control over economic power and the power of knowledge, be they public, corporate or individual; accountability; and imaginative institutional change in which the third system may emerge as an important actor.

There is nothing new in the idea of the reversal of authority. It has been that of the democratic social movement for ages. What is new is the multiplication of the signs of a revival of local action, all over the world. The new affirmation of local action, despite difficulties, contradictions and limitations, is a significant marking of an emerging new order.

The richness of local actions

For there are far more development actions, social experiences and innovations, in the local space, than usually realized. This is one of the major messages of the third system project.

The content of the project was not "programmed"; it was to result from listening to unheard voices. The illustrative list of topics suggested to potential participants offered examples in three broad categories - national strategies of transition, Third World collective self-reliance, possible areas of mutual North-South interest. The local space covered little more than one paragraph. In the event, as will be seen from Part II, so many contributions in this category were received that, in order to reflect what emerged from the process, this progress report had to be organized in four rather than three components.

As wide as the net was cast, the catch obviously does not represent more than a small and haphazard sample. From India and Bolivia, Benin and Malaysia, Mexico and Sweden, Senegal, and the United
States and many other countries came studies, reports, information, analyses. They cover a vast range of activities, urban as well as rural: non-market, direct production of use-values; access to markets; job creation; creative unemployment; women's production cooperatives; alternative production; consumers' defence; ecologically sound technologies; access to resources - land, technologies, credit; interest-free credit; production methods to make factory work less inhuman; self-management; responses to old age isolation; resistance to nuclear energy; alternative lifestyles based on self-restraint; communal life; dialogue with villagers; class struggle against land owners and money lenders; a Buddhist approach to local development...

These few examples suggest the richness and the diversity of local struggles by people trying to solve problems. The validity of each example, at this stage, resides probably in its specificity, and the fact-finding process has just started. It would be pointless to attempt any generalization. The purpose of this section is therefore only to draw attention to the phenomenon, and endeavour to place it in the proper perspective.

The efforts described in earlier issues of the IFDA Dossier are essentially limited actions taken by groups of concerned men and women having or acquiring some control over their immediate environment and becoming able to define and carry out, in a self-reliant manner, solutions to their social and economic problems while modifying their relations with the state and/or the market. They are either spontaneous or stem from encounters of a special kind with outsiders which have resulted in conscientization. Their two major features are innovation and a certain transformation of social relations within the group and between the group and the larger environment.

The immediate result of the successful ones have been that fundamental needs are better met in the material sphere (often the
prime mover) as well as in the political sphere, in its widest sense: taking action means self-confidence and reinforces it; the moment people seize control of their own affairs, they cease to be passive and marginalized. They have started the process of development.

Thus a people-centered approach is not a utopia; it is the way out of poverty and under-development. Already links appear with larger, national struggles. One example is that of anti-nuclear popular actions in industrialized countries: local experiments with soft energies are also linked with a wider social movement which, in the final analysis, is challenging the whole system of values of the consumer society.

Local development action does not take place only in liberal or permissive political conditions. They happen also in the uncontrollable interstices of anti-popular regimes. They will be ignored or tolerated as long as they remain in their immediate locus - as long as they do not challenge the existing order. This is not a reason to remain passive; local actions are important in themselves and in them may be the seeds of larger movements.

However, and precisely because the movements illustrated in the third system project suggest rich potentialities, it is important to put them in perspective.

The crisis of civilization which pervades Western societies has prompted certain groups to resign from society at large and form marginal communities. This has no other social significance but that of a symptom of the crisis. There is also a risk of implicit co-option and of diversion of good will and energies. Local actions restricted to solutions of limited problems may aggravate the atomization of primary communities instead of contributing to change in wider spaces. Nor can it be ignored that not all that is local is good. There are structures of
exploitation at local levels, and local landowners, money lenders, caciques, bosses, marabouts and the like are obstacles to development as real as transnationals; national action and support are needed to strip them of their power and, as a first step, to hold them accountable.

Local action has a deep political meaning if local self-reliance clearly does not imply any longing for an arcadian archipelago of self-sufficient communities, but rather the promise of a federative society in which free associations would support and strengthen each other. For development, rooted in the primary and local communities, is not only a continuum, but a dialectical process whose local, regional, national, international and global dimensions interact with each other. Just as no local action is historically sustainable outside a truly democratic national structure, there could be no genuine national development which does not support and promote the self-reliance of local communities and derive its relevance and strength from them.

A new balance

Two contributions are essential: that people reassert their rights to determine and act upon their own needs and priorities, and that government policies increase personal and local access to resources. Thus people in their own communities will be more able to cultivate the habit of direct action instead of waiting upon "them" to do things for "us". What is required is a new balance between community, market and state, not the hegemony of any one sector or system. The complement and corollary of personal and local freedom to act is the guarantee of access to basic resources which only central government, planned production and controlled markets can provide.
"La clairvoyance" was painted by Magritte in 1936.
2. THE NATIONAL SPACE: PROVIDING THE STRUCTURES OF PEOPLE’S POWER

The national space, discussed here as part of the continuum from the village to the global order, has two broad functions. On the one hand, it is the space where people, as nations, assert their identity, independence and self-reliance vis-à-vis the outside world. On the other, it provides the internal structures enabling and promoting the exercise of people's power in the local space as defined in the preceding section. Its role is to remove stumbling blocks to development; to regulate social mechanisms and, in particular, to ensure that the rights of weaker regions and communities are respected and privileged; to reconcile conflicting local and regional interests; to deal with problems not amenable to local solutions; and to create the conditions of social control over the polity and the economy.

For historical reasons, these functions are not all identical in the industrialized countries and in the Third World. The nation state in the North benefits from a long tradition and is often so strong that ways and means of controlling it, from within and from without, should be sought. In the Third World, nations have been subdued during the colonial era and are sometimes a new phenomenon. The national space is usually disarticulated, geographically and socially. It needs restructuring to ensure both its democratic content and its capacity for self-reliant development. Still there are a number of functions which are common to the national space in both North and South.

Democratic control over the state

There is no development without basic freedom and personal security. To remove oppression is thus an obvious precondition. The

\[1/ \text{ see pp. 99-114 below} \]
choice of struggle, violent or non-violent, is usually not left to the agents of change. In this process, representative, pluralistic institutions, however, are only beginnings. They should develop in the direction of participatory democracy operating at the living, working and learning places.

In the political sphere, these institutions have evolved historically as a practical means of bringing public opinion to bear on government. The western parliamentary models are, however, the source of much complacency. Clearly, they are better than no representation at all but - given the growing complexity of economic and political life, the centralizing tendency of modern technology, the concentration of economic power and of control over communications - the central parliamentary system leaves the average voter with little more than symbolic influence. Even in countries which pride themselves on their democratic traditions, there is a need to search for improved forms of political decision-making, facilitating people's access to power and resources both locally and nationally.

A system more responsive to the participatory aspirations of another development would enable people to propose, to question, to veto, to defer decisions which affect them. This would put a brake on the tendency of the political class to drift away from its electorate and render it accountable to the latter.

**Social control over the common wealth**

In the economic sphere, the difference between the power of the state and that of economic interests should be recognized. The state, if democratic, has a legitimacy which comes from the people. Private economic power is just appropriated. This distinction leads to different lines of action in people's struggles to regain their autonomous power and enforce accountability. The alternative to the present state of affairs is not the immediate withering away of the state; as things stand, this would only result in unbridled
free market liberalism favouring the rich. Nor is it the planning and control by the state of human activities and the concomitant atrophying of people's creativity.

The alternative is that people regain their autonomous power from organized business, using the state when possible, and from the state when it serves, or is coterminous with, economic power.

The power of concentrations of transnational and national private capital in land, raw materials, industry, agriculture, finance and communications may be expected to resist development approaches which aim to transfer power to the people, which rate social equity and participation higher than private profit and corporate efficiency. Checking economic power and ensuring social control imply changing patterns of ownership from transnational to national as well as from private to social.

**Beyond formal democracy**

Democracy in its conventional sense (not that of people's power) was born in the political sphere and accommodated itself very well with, for instance, slavery. Even in the Western formal democracies - whose achievements, whatever their limits, cannot be underestimated - democracy usually stops at the gates of the factory, the mine, the plantation, the school... People's power requires that it penetrates these spaces as well.

Two main institutional forms emerge from the debate on this issue: co-operatives and self-management.

The co-operative movement is by no means new; its familiarity, its political acceptability across a wide range of the ideological spectrum are among its strengths. Though fundamentally democratic, the co-operative movement is not immune from co-option, from bureaucratization and, above all from the apathy of its members. A significant role of the co-operative in local livelihood
contributes however to motivate its members to participate in
decision-making.

Self-management and workers participation are currently discussed
as ways out of the crisis of the industrialised world. They are
no less relevant to the debate on alternatives in the Third World.
They can be conceived in a number of ways, for example, as an
instrument to make the existing market economies work better, in
no way reducing the domination of capital and the state; or as a
means of centrally induced restructuring towards socialism, in
which the state retains control of the process. In the scenario
of a locally-based development strategy, self-management would, on
the contrary, be rooted in a continuous process of 'bottom-up'
societal transformation - self-reliant, endogenous, pluralistic,
egalitarian - permeating all economic and social activities in the
national and local spaces. Rather than coming from above, self-
management would grow out of on-going social experimentation.

Democratic decision-making, in the political sphere or at the
working or learning place, requires that all activities pertaining
to them are made more transparent and, as already mentioned, that
those making decisions be made accountable to those affected by
them.

A tool of regionalization: democratic planning

Planning, if conceived as a political rather than as a techno-
cratic process, is an important tool to articulate the local,
regional and national spaces. Democratic planning - i.e. one in
which those affected participate in both elaboration and implemen-
tation - excludes imposing central policy objectives but results
from a process of identification, formulation and conciliation of
local, regional and national interests as well as those of major
productive sectors and enterprises. The plan should be built up
from these components, not broken down into them. Affecting so
pervasively as it does the organization of national space,
planning, in such a context, could be an effective instrument of decongesting the economy; giving new vitality to depressed areas, small towns, rural areas and regions as a whole; and moving towards real, and not only administrative regionalization. Planning could thus ensure that local and regional communities have access to resources not directly available to them.

The challenge is not just to 'decentralize' but rather to build the nation from the local and regional spaces up. This would further contribute to counter bureaucratic power - that omnipresent, shady force, thriving on centralisation and the complexities of the modern state, permeating political, military and economic spheres, always ready to ensnare well-intentioned initiatives (e.g. welfare services), always the pretext for reactionary criticism. Unfortunately, some bureaucracy is inevitable as long as there is organized administration; while it cannot be wished away, descaling it should make it more susceptible to the control of those whom it is meant to serve.

Regionalization of political and economic democracy and planning is also the key to the problems of multi-ethnicity within states, providing for the exercise of self-determination by minorities, thus making them part of the national space, rather than potential sources of its disintegration.

Using the law

The law - often a symbol of alienated power - can be used to boost local initiative. In some countries, the process toward another development could start with the application of existing progressive laws and regulations in such areas as land reform and the provision of health and educational resources. Numerous laws on land reform, in particular, have remained empty shells because of the refusal of the local power structures to implement them and the inability of the landless peasants to assert their legal rights.
In other instances, laws and regulations need to be reviewed to eliminate those which impede development alternatives. Laws concerning associations, including co-operatives and self-managed enterprises, are central; also important are laws which give professions an excessive and often disabling role. Knowledge of the law (how it can be used to protect and advance individual and group interests against repression and exploitation, to create norms and forms of collective action) is an important resource, often not possessed by those who need it most. Government can remove some barriers to legal access: alien legal language, complex and costly procedures. It can subsidize or socialize legal services. But lawyers themselves will have to get out from behind their desks, take off their shoes; and work with groups seeking legal resources.

**Learning to be self-reliant**

Self-reliance means primarily the autonomous capacity to develop and to take decisions. Self-reliance contributes to rendering a country less vulnerable to external pressures - political, economic and cultural. It has been and continues to be the cornerstone of development strategies aimed at nation-building.

A self-reliant nation is a nation of self-reliant people. Self-reliance cannot be dispensed or dictated; it must be learned, and the learning process starts with the individual. It is a slow cumulative process, stretching through generations and susceptible to reverses. Much therefore depends on the type of education that is available to help people learn to think for themselves. By education in this context is not meant the conventional academic schooling but a pedagogy of self-reliance: learning to participate, to assume responsibility, to take decisions, to be less dependent, to communicate, to serve others, to receive messages critically, to depreciate waste and appreciate sustainability and the needs of future generations ... above all learning through and throughout life.
The more far reaching the national effort toward another development, the more constrained it is by the present international linkages in trade and technology, communications and culture, money and finance. Moreover, development is obstructed by worldwide militarization, subversion of cultures by a transnational model and control by the centre of resources of the Third World. Those who consume the bulk of scarce, non-renewable resources also use directly and indirectly a disproportionately high part of the world's arable land and resources of the sea - and produce most of the world's pollution. They must be convinced, by dialogue or by the force of countervailing power, to reorient their pursuits in favour of conservation and self-restraint in order to ensure both equity and sustainability. The existing international and transnational power structure must give way to a cooperative system supporting genuine local and national development both in the North and in the South.

Who are the real actors?

Such a programme poses the question of power and of those who exercise it. In the shadow theatre which is the space abandoned to inter-governmental gatherings, diplomats and other officials discuss endlessly the NIEO: commodities, trade, technologies, industrialization, and so on. Meanwhile, in the real world, a different international economic order has gained strength. The fact is that the international space is no longer exclusively that of states. There are new actors: the transnational corporations, the western banking system, the media (whose coverage of events has become part of diplomacy). Their new international order embodies an effective global strategy; it brings about a new international division of labour under which labour-intensive manufactures are redeployed where a cheap working force is exploitable at

1/ See pp. 125-141 below.
mercy; it enhances the North's monopoly over technologies and the power which goes with them. The disruption of the international monetary system also belongs to the real world but, as it was or as it is, it jeopardizes the economic chances of the Third World. Inflation for its part amounts to a redistribution of wealth and income in favour of those who control economic power to the detriment of people.

The power of these new actors is such that the negotiating capacity of states and of the intergovernmental system is limited. So is their capacity, when agreements are reached, to implement their decisions. This puts in sharper focus the question of who is to be held accountable.

However, the international space is also one where people's power can exert itself. On this side also, new actors, international and extra-governmental, emerge which give full meaning to the concept of the third system. These are the unions, the religious movements, the political movements. The successful role of the latter has been recently exemplified in Nicaragua, where the Sandinista revolution benefited from a movement of people's solidarity in both the South and the North.

Whose mutual interests?

This throws some light on the question of 'mutual interests'. It is often propounded that the interests of the North would be better served if the South were stronger, while the interests of the South would be better served if the North could recognize such a mutual interest and would adapt its own development strategies and lifestyles to make possible a more equitable distribution of sustainable development opportunities. This is true if applied to the people of 'North' and 'South'. There are global interests which are common to the people of the planet, wherever they live, and which oppose them, as a whole, to the present power structure.
Demilitarization; social control of transnationals; a communications system facilitating knowledge and understanding of others; an international monetary system serving all members of the global economic community; a new international order restructured in such a manner as to limit the role of the great powers and to respond to the new realities of the world: all these are clearly in the interest of people in both the industrialized countries and the Third World.

In this context, the role of governments in the North depends on their orientation. When the government reflects people's aspirations, it can contribute to positive change. When the government is the political face of a power structure whose economic face is the transnational corporation, the government is another stumbling block. While some smaller industrialized countries have begun to recognize the challenge, there is no evidence that the hard core group of the centre's countries are prepared to accept change.

The strategic objective

This is why the 'North-South dialogue' has reached a dead-end. How could it be led into a new and operative phase? A new international cooperation could be initiated by an explicit recognition of the shared need among the people in both the industrialized and Third World countries for structural changes in the existing international order; by work toward a new order that holds promise of progress both in the South and the North; by implementing a real partnership ensuring equal opportunities to all countries and taking special care of the poorest.

A new international cooperation should therefore be conceived as a collective responsibility of the entire international community. This implies that politically and economically powerful countries should be held accountable for the consequences of their actions on the development of others.
The limits of the intergovernmental system have been recognized earlier in this section. There is no reason, however, to abandon the global space to the existing power structure. Obvious as they are, those limits do not mean that the intergovernmental system is powerless. Past experience suggests that its decisions have an impact on the behaviour of individual governments. A new international cooperation framework can be utilized by like-minded countries to experiment a 'mini-NIEO' whereby they could apply to their bilateral relations the principles agreed on globally. There are possibilities of new coalitions between progressive Third World countries and small industrialized countries.

The NIEO, whatever the shortcomings and inconsistencies of its political and conceptual formulation and the obstacles preventing its implementation, amounts to a historical project of the Third World. It means replacing an imposed assymetry by a negotiated symmetry. It calls for a fundamental restructuring of international relations. History does not offer many examples of a power structure gracefully giving away its privileges. It is thus futile to ascribe lack of progress in the implementation of the NIEO only to the negative will of the centre, since this is part of the order to be changed. In the final analysis, progress depends on the capacity of the Third World to organize its collective self-reliance and the capacity of its people to muster their latent power and combine it with that of the people in the North.
4. THE THIRD WORLD SPACE: A HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMMON PROGRESS\textsuperscript{1/}

As much as the renewal of international cooperation for another development is a collective global responsibility, any realistic assessment of the situation indicates that the process which started in 1973 will get bogged down if those primarily interested in international change, that is the Third World, do not regain the initiative and act with determination. Change always came primarily from those who suffered from the existing order. It is indeed the historical task of the Third World, in the very struggle for its own development, to offer mankind a way out of the predicament where it finds itself at the tail end of five centuries of domination exerted by the ruling classes of a few imperial powers. Only the people of the Third World - in alliance with the progressive social forces in the North - will be able to convince or force the power structure to accept a world demilitarized, based on cultural diversity, equal opportunities and justly shared resources. Collective self-reliance is the main instrument of the Third World in this task.

The Third World is a political rather than geographical concept. The object of collective self-reliance is also to transform it into a self-reliant entity with its own value system and priorities. Collective self-reliance is the expression of a need for solidarity predicated on the values of another development whose strength lies in its potential to enlarge the space for the development of the Third World.

Enlarging the space for Third World national development: the role of collective self-reliance

If the formal political process of regaining independence has by and large been completed, much remains to be done to achieve

\textsuperscript{1/} See pp. 115-124 below.
economic decolonization, and almost everything with regard to cultural decolonization. The weight of the continuing cultural and economic domination of the North is such that most if not all Third World countries are in no position to determine the course of their own development. They have too little control over their own resources; they have too little access to those they need; they do not participate on an equal basis in the taking of decisions affecting them; they cannot even take their own decisions autonomously.

Where Third World countries cannot succeed individually, their collective action may be successful. Thus Third World collective self-reliance is seen as the major tool for enlarging the space of autonomous national development. It is at the same time cultural, political and economic. It is an instrument of development, of negotiation and of resistance to confrontation imposed by the North. Given the will, perhaps emerging, it requires institutions. It is not limited to governments, but requires the participation of people themselves. Ways and means must be found to enable collective self-reliance to reach its full human dimension through direct people communication and action.

'Economic cooperation among developing countries' (ECDC) and 'Technical cooperation among developing countries' (TCDC) have become recurring themes in the development discourse. They certainly could be meaningful components of collective self-reliance, but the latter cannot be reduced to either ECDC or TCDC or a combination of both. For ECDC and TCDC, if not put in the proper perspective, may just tinker with the existing order. Worse, they may accommodate the more industrialized and more productive Third World countries at the expense of the others; they may just strengthen sub-centres of domination.

The many differences between Third World countries cannot be ignored in any realistic appraisal of what can be done. But it is
one thing to recognize differences, and sometimes to make good
use of them through the organization of complementarities. It is
another thing to tolerate the policies of the hard core of the
industrialized countries which aim at dividing the Third World in
order to maintain domination, the 'differentiation' policies.
Heterogeneity never excluded common action, as exemplified by OPEC.
Any effective and long-term strategy of collective self-reliance
must expand and build on common concerns, rather than start the
process at the points of divergence.

The political dimension

Politics is the art of making the possible happen. Its sheer
absence is evident in the action programmes for economic
cooperation of the Third World. This must not be the fate of
collective self-reliance. The political dimension has not only
to be inserted into action programmes, but widened and deepened to
encompass all aspects of Third World reality. Concrete, but
distinct, achievements by Third World countries acting in concert
at a political level suggest that this is indeed possible.

One example is the advance of 'permanent sovereignty over natural
resources' from an aspiration of the Third World to a United
Nations resolution and then to growing acceptance as an established
doctrine of international law. The national actions in asserting
this doctrine have reinforced each other economically, politically
and legally. They have created a tradition of acceptance by a
majority of states. Third World joint action has succeeded in
incorporating it in the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties
of States.

Another example is the crucial support to the revolution in
Nicaragua of Costa Rica, Panama and the Andean Pact States.
Similarly, the prompt and forceful response of the Andean Pact was
instrumental in the reversal of the 1979 Bolivian coup and the
restoration of the elected civil government. In Southern Africa,
the process of liberation has come to be increasingly regional. The present stage of the liberation process in Zimbabwe has received vital support from the Front Line States and from the Non-Aligned majority within the Commonwealth. It is with these major success stories in mind that further strengthening of political cooperation and collective self-reliance must be perceived.

The Third World has three broad objectives in political cooperation:

- to achieve the maximum degree of coherence and solidarity in trying to transform the international environment, through negotiation and confrontation with the North within and outside the UN system;
- to create an environment which facilitates the settlement of internal disputes in its own space without recourse to external interference and with mutually agreed rules of conduct and machinery for their observance;
- to collectively provide the moral guarantees for the pursuance of autonomous national strategies which, if pursued today, find a hostile environment.

Closer political direction is required if the Third World is to be effective in negotiations. At the outset of the 80s, four areas need it: the creation of a new financial and monetary order; food, and energy, security; and disarmament. More generally, political guidance is required for the South-South negotiations which should precede any meaningful North-South negotiations, as well as to establish mutual accountability among Third World countries.

Institutions for economic collective self-reliance

The Third World has created organizations like the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of 77, the Organization of African Unity or SELA. These have functioned with varying degrees of effectiveness but so far their achievements do not match the tasks to be tackled. These are instruments for collective self-reliance fashioned pragmatically. They also need political direction and new paths to follow.
The global Third World space would encompass all arrangements that could be undertaken by the general agreement of the entire membership of the Third World. Evidence of this phenomenon in operational terms is the Group of 77 and its activities within the United Nations system. The Third World has certain common positions on the restructuring of the world economic order and these positions are expressed in the demand for the NIEO. Progress along this way, however, would only be assured to the extent that unilateral action by the Third World encompassing each and every one of the relevant sectors considered as a whole - commodities, science and technology, food, money and finance, and so on - changes the objective situation vis-à-vis the adversary. It is only in this context that the adversary, and in this case the hard core of the North, would take the negotiations for restructuring seriously.

For the pursuance of both its collective development and negotiation/confrontation with the North, the Third World imperatively needs some common mechanism, for instance a Third World secretariat. In view of the political obstacles that lie in the path of a formal secretariat, a first step would be to link up and develop a Third World research system which would bring under its umbrella policy-oriented research institutions.

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In spite of the present turmoil and of the image of it given by the media, the North-South conflict is deeper than the East-West conflict. The North-South conflict over resources, markets and the appropriation of the economic surplus can be superficially solved by a new international economic order accommodating the élites of the South. However, the structural imbalances it reflects are of a social nature. They can only be redressed as the domination of minorities over majorities regresses, nationally and internationally, that is in the process of building up genuine democracy. The forces of change are thus the people all over the world. This is indeed a global challenge, which also holds a global promise.
THIRD WORLD LEVERAGE

Third world countries, acting collectively, can exercise 'negative' leverage by withholding access to their resources, their markets, their finance and their labour. In other words, they can use the strike weapon against the North (or parts of it). The present international economic crisis may provide them with opportunities to do so. For instance, until they are reasonably satisfied that progress is being made at the negotiating table, Third World countries could withhold payments, including the servicing of debts, walk out of the IMF, respond with their own countermeasures to Northern Protectionism, withhold support for transport and tourism. In exercise of 'positive' leverage, they could organize purchasing consortia (rather than undergo bilateral Northern salesmanship); they could buy their way into private corporations, both national and transnational, to establish control of key sectors directly affecting their own economic interests (including banking, engineering, commodity trading, transport).

The Scheveningen Report
BATTLEFIELDS

1. DEMILITARIZING AND STOPPING REPRESSSION

The new international development strategy should incorporate demilitarization as a development objective and should initiate moves toward a step-wise and time-bound programme of disarmament and demilitarisation, for without progress on this front progress on economic and political aspects of development, the environment, the achievement of collective self-reliance and transformation towards the NIEO will always remain problematic.

The Scheveningen Report

The risk and cost of the arms race, in terms of both survival and development, are obvious. The armament build-up imposed by the military-industrial complex has become the major threat to security. What is required, as part and parcel of another development, is a new, people-centered, definition of security.

The military-industrial complex is a central determinant of mal-development. Controlling major decisions and dictating priorities, it misdirects the productive capacity of nations, distorts the economy and dominates all spaces of society. In the North, this applies to the East as well as to the West. In the South, the perverse link between militarization and security is such, in too many countries, that a dependent military power is not directed at an hypothetical external enemy, but inwards at the people. Armies are occupying their own territories.

Even legitimate military measures taken by governments genuinely concerned with their people's needs do have costs. In poor countries, their financial and foreign exchange impacts can be crippling. More generally, they result in the erosion of human rights and the adulteration of genuine nationalism toward militarism and repression.
Security through cooperation and collective self-reliance

Security is in fact threatened by military aggrandisement. Only genuine global cooperation in the economic, cultural and political fields could ensure it.

Small countries tend to confine their national defence arrangements to counter possibilities of misuse of others' military power against their independence and territorial integrity. Great powers tend to have wider interpretations of security, based on such doctrines as 'limited sovereignty' or 'assault on (their) vital interests' in the context of access to other countries' resources. The superpowers have expanded such practices to the whole globe, in direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations, which they should respect even more than others in view of their privileges in the Security Council.

The superpowers have thus lost whatever legitimacy they had and it is now the task of an autonomous Third World and of far-sighted industrialized countries to define and promote a truly cooperative concept of security, and to establish accountability in this domain. The United Nations is the instrument to carry out this task. The Non-Aligned Movement, rejecting cold war policies, had brought a new legitimacy to the United Nations. It can now strengthen the Organization for this purpose; it can make the General Assembly act as the conscience of the people of the United Nations.

The Third World, for its part, has the capacity to opt out of the East-West confrontation. Starting in the regional space, it can define its security interests in terms of its own needs rather than in terms of the expansive 'security' of the great powers. Institutions such as the Non-Aligned Movement or the Organization of African Unity have established, admittedly in an embryonic form, rules and norms of conduct within which state relations might be transacted without recourse to arms. These mechanisms need to be expanded and strengthened, in particular those for the conciliation of intra Third World disputes, whose exploitation is a feature of international relations.
A system of guarantees for Third World countries which unilaterally decide to demilitarize and the denial to the great powers of scope for competition within the Third World would reduce arms expenditures.

Spheres of influence of the great powers can be eliminated by collective Third World action. The concept of peace zones should be pursued with the ultimate objective of expanding it to cover the Third World as a whole.

Demilitarizing: the responsibility of the great powers

Controlling or reducing armaments has long been on the international agenda without any result. The better known possibilities in this direction must be pursued. They include arms control and stabilization; commitment not to use nuclear weapons first; de-nuclearization of armaments. These measures must be part of the international development dialogue as well as such non-military measures as lessened dependence on imported energy, conversion of military industries to socially useful purposes, and transfer to the Third World of resources released from armaments production.

Some Third World countries have now the capability of producing nuclear weapons. To the great powers, whose monopoly is thus eroded, this should be a challenge to really pursue the promised path of demilitarization. Great powers can arrest militarization and initiate a step-wise and time-bound programme of disarmament and demilitarization. They can stop increasing armaments in the name of arms control. They can take unambiguous measures to reduce armaments. They can take unilateral initiatives and respond to those of others. It would impair neither their legitimate national security interests nor those of others to implement the policies agreed upon by the United Nations General Assembly at its special session on disarmament.
Stopping repression

Those Third World countries whose governments have opted for the militarist model find themselves confronted with the worst of two worlds: a distorted economy and a dominated society.

Their arms are mostly imports. Not only do they preempt scarce foreign exchange and jeopardize investment in socially useful means of production; they do not even create employment. The militarist model increases economic dependence and undermines security.

Further, the military establishment is trained in the academies of the North as part of the great powers' global strategies. The weight of the military in the polity, whether they assume power directly or not, makes them imbued with alien values and ideologies as they are powerful agents of maldevelopment. With few exceptions, the Third World military establishment is a major stumbling block on the path to another development, that is to genuine security.

Social protest being the natural result of maldevelopment, the politico-military establishment uses its might against it to protect the vested interests of the privileged minority of which it is a part. Lumpen-militarization thus ends in straight repression. Even if the technology of repression lends itself to import-substitution, this is a field where the military-industrial complex of the centre, and indeed the North as a whole, has a special responsibility.

A notable trend is the militarization of the police forces in Third World countries and their equipment with the technology of repression. It includes torture and restraining devices, detection and surveillance gear, data-processing equipment, riot control as well as para-military armaments. This weaponry has increased tensions within Third World societies, particularly when the absence of democratic debate leaves no option other than confrontation between the government and such third system groups as unions, human rights associations or minorities.
Trade in repression technology is little publicized. To check it, the industrialized countries must be pressured to release information on such exports. Peace research institutions, perhaps cooperating in an international clearing house, should be encouraged to systematically collect, analyze and disseminate data on the repression trade. This would open the way for the enforcement of accountability in this particularly vicious business.

Several countries in the North and the South have debated, and have generally enforced, strict laws relating to gun licensing. To control international violence, it is essential to at least monitor the flow of guns - a generic term for all weaponry - between nations. An 'international gun licensing law' should give the United Nations the mandatory power to register and monitor arms dealers who sell weapons to other countries. A campaign should be initiated for the adoption of an international convention banning the sale or delivery of all torture equipment and expertise.

The role of the third system

The third system has a rich tradition of struggles against armaments, militarization and war. American and Swedish popular campaigns against the war in Vietnam, the 'Ban the Bomb' campaign in Britain, pressure groups against the neutron bomb, the participation of unions and churches in bringing down military regimes are examples, in the North and in the South, of such actions.

Multinational action to promote demilitarization and curb the repression trade is a battlefield where the third system has an immediate responsibility.
'Here, Señor Carter, is the statue of Simón Bolívar, who liberated Latin America from foreign domination!'
2. CULTURE HARDER THAN THE REST

The new international development strategy should provide the concept of development with new and different cultural roots by drawing upon alternative modes of civilization; in particular, it should push forward the eradication of illiteracy and racism, and should move toward a fully worked out code of conduct on control of international mass media and information networks.

The Scheveningen Report

Culture is not a specialized activity (the arts, for instance) but in expression of the life of a community in all its aspects, from the production of its material base to its moral values and aspirations to happiness. It is thus part and parcel of the development process. It has been often neglected by those in favour of progress, but largely made use of, in a negative manner, as an instrument of political and economic power. 'Development' and 'modernization', when equated with westernization, have been deprived of their human content, reduced to the growth of things and based on a simplified version of human beings as interchangeable consumers without roots or history. When the dominant system has allowed people's culture to survive, it has been as part of its commerce, as folklore for sale.

Cultural domination is not the monopoly of any country or ethnic group. It operates within countries at the expense of minorities. The most pervasive cultural model today, however, is that transmitted by the Western transnational power structure.

This cultural model has pervaded the globe. The crisis which it has provoked is deepest where even the most basic needs of the majority are not satisfied - where, as in the Third World, the consumption culture is not just a distortion of the old one, but is exogenous. This is why the main argument, in the following
pages, is linked principally with the Third World; but it concerns equally people in the industrialized countries.

**Vehicles of cultural domination**

While Third World countries have assumed some degree of political independence over the last three decades, the global space is dominated by the West, not only militarily and economically, but, more fundamentally, intellectually and culturally. Ideas, values, life-styles, consumption patterns, economic and institutional models originating from the centre are transmitted to the periphery. The local elites hasten to play the imitation game and the experience of modernization has been, in many cases, an attempt by those elites to transform their societies according to alien perceptions.

This was bound to fail. Mimetism remains essentially that of the elites, wedded to Western culture, isolated from the mainstream of their societies by their way of thinking and living, by foreign language, dress and housing, sometimes even by religion and eating habits. But the exercise has an enormous social cost. Diverting scarce resources and creating new dependencies, the education and production apparatus is geared to the needs of small upper and middle classes. The rich popular tradition and endogenous potential of solving old and new problems has been debilitated. Deepening of inequality and marginalization of the masses is the result; social divisions and protest further the insecurity of the elites and encourage them to use authoritarian methods of protecting their vested interests.

The role of the Third World elites as vehicles of westernization, for their benefit as well as for that of the centre, has been dramatically amplified by the transnational system of information, which also dominates societies in industrialized countries. Five transnational news agencies dominate the world's information.
Advertising, too, plays a key role in the process of transmission of the cultural models and values as do, generally, television, films, magazines, professional journals, books, broadcasting, records, music, video tapes, tourism.

The centralizing potential of modern communications technology gives tremendous power to those who control it - power to influence and shape people's images of their fellow women and men and of the world around them, their access to knowledge, their tastes and desires, their aspirations to a better life. Its impact on the formation of young people's outlook is especially significant. Its imposition of a one-way flow from 'creators' to passive receivers of information has a deadening effect on the vitality of society. In general, this communication power is in the hands of representatives of the market or of the state, with the priesthood of professional communicators exercising considerable influence; in either case, people are only at the receiving end.

Most international channels of communication are North to South. Third World countries know about each other, their cultures, their problems, their struggles, their victories, primarily through Northern media. The South has no direct access to the North, where people know about the South only what the power structure allows or wants them to know.

A cultural renaissance

What is needed is a cultural renaissance in all spaces of development. A few suggestions have emerged, resting on the premise that cultural diversity is a value in itself as well as an irreplaceable source of creativity. It is an expression both of the richness of mankind and of an elemental need of human beings to belong to groups where their identity is recognized and respected.
In the national space, all possible means of reaffirming identity and cultural autonomy, which is not coterminous with cultural autarchy, should be used. Policies are required which would embody the principle that communication is a public service, not a marketable commodity. This would be achieved by democratizing access to the media; by demystifying the journalistic profession; by making communication a two-way process; by supporting alternative small-scale communication channels and local networks; and by establishing mechanisms to make the media - transnational or national - accountable to society.

In the Third World space, people, to communicate with each other, find it convenient to use a few common languages, most of them alien. But such convenience must be balanced by a due regard for the preservation of the rich variety of linguistic traditions which continue to be used by the vast majority of people. Collectively, the Third World could facilitate the satisfaction of this basic cultural need. Indigenous languages could be encouraged by agreement on the creation of an infrastructure which services them - the supply of printing equipment and material, text books, translations, and cross-cultural fertilization without use of an alien intermediary language. In Western Europe, the Reformation was made possible by the spread of the printed vernacular bible and any major transformation, even in the twentieth century, should accord due recognition to the local languages. The Third World must rectify the imbalance imposed by the continuing use of the imperial languages - English, French, Spanish - as reflected in United Nations practice - and in the three editions of this report.

More generally, mutual information networks are of the essence both for creating and developing South-South links and for building up the elements of a cultural renaissance. The Non-Aligned countries have set up a pool of Non-Aligned news agencies. As useful as this could be in some fields, it does not meet all requirements. People in their struggles may not gain much from the replacement of the monopoly of the transnational news agencies by that of governments.
In the global space, the international community should move towards a code of conduct for international mass media and information networks. Here too it has become urgent to democratize the communications process, to strip it of its commercial orientation and to promote interaction between mass media and alternative forms of communication. Communication based on tolerance between North and South should be fostered, through interaction on the basis of diversity, an interplay of differences and resemblances among people and societies, to help eliminating prejudices, counter racism and promote understanding and respect.

A privileged battlefield for the third system

Being part of people, the third system is less alienated from its cultural roots than government and economic power. It thus has a critical role in preserving cultural autonomy and pluralism, as well as in developing a genuine cultural cooperation between all peoples. Alternative communications are instruments to be made use of more widely.

Third system groups, acting in all spaces of development, generate information. De-professionalizing communication, they should establish autonomous networks for the exchange of such information in all fields of people activities, from need-satisfaction to political struggles.

Defining and bringing about another development implies drawing upon what local communities are doing and attempting to link this wealth of social action, experiences and innovations with the broader issues of national and international development policies. As the limited experience of the third system project suggests, it is important for primary communities and associations, as part of the process of their conscientization, to know that they are not alone, that they can learn from each other, that they can relate to each other. It is essential that information be transmitted to people in their own language; third system groups should promote systematic translation and, of course, not limit themselves to the written media but make full use of the audio-visual technologies.
Third system groups should also provide more counter-information on situations not reported by the dominant media. In the global space, the small, but significant, example of Inter Press Service, a cooperative Third World news agency, shows that the field is wide open to third system initiatives.
3. RESOURCES FOR THOSE WHO NEED THEM

The new international development strategy should pay much greater attention to the present waste and maldistribution of development resources - and should aim at effective means to increase the command of Third World countries over such resources.

It should aim at full participation by the Third World in the management of all global commons which are outside the scope of national sovereignty over resources, all of them to be dealt with under the comprehensive framework of the 'common heritage of mankind' at the present historical juncture.

It should above all aim at two key elements of national self-reliance in the Third World and eradicate the obstacles facing them: sustainable production of domestic food supplies and endogenous capacities of developing, acquiring and adapting technology.

The Scheveningen Report

Ensuring sustainability

The sustained exploitation of the world's natural resources for the benefit of present and future generations of mankind demands harmony between man and nature through appropriate technologies. This is the principle of sustainability. Lack of respect for it constitutes a threat to human survival as great, though not as immediate, as that of nuclear war.

The threat is with us now. Unsound technology and unrestrained pursuit of short-term benefits are undermining the resource base for the productive process itself: through soil erosion, air and water pollution, over-fishing, depletion of fuel sources (firewood as well as petroleum), loss of genetic diversity and so on. It is a threat arising as much from the vicious circle of poverty as from the excesses of affluence.

Sustainable development must therefore be informed by equity as
well as by restraint, and by empathy with the future. It requires the social control of technology. It must be based on planning for the wise management of natural resources and of the earth's capacity to produce them: not technocratic planning, but a process springing from people's knowledge of their own environments; management not only in the sense of conservation, but including the search for "new" resources (e.g. soft energies) and for new sources of conventional ones.

Essentially a planetary concept, sustainability is also a guiding principle for local and national development. In all these spheres, those responsible for setting the patterns of development (governments, planners and administrators, international institutions, corporations, landowners, farmers, fishermen) must be held accountable for their respect of this principle.

Managing the commons

The global commons outside territorial sovereignty - being 'nobody's business' - pose a grave risk of unsustainable exploitation and a challenge to the international community. The availability, to a few, of technology for sea-bed mining raises issues of law and equity with which the United Nations has been grappling since the late 1960s. As the technological frontier advances, similar issues may arise with respect to the resources of Antarctica, the moon and - who knows - other celestial bodies.

The concept of the common heritage of mankind provides a positive framework within which to deal with such issues, treating the global commons not as the theatre of a new scramble for resources but as a universal asset to be equitably and peacefully used with shared technologies. This concept offers the opportunity for experiments in genuine international cooperation and institution-building, including the international raising and distribution of revenue. Such experiments should be one of the main thrusts of the United Nations system in the 1980s and beyond.
Moreover, the common heritage is an open-ended concept, not restricted to its present extra-territorial application. Thought should be given to extending the concept to cover, for example, genetic resources, the fruits of scientific research, the cultural heritage - areas of significance to all humanity.

Enhancing Third World command of development resources

The transfer of Northern growth models to the South is unrealistic in the short term and unsustainable in the long. Ending the present asymmetry of resource use requires action in all spaces of development, including restraint of demand in the North as well as increase of supply in the South.

In the North, there is a pressing need for research into and exploitation of new sources and types of energy and technologies with low energy profiles. Another priority is the conversion of the armaments industry to socially useful production.

More generally, the whole structure of Northern demand must be called into question. The growing public awareness of the energy issue in the North (expressed notably in demonstrations and votes against nuclear energy) can be channelled into a broader debate on the content of Northern development, covering such themes as improved product durability, recycling, reduction of transport needs through better space planning, restraint of private motor transport, and consumption ceilings (e.g. on meat).

A system of natural resource accounting in material terms should be set up. It would permit the monitoring of the distribution of resources among end uses, whether socially legitimate (such as need-satisfaction) or not (such as armaments or overconsumption). It would facilitate the enforcement of accountability for resource consumption. The United Nations system is equipped to design and operate such resource accounting; countries which are major resource consumers should be the first to respond.
Another issue which holds the promise of opening the way to a new demand structure is that of time, man's only strictly limited resource. Technology has made it possible to spend less of one's life producing and acquiring goods and to devote more of it to other means of self-fulfilment: non-market autonomous production, creative work at home, participation in public affairs, artistic activities, bringing up children, loving or playing; it has also created unemployment. Time to do what one wants is an eternal human aspiration. It should therefore be an issue commanding a political hearing, especially among organized labour - for whom reduction in working time is a long-standing aim. The discussion of better forms of working-time distribution (among others through breaking the barriers between the three phases of professional life: education/employment/retirement) can lead to the basic question of the trade-off between free time and production. This would help to reduce social production time and redistribute it better among individuals.

Both lines of discussion lead to a scenario of Northern society which reduces its claims on the resources needed by the Third World for its own development.

In the Third World, a start toward correcting the North-South asymmetry in resource use can be made by reorienting trade policies with respect to food and raw materials so as to give priority to the satisfaction of domestic needs (for direct consumption, processing and industrialization) rather than to export.

Furthermore, much of the resource base of the Third World remains untapped, because of limited commercial perceptions of international marketability. Means and incentives are needed to explore and exploit land and sea resources, including energy, which could meet the domestic needs of producing countries or those of other Third World countries. They could be of particular value to the countries called 'least-developed' (because least explored/exploited for their resources).
The most pressing aim, however, for most Third World countries is to ensure sustainable domestic production of food to satisfy mass needs. Indeed, since reliance on food imports is a source of vulnerability to external pressures and undermines traditional food systems, all countries should seek to approach food self-sufficiency to the extent that their eco-systems permit.

The way toward this aim is not to be found simply through a technological fix permitting the extraction of more food from land and water. It calls for the promotion of a diversified and dynamic rural economy responding to the material, cultural and political aspirations of its inhabitants. This would ensure that the countryside and the coast retain and attract the people and resources they need for increased food production, and that rural people have jobs and income with which to buy food.

The solution to the Third World food problem is thus highly political, involving the redistribution of power and wealth from the urban centres to the rural areas and within the latter.

While the Third World as a whole has the potential to be self-sufficient in food, there will be individual countries which cannot produce all they need while others will suffer from temporary shortages owing to natural setbacks. Collective food security should therefore be a major Third World policy objective for the 1980s, with a view to ending the dependence of some of its members on grain imports from the North. This may include, in addition to stocking arrangements: joint ventures in producing food, fertilizers and other inputs; joint research, common control over transnational agri-business operations and promotion of traditional food systems.

Similarly, there is a need for a system of collective energy security within the Third World. Many Third World countries spend substantial proportions of their export earnings on oil imported from other Third World countries. This is a potentially divisive situation, which Northern interests have not been
slow to exacerbate. Arrangements whereby Third World oil-importing countries, especially the economically weak ones and those pursuing need-oriented strategies, were assured of access to essential oil supplies at the most favourable current prices would make oil into an instrument of Third World solidarity. A few OPEC members have made bilateral preferential arrangements; this is a precedent for a collective scheme. Beyond such arrangements, there is much scope for cooperation among Third World countries in energy research and exploration.

**Decolonizing technologies**

Science and technologies are critical tools of development. Their orientation to the support of each societal project is a key instrument of self-reliance, the lack of endogenous scientific and technological capability is a major obstacle to it. In neither the North nor the South are they under social control; they have thus become additional instruments of domination. In the Third World in particular, the wholesale transfer of technologies under the control of transnational corporations is impeding the endogenous creation of a modern scientific and technological base and draining the South of resources, not least of skilled people.

The challenge to the Third World is to decolonize technologies: this requires the formulation of coherent policies, the creation of instruments and institutions, launching long-term learning processes, and ensuring that science and technologies unfold in their specific socio-cultural contexts. The importation of Northern technologies is not excluded, but the flow must be determined by the demand of informed users, rather than by supply from transnational corporations, while South-South exchanges must be greatly intensified.
The strategy should promote negotiations – made meaningful by the increased collective countervailing power of the Third World – to complete the unfinished agenda of UNCTAD V: namely, to establish a restructured international framework for trade, monetary and financial cooperation which should accommodate the different economic and social systems and patterns of development prevalent in the world community and which would be based upon institutionalized democratic processes of consultation and decision-making. This framework should include:

- international measures to regulate the activities of transnational corporations in the fields of trade, money, finance and technology, including effective codes of conduct, backed up by comprehensive national legislation in both home and host countries;

- a trading system which makes room for the growing industrial capacity of the Third World and which also provides a sound base for the world commodity economy;

- a monetary system which ensures greater stability, helps to control inflation, provides for better and more equitable methods of creating and distributing reserves and of adjusting to both deficits and surpluses, and promotes resource flows to the Third World;

- a system of financial transfers for development based increasingly on automaticity and operating according to universally acceptable and socially responsible criteria, as is the case within nations;

- as part of the latter, a system of international taxation, which should be universal, progressive and start at low rates, and which could be initially applied to the use of the global commons and also levied on internationally undesirable activities, e.g., arms expenditure or trade, pollution, accumulation of destabilizing exchange reserves.

The Scheveningen Report

Ending dependent linkages

Trade may be an engine of growth but not necessarily of development. In the perspective of enhancing national self-reliance and building an integrated national economy, trade and financial inflows are not self-evidently beneficial and, if not supportive of societal aims, can be harmful. Thus, in general, domestic needs rather than the export market should be the main determinant of what is produced. This point has been made above in relation to the need to redress the asymmetry in food and raw material consumption between North and South. The same logic should be applied to the production of manufactured goods.
In this perspective, the need to qualify anti-protectionism is evident. In the same way as liberal trading arrangements (including tariff preferences) can be seen to coincide with the interests of transnational corporations, so protectionism in the North may be seized by the Third World as an opportunity to re-assess trade policies and redirect production efforts to needsatisfaction, first nationally and then for the Third World as a whole.

Moreover, it must be recognized that, however much homage is paid to 'free trade', protectionism is a fact of life. Those changes in the international trading and financial system which the Third World may seek in support of its development efforts will come about through the exercise of leverage, derived from the Third World's collective power as a supplier of commodities used by the North, as an important market for Northern exports of industrial products, technology and services (e.g. transport, insurance, banking, marketing and distribution), and - more recently - as a source of capital.

Making this countervailing power operational will require a major institution-building effort, at regional and Third World space, ranging from commodity producer associations, through common import procurement schemes, to multinational transport and insurance enterprises. Above all, it will require the creation of new mechanisms to channel Third World financial surpluses to other Third World countries, without the present intermediation of the transnational banks and Northern-controlled international institutions, while providing at least equivalent security and risk spread. In all these areas, ideas about institutional forms are not lacking and several have been worked out in detail in the context of the work of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77. What is missing is a determined political effort to put these ideas into effect.
Democratizing international money and finance

Renewing the monetary system

The post-1945 international monetary system was based on the economic hegemony of the United States of America; the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was its main institutional manifestation. Suffering from disorders, the system was abruptly brought to an end by a unilateral decision of the USA, taken in disregard of its impact on other countries and for which they should have been held accountable. The role of the IMF has dwindled to that of the West's financial sheriff in the Third World, where it acts as an agent of the transnational banks. Third World countries with inadequate financial resources are made to bear the brunt of adjustments in the world economy for which they have no responsibility.

The ending of this disorder and the creation of a stable and equitable monetary system is an aim which should command universal support. It must be revived as a major theme for the 1980s. A new monetary system, as outlined in the above quotation from the Scheveningen Report, must reflect the structural changes taking place in the world economy and support the transformation of the international order sought by the Third World in the long-term interest of the entire international community.

So far, attempts to reform the international monetary system from within the IMF have met with little success. The Third World's representatives there - the Group of 24 - should not be co-opted in an approach to reform which is premised on the increasing transnationalization of the world economy rather than on self-reliant development. The Third World needs an approach based on its own development objectives and should make a concerted effort to set up a new system, drawing support from all those in the North who also suffer from the malfunctioning of the present one.

In support of this effort, the deficiencies of the economic analyses and deflationary prescriptions of the IMF staff and its executive directors must be exposed to the international community
and pressures exerted to bring about greater transparency of IMF operations. Exchange of experiences and information among borrowing countries could achieve these tactical objectives. These countries could also systematically publish the supposedly confidential letters of intent in which they concede their acceptance of IMF conditions for financial support. The government of a borrowing country which disagrees with the IMF's prescription for 'stabilization' should be able to bring its case before international arbitration or - failing that - before a third system tribunal, thus making the IMF accountable for its actions.

More fundamentally, Third World countries undertaking internal structural transformations for another development must learn from the experience of those who, in doing so, have fallen into the debt trap and thus into the clutches of the IMF. The lessons are that measures must be taken to control trade deficits, curb capital flight and counter speculative attacks on the currency; and that such economic discipline is only acceptable if called for by a government whose morality is beyond reproach and if supported by political mobilization and education.

What has been said above about Third World financial solidarity is, of course, extremely relevant in connexion with monetary reform. Moreover, Third World monetary cooperation, payments arrangements - even a new currency unit for intra-Third World trade - could wean the South away from dependence on Northern monetary institutions.

Toward international revenue distribution

Financial transfers for development should be a feature of any equitable world order. In today's order, the needs of the poorer Third World countries for concessional finance are far greater than present flows. Ways of stimulating massive transfers are being discussed. However, qualitative features of international development finance are also important.

The predictability of financial transfers - a first step toward
automaticity - is important for Third World development planning. Mechanisms of budgetary planning for official development assistance (ODA) have been a feature of the programmes of the four countries (Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden) which have attained or surpassed the United Nations ODA target (0.7 per cent of gross national product). In addition to ensuring a measure of predictability, these mechanisms have been used to increase ODA by linking its growth to that of the gross national product. Such mechanisms should be introduced into the ODA programmes.

Moreover, the concept of aid must be decolonized, depaternalized. Rather than contributing to dependency and maldevelopment, financial transfers must support another development. They must be genuinely untied and operated by equal partners, no longer by donors and recipients. Development finance should be the subject of international surveillance, a realm of international accountability.

Looking beyond the present system of ODA toward automatic resource mobilization, two bold alternatives deserve serious attention from the United Nations system in the 1980s: universal ODA and international taxation.

The first idea envisages the universality of ODA contributions, which would be assessed from all countries, without exception. Assessments would be on a progressive scale, possibly starting at 0.05 per cent of GNP for the countries with the lowest per capita income levels and rising to 0.7 per cent - or higher, as has been shown to be possible by some OPEC countries and the best performers among the industrialized countries. The total ODA fund thus raised would be distributed taking account of GNP per head, but in reverse proportions, so that the poorer countries would be net receivers of ODA.

One set of objects of international taxation are those identified in the Scheveningen Report as being internationally undesirable activities, i.e., armaments, pollution, destabilizing exchange
reserves. Another source of tax could be a sales or turnover tax on international trade. Yet another approach would be the taxation of the consumption of energy and minerals, which might be seen as a tax in support of sustainable development. Finally, the global commons are envisaged as a tax base; indeed, various schemes for international taxation on ocean space uses have been put forward in the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and are under consideration.

If the international community were to take a decisive step in the 1980s for the establishment of an international tax, this would be a real breakthrough toward genuine international cooperation.

Third system vs. TNCs

An institution which has an impact on all the themes that have emerged in this report and which eludes social control in all spaces is the transnational corporation. It is at the centre of international relations and is primarily responsible for the dominant Western cultural model, the deployment of resources and the arms trade. Through subsidiaries, it has even infiltrated ECDC. Restructuring the international framework requires a strategy to deal with the TNCs.

The inter-governmental system is ill-equipped to do this. A new international economic order - that of the TNCs is being created which has nothing to do with the resolutions of the United Nations. Governments of the TNCs' home countries say that, in their market economy environment, they cannot influence the operations of the TNCs. The fact is that most of them are not inclined to do so since the TNCs have become the main instrument in draining the economic surplus from the periphery for the benefit of the economies of the West at large and that of its ruling classes in particular.

The resistance, in addition to that of some Third World governments and from parts of the United Nations system, has come so far
principally from the third system. There are examples of trade union struggles based on North-South workers' solidarity and, more recently, those of people's groups confronting the TNCs in infant feeding, pharmaceuticals and agri-business. This nascent countervailing power needs to be strengthened and exerted on governments, international institutions and TNCs.
AID AND GROWTH

(Source: Nico, Tagesanzeiger, Zürich 3.12.77)
ESTABLISHING AND ENFORCING ACCOUNTABILITY

The ultimate test for ideas, however well founded, resides in their implementation. There is, of course, no instant implementation. It results only from a process of struggle, confrontation, negotiation, unilateral action - depending on the moment, the perception of the stakes by those involved, and their relative strength. Nevertheless, what matters is to undertake, and to persevere.

A central theme for implementation emerged from the third system project:

THOSE WHO HOLD POWER MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS EXERCISE. MECHANISMS TO ENFORCE ACCOUNTABILITY MUST BE ESTABLISHED.

Recognition of the principle of accountability and establishment of effective mechanisms would not by themselves transform the world or its societies. But it would facilitate the process of change. It may be a step forward in the direction of alternative strategies, of another, people-centered, development, of genuine international cooperation based on equality.

The definition of accountability and its enforcement requires research and experimentation. Conceptual, political and legal clarifications; appropriate mechanisms; and further refinements will stem only from action. What follows aims at stimulating it.

The principles

The only legitimacy is that of people. Power is held either by delegation, on behalf of people - this is legitimate power - or simply because some have seized it or exercised it. Accountability is part of the effort of people to regain their autonomous power.
Power is cultural, political and economic. It is exercised in all spaces of development, from the village to the globe. The principle of accountability therefore applies to all forms of power in the continuum of development spaces. It indeed underlines the dialectical interactions within and between spaces. Local rulers, for instance, are to be held accountable both to their people and to other communities - local, regional, national, global.

The principle of accountability is an expansion of the rights of human beings, as individuals (human rights) and as societies (peoples' rights). It is an active concept. It calls for citizens to challenge, with courage and militancy, a power structure alienated from them. It is an instrument of people's power, of democracy.

The scope of accountability

Enforcement of accountability first requires that a typology of indictable actions and liable actors be worked out. Preliminary elements for a typology emerge from the third system project.

Indictable actions might include, for instance, political or military destabilization of other states; policies, measures and activities in the economic and financial fields which negatively bear on the development of other nations, including resource use, transnational pollution, trade, investment and non application to third parties of domestic safeguards (e.g. export of unsafe drugs banned in the country of origin); trade in arms and technology of repression; infringement of cultural autonomy and pluralism; undermining sustainability and abusing the global commons; crimes against peace, crimes against humanity, war crimes; crimes against peoples, such as ethnocide; internal repression; discrimination against women, minorities and migrant workers; complicity in any of the nationally or locally indictable actions.
On the same basis, liable actors might include governments in all spaces of development, including their civil servants, for their own actions and that of economic and other agents based in territories under their jurisdiction; those holding economic power, in particular transnational corporations, including their owners and officers; intergovernmental institutions and their secretariats; professionals and scientists; and, of course, the third system itself.

Dimensions of accountability

Access to information. Secrecy and monopoly of knowledge have been and still are essential weapons of power. They must give way to transparency and to the socialization of knowledge. There are national precedents, for instance that of Sweden, where citizens have access to most government documents. There are emerging inter-governmental precedents, for instance that of the United Nations Commission on Transnational Corporations, which endeavours to discover and make public relevant facts on the dealings of the TNCs. There are third system precedents, for instance that of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, which collects and disseminates information on militarization and armaments, or that of the Counter Information Services in London, which provide "anti-reports" on TNCs. Further action can draw on these and many other precedents.

Codes of conduct. Another underpinning of the enforcement of accountability could be international treaties and conventions reflecting the realities of the present world. Some efforts are also underway with regard to the formulation of codes of conduct for TNCs, for the 'transfer' of technology, for mass media and for patents. All these should be energized and supplemented by a code of conduct for scientists and engineers who should pledge not to participate in military and repression
research. A precedent exists, that of the Pugwash Guidelines for international scientific cooperation for development.

The mechanisms

Any system should be judged in terms of its victims. Enforcing accountability requires that people and peoples are able to appeal against any power, legitimate or not, which in any manner negatively affects their integrity and capacity to develop.

Channels for appeal and mechanisms for the enforcement of accountability will vary according to the origin of power, whether legitimate or not; to the spaces affected by its actions; to its modes - cultural, political or economic.

Precedents. There are already some inter-governmental and third system mechanisms operating in the global space. Examples of the first are the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the International Court of Justice. Examples of the second are Amnesty International, the Russell Tribunal, and action groups exposing the misuse of TNCs power. Whatever their immense merit, none of them nor a combination of them fully meets the scope of what is required. The UN Commission on Human Rights, for instance, under the pretext of a misconceived notion of sovereignty, has largely turned into a club of governments, remaining silent while tyrants are in action. Third system action groups, which have performed invaluable services, have usually concentrated on specific activities; some kind of joint action would certainly give them more power.

Crime and punishment. It is one thing to unearth and to denounce indictable actions. Quite another to prosecute and try the liable actors, and to punish the guilty. There is however a precedent. After the 1939-45 war, criminal trials were organized in Nuremberg and Tokyo. They have been criticized for failing to consider charges against the victors. Nevertheless, they respon-
ded to people's claims for justice. The United Nations endorsed the Nuremberg principles as guiding rules of international law. Many governments have violated them since then and their leaders would have been indicted if the promise had been kept. However, a first step in this direction, the establishment of an international commission to enquire into the crimes of the former shah of Iran and the external complicity which supported its regime, raises another question: should the enforcement of accountability wait until people have overthrown their dictators? Such commissions of enquiry should have been established in the cases of, say, Bokassa, Somoza, Idi Amin or Macías Nguema when they were in power. The present situation in some other countries, like Chile, suggest that such commissions may not rest idle.

The United Nations and the third system

The United Nations and the third system could, in their specific ways, contribute to the enforcement of accountability.

A revitalized United Nations system should reflect the fact that while governments come and go, 'we, the peoples of the United Nations', as the Preamble of its Charter calls us, remain its permanent constituency. The Charter provides that 'the Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security' (Art. 99). This article could be utilized more extensively - it is a matter of defining international peace and security. Exercising the independence ascribed to it by the Charter (Art. 100), the secretariat could contribute the main information component of accountability. On the basis of the Nuremberg precedent, commissions of enquiry and eventually tribunals should be established to enforce the principle of accountability of those who hold power. And the International Court of Justice could be given a new role in connexion with the economic aspects of accountability.
However, the limitations of the United Nations are not likely to disappear rapidly, especially those resulting from the predominant role of the great and superpowers in the Security Council.

The third system thus has a special responsibility. The time has come for it to exercise the autonomous moral power it acquires when it truly reflects people's aspirations. Its initiatives would, at least, expose the deficiencies of the inter-governmental system. They could have a catalytical role. Above all, they will have results of their own.

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To establish and enforce accountability, as well as to take the various actions suggested in the preceding pages, the third system, as part of the people trying to assert their autonomous power, is facing a challenge: to articulate its groupings locally nationally, globally, in the struggle for social change.

The third system must take up this challenge. It must avoid bureaucratization, and resist cooption by the state or economic power. It must consciously keep to its role of countervailing power, preserve its capacity for permanent renewal, strive to rule itself by imagination. It must remain the servant of people.
In preparing for the future, the first task is to review, rethink and reassess the past. The next is to go beyond the horizons of today and to start formulating the strategy for the last quarter of the century. We may call on the wisest and most experienced among us, teachers and thinkers of today, to advise the world on the future.

This was the challenge issued by the then Minister for Development Cooperation of the Netherlands, Jan Pronk, in his statement to the General Assembly of the United Nations, in October 1976, at the beginning of the preparations for the new international development strategy.

The challenge was addressed to the United Nations establishment - governments, delegates, international civil servants: would they listen to views from outside? The question is still open, and only the General Assembly, when it meets later this year in a special session to adopt the new international strategy, can give the answer.

But the challenge was also addressed to those outside the United Nations, and it was accepted, implicitly or explicitly, by a number of organizations. The Centro de Estudios Económicos y Sociales del Tercer Mundo, the World Future Studies Federation, the Association Mondiale de Prospective Sociale, the Fundación Bariloche, the Society for International Development and its North-South Roundtable, the Third World Foundation - to mention only a few, are engaged in activities directly relevant to the discussion of the new international development strategy.

There was also a direct follow-up to the Dutch Minister's challenge. A year after his statement, having consulted the International Foundation for Development Alternatives and the Third
World Forum, he invited IFDA to organize what was termed the Third System Project. The Norwegian and Canadian governments responded to the Dutch government's initiative and also sponsored the project. The Executive Committee of the Foundation accepted the invitation, established a Project Steering Committee and work started.

Organized by the International Foundation for Development Alternatives, the third system project could not be neutral. It is a partisan undertaking. The values informing it are those to which IFDA is committed. They have shaped the objectives of the project and its method of work, as well as the preparation of this progress report. Its first results, as reported here, are a step in the direction of the goals IFDA is pursuing.

The objectives

The project had two major and organically linked objectives: to deepen and to broaden the discussion on development and international cooperation.

Deepening the discussion. Overcoming the present crisis requires both fighting vested interests and using imagination. The past thirty years have announced the end of an era that started five centuries ago. Historical shortsightedness - understandable in the power structure, but more surprising in the case of large sectors of those who oppose it - will not do. The writing is on the wall of the dead-end. The way out is not conservative dynamism but devising, experimenting and generalizing alternatives. This implies focussing on alternatives to both the conventional wisdom and prevailing patterns of maldevelopment; tackling the 'white spots', that is those areas, especially national, that are not and cannot be properly dealt with by existing intergovernmental machinery; and identifying the stumbling blocks which impede the structural transformations required in individual societies - in North and South - and in the international order. Thus, the project was also an attempt to explore further the space mapped
out by the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report, What Now - Another Development, a widely circulated and discussed text prepared on the occasion of another special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to development and international cooperation. What Now was principally a normative document. The time had come to examine the validity, relevance and implications of its concepts and political orientations in specific situations in order to move toward the realisation of another development.

Broadening the discussion. The values of another development exclude by definition any elitist or official determination of what needs to be done. On the contrary, they require a major effort to give a voice to those who are never or rarely heard, even if they are directly affected by decisions made in their names. They are the people, in the South and in the North, as well as their organizations and the agents of change who listen to them and attempt to reflect their views. The project tried to promote and facilitate the participation of such associations and individuals in the debate.

We called these the 'third system' not just by analogy with the Third World. The state and the market are the two main sources of power exercised over people. But people have an autonomous power, legitimately theirs. The 'third system' is that part of the people which is reaching a critical consciousness of their role. It is not a party or an organization; it constitutes a movement of those, free associations, citizens and militants, who perceive that the essence of history is the endless struggle by which people try to master their own destiny - the process of humanization of man. The third system includes groupings actively serving people's aim and interests, as well as political and cultural militants who, whilst not belonging directly to the grassroots, endeavour to express

1/ 80,000 copies in English, French, German, Spanish. An Arabic edition is being printed.
people's views and to join their struggle. This movement tries to assert itself in all spaces of decision making by putting pressure on the state and economic power and by organizing to expand the autonomous power of people.

The two objectives of deepening and broadening the debate are indeed organically linked, for who are best able to look for alternatives if not those who suffer from the existing disorder and who need change?

The method

The method of the project was derived from these premises. As a basic working principle, any preconceived, centrally-determined design was rejected. On the contrary, the exercise was built up by those participating in it. It was essentially participatory and self-managed. It aimed at promoting mutually educating dialogues between all those concerned. It attempted to embody cultural diversity and pluralism.

The project description (IFDA Dossier 1, January 1978) was limited to spelling out the objectives of the project, its terms of reference, its approach and timetable; it did not provide more than an illustrative list of topics which might be dealt with. It was widely circulated by IFDA itself and reproduced or mentioned in many publications in all regions.

The spontaneous participation base of the project explains the non-systematic coverage of the problématicque and the nature and source of the deficiencies of this progress report.

The network

The main result of the process, beyond its material written outputs, was the animation of a significant world-wide network. There were, of course, different degrees of participation in it.
The IFDA secretariat benefited from the advice and help of the Executive Committee and many members of the Council of IFDA as well as those of the Project Steering Committee. Membership of the latter reflected the links of IFDA with the Third World Forum, ILET (the Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales), the Marga Institute, the Institute for World Order, and the Association of Third World Economists. Close cooperation was also maintained with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation: the science and technology component of the project was largely undertaken with it, as well as the work - which is continuing - on automatic mobilization of international finance for development.

A second circle of participation includes those who undertook specific activities and/or contributed to the IFDA Dossier. A third, those who participated in the many meetings which took place in the context of the project or were somehow linked with it in Il-Belt, Colombo, Dakar, Helsinki, Katmandu, Kingston, La Guaira, Lima, Lusaka, Montevideo, Paris, Tripoli, Trivandrum, Uppsala... Nyon, and so on.

A fourth circle is constituted by the 8,000 persons who receive the IFDA Dossier; and a fifth, the widest, is that of the students whose teachers use the Dossier and the readers of other publications in all regions which recycle its materials.

The product

The contributions listed in the following sections are not only the foundation of this progress report but, above all, that of further work. The dominant impression they give, we believe, is one of richness and diversity.

Richness: did we manage, in the pages of Part I, to do justice to it? To reflect it adequately? Probably not. It does not really matter. Even if sometimes lifted straight from the contributions of participants - which is usually called plagiarising
- and reflecting the pitfalls of collective drafting, the text was only one perception, hopefully not too distorted, of a process which is under way.

Follow-up

The effort embodied in the third system project was that of a small fraction only of the third system. IFDA and the network it is servicing have tried to live up to the challenge issued to us. We realize that even the best formulation of what needs to be done, had we been able to provide it, would have been only a partial component of the action required to bring about change, an ongoing action which needs amplification. Since we believe that ideas become power when they are internalized by a sufficient number of people, we intend to disseminate further the materials generated by the third system project and to keep the IFDA Dossier open to more unheard voices.

This will be our next contribution to the common task.
INDEX OF PAPERS PUBLISHED IN IFDA DOSSIERS 1 TO 16

Papers are listed by author, in alphabetical order. Mention is made of the space to which they predominantly belong\(^1\). Rubrics of the Dossier under which they appear are also indicated.\(^2\)

\textbf{IFDA Dossier 1} was published in January 1978 in three editions (English, French and Spanish). \textbf{IFDA Dossier 2} appeared in November 1978, and the subsequent issues monthly from January to December 1979 and bi-monthly in 1980. These appeared in a multilingual edition, with papers in English, French or Spanish.

Titles are given in the language in which the paper was published. Most papers in the 'Building Blocks' section were accompanied by summaries in the two other languages. This issue (IFDA Dossier 17) is published in three editions (English, French and Spanish). The English edition is scheduled to be mailed in April, the French and Spanish ones in May 1980.

Back issues of the IFDA Dossier are available in limited quantities. They will be mailed by surface, free of charge, on request, to addresses in the Third World. Orders from industrialized countries must be accompanied by four "coupon réponse international" (international postal coupons) for each issue. Full sets of IFDA Dossiers 1 to 17 are also available at Swiss Francs 60 or equivalent.

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ANNOTATED LIST OF ACTIVITIES
UNDERTAKEN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE THIRD SYSTEM PROJECT
INCLUDING MEETINGS AND SUPPORTING PAPERS

Papers listed in this section are usually available either from the participating institution or IFDA, sometimes from both. People interested in papers listed as being obtainable from contributors are advised to check with them concerning availability and cost. Orders for papers available from IFDA must be accompanied by payment for photocopying (Swiss francs 0.50 or equivalent per page).

Papers may also be available on microfiches at Swiss francs 4.- per unit of 96 pages or approximately Swiss francs 700 for a complete set. Those interested are invited to contact IFDA for further information.

An annotated list of activities appears in IFDA Dossiers 2 and 4.

AN ADMINISTRATIVE GLANCE AT THE THIRD SYSTEM PROJECT

Out of the 119 activities undertaken in the context of the project, 63 were carried out by Third World institutions, groups and individuals; 44 by such participants from industrialized countries and 12 by institutions of global scope.

By mid-February 1980, papers resulting from 70 of these activities had been published in the IFDA Dossier; 9 papers had been approved for future publication; 4 were being revised; 7 were under discussion; 24 activities had been completed without giving rise to a publication in the Dossier; 1 had been cancelled and 4 were unfinished.

Project expenditures between December 1977 and mid-February 1980 amounted roughly to 4.5 million Swiss francs. Resources were provided by the Netherlands government (70%), the Norwegian government (27%) and the Canadian International Development Agency. Most of these funds were spent on payments to participating institutions and individuals (72%) and dissemination of contributions, principally through the IFDA Dossier (10%). Other expenditures included the cost of the project's special staff (8%), travel and communications, meetings of the Steering Committee, and overheads. Payments to participants were distributed as follows: Third World, 57%; industrialized countries, 27%; global institutions, 16%.
I. PREDOMINANTLY LOCAL SPACE

(Projects 009; 011; 015; 034; 043; 045.1; 048; 049; 059; 060; 063; 064; 067; 068; 072; 076; 077; 081; 086; 109; 111; 116)

• DEVELOPMENT AS LIBERATION: POLICY ISSUES FROM CASE STUDIES

Denis Goulet
Overseas Development Council
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036, USA

Lessons are drawn from four cases in which oppressed people have assumed control over their destinies - the popular liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau; Sarovadiya in Sri Lanka; SEWA in Ahmedabad, India; and a Quechua community in Bolivia.

Available from ODC:


• BHOOMI SENA - A STRUGGLE FOR PEOPLE'S POWER

G.V.S. de Silva, N. Mehta, A. Rahman, P. Wignaraja
Ovre Slottsgatan 2
752 20 Uppsala, Sweden

A close look is taken at Bhoomi Sena, a movement of 'adivasis' (tribals) in Junglepatti, Maharashtra, India, for liberation from oppression and the establishment of people's power. The researchers moved from dialogical research in a general sense to participatory research, by joining as partners in research with the activists and cadres of Bhoomi Sena.

Available from DHF:

. Same authors, 'Bhoomi Sena - A struggle for people's power', Development Dialogue (1979:2), pp.3-70

• DEMAIN AUJOURD'HUI

Centre international de recherche sur l'environnement et le développement (CIRED)
Maison des sciences de l'homme
54 boulevard Raspail
75270 Paris, France

Dossier FIPAD 3, 11, 14, 15, 16 P.015
Face à l'empire croissant des forces du marché et de l'État, il existe en Europe et en Amérique du Nord de multiples formes d'action entreprises par des groupes militantes pour accroître leur capacité propre de décision. L'analyse de ces expériences démontre l'enjeu, les champs privilégiés et les limites de l'expérimentation sociale.

Documents publiés dans les Dossiers FIPAD:

. Claude Paturle, 'Aménagement du temps et stratégies du développement', et Michel Schiray, 'Aménagement social du temps', Dossier 3
. Anne Charreyron-Perchet, 'Expérimentations sociales, changements dans les styles de vie et l'organisation de la production dans les pays anglo-saxons', Dossier 11
. Michel Schiray et Silvia Sigal, 'Demain aujourd'hui: Expérimentations sociales et changements de style de vie', Dossier 14
. Expériences (Notes sur des cas d'expérimentation sociale), Dossiers 15 et 16

Disponible auprès du CIRED:

. Anne Charreyron-Perchet, Expérimentation sociale, changement dans les styles de vie et l'organisation de la production aux États-Unis (48 + iipp.; bibliographie)
. Jean Baillon, Avenir du secteur du bâtiment et impact sur les styles de vie en France (13pp.)
. Ignacy Sachs and Michel Schiray, Life styles and development patterns in the Western world: Experiences and experiments (Addis Ababa, UN Document ECA/SAP/1979/6, 1979) (36pp.)

Disponible auprès de la FIPAD:

. Jussi Raumolin, Development problems in the Scandinavian periphery. (15pp.)

Rencontres:
Trois consultations privées ont été organisées, dans le cadre de cette activité:

. Rencontre franco-allemande, Kassel, les 3-4 décembre 1978 (Prof. von Weizsacker, et al.)
The Religious and Traditional Values in Development in the 80s with Specific Reference to the Sarvodaya Movement (Sri Lanka)

A.T. Ariyaratna
'Methmedura', Sarvodaya Institute
77 de Soysa Road
Moratuwa, Sri Lanka

The Sarvodaya Movement, founded in 1958, has activities in over 2,300 villages in Sri Lanka. It is solidly rooted in Buddhist religious beliefs and practices, as they prevail among the vast majority of rural folk. The primary aim of Sarvodaya is the total awakening of the individual personality based on the four Buddhist virtues: Metta (friendliness), Karuna (compassion), Mudhita (altruistic joy), and Upakha (a balanced state of mind). Ten basic human needs are identified which are then catered for by the altruistic actions of fellow human beings, of which Shramadana (sharing of one's time, thought and energy) is the central element.

A National Dialogue on Development in Sri Lanka

Marga Institute
P.O. Box 601
Colombo 5, Sri Lanka

Designed to promote a broad-based national discussion on popular perceptions and aspirations regarding the future of Sri Lankan society, the project attempted to gain insights into the way in which households at different levels in the society, both rural (10 villages) and urban, defined the content of the desirable future life to which they aspired. This is the first phase of an on-going activity which will further develop the methodology followed and examine whether the experiment could be organized in a manner which should be linked more effectively to the national decision-making processes.
Available from the Marga Institute

- Guidelines for the village dialogues (25pp.)
- A note on the programme for a national dialogue on development goals in Sri Lanka (10pp.)
- Urban dialogues (55pp.)
- Report on Medakumbura Village (15pp.)
- Dialogues and report:
  - Palmerston (Ritnagiri) Estate (111pp.)
  - Mathagal Village (97pp.)
  - Mirisse Village (202pp.)
  - Horape Village (204pp.)
  - Walgampaya Village (206pp.)
  - Kirillapone Shanty Community (86pp. + tables)
  - Namal Oya Village (89pp. + tables)
  - Henegama Village (270pp.)
  - Malwanahinne Village (134pp.)
  - Kale Divul Wewa Village (147pp.)
  - Wegalle Village (130pp.)

**LOCAL ACTION FOR SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH**

B.K. Jahangir

48 J North Fuller Road
Nilkhet
Dacca-2, Bangladesh

An analysis of a series of innovative developments based on basic needs/self-reliance strategies, which are evolving alongside with traditional social and religious patterns. The objective is to increase understanding of the process of development of sustained people's institutions at the grassroots level for resisting exploitation and mobilizing manpower and local resources for self-reliant development, and to generate guidelines for catalytic action to promote such development.

Paper not available to public:

- B.K. Jahangir, 'Local action for self-reliant development in Bangladesh' (50pp.)

**ALL INDIA CONVENTION OF PEOPLE'S SCIENCE MOVEMENTS**

The Kerala Science Movement

A. Akulam Road
Ulloor
Trivandrum 695 011, Kerala State, India
Enquiry into a project that takes scientists of various disciplines to villages every year in connexion with an endogeneous rural development programme.

Available from the Kerala Science Movement:

. Speech by the President, Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad, at the opening session of the First All India Convention of People's Science Movements (5pp.)
. Science education in India: A critique (11pp.)
. Scientific research in India: Some random thoughts (3pp.)
. Technology and development in underdeveloped agrarian economies (11pp.)
. Approach towards non-formal education (9pp.)
. Amulya Kumar N. Reddy, Appropriate technology (22pp.); Mere popularization of science or democratization of innovation? (3pp.)
. Gouri Peda Dutta, Future pattern of undergraduate medical education in India (9pp.)
. T. Vijayendra and M.L. Sharma, Introducing Sokhodeora Community Health Programme (10pp.)
. K.S. Jagadish, Rama Prasad and Amulya Kumar N. Reddy, Astra (21pp.)
. Shramik Sanghtana, Dhulia District, Maharashtra (4pp.)
. Sastra Sahitya Parishad, III-Bombay: A critical review (6pp.)
. Ripples and Repercussions (17pp.)
. Madhya Pradesh, The story of science in Hoshangabad (2pp.)
. Scientific Workers' Forum (West Bengal) (2pp.)
. Centre of science for villages (Wardha) (6pp.)
. Gonoshasthaya Kendra People's Health Centre, Dacca, Bangladesh (5pp.)
. Science Education Group (Bombay) (6pp.)
. Samajwadi Prabodhini (Kolhapur) (4pp.)
. Gram Vikas Mandal (Belgium) (13pp.)
. Vigyan Shiksha Kendra (Atarra, UP) (8pp.)
. An introduction to "Vikshan" (Calcutta) (3pp.)

Meeting:

The All India Convention of People's Science Movements took place at Trivandrum, Kerala, India, on 10-12 November 1978.
"SOMEBODY WANTS TO DEVELOP ME"

András Biró
Coyoacan, México 21, D.F., México

The report is based on a series of dialogues with a view to making peasant voices in Mexico heard on their own perception of their present situation and preferred future. It attempts to identify alternative ways of communication in which the voice from below can express itself – thus identifying forms and modes of participation, execution and control in another development.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT HOUSING - ITS PART IN ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT

John F.C. Turner
5 Dryden Street
London WC2E 9NW, England

This paper summarizes the policy implications of an approach to housing described in the author's most recent publications. It identifies some basic principles and some general practices for housing action by people in their local communities, by those in positions of legislative or administrative influence who can support local action, and by those who can mediate between the other two. Recipes are not offered, only contributions to a clearer understanding of the ingredients in order to see more clearly what should and can be done, whatever the local conditions.

Meeting:
A brainstorming session took place at Nyon on 29-30 January 1979 on 'Habitat in the Development Strategy for the 1980s and beyond'. Participants were Jacques Bughicourt, ENDA, Dakar; Immita Cornaz, Switzerland; Jorge Hardoy, Argentina, International Institute for Environment and Development, London; Ignacy Sachs; Peter Stead, AHAS, London; Eduardo Terrazas, Mexico; John Turner; Jorge Wilheim, Brazil.

STRATEGIES OF IMPLEMENTATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN INDIA

T.K. Moulik
Ahmedabad 380 015, India

In order to achieve people's development as a major objective of rural development programmes, structural shifts supported by a dialogical process of total mobilization of the rural people, suitable to the ecological and technological reality, are necessary. Based on this hypothesis, policy-makers need to understand three basic issues: (a) prevailing objective conditions, (b) the goals and objectives, and (c) how, when, what kind and by whom, the rural development programmes should be implemented to achieve the goals and objectives.
AN ASIAN PANORAMA OF PEASANT OPPRESSION

Baljit Malik
4A Bhagwan Dass Road
New Delhi 110 011, India

There is now ample evidence to show that cooperatives, "panchayats", community development programmes and other such institutions have not been successful as instruments for tackling the poverty of the poorest classes. The dilemmas of such peasant organisations in Asia are examined, and policies for successful implementation proposed.

LAW AND LEGAL RESOURCES IN THE MOBILIZATION OF THE RURAL POOR FOR SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT

International Center for Law in Development (ICLD)
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017, USA

On the basis of experience in rural India and the Philippines the keys to access to law for the rural poor are demonstrated - civic education, collective advocacy, and building a legal dimension into their self-help and participatory organizations.

Available from IFDA and ICLD:

. Law in the mobilization and participatory organization of the rural poor: The Kagawasan case (Philippines)(72pp.)
. Legal resource needs of the rural poor (9pp.)
Upendra Baxi, Notes on the relevance of legal resources for participatory organizations of the rural poor: The case of the Chipko movements (16pp. + annex - Chipko movement, Uttar Pradesh (37pp.))

Popular justice, participatory development and power politics: The Lok Adalat (Gujarat) turmoil (31pp.)

The development of legal resources for and within participatory organizations of the rural poor (12pp.)

Law in the mobilization and participatory organization of the rural poor for self-reliant development (overall project description) (3pp.)

Law and resource distribution: A field for research and policy analysis in law and development (71pp. + xvpp. + 10pp.)

Another development in law (18pp.)

Available from the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation:

Yash Ghai, 'Law and another development', Development Dialogue (1978:2) (pp.109-133)

'Research priorities for another development in law', ibid. (pp.134-142)

Meetings:

A preparatory meeting was held in Brighton (Sussex, U.K.) national dialogues were organized in Bombay (India) and in Manila (Philippines); a final meeting was held in Geneva (Switzerland)

A BETTER QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE SHOULD BE ACCESSIBLE TO ALL

Berit Härd
Lindekulslegatan 5
416 78 Göteborg, Sweden

The quality of working life has been improved in two large Swedish firms through workers' participation in industrial management, through job rotation, increased responsibility of workers and reduction of technology-induced monotony. Interviews with workers and management confirm that these innovations have been successful.

RANGPUR SELF-RELIANT MOVEMENT IN BANGLADESH

Mohsin Ali
G.P.O. Box 404
Dacca 2, Bangladesh

A documentary and analytical report on the Rangpur Self-Reliant Movement in Bangladesh on basic needs/self-reliance strategies.
Available from IFDA:

- Mohsin Ali, Rangpur Self-Reliant Movement in Bangladesh (35pp.)
- Mohsin Ali, An evaluation report on Shawnirvar villages of Rangpur District (32pp.)

- BUILDING BLOCKS FOR AMERICAN RESTRUCTURING

Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives
2000 P. Street, N.W.
Suite 515
Washington, D.C. 20036, USA

There are, active in the USA, a number of groups ranging from consumer groups to neighbourhood organisations, worker participation efforts and many others who are beginning to evolve what are now called "elements" or a "mosaic" which suggests the beginnings of a new direction. A careful and well-organized process of dialogue and discussions with these groups, leading in the direction of clarifying and making explicit what is already implicit - a new future of alternative directions discussed in terms of longer-term change in the USA.

- DECENTRALIZATION AND SELF-RELIANCE IN AN AGRARIAN ECONOMY

Amit Bhaduri
Centre for Economic Studies and Planning
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi 110 057, India

An exploration of the economic and political experiences of agricultural cooperation in North Vietnam. Setting these experiences in a larger political perspective to consider questions of fundamental importance, such as to what extent agricultural cooperation is linked to a particular political system.

See also:
- Lan Phuong, 'Agricultural cooperatives in Vietnam - which lessons to draw'
  IFDA Dossier 7
- D.D. Narula, Comments on above, IFDA Dossier 11.

- LA COMMERCIALISATION DES PRODUITS AGRICOLES, FACTEUR DU DÉVELOPPEMENT RURAL

Florentin Agoua
Caisse nationale du crédit agricole
B.P. 999
Cotonou, République démocratique du Bénin

Analyse d'un programme d'alphabetisation rural combiné avec la mise sur pied de coopératives rurales basées sur la participation populaire et entraînant une commercialisation graduelle des produits agricoles.
Disponible auprès de l'auteur:

- D'une agriculture de traite (étude du Centre d'action régionale pour le développement rural - CARDER)

**CAN THEY DO IT? PARTICIPATION OF NGOs OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES IN NIEO-ORIENTED PROJECTS**

J.S. Szuszkiewicz
D 1/31 Vasant Vihar
New Delhi, India

The study (using India for a pilot project) examines to what extent national NGOs in Third World countries are prepared and in a position to form part of a general drive to create the conditions of action.

**OÙ EN EST L'ANIMATION FÉMININE EN AFRIQUE?**

Association des femmes africaines pour la recherche sur le développement (AFARD)
B.P. 11007, CD Annexe
Dakar, Sénégal

Cette synthèse d'une série d'évaluations de l'animation féminine en Côte d'Ivoire, Maroc, Sénégal, Tanzanie et Zambie examine notamment le contexte dans lequel l'animation a été conçue, le genre de projets, l'origine de la démarche, le financement et les difficultés rencontrées dans leur mise en oeuvre. Sa conclusion est que les programmes de développement féminin doivent être intégrés aux plans nationaux, répondre aux besoins réels des femmes africaines, reposant sur une recherche sérieuse et faire l'objet d'une évaluation permanente avec la participation des intéressées, éviter la dépendance à l'égard du financement ou d'une direction extérieure, encourager les échanges entre pays et à l'intérieur des pays, et assurer la formation des cadres locaux.

Disponible auprès de l'AFARD ou de la FIPAD:

- Aminata Mbengue, Evaluation de l'animation féminine au Sénégal (10pp.)
- Freda U. Chale and Generose H. Ngonyani, Report on a survey of cooperative income-generating projects for women and its impact on the welfare of children and the family (Tanzania) (37pp.)
- Malika El Beghiti, La promotion féminine au Maroc (22pp.)
- Aminata Traoré, Les projets féminins en Côte d'Ivoire (8pp.)
- Maud Shimwya Yi Muntemba, Women in agricultural change in the railway region of Zambia - Dispossession and counter-strategies, 1930-1970 (22pp.)
• SMALL FISHERMEN IN ASEAN COUNTRIES

Institut Masyarakat
1 Tingkat Mayang Pasir
Bandar Bayan Baru
Penang, Malaysia

This report is a spin-off from an on-going process which, through collective
action, is attempting to improve the conditions of the life of over one
million small fishermen in the ASEAN countries. Small fishermen, through
interaction among themselves, have succeeded in organizing pressure-generating
groups and organizations, locally and regionally.

Not yet published in IFDA Dossier:

. Khor Kok Peng, Value for people: The potential role of a consumer movement
in the Third World.

• COMMUNALIST SOCIETY: SOME PRINCIPLES FOR A POSSIBLE FUTURE

John Friedmann
School of Architecture & Planning
University of California
Los Angeles, CA 90024, USA

Seven guiding principles of a "communalist society" are described as an alter-
native to both capitalism and bureaucratic socialism, which are both losing
the moral authority to prescribe what should be done.

Available from IFDA:

. Selected bibliography on communalist society (6pp.)
. "Surviving in rural Asia: an exhibit", IFDA Dossier 9
**II. PREDOMINANTLY NATIONAL SPACE**

Projects 001; 005.1; 005.2; 028; 031; 033; 035; 047; 051; 052; 054; 057; 066; 070; 074; 078; 079; 082; 083; 090; 093; 094; 098; 101; 103; 105; 107; 114; 117; 119; 121; 123)

- **CHOIX ÉNERGIQUES ET CHOIX DE SOCIÉTÉ**

Jean-Charles Hourcade

Centre international de recherche sur l'environnement et le développement (CIRED)

54 boulevard Raspail

75270 Paris, France

Des études sur les sentiers énergétiques doux dans certains pays industrialisés montrent des voies apparemment techniques à des niveaux très bas de consommation d'énergie, mais négligent l'ampleur des retombées sur la forme même de la société des solutions préconisées et sousestiment les inerties sociales.

Disponibles auprès du CIRED:

Jean-Charles Hourcade, Louis Puiseux et al., Bilan critique sur les sentiers énergétiques doux (98pp.)

- **HOY CHILE ES UNA SOMBRA DE LO QUE FUE: PERSPECTIVAS PARA OTRO DESARROLLO**

Juan Somavia y Enrique Ponce de León

Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET)

Apartado 85-025

México 20, D.F., México

El informe es una síntesis de reflexión múltiple de personas y grupos dentro y fuera de Chile sobre la posibilidad y el contenido de otro desarrollo partiendo de la actual realidad nacional chilena. Chile, estado que fue democrático, ya no lo es. El nuevo contexto determina el pensamiento y la acción en torno a las condiciones necesarias para otro desarrollo en el país. El informe propone cuatro grandes procesos necesarios para lograr la meta deseada: la democratización política – multipartidista que tiende progresivamente a la amplificación de las bases estructurales de la participación política; participación social – el establecimiento de una efectiva autonomía de la organización social frente al estado; renacionalización económica – lo que requiere la formulación de una economía política y no de una pura economía; la renacionalización cultural – elemento principal a la lucha para la democratización y que está a la vanguardia de esta lucha.
Documentos complementarios: Seminario de la Academia de humanismo cristiano, Ismael Valdés Vergara 348, Santiago, Chile:

1. Democracia y orden institucional

  - Francisco Cumplido, Democracia e institucionalidad jurídica (8pp.); Diagnóstico de la democracia político institucional (2pp.); Estado y pluralismo (2pp.); Soberanía y sociedad (4pp.); Democracia económica (1p.)
  - Jorge Molina, Diagnóstico de la democracia político institucional en Chile (11pp.)
  - Patricio Alwin, Observaciones a la relación sobre 'Diagnóstico de la democracia político institucional en Chile', de Don Jorge Molina (3pp.)
  - Angel Flisfich, Carácter del estado (6pp.); Notas adicionales sobre el carácter del estado (8pp.); Pluralismo (12pp.); El costo de la participación (8pp.); Democracia económica y social (6pp.); Documento no. 16 (2pp.)
  - Eugenio Día C., Observaciones a la discusión sobre el diagnóstico (1p.)
  - Jorge Molina y Marcelo Contreras, Estatuto jurídico de los derechos humanos y su protección eficaz (3pp.); Democracia económica (6pp.)
  - Resumen de concordancias y discordancias (7pp.)

2. Democracia y orden económico

  - Informe de la Comisión de democracia y orden económico (15pp.)
  - Humberto Vega, Economía y derechos humanos (6pp.); Democracia y desarrollo (6pp.)
  - Diego Portales, Los empresarios y los modelos de desarrollo en Chile (2pp.); Las políticas redistributivas y su compatibilización con el crecimiento (3pp.); Proceso de democratización y crecimiento: hipótesis y perspectivas (3pp.)
  - Nicolás Fláno, Proceso y mecanismos de concentración (8pp.)
  - Hugo Lavados, Distribución del ingreso, empleo y remuneraciones (29pp.)

3. Democracia y transición

  - Claudio Orrego, Los problemas del tránsito de una sociedad autoritaria a una democrática (7pp.); Requisitos de legitimidad de un proceso de transición (3pp.); Gobierno militar y crisis política (12pp.)
  - ¿Cómo crear un espacio político que haga posible la transición? (16pp.)
  - El tránsito hacia la democracia (14pp.)
  - Ignacio Balbotín, Diagnostico. (Esquema) (6pp.)
  - Augusto Vargas, Transición (6pp.)
  - Esquema adicional (4pp.)
  - Situación y perspectivas de evolución de la política chilena en 1978 (10pp.)
4. Democracia y fuerzas sociales
   - Manuel Antonio Garretón, Informe (7pp.)

5. Democracia y comunicación
   - Fernando Reyes Matta, Democracia, comunicación alternativa y desarrollo (23pp.)

6. Anexo
   - Manuel Antonio Garretón, Problemática socio-política del otro desarrollo: El caso chileno (75pp.)

PERÚ Y EL OTRO DESARROLLO

Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo (DESCO) Documentos FIPAD 6
Avenida Salaverry 1945
Lima 14, Perú

El proyecto, dado la realidad de la sociedad peruana, intenta un análisis del significado de otro desarrollo en ese país; otro desarrollo visto como el único 'proyecto nacional' viable para los países de Latinoamérica y una alternativa al 'proyecto transnacional'.

Documentos a disposición en DESCO:
- DESCO, Perú y el otro desarrollo, Informe global, Versión preliminar (119pp.)
- Teobaldo Pinzas, Alimentación y otro desarrollo (31pp.)
- Adolfo Córdova V., Política de asentamientos humanos y vivienda (112pp.)
- David Tejada, Salud y estilos de desarrollo en el Perú: Experiencia última y propuestas alternativas (51pp.)
- Raúl Vargas Vega, Educación y otro desarrollo (80pp.)
- Raúl Gonzales, El empleo en el otro desarrollo (36pp.)
- Rachel Hertenberg W., La tecnología en el otro desarrollo (20pp.)
- C.H. Cabrera, El problema de la acumulación en el otro desarrollo (29pp.)
- Arnaldo Rondón, Estructura productiva y necesidades básicas (61pp.)
- Luis Cruz Gavilan, Desarrollo rural y otro desarrollo (73pp.)
- Julio Velarde F., El otro desarrollo frente al orden económico internacional (24pp.)
- César Arias Quincot, Aspectos de política internacional en el otro desarrollo (30pp.)
- Guillermo Dávila Rosazza, Relaciones sociales de producción en otro desarrollo (35pp.)
Alternative Scenarios of the Brazilian Future

Paul I. Singer
Centro Brasileiro de Analise e Planejamento (CEBRAP)
Alameda Campinas 463
CEP 01404 Sao Paulo, Brazil

Alternative scenarios based on explicit or implicit areas of significant social forces, already present in political spectrum or which may rise during the next decade. A look at the scenarios of transition indicating which policies will be necessary and discussing their viability.

Available (in Portuguese) from CEBRAP:

- Paul I. Singer, O que e socialismo (43pp.)
- Pablo Rieznik, O problema das relaçoes externas: Elementos para um debate (49pp.)


Trond Bergh, Tore J. Hanisch, Even Lange, Helge Pharo
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
Bygdøy Allée 3
Oslo 2, Norway

Liberal economies in an egalitarian society, with strong state acting both to open the economy and to promote social equality. Two features of relevance to present-day peripheral development: ability to integrate imported technology and state control over access to natural resources.

(For information about full study to be published in Norwegian and English, write to Even Lange, Bedriftshistoriksenter, Norsk Privatarkivinstitut, Folke Bernadottes vei 21, Kringsjå, Oslo 8, Norway)
AN ALTERNATIVE FUTURE FOR MALTA

Grupp Alternattivi

c/o Joe Friggieri
"El Ayoun", St. Mary Street
San Pawl Tat-Targa, Malta

Not yet published
P.033

Derived in large part from a series of topical dossiers in the vernacular periodical Ililm, and related discussion groups, a scenario of a dialogue society looks for ways out of present cultural and economic dependence and environmental destruction.

ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Gilberto C. Gallopín

Fundación Bariloche
Casilla de Correo 138
8400 San Carlos de Bariloche
Prov. de Rio Negro, Argentina

IFDA Dossier 10
(summary only)
P.035

The project

. developed conceptual framework within which alternative development and technological strategies may be considered in relation to the environment;

. identified small set of key situations in which the interactions between environment, technology and development are amenable to operational analysis and to an analysis of major existing mathematical models dealing with these interactions;

. appraised existing environmental impact-assessment methodologies and techniques from the point of view of their capability to deal with generalized impacts of technology and development.

Available from Fundación Bariloche or IFDA:

. Gilberto C. Gallopín, Environment and development strategies (13pp.); The biological concept of environment (76pp.); The abstract concept of environment (23pp.); Spatial dimensions of the development/Environment inter-relations, a case study-exploration (17pp.); Environment and styles of development: Some conceptual and methodological issues (118pp.)

. Gilberto C. Gallopín and Ethel Breerton, Quotations concerning environment and some related concepts in ecology (78pp.)

. Gilberto C. Gallopín et al., Evaluación del impacto ambiental de la producción rural de la prov. del Chaco (76pp.)

. Carlos Adolfo Barrera et al., Economía y ambiente, análisis del subsistema regional chaqueño (48pp.)

. Nélida Gazia et al., Los macrosistemas ambientales de la provincia del Chaco (53pp. + graphs and maps)
Full employment cannot be recreated in Western industrialized countries due, for instance, to modern technology; nor should it be recreated because it leads to excesses of consumerism, preemption of Third World development and threatens freedom. A more humane organization of society is proposed based on a synthesis of the best sides of socialism and capitalism.

Available from the author:


Published book:

. Gunnar Adler-Karlsson, Nej til fuld beskæftigelse, ja til materiel grundtryghed (København: Erling Olsens Forlag, 1977)

While hard power systems, notably neo-fascism, are widespread in the Third World, the exogenous transformation of Third World societies by modern technology and integration in the international capitalist market tends to radicalize traditional forces of rebellion and create conditions for revolution.

Available from IPS or IFDA:

. Eqbal Ahmed, Post-colonial systems of power (typology + bibliography)(12pp.);
  From potato sack to potato mash (13pp.); The neo-fascist state: Notes on the pathology of power in the Third World (12pp.)

Another development for Greece would be based on self-reliant culture, liberating education and an increasing allocation of time and resources to communal activity. First steps include application of progressive laws and plans, administrative decentralisation and imposition by the state of social investment criteria.
Available from Stelios Kafandaris or IFDA:

- Michalis Papayannakis, Selected statistics for the Greek economy (11pp.)
- Stelios Kafandaris, Another development scrapbook for Greece (20pp.)
- Anne Frangoudaki, Le problème de la mobilité sociale par l'école en Grèce (21pp.)
- Several articles/papers (in Greek) are also available from the editor.

**RURAL POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES IN SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA: SOME POLICY ISSUES**

Ajit K. Ghose and Keith Griffin
Queen Elizabeth House
21 St. Giles
Oxford OX1 3LA, England

IFDA Dossier 9
P.054

The study argues that the increase in the incidence of rural poverty in non-socialist Asia is primarily due to the slower rate of growth of food supply relative to the rate of growth in non-agricultural activities. A solution to the problem of rural poverty lies through the "collective option" for peasant agriculture.

Available from authors or IFDA:

- Full report (30pp.)

**CAN SWEDEN BE SHRUNK?**

Nordal Akerman
3, Gerdagatan
223 62 Lund, Sweden

IFDA Dossier 7
P.057

The obstacles against widely-felt political and economic needs for change toward another Sweden are analysed, and proposals are made for change in the economy, energy, agriculture, urban management and popular participation at all levels.

Available from Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation:

- Nordal Akerman, 'Can Sweden be shrunk?' Development Dialogue (1972:2) (pp.71-114)
- Translation into Swedish in preparation.

**Meetings:**

Seminar on Trends and Alternatives in the Development of Nordic Countries (Skokloster, Sweden, 11-15 June 1979)
ANOTHER BRITAIN

James Robertson
7 St. Ann's Villas
London W11 4RU, England

A call for a feasibility study, for social action and a scenario for transition from industrialism in Britain, and from the present path to super-industrialism to a more decentralized, more human and self-reliant pattern of development.

Available from the author:

. James Robertson, Self-development - A key concept for persons and communities in the post-industrial transition (in preparation)

Meeting:
'Another Britain - outline of an alternative future for the United Kingdom' (London, 14 December 1978), to discuss the draft feasibility study.

ALTERNATIVAS PARA EL DESARROLLO DE VENEZUELA

Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Latinoamericana (CEREL)
Apartado 68369
Caracas 106, Venezuela

Junto con el Consejo Venezolano para la Investigación Científica y Tecnológica (CONICIT) y el Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Latinoamericana (CEREL), FIPAD organizó un seminario sobre alternativas de desarrollo para la nueva Venezuela. La sesión (septiembre de 1978) puso el énfasis en un análisis de la situación y tendencias presentes tanto como a una primera aproximación a un proyecto de sociedad para los años 80 y en adelante. La segunda sesión fijará la atención en estrategias y fuerzas sociales. Los participantes comprenden alrededor de 20 "agentes del cambio social" nacionales y, en cada sesión, 6 a 8 personas del extranjero, con experiencia en transformación social.

Documentos a disposición en CEREL:
. Perspectiva Democratica, Vol.1, no.1, Marzo-Abril 1979

UN AUTRE DÉVELOPPEMENT RURAL

Jacques Chonchol
365, rue de Vaugirard
Bâtiment B
75015 Paris, France

Maison des sciences de l'homme
54 bd. Raspail
75270 Paris, France
Le problème de l'alimentation dans le Tiers Monde est politique; il n'appelle pas des solutions exclusivement productivistes mais un développement rural intégré et diversifié, équivalent à un transfert de pouvoir économique et politique en faveur des masses rurales.

Documents publiés dans le Dossier FIPAD 13
- Jacques Chonchol, 'L'alimentation mondiale: L'échec des solutions productivistes'
- Jacques Chonchol et Graciela Schneier, 'Pour un autre développement rural'

Disponible auprès de la FIPAD ou de l'auteur:
- Pour des nouvelles stratégies de développement rural (25pp.)
- New rural development strategies (18pp.)
- Idées essentielles d'une documentation d'appui / Summaries of the supporting material (38pp./35pp.)
- Bibliographie sélectionnée (7pp.)

Séminaire:
Tenu au siège de l'UNESCO à Paris, les 21-22 mai 1979, sous les auspices de la Maison des sciences de l'homme et de la FIPAD (liste des participants au page 125 du Dossier FIPAD 13).

Ethnic diversity and national integration: The Vietnamese experience
Lan Phuong P.078
32, Quai Gustave Ador
CH-1207 Genève, Switzerland

Ethnic diversity is a universal fact which, by generating tensions and conflicts, leads to a questioning of the ethical and functional validity of the modern nation-state as an appropriate and viable form of social organization. The study undertakes a critical analysis of the Vietnamese strategy and its apparent success in achieving national integration in spite of ethnic contradictions.

Available from IFDA:
- Lan Phuong, Ethnic minorities and the nationality policy in Northern Vietnam (14pp.)
- A comprehensive bibliography (13pp.)
India now has the experience of planned economic development for about 25 years, within the framework of parliamentary democracy. Her record of achievement, failure and evolution deserve a close scrutiny for drawing conclusion for the future of India. An attempt is made at (a) identifying the major components of her development strategy, (b) analysing the actual performance of this strategy, (c) assessing the current situation, and (d) discerning, to the extent feasible, the contours of the future trends.

Available from author:
. Ranjit Sau, India's development strategy - crisis and conflict (173pp.) (to be published).

VERS LA DÉMYSTIFICATION DE LA NOUVELLE MAGIE BLANCHE:
LE CAS DE L'INDUSTRIE ZAÏROISE DU CUIVRE

Ilunga Ilunkamba
Faculté des sciences économiques
Université nationale
B.P. 765
Kinshasa XI, Zaïre

Les leçons principales de la nationalisation de l'industrie du cuivre au Zaïre sont les suivantes: la propriété ne résoud pas tout, la dépendance de l'étranger continuant à s'exercer au travers de la technologie, du personnel expatrié, de la transformation de la matière première et de sa commercialisation. Seul le contrôle réel de ces facteurs permettra de réinvestir les profits de l'industrie dans l'économie nationale.

Disponible auprès de la FIPAD:
. Ilunga Ilunkamba, Propriété publique et conventions de gestion dans l'industrie du cuivre au Zaïre (Université nationale du Zaïre, 1978)(thèse) (329pp.)

L'AUTOGESTION EN FRANCE? ESQUISES ET FIGURES POSSIBLES

Olivier Corpet
Centre international de coordination des recherches sur l'autogestion (CICRA)
54 bd. Raspail
75270 Paris, France
Trois scénarios possibles pour le développement de l'autogestion en France: un moyen de mieux faire fonctionner le système existant, un mécanisme de restructuration verticale vers le socialisme, et - scénario optimal - un processus spontané de transformation sociale partant de la base.

Disponible auprès de l'auteur:
. Texte complet de l'étude.

• Free trade - no hope for the poor in Brazil

Kurt Rudolf Mirow
Caixa Postal 243, CEP 20000
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

The virtually complete destruction of endogenous Brazilian industry, technology and decentralized agriculture is described as a recent phenomenon and linked to the rise in the transnational and cartellized power of Atlantic capitalism.

• Uruguay: un modelo alternativo de desarrollo

Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana (CLAEH)
Cerrito 475, 1er. piso
Montevideo, Uruguay

El CLAEH organizó en junio de 1979 una serie de jornadas para promover el diálogo sobre alternativas de desarrollo en Uruguay y sobre una estrategía de las Naciones Unidas para el desarrollo en los años 80 - desde una óptica nacional.

Documento a disposición en FIPAD y CLAEH:
. Cr. Juan Young Casaravilla, Uruguay: Un modelo alternativo de desarrollo (9pp.)

Documento a disposición en CLAEH:
. Cronica, 'Jornadas sobre alternativas de desarrollo', CLAEH publicación trimestral (no.11, Julio-Setiembre 1979)(pp.95-102)

• America as a developing country

Richard A. Falk
Center for International Studies
Princeton University
Corwin Hall (110)
Princeton, N.J. 08540, USA

IFDA Dossier 14
(Short note)
Available from Richard Falk:

- Richard Falk, Introduction (6pp.);
- Katherine N. Hughes, Requiem for an era (14pp.);
- Faye Kessin, America as a developing country: Fears and hopes for the future (14pp.);
- Michele Kahane, America's fears and hopes for the future (17pp.);
- Debra Livingston, Fears and hopes for the future (17pp.);
- Katherine M. Raisz, Global transformation: A vision and a strategy for first world activists (12pp.);
- Susan C. Wolling, America's future transformation (11pp.);
- Jorge Castro, America as a developing country: 1-2-3 go!! (11pp.);
- Jonathan Fox, Fears and hopes for the struggle: Whose American identity? (14pp.);
- Molly Coxe, When Sally from Baroona opens a new can of tuna (13pp.);
- John S. Cornell, Internationalism: The basis for a new world political order (18pp.)

• ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT FOR JAPAN

Nishikawa Jun
Waseda University
5-4 Asagaya-kita, 4-chome
Suginami-ku
Tokyo 166, Japan

The era of Japanese growth which destroyed the environment and agriculture, and which caused brutal structural changes both domestically and abroad, is coming to an end. The transition to another Japan is outlined by a policy programme based on balance between agriculture and industry, decentralisation and popular participation, another educational structure, rights for minorities and the taming of the consumer society.

Available from Nishikawa Jun:

- Daisan Sekai no Kōzō to Dōtai (The structure and dynamics of the Third World) (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron-sha, 1977)
- Fukakutei Jidai no Sentaku (The option in the age of uncertainty) (Tokyo: Daiyamondo-sha, 1978)

'The strategy of Japanese multinationals and South-east Asia', paper presented to the UNITAR Conference on Alternative Development, Strategies and the Future of Asia (New Delhi, 11-17 March 1980)


Krzystof Herbst

c/o CIRED
54 bd. Raspail
75270 Paris, France

The paper describes the problems of social development in the prognosis of the Committee 'Poland 2000' which, as a convenient platform for dialogue about the present in terms of future development, should increasingly focus on the needs and aims of cultural development and subordinate economic development to these needs and aims.

Available from CIRED or IFDA:
(1) same title (in Polish) (100pp.)
(2) same title (in English) (30pp.) - selected translations of (1)
(3) same title (in English) (19pp.) - excerpts from (2).

- REDUIRE LA SURCONSOMMATION

Philippe d'Iribarne

Centre de recherche sur le bien-être (CEREBE)
140 rue du Chevaleret
75013 Paris, France

Plusieurs suggestions sont présentées qui permettraient de contrôler les mécanismes économiques et sociaux qui poussent à la surconsommation et au gaspillage dans les pays industrialisés.

Disponibles auprès de la FIPAD:
. Philippe d'Iribarne, Les déterminants de la surconsommation (24pp.);
. Un modèle de consommation plus efficace (7pp.)

- EMPLOYMENT IN WESTERN GERMANY: OPTIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NORTH-SOUTH PROBLÉMATIQUE

Willy Bierter

Zentrum für praxisbezogene und interdisziplinäre Forschung
Schwengistrasse 12
4438 Langenbruck BL, Switzerland
Alternative employment strategies are needed which must be considered in terms of a complete transformation of the industrial production system, of development of non-market activities and of North-South relations, because conventional strategies no longer lead to full employment due to demand saturation, technological development and similar structural problems in other industrialised countries.

Available from IFDA:
. Annex: 9 statistical supporting tables to summary paper (9pp.)

* Toward Alternative Tourism in Kenya *

S.E. Migot-Adholla  
Institute for Development Studies  
University of Nairobi  
P.O. Box 30197  
Nairobi, Kenya

The study demonstrates the declining importance of tourism as a foreign exchange earner, the transnationalisation and increasing negative cultural impact of mass tourism. Based on the evolution of tourism in Kenya, an attempt is made to draw up alternative conclusions for tourism policies.

* 'Opening up' to the Outside World and Its Effect on the National Economy: the Case of Chile *

J.E. Herrera and J. Morales  
Corporación de Investigaciones Económicas para Latinoamérica (CIEPLAN)  
Casilla de Corre 16496  
Santiago, Chile

From 'development' policies emphasizing industrial growth and promoting a predominant and dynamic role for the state - including a certain control of the external sector of the economy and a relative concern for the distribution of incomes - certain Latin American countries have, in the last years, drifted into a radically different perspective. The play of free market forces became the central element of the economy and a tendency emerged to eliminate any state intervention. The policy sustaining these new national experiments is characterized by an 'opening to the exterior' both in trade and in the flow of capital. The authors examine the evolution of the Chilean economy inside such a model and the consequences of the opening to foreign investment.

Available from CIEPLAN or IFDA:
. J.E. Herrera and J. Morales, La inversión financiera externa en los modelos de desarrollo hacia afuera: El caso de Chile, 1974-1978 (65pp.)
POLITICAL STABILITY AS A BASIS FOR ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA

Patrick Masette Kuuya
Economic Research Bureau
University of Dar es Salaam
P.O. Box 35096
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

In the wake of the collapse of the Amin dictatorship, restoration of personal security and essential supplies and services are prerequisites for the establishment of a new political order by a popularly-elected government. The nature of this political order must be worked out by the Ugandans themselves.

CHANGING THE POSITION OF AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY:
THE CASE OF JAMAICA

Byron Blake and Kenneth Hall
c/o CARICOM Secretariat
Georgetown, Guyana

In the transition from an underdeveloped capitalist country, it has been generally recommended that a small country pursues a variety of internal policies designed to change the power relations, the production relations, and the consumption and production patterns in a manner which harmonises these; internalise the locus of decision-making of pivotal or key issues; diversify economic and trading relations, and provide for the basic needs of the masses of its population. Jamaica has, since its declaration to develop a democratic socialist economy in 1974, been active in fashioning and implementing the recommended policies and strategies at both the national and the international levels. The paper examines the results of such policies.

AT THE MERCY OF THE WAVES: SMALL ISLAND COUNTRIES IN A NEW INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Edward Dommen

100 chemin de Mollies
1293 Bellevue (GE), Switzerland

The study argues that in small island countries special circumstances call for responses by themselves and by the rest of the world often quite different from the usual ones. It examines what distinguishes island countries from continental countries, their economic circumstances, and possible development strategies.

Available from IFDA:
. Edward Dommen, (same title), abstract (11pp.)

Available from the author:
. Some distinguishing characteristics of islands.
DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES: SOME CANADIAN SIGNPOSTS

Cathy Starrs
Room 600, 71 Bank Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 5N2, Canada

Based on the comprehensive inventory of alternative development movements and initiatives, the conclusion is drawn that these movements and initiatives currently underway in Canada have a real potential to affect long-term change toward another Canada.

Available from Environment Canada, Ottawa, Ontario K1A OH3, Canada:

. Exploring alternatives: Canada 1979 - an illustrative inventory into "another kind of development" for Canada (104pp.)

Meetings:
An advisory panel met regularly during the inventory and interpretation phases of this project. Members of the advisory panel were: Charles Jeanneret, Vice Dean of Research, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ottawa; R.W. Durie, Senior Policy Advisor (Energy & Development), Environment Canada and Project Authority for the inventory phase; H.F. Fletcher, Guelph-Western Research; R.W. Jackson, Centre for International Affairs, Carleton University and Jonathan Cloud of the Alternative Growth Institute.
III. PREDOMINANTLY THIRD WORLD SPACE

(Projects 012; 016; 017; 018; 022; 023; 024; 027; 037; 045.2; 045.3; 055; 062; 071; 080; 084; 087; 099; 112; 113; 118; 120)

DEVELOPMENT AND DEBT

Centre international pour le développement (CID)  IFDA Dossiers 14 & 16
165, avenue Charles de Gaulle
92200 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France

A comprehensive analysis of the causes of indebtedness of Third World countries, the means by which these countries obtain access to both private and IMF credits, and the terms and costs associated with such credits, along with policy prescriptions for change.

Available from CID:

. Georges Corm, The indebtedness of the developing countries: Origin and mechanisms (93pp.)
. Abdelkader Sid-Ahmed, The conditionality of drawings on the IMF (82pp.)
. Samuel Lichtenstein and José Quijanó, The external indebtedness of the developing countries to international private banks (80pp.)
. Gonzalo D. Martner, Multinational debt re-negotiation experiences (56pp. + 20pp. tables and 4pp. annex)

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR IMPROVING THE STRUCTURE OF WORLD TRADE IN PRIMARY COMMODITIES

Third World Forum, Asian Regional Office  IFDA Dossier 15
C/o Marga Institute
P.O. Box 601
Colombo 5, Sri Lanka

Empirical studies on commodities of major interest to the Third World to identify salient characteristics in the structure of their international markets. The results of the individual studies have been synthesized to draw relevant policy conclusions for action by commodity producing countries.

Available from the Third World Forum or IFDA:

- Occasional Paper Series:
  - Egyptian Institute of National Planning, Third World countries in the international cotton economy, (OP no. 6) (61pp.)
  - Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, World trade in a primary commodity: The case of jute (OP no. 7) (83pp.)
- Malaysian Rubber Research and Development Board, World trade in natural rubber (OP no. 7)(106pp.)
- D.H.N. Alleyne, The international sugar industry and the Third World (OP no. 9)(125pp.)
- Tetteh A. Kofi, World trade in cocoa (OP no. 10)(106pp.)
- Carlos Fortín, The political economy of the world copper industry (136pp.);
  Summary report of the empirical commodity studies (43pp.)
- Marga Institute, An empirical study of tea (73pp.)

ARAB INDUSTRIALIZATION STRATEGY BASED ON SELF-RELIANCE AND SATISFACTION OF BASIC NEEDS

Third World Forum
P.O. Box 43, Orman
Cairo, Egypt

IFDA Dossier 16
P.017

The project clarifies the concept of basic needs, and considers its economic feasibility, that is, giving attention not solely to social or political considerations. The starting point is that a strategy oriented towards the satisfaction of basic needs will broaden the local market and offer greater grounds for collective self-reliance.

Paper published in IFDA Dossier 16:
- Isma'il-Sabri Abdalla, 'Arab industrialization strategy based on self-reliance and satisfaction of basic needs' (The concepts and policy conclusions)

Available from the Third World Forum:
- Project description and methodology (9pp.)
- Empirical findings (12pp.)
- Samir Badawi and Salwa El Antary, Securing basic needs of clothing in Arab countries up to the year 2000 (50pp.)
- Yassin Abdallah and Mohamed Aglan, Industrial inputs required for the satisfaction of the basic needs of housing for the Arab citizen in the year 2000 (28pp.+ 10 tables)
- Mostafa el Gabaly, Basic needs of food in Arab countries for the years 1985-2000 (33pp.)

COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE

Enrique Oteiza
P.018

c/o UN Development Programme
Apartado Postal 1969
Caracas, Venezuela
The project consists of up-dating, editing and publication of a volume on collective self-reliance. The publication will contain mostly papers presented to a Third World Forum seminar in Lima on collective self-reliance. However, other papers are being included to make the volume comprehensive in its scope and thereby constitute a standard reference work on the subject.

**NEWSLETTER OF THE THIRD WORLD FORUM**

Leelananda de Silva  
Resident Representative, Third World Forum  
c/o IFDA  
2 Place du Marché  
CH-1260 Nyon, Switzerland

The Newsletter of the Third World Forum which, apart from news on Forum activities, is primarily a journal on collective self-reliance.

Available from TWF or IFDA:  
Newsletter nos. 3, 4 and 5

**TECHNICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC NEGOTIATIONS**

Third World Forum  
c/o IFDA, Nyon

The report examines the feasibility of establishing a Third World secretariat and concludes that a technical support unit to assist the Group of 77 in North-South negotiations be located in Geneva. The annual estimated cost is US$1.5 million and is considered the more practical of several options.

Report available from Third World Forum or IFDA:  
Kenneth D. Hall, The Group of 77: Strengthening its negotiating capacity,  
with a note from Ismaill-Sabri Abdalla (Third World Forum Occasional Paper no. 11, 1979) (39pp.)

**INDUSTRIALIZATION AS PART OF A SELF-RELIANCE STRATEGY**

François Le Guay  
305 East 40th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10016

A policy framework is outlined indicating how the dialogue on world industry could be revitalized and how it could lead to industrialization strategies which are more beneficial for the Third World.

Available from the author:  
François Le Guay, Rent economics and perverse growth (51 + 11pp.)
THE SURPRISES OF DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

F.H. Cardoso
Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento (CEBRAP)
Al Campinas 463-13° Andar
01404 São Paulo, Brazil

The result of several seminars and discussions at CEBRAP; it is at the same time a report on these discussions and an exploratory essay on the theme.

Available from CEBRAP:
. Background papers and a bibliographical dossier.

COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE AS A STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT

Helen O'Neill
Centre for Development Studies
University College, Belfield
Dublin 4, Ireland

Available from the author or IFDA:
. Helen O'Neill, document (same title) (44pp.)

A PROGRAMME OF COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH ON COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT AND COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE IN SOUTH ASIA

Marga Institute
P.O. Box 601
Colombo 5, Sri Lanka

The programme aims to establish a network of research institutions in South Asia to collaborate in studying the prospects for cooperation among South Asian countries in an attempt to strengthen national development efforts and promote collective self-reliance in, among other areas, cooperation in economic development and science and technology.

Available from the Marga Institute
. Godfrey Gunatilleke, Cooperation for development in South Asia: A programme of sub-regional collective self-reliance (policy paper) (24pp.)
. A note on the scope of the project (5pp.)
. A programme of collaborative research on cooperation for development and collective self-reliance in South Asia (21pp.)
. The minutes of the 1st, 2nd (Colombo) and 3rd (Kathmandu) seminars on studies for cooperation in development in South Asia (25 + 14 + 14pp.)
. Research report in two parts on national development strategies and complementarities, prepared by the Marga Institute for the second consultation (50 + 56pp.)

. Progress report on survey of the economy, resources and prospects of South Asia presented to the third consultation (5pp.)

. Review of economic development strategy in Nepal (9pp.)

. Import export structure and trade expansion - Nepal (23pp.)

. Basic needs and alternative development strategy for Nepal (25pp.)

. Cooperation among small nations in Asia in the context of the changing Asian political economy

Marga Institute
P.O. Box 601
Colombo 5, Sri Lanka

On the basis of papers addressing the problems of the changing political economy in Asia and the emergence of major centres of growth and power among different groups of countries, the project identifies feasible strategy for cooperation among small nations in Asia. In a second phase, the programme will examine the forms of cooperation possible among a wider group of small nations, including industrialized countries.

Available from the Marga Institute

. Godfrey Gunatileke, policy paper (14pp.)

. Cooperation among small nations in Asia in the context of the changing Asian political economy (a conceptual framework) (2pp.)

. Third World Studies Programme, University of the Philippines, Prospects and problems of cooperation among small nations in South-east Asia (30pp.)

. N.M. Hussain, Prospects and problems of cooperation among small nations in South Asia (24pp.)

. Nationalized property: overcompensation or expropriation?
A third world perspective

Maurice A. Odle
Director, Institute of Development Studies
University of Guyana
Turkeyen Campus, Box 841
Georgetown, Guyana

Not yet published
P.055

A selective survey of Third World take-overs of foreign investments and the arrangements made for payment of compensation. The author argues that legal, juridical rules alone should not be the criterion in determining compensation, but certain economic criteria must be incorporated in such determination.
Available from the author or IFDA:

- Maurice A. Odle, Expropriating the multinationals on a world scale (204pp.)

**TOWARDS ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA**

Thandika Mkandawire
Council for the Development of Economic & Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA)
P.O. Box 3304
Dakar, Senegal

Socialist development strategies in the independent countries of Southern Africa, based on participatory democracy and mass need-satisfaction, would provide the basis for regional cooperation and for the struggle against minority rule and transnational penetration.

Available from CODESRIA or IFDA:

- ANC paper by Victor Matlou, South Africa: Social production, social deprivation and social emancipation (35pp.)
- Alifeyo Chilivumbo, Alternative strategies for rural development in Malawi (21pp.)
- B.C. Gondwe, Transnationals and liberation in Southern Africa (24pp.)
- Alan Haworth, Dilemmas in the provision of health care
- Mubanga Kashi, The African language as a tool of development
- E.J. Kisanga and G. Mushimbi, Imperialism and the politics of international settlement in Zimbabwe (41pp.)
- Ibbo Mandaza, Imperialism, the Frontline States and the Zimbabwe 'problem' (44pp.)
- Patricia McFadden, The Wiehahn and Rickett Commission: Another mechanism for the oppression and exploitation of black labour in South Africa
- H.P.B. Moshi, Multinational corporations and sanctions in Southern Africa (15pp.)
- S. Mshonga, Agricultural development in Namibia: Present and future possibilities
- Muyunda Mwanalushi, The human factor in the development equation: Some psychological considerations
- Bongani Nsibande, Neocolonial strategies for Southern Africa and the primacy of class struggles
- Kapembe Nsingo, International capital and the dynamics of the political economy of settler capitalism in Southern Africa (24pp.)
Ben Turok, The penalties of Zambia's mixed economy (25pp.)

U.N.C.T.C., Transnational corporations in the strategic minerals of Southern Africa (32pp.)

C.M. Ushewokunze, Economic sanctions: A legal perspective for a true Zimbabwe (33pp.); Some legal issues for the control and maximization of benefits from mineral resources: The Namibian and Zimbabwe cases

Barri Wanji, Conventional models in the strategy for rural transformation and another development for Zambia (43pp.)

Nelson Moyo, An alternative development strategy for Botswana

Meeting:
CODESRIA Conference on "Another Development for Southern Africa" (Lusaka, 3-5 September 1979). (Proceedings to be published.)

**Publication of Documents of the Group of 77**

Karl P. Sauvant

c/o UN Centre on Transnational Corporations
United Nations
New York, NY 10017, USA

The lack of a proper system of documentation has hampered communication between centres of operation of the Group of 77 as well as organizing research into the evolution of ideas within the Group. The publication is intended to bring together all major documents of the Group of 77 in the various sectors of negotiation. An annotated bibliography of available documents will also be provided.

**Industrialization and Domestic Strategies of Development**

Jorge Bertini

Asociación de Economistas del Tercer Mundo
Dirección para America Latina
Ave. del Parque 54
México 20, D.F., México

An examination of alternative strategies for cooperation and the external and internal determinants in the new international division of labour. The strategic alternatives that are able to satisfy the great national economic and social problems.

Available from the author:

Jorge Bertini, Industrialization and domestic strategies of development (8pp.); Recent tendencies of the Latin American industrialization (7pp.)
FROM SUEZ TO PANAMA: ACTION BY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES TO EXERCISE PERMANENT SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATIONAL RESOURCES

Anila Graham
Economic and Development Research Ltd.
116 Seymour Place
London, W.1, England

Despite the obstacles to the achievement of a new international order, Third World countries have made impressive advances in asserting economic sovereignty over their national resources, but ownership by itself does not ensure national control.

Available from the author:
Action by Third World countries to exercise sovereignty over national resources (27pp.) + catalogue of selected post-1945 major nationalizations and joint ventures (90pp.)

ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT AND TRADE POLICIES FOR NEED SATISFACTION IN AFRICA

Kodwo Ewusi
Head, Economics Research Unit, University of Ghana
P.O. Box 74
Legon, Ghana

Available from the author:
Draft report (39pp.)

PRODUCERS-EXPORTERS ASSOCIATIONS OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Gonzalo Martner
c/o United Nations
Dept. of International Economic & Social Affairs
New York, NY 10017, USA

The volume provides a wide-ranging survey of producer associations and their performance in relation to the vagaries of the market for their respective commodities. The potential of producer associations to be catalysts for even more intensive cooperation among the concerned countries is examined and several policy recommendations are made. An appendix contains several key documents on the subject, including the OPEC statutes.

Available from the author or IFDA:
Gonzalo Martner, Producers-Exporters associations of developing countries (188pp.)
El proyecto intenta identificar aquellos instrumentos viables a través de los cuales los países de América Latina, individualmente o colectivamente, pueden hacer efectiva su capacidad de negociación en su posición de importadores.

Documentos a disposición en ILET:

- Fernando Sánchez Albavera, América Latina: Autonomía colectiva y poder de compra internacional (resumen) (10 pp.)
- id., texto completo (70 pp.)

### INVESTIGACIÓN SOBRE LOS SERVICIOS DE CONSULTORIA EN AMÉRICA LATINA

Un examen de tres áreas de importancia fundamental para comprender los problemas en este campo en referencia a los países de América Latina: consultorías transnacionales y sus vínculos con fuentes internacionales de finanzas públicas; el caso del Banco Mundial; actividades de consulta y la relación con el sector público; la experiencia de empresas de consulta locales de carácter privado de tamaño mediano.

Documentos a disposición en ILET:

- Fernando Aguirre Tupper, Las consultorías latinoamericanos y las transnacionales en la ingeniería del sector siderúrgico (104 pp.)
- id., síntesis (9 pp.)
- Keith L. Oberg, World Bank policies and procedures affecting the use of consultants from Third World countries on Bank-approved projects (103 pp.)

### ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE

The potential for economic integration among Third World countries is examined on the basis of past experience and in relation to the theory of custom unions. The author concludes the comprehensive economic integration systems will
necessarily be limited to a few countries with planned economies, but that it is feasible for other Third World countries to design an entire hierarchy of cooperative arrangements to promote collective self-reliance in the Third World.

Available from Third World Forum:

• Full paper published under same title in Third World Forum Occasional Paper no. 4 (120pp.)

• **COLLECTIVE SELF-RELIANCE - THE CASE OF THE CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY (CARICOM)**

Kenneth Hall and Byron Blake

c/o CARICOM Secretariat
Georgetown, Guyana

The issues raised by the record of regional economic integration and the simultaneous attempt to pursue policies of collective self-reliance and the creation of the New International Economic Order suggest the need to re-examine the premises on which existing regional arrangements have been made, their achievements, and the nature of the current problems they are experiencing, and to propose new measures which could achieve the goals and realise the aspirations so frequently enunciated in international and regional fora. The experience of CARICOM was used as a basis for this examination.
IV. PREDOMINANTLY GLOBAL SPACE

(Projects 006; 007; 008; 010; 013; 014; 020; 025; 026; 032; 036; 042; 050; 053; 061; 065; 069; 073; 075; 085; 088; 089; 091; 092; 095; 096; 097; 100; 102; 104; 106; 108; 110; 115)

**EL FUNCIONAMIENTO DE LAS ESTRUCTURAS DE PODER TRANSNACIONAL**

Institute Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET) P.006
Apartado postal 85 025
México 20, D.F., México

Obstáculos para otro desarrollo y el Nuevo Orden Económico Internacional – un análisis de la estructura de poder transnacional.

**Documentos a disposición en ILET:**
(versiones preliminares)

- Juan Somavía, La democratización del poder y el surgimiento de lo transnacional (17pp.); Notas sobre el funcionamiento del sistema internacional (45pp.); Democratización de las comunicaciones: una perspectiva latinoamericana (53pp.)
- Juan Gabriel Valdés, Notas para el análisis político del sistema transnacional (15pp.); Notas metodológicas para el proyecto sobre situaciones de conflicto entre regímenes de cambio y empresas transnacionales (30pp.)
- Isabel Allende, La ideología transnacional: apuntes sobre el pensamiento de los ejecutivos de las empresas transnacionales (55pp.)
- Samuel Lichtensztejn y Edgardo Lifschitz, Impacto de las empresas transnacionales sobre las políticas económicas de América Latina (48pp.)

**ESTRATEGIA INTERNACIONAL DEL DESARROLLO Y COMUNICACIÓN:**
**PERSPECTIVAS PARA LOS AÑOS 80**

ILET
Apartado 85 025
México 20, D.F., México

En la década de los años 80 surge un tema nuevo e inevitable, las comunicaciones, tema que ni la estrategia internacional del desarrollo de la primera, ni de la segunda década consideraron en sus diversas y complejas dimensiones. Los objetivos y las áreas de acción concreta para la próxima década deben incorporarse en políticas de comunicación definidas a nivel nacional, regional e internacional.

**Documentos complementarios**

- Informe del taller de análisis, marzo 1979, versión preliminar (92pp.)
A BALANCE SHEET OF THIRD WORLD-CANADA RELATIONS

The North-South Institute
185, Rideau
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 5X8, Canada

This balance sheet provides a candid analysis of economic relations of Canada with the Third World. Like other industrialized countries, Canada is torn between helping to maintain the global status quo, with its grave imbalances and obstacles to development, and working toward a more equitable reorientation of its relations with the Third World.

Available from the North-South Institute and IFDA:

. Third World-Canada relations: an analytical overview (30pp.)
. Direct foreign investment: the challenge of the transnationals (12pp.)
. Food and agriculture: trade, aid and development (35pp.)
. Trade in manufactures: the Third World, competitor and consumer (28pp.)
. Trade in commodities: producer or consumer focus (32pp.)
. Science and technology for development: beyond "transfer" (24pp.)
. Monetary issues and debt: the bankers' balance sheet (12pp.)
. Concessional development assistance: "aid" in perspective (14pp.)
. Immigration issues: the human dimension (21pp.)

TRILATERALISM: AN ANALYSIS AND A CRITIQUE

Howard M. Wachtel
Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)
1901 Q Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009, USA

Available from IPS:

. Howard M. Wachtel, Richard J. Barnet, Joyce Randall, Global Triangle: the world according to the Trilateral Commission (17pp.)

BASIC HUMAN NEEDS: A STRATEGIC CONCEPTUALIZATION TOWARD ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT

Reginald Herbold Green
Institute of Development Studies
University of Sussex
Falmer, Brighton BN1 9RE, England
Basic human needs are presented as a concept of another development in contrast to the, until recently, prevailing concept centered on maximizing accumulation, fixed investment, growth of output and "modernization". Basic human needs should be articulated and promoted in specific national contexts where workers and peasants show interest in it.

Available from Reginald Herbold Green or IFDA:

. Accumulation, distribution, efficiency, equity and basic human needs strategies: Some political economic implications and conditions (47pp.)
. Solidarity, self-reliance, basic human needs: Are political, economic and theological approaches compatible, complementary, contradictory? (40pp.)
. Basic human needs: concept or slogan, synthesis or smokescreen? (5pp.)
. 'Basic human needs as a strategic focus' in Sam Cole, Henry Lucas, ed., Models, planning and basic needs, IDS Research Reports (pp.51-55)
. Toward a transformation of the international economic order? Industrial world responses (53pp. + xiiipp.)
. 'Statistics on the multinational corporations as a means to exercise sovereignty', IDS Bulletin vol.7, no.3 (pp.11-15)
. The Common Fund: Toward cost/benefit estimation and institution formulation (33pp.)
. Compensatory finance: Toward stabilizing development (38pp.)
. Adult education in national development planning: Notes toward an integrated approach (1977, The International Council for Adult Education)(44pp.)
. 'Christianity and political economy in Africa', The Ecumenical Review vol.30, no.1 (pp.3-17)
. Transfer pricing, its relatives and their control (30 + 5pp.)
. Technical cooperation among developing countries: Notes toward an action prospectus (24pp.)
. Southern Africa: First steps toward economic integration (45pp.)
. The child of Lomé: Messiah, Monster or Mouse? (42 + 6pp.)

• Who benefits from EEC’s trade preferences?

Vagn Kjellberg
13-13, Shoto 1-chome
Shibuya-ku
Tokyo 150, Japan

IFDA Dossier 6
P.014

 Preferential tariff margins have not been a determining factor in Third World exports to the EEC. Long-term sectoral trade agreements, specifying quantity as well as price, would be of more interest to Third World countries.

Available from IFDA:

. Vagn Kjellberg, Documentation: Synopsis and critique of information obtained from interviews and discussions, Denmark, May 1978 (18pp.)
MARINE RESOURCES, OCEAN MANAGEMENT AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Arvid Pardo
Institute of Marine and Coastal Studies
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, CA 90007, USA

and

Elisabeth Mann Borgese
Department of Political Science
Dalhousie University
Halifax, NS B3H 4H6, Canada
(Under the auspices of The International Ocean Institute, Malta)

Management of ocean resources according to the principles of the Common Heritage of Mankind could make a significant contribution to global development, set a precedent for applying this principle to other global commons, and provide opportunities for innovative institution building, including international taxation.

Information about technical annexes available from the authors.

WORLD DEMILITARIZED: A BASIC HUMAN NEED

World Order Models Project
Institute for World Order
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017, USA

An examination of the war system in its many dimensions, particularly the inter-relationships between the arms race, militarism, economic development, human rights and ecological balance. The study clarifies the effects of the present arms build-up on economic development, the satisfaction of basic needs and on domestic governance structures in the various regions and subregions of the world.

Forthcoming:
Special issue of Alternatives, A Journal of World Policies.

Meeting:
The paper results from a series of meetings. The list of participants appeared in IFDA Dossier 11 (p.73).
A study of several principal scenarios of international relations and their impact on domestic development patterns to disclose international policies oriented towards positive development. In addition to the North-South dichotomy and the possibilities for collective self-reliance, distinct regional international policies are analysed in relation to five main markets and two main income groups.

Available from the authors:


3) G. Chichilnisky, 'Basic goods, the effects of aid and the international economic order', to appear in Journal of Development Economics

4) G. Chichilnisky, Basic needs and the North-South debate: Imperatives and distortions, Harvard Institute of International Development, August 1978

5) G. Chichilnisky, Inequality and Growth in an open economy, Columbia University, July 1979

6) G. Chichilnisky, Lance Taylor, Inequality and growth: Keynesian and Kaldorian results in a general equilibrium framework, June 1979

7) G. Chichilnisky, 'Disarmament in the context of the international economic order', in Disarmament and Development (RIO Foundation, ed. by D.A. Leurdijsk and E. Mann Borgese)

8) R. Falk, Authoritarianism and Development (unpublished, June 1978)

9) M. de Mello, Aid and Authoritarianism, 1979

10) M. de Mello, G. Chichilnisky, The role of armament flows in the international market and in development strategies in a North-South context

11) S. Metelits, Case study of Malaysia: Historical perspectives, August 1979

12) S. Metelits, Economic modelling, Country study of the UNITAR model for Malaysia, October 1979
*13) J. Serra, Three mistaken theses regarding the connection between industrialization and authoritarian regimes
*14) R. Broad, International actors and Philippine authoritarianism
*15) E. Lahera, Case study of Chile since Allende
*16) J. Cavanagh, Authoritarianism and development in Iran
*17) A. Choucra, Authoritarianism and development in Tunisia
19) G. Chichilnisky and R. Falk, ed., Authoritarianism and Development, special issue of Alternatives, a Journal of World Policies - containing IFDA work including an editorial introduction, together with abridged versions of (11), (13), (14), (15), (16) and possibly (17).

• **ICDA NEWS**

International Coalition for Development Action

4th Floor (WDM), Bedford Chambers
Covent Garden
London WC2 8HA, UK

ICDA is a network of national coalitions of development action groups in 18 industrialized countries. Its monthly newsletter provides news and counter-information on international political and economic relations and discusses development strategy themes.

• **PUBLIC OPINION AND INFORMATION ON THIRD WORLD RELATIONS IN NORWAY, SWEDEN AND THE NETHERLANDS**

Kristen Ringdal
Institutt f. Sanfunnsvitenskap
Universitetet Trondheim
N-7000 Trondheim, Norway

Available from IFDA:

. Berit Härld, Report on enquiries in The Netherlands (11pp.)
. Anton Ploeg, Report on enquiries in Norway (11pp.)
Available from Kristen Ringdal:

Kristen Ringdal, "Folkemeneinga og den Tredje Verda - ein analyse av Norske meiningar om u-landssprørsmal", PRIO Publikasjon S-40/79 (Oslo: 1979)

The International Monetary Fund and the Third World

E.A. Brett
School of Social Sciences
University of Sussex
Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QN, UK

An evaluation of IMF policies and their adverse consequences on self-reliant strategies. An institution which provides finance to develop the productive capacity of the local economy of Third World countries should be designed.

Available from the author or IFDA:

. Full report (same title) (169pp.)

The International Repression Trade

Michael T. Klare
Institute for Policy Studies
1901 Q Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009, USA

The supply of equipment, services and training for internal "security" (including surveillance of opposition movements, repression and torture) probably affects people's daily lives more directly than does the sale of arms for external defence. Third system action is needed to expose this repression trade and press for governmental restrictions on it.

International Negotiations and the Energy Policies of Oil-Importing Countries of the Third World

Peter F. Cowhey
Department of Political Science
University of California, San Diego
La Jolla, CA 92039, USA

International institutional responses to energy problems of oil-importing Third World countries could include a consultative group on energy research, a fund to insure against risks in bringing energy resources into production and subsidies for reinsurance of ecological risks from energy projects.

Available from the author or IFDA:

. Peter F. Cowhey, (same title) (30pp.)
THIRD WORLD PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAMMES AND PROJECTS OF THE ASPEN INSTITUTE FOR HUMANISTIC STUDIES

Harlan Cleveland

Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies
Programme in International Affairs
P.O. Box 2820
Princeton, NJ 08540, USA

The Aspen Institute has organized a number of conferences and meetings - particularly on growth policy and on Third World energy strategies - in which it drew increasingly on the insights and experience of Third World participants to broaden and deepen the development dialogue in its international affairs programme.

Available from the Aspen Institute:

- Growth policy, Woodlands Conference papers, 1979
- Energy future for developing countries, Cairo Conference papers, 1979

IFDA Dossier 4:
- Harlan Cleveland, 'Dear Willy ...'

Meetings:
- Energy Futures of Developing Countries (Cairo, 26-30 January 1979)
- Workshop on Limits to Government (Aspen, Colorado, USA, 12-17 August 1979)
- Third biennial Woodlands Conference on Growth Policy (The Woodlands, Texas, 28-30 October 1979); preparatory workshops in Houston (Texas) in October 1978 and in Jalisco (Mexico) in May 1979.

UNE FRANCE NOUVELLE: SES ORIENTATIONS DANS SES RAPPORTS AVEC LE TIERS MONDE

Ngo Manh Lan et Michel Beaud

11, rue du Port Galand
92220 Bagneux, France


Ouvrage disponible en librairie:

- Michel Beaud, Gérard de Bernis, Jean Masini, La France et le Tiers Monde (Grenoble: Presses universitaires, 1979), avec une présentation par Ngo Manh Lan.
AN IN-DEPTH REVIEW OF THE NORTH-SOUTH NEGOTIATING PROCESS

The Chr. Michelsen Institute
Fantoftvegen 38
N-5036 Fantoft, Norway
and
The Centre for Research on the New International Economic Order
Nuffield College
Oxford OX1 1NF, England

An evaluation of the North-South negotiations in the sectors of trade, finance and commodities. Shortcomings in the Third World strategy in these negotiations are analysed and proposals made for a more comprehensive and integrated negotiating package. The thesis of the main report is supported by an extensive literature in the supporting volumes.

Available from the Chr. Michelsen Institute:

2. Appendix to the Report (123pp.):
   - Shovan K. Ray, A survey of the negotiations: The Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the United Nations; Review of negotiations at UNCTAD V - A study of group positions
   - K.G. Vaidya, CIEC: The Paris episode in the North-South Dialogue: A subjective attempt at objective appraisal
   - B. Persaud, UNCTAD V and the North-South Dialogue
   - S.K. Bagchi, Developing countries in the MTN
3. The background papers (Vol.II, Part I) (321pp.):
   - I.S. Chadha, North-South negotiation process in the field of commodities, with a postscript as the Common Fund
   - D. Avramovic, Common Fund: Why and of what kind
   - A. MacBean, Commodity policies in a New International Order
   - Stuart Harris, North-South negotiations in the commodity field
   - P. Ady, Developed countries' attitudes to the Integrated Programme and the Common Fund
   - D.T. Nguyen, The effects of partial price-stabilization on export earnings instability and level: Implications for the North-South negotiating process
   - D. Hojman, International trade in copper: Static and dynamic aspects of the instability problem and the commodity agreement solution
   - M. Desai, Stabilisation of primary product prices: The lessons of the International Tin Agreement
   - I.S. Gulati, Compensatory financing: Inadequacy of present arrangements and new proposals
- G.D. Arsenis, The system of international financial cooperation for development
- D. Avramovic, the debt problem
- R.H. Green, Access for exports, the new protectionism and all GATT: Notes toward negotiable proposals
- O.D. Koht Norbye, Industrial policies of rich countries and market access for LDC manufactures

Vol. II, Part II (215pp.):
- Proceedings of the Seminar on Commodities and Finance
- Proceedings of the Seminar on Trade, Tariff and Non-Tariff Barriers

Meetings:
- Seminar on North-South Negotiating Process: Commodities and Finance
  (Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford, UK, 9-10 December 1978)
- Seminar on North-South Negotiations on Trade, Tariff and Non-Tariff Barriers

**SOVEREIGNTY OF NEEDS, REVERSAL OF UNJUST ENRICHMENT:**
THEMES TOWARD ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT

José R. Echeverria
University of Puerto Rico
P.O. Box 21632
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

Third World countries and people could make better use of the law, especially international law, by demanding restoration in the face of injustice, by breach of contract by frustration, and by developing related legitimate instruments to reverse unjust enrichment.

Available from IFDA:
- Propuestas para una política de desarrollo (29pp.)
- Desarrollo, soberanía y necesidades (32pp.)
- Enriquecimiento injusto y propiedad (32pp.)
- Policy paper: provisional remarks (24pp.)
- Development, sovereignty and needs (34pp.)
- Unjust enrichment and property (29pp.)
- The right to health from the legal viewpoint (11pp.)
The radical implications of the environment problématique are still not fully understood; a viable and relevant development strategy must be founded on new world views and on the concept of a sustainable global society.

Meeting:
IFDA Workshop "Stockholm + 7" - the Stockholm Conference 7 years afterwards - (Nyon, 7-8 May 1979). Participants were: Samir Amin, Director, IDEP, Dakar; Göran Bäckstrand, Secretariat for Future Studies, Stockholm; András Biró; Taghi Farvar; Nancy Hetzel; Liberty Mhlanga, ENDA, Dakar; David Munro, Director-General, International Union for the Conservation of Nature; Ashok Parthasarathi, Secretary, Electronics Commission, Delhi; Mario Ruivo, Secretary of State for Fisheries, Lisbon; Ignacy Sachs; Vicente Sanchez, UNEP, Nairobi; Maurice F. Strong.

• IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ON AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Fawzy Mansour
CODESRIA
B.P. 3304
Dakar, Senegal

Available from CODESRIA:
. Fawzy Mansour, The World Bank: Present role and future prospects, an outsider's view (a draft, December 1979) (214pp.)

• ITALY: INDUSTRIAL RECONVERSION AND RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD

Silvano Levrero
Instituto per le relazioni tra l'Italia e i Paesi dell'Africa, America Latina e Medio Oriente (IPALMO)
Via del Tritone 62-B
00187 Roma, Italy

Intergovernmental agreements for industrial cooperation, trade and joint investments could provide Italy with the opportunity to expand its high technology industries and Third World countries with the plants and machine tools they need to transform their raw material production.
Available (in Italian only) from IPALMO:

S. Levrero, Documento di sintesi; La politica energetica in Italia e accordi di sviluppo con l'OPEP: un caso emblematico - il metanodotto dall'Algeria e l'industrializzazione del Mezzogiorno

S. Levrero - F. Calistri (A. Lepre - I. Tartaglia), Politiche e tendenze di riconversione industriale e di accordi di sviluppo (96pp.)

- con appendici: S. Levrero - F. Calistri, I piani settoriali in Italia e i rapporti con i ptm (49pp.)

- S. Levrero, Alcuni orientamenti nella Cee su riconversione industriale e sviluppo nei ptm (11pp.)

- A. Lepre, Prima traccia per un quadro degli interventi industriali dei pi nei ptm (107pp.)

S. Luciano, Tendenze nel commercio estero italiano con particolare riferimento ai paesi del Terzo mondo (43pp. + 20 tabs.)

A. Collida', L'industria metalmeccanica nel rapporto con i ptm: Aspetti e problemi della divisione internazionale del lavoro (30pp.)

M. Sepi, La produzione dei beni di consumo sociale tra riconversione, riforme sociali nel paese e sbocchi esterni, soprattutto nei ptm (15pp. + 1tab)

R. Levrero, Produzioni a alto contenuto scientifico-tecnologico tra multinazionali, sviluppo autonomo in Italia e sbocchi dinamici nei paesi del Terzo mondo (15pp. + 16 tabs.)

P. Piga, La siderurgia e la metallurgia non ferrosa in Italia e nel rapporto con i paesi produttori di materie prime: tendenze e scelte (31pp. + 2 tabs.)

G. Militello - F. Azzolina, L'industria petrolchimica: Una strategia nuova per uno sviluppo avanzato e riequilibrato nel paese, e per rapporti nuovi con i paesi produttori di petrolio (18pp. + 16 tabs.)

R. Giardino, L'industria tessile: Problemi e strategia (13pp. = 22 tabs.)

A. Lana, Problemi e prospettive dell'agro-industria per un nuovo tipo di sviluppo nel paese e per nuovi rapporti con i paesi del Terzo mondo (66pp. + 16 tabs.)

• RELATIONS ÉCONOMIQUES SUISSE-TIERS MONDE

Philippe Berberat et Hilmar Stetter
Institut universitaire d'études du développement (IUED)
24, rue Rothschild
1202 Genève, Suisse

Dossier FIPAD 10
P. 089

Cet projet décrit les caractéristiques de l'économie suisse, ses ramifications internationales et montre l'importance des facteurs d'interdépendance avec le Tierra Monde. Les perspectives de l'économie helvétique sont examinées et les éléments d'un scénario alternatif du développement suisse est suggéré.
Disponible à l'IUED ou à la FIPAD:

- Groupe de travail, Restructuration des économies industrialisées et Tiers Monde: Notes sur les relations économiques Suisse-Tiers Monde: bilan, perspectives, propositions de changement (Mai 1979) (94pp.)

Réunions:


Fisheries in Asia - People, Problems and Recommendations

Pacific-Asia Resources Center (PARC)*
P.O. Box 5250
Tokyo International, Japan

Policy recommendations are aimed at Asian and Pacific fishing people, based on an analysis of their increasing problems and hardships which are caused by the transformation of Asian and Pacific fisheries due to large scale Japanese fishing operations.

Available from PARC and IFDA:

[Fisheries in Asia - people, problems and recommendations (71pp. + 35pp. notes and tables)]

* - Okada Osamu, Onishi Mutsuo, Tsurumi Yoshiyaki, Yamaka Junko

Alternative Relations between Japan and Thailand

Nishikawa Jun (leader), Japan-Thailand Group
Waseda University
5-4 Asagaya-Kita 4-chome
Suginami-Ku
Tokyo 166, Japan

The maldevelopment of Thailand, and the concomitant transformation and impoverishment of Thai society, is linked with the monopolistic character of Japanese investments, trade and aid. Export orientation and "green revolution" in agriculture have ruined endogenous rural development efforts. Hope for another development in Thailand is put into people's movements which are emerging as a political force to be reckoned with.

Available from Japan-Thailand Group or IFDA:

[The Japanese direct investments in Thailand (25pp.)]
Tawee Muennikorn, Japan's relations with Thailand: Political and cultural aspects (18pp.)

Yoshinori Murai, Japanese seen by South-east Asians and South-east Asians seen by Japanese: Towards development of people's solidarity (The case of Japan-Indonesia relations (17pp.)

Hisashi Nakamura, Transformation of rural areas through export promotion policies - retrospect and alternative (20pp.)

Nishikawa Jun, Aid or cooperation? Problems of Japanese economic aid to Thailand (20pp.)

Suthy Prasartset, Thailand-Japan trade: A case of Third World dependency (26pp.)

THE POTENTIAL FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN SMALL ENTERPRISES IN THE NORTH AND IN THE SOUTH

David S. Watkins
Manchester Business School, University of Manchester
Booth Street West
Manchester M15 6PB, England

A preliminary evaluation of the feasibility for cooperation between small-sized business enterprises in the North and in the South.

Available from the author:
Draft report (15pp.)

AN INTERNATIONAL AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMME FOR DEVELOPMENT

Karl P. Sauvant
UN Centre on Transnational Corporations
United Nations
New York, NY 10017, USA

The report identifies the main structural aspects of underdevelopment and their roots in the world market orientation of Third World strategies. It proceeds to spell out a programme for selective self-reliance and a supporting programme of commitments by the North.

Available from the author:
Full report (27pp.)

NORTH-SOUTH INTERDEPENDENCE, DEVELOPMENT AND TRADE

Graciela Chichilnisky
Columbia University, Department of Economics
International Affairs Bldg.
New York, NY 10027, USA
The paper explores conditions needed to avoid the negative outcome of the worsening of terms of trade and of domestic income distributions in trade policy. The paper thus addresses a "selective delinking" problem in Third World countries.

Available from the author:

- D. Alves, Brazilian agriculture: Export promotion versus nutrition, IPE-USP presented at the Development Conference, Yale Growth Center, 1978
- G. Chichilnisky and S. Cole, Growth of the North and growth of the South with export led policies (Columbia University, 1978), (mimeo).

THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE NIEO

Guillermo Perry and Diego Pizano

CIIPADA
Apartado 53016
Bogota DE, Colombia

The implementation of the New International Economic Order makes major demands on the science and technology capacity of the Third World. The report contains a first approach to an inventory of S & T activities within the NIEO and proposals to meet the financial costs involved in creating new S & T capacities.

Available from the authors:

- The scientific and technological implications of the New International Economic Order proposals - an exploratory study (94pp.)

See also articles by Francisco Sagasti and Ann Mattis (cf. index of IFDA Dossier papers)

Available from the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

MOBILIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FINANCE: AUTOMATICITY AND THE INCREMENTAL APPROACH

Horst Paul Wiesebach
Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik
Fraunhoferstrasse 33-36
1000 Berlin 10 (West)

Transition from voluntarism to more automaticity in international development finance is discussed in terms of taxation and improvements of official development assistance. Aid budgets of industrialized countries should be protected from the vagaries of day-to-day politics through an "incremental approach" based on financial forward planning and parliamentary support.

Available from the Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik:

- Horst Paul Wiesebach, Mobilization of development finance: Promises and problems of automaticity (Berlin: Occasional papers of the German Development Institute, no.57, May 1979) (43pp.)

RELATIONS BETWEEN SWEDEN AND THE THIRD WORLD

Birgitta Nygren
Secretariat for Future Studies
P.O. Box 7502
103 92 Stockholm, Sweden

In examining the relative progressiveness of Sweden with regard to the demands of the NIEO the question arises whether the increasing internationalization of Swedish economy and the increasing competitiveness of some Third World trading partners might not eventually be perceived as a threat to Swedish commercial interests and could lead to a shift in the present balance of its Third World relations.

Available from the Secretariat for Future Studies:

- Sweden in a New International Economic Order (1979)
- Lending without limits: On international lending and developing countries (1979)

CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN NATIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL PLANNING: THE ROLE OF LABOUR UNIONS

Alberto Martinelli
Via Fontana 28
20122 Milano, Italy

Organized labour should aim both to ensure that national planning responds to truly democratic aspirations and to build up a transnational countervailing force of labour solidarity within individual transnational corporations and in the process of democratic international organizations.
EL IMPACTO DE LA AMPLIACIÓN DE LA CEE SOBRE LAS RELACIONES CON EL MEDITERRANEO SUR Y ÁMERICA LATINA: UNA PERSPECTIVA ESPAÑOLA

Centro Iberoamericano de Cooperación
Avenida de los Reyes Católicos
Madrid 3, España

Not yet published
P.108

La ampliación de la CEE para incluir a Grecia, Portugal y España entrañaría ajustes para la CEE tanto como para los nuevos miembros en sus relaciones con sus vecinos no pertenecientes a la CEE. El proyecto examina esta serie de asuntos en el contexto de la entrada de España como miembro a la CEE. También se evalúa el probable impacto de las políticas de la CEE hacia Latinoamérica, resultantes de la entrada a la Comunidad de dos Estados que tienen vínculos históricos con esa región.

HUMAN RIGHTS

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Brighton BN1 6NN, UK

P.110

Human rights is an important ingredient in the development process, and more specifically in the movement towards another development. The present institutional arrangements are probably not adequate for the protection of these basic rights, and new proposals are considered in the light of a critical evaluation of existing arrangements.

Available from IFDA:

- Alvaro Bunster, Human rights: Bases for a new system of safeguard (14pp.)

TOWARDS A CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES AND THEIR SUBJECTS, AND THE INSTITUTIONAL PATTERN OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

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Utrecht 2501, The Netherlands

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(Footnote)

Analysis of the legal deficiencies of the existing international order in view of the NIEO and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States has led to proposals for possible improvements, including a new pattern of international economic organization.

Available from the author or IFDA:

- The institutional pattern of a New International Economic Order (8pp.)
- Towards a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (9pp.)
L'INTERDEPENDANCE (DU LOUP ET DE L'AGNEAU)

- IL SUFFIT DE REMPLACER L'AGNEAU TOUS LES MATINS

THE INTERDEPENDENCE (OF THE WOLF AND THE LAMB)

- VERY SIMPLE: JUST REPLACE THE LAMB EVERY MORNING

- BASTA REPLACER EL CERDITO CADA MAÑANA

LA INTERDEPENDENCIA (DEL LOBO Y DEL CERDITO)
MEETINGS

In addition to the many meetings related to specific project activities, to most of which reference is made in the above annotated list of activities, and to those of the Project Steering Committee, the following four meetings may be mentioned:

MEETING WITH THE INTER-REGIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS (ICCDA)
Nyon, 26 April 1978 (P.019)

The purpose of this meeting was to discuss with the Executive secretaries of the regional development associations participation of ICCDA affiliates in the project. In attendance were: Abdalla Bujra, CODESRIA, Dakar; Francisco Delich, CLACSO, Buenos Aires; Giulio Fossi, OECD Development Centre, Paris; Mouheb Eddine Hamza, AICARDES, Tunis; Arne Haselbach, EADI, Vienna; Agustin Kintanar, ADIPA, Bangkok; and Louis Sabourin, President, OECD Development Centre.

THE FUTURE OF WESTERN SOCIETIES
Nyon, 27-30 June 1978 (P.038)1/

Participants were: Gar Alperovitz, USA, Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives; Richard Falk; Sven Hamrell, Sweden, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation; Branko Horvat, Yugoslavia, Zagreb University; Charles Jeanneret-Grosjean; Nishikawa Jun, Japan, Waseda University, Tokyo; James Robertson, UK; Ignacy Sachs; Henk Thomas, The Netherlands, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION OF THE NEW DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY
Arbois-Bettex, France, 10-11 November 19782/

Participants were: Ismail-Sabri Abdalla; Ahmed Ben Salah, Tunisia, former Minister of Development; Miodrag Cabric, Yugoslavia, Secretariat of State for Foreign Affairs; Gamani Corea, Sri Lanka, Secretary General of UNCTAD; Kenneth Dadzie, Ghana, Director General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, United Nations; Richard Falk; Godfrey Gunatileke; Mahbub ul Haq, Pakistan, World Bank; Martin Huslid; Charles

1/ No formal report on the meeting was prepared but several activities derived from it (see projects 076; 091; 092; 098)

2/ See Michael Zammit Cutajar, "Notes on a political preamble for another development strategy", IFDA Dossier 4, February 1979
TOWARD A NEW INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Scheveningen, The Netherlands, 25-28 July 1979

This symposium was organized by IFDA for the United Nations Director General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, Kenneth K.S. Dadzie, and hosted by the Dutch Government. Participants were: Ismail-Sabri Abdalla; J.D. Akumu, Kenya, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity; Ms. Gillane Allam, Permanent Mission of Egypt to the UN, New York; Moinuddin Baqai, Pakistan, Chief Economist, Planning Commission Member, UN Committee for Development Planning; Yves Berthelot, France, OECD Development Centre; Miodrag Cabric, Yugoslavia, Secretariat of State for Foreign Affairs; Diego Luis Castellanos, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Venezuela to the UN, Geneva; Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Brazil, Centro Brasileiro de Analise e Planejamento; Wilbert K. Chagula (Chairman), Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Tanzania to the UN, Geneva; Gamani Corea; Godfrey Gunatilleke; Ali Hachani, Permanent Mission of Tunisia to the UN, New York; J.H. Herrera Vegas, Permanent Mission of Argentina to the UN, New York; Uwe Holtz, FRG, MP, Chairman of the Bundestag Committee for International cooperation; Idriss Jazairy, Algeria, Deputy Secretary-General for International Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Charles Jeanneret-Grosjean; Per Ole Jödahl, Permanent Mission of Sweden to the UN, New York; Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Upper Volta, Member of the Executive Council of UNESCO; Rajni Kothari (Rapporteur), India, Chairman of the Indian Council of Social Science Research; Ben Saliah Kouyate, Permanent Mission of Guinea to the UN, New York; Zoran Lazarevic, Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the UN, New York; Luis Matos Azocar, Venezuela, (Vice-Chairman), MP, President, Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Latinoamericana; Saul Mendlovitz, USA, Institute for World Order; Donald 0. Mills, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the UN, New York; Ngo Manh Lan; Misbah Oreibi, Permanent Representative of Libya to the UN, Geneva; Robert Ouko, Kenya, Minister for Planning and Community Affairs; Josef Pajestka.

1/ See IFDA Dossier 12, 13, 14 and 15 which include the Symposium Report (Dossier 13) and papers by participants Yves Berthelot (Dossier 12), Ismail-Sabri Abdalla, Charles Jeanneret-Grosjean, Ignacy Sachs (Dossier 13), Joseph Ki-Zerbo (Dossier 14), Moin Baqai and Ben Saliah Kouyate (Dossier 15), The Scheveningen Report is also available in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish from United Nations Offices (document A/34/467), as well as in Dutch from Internationale Samenwerking (1979, no. 6, VDO, Plein 17, The Hague).
Poland, Member of the UN Committee for Development Planning; Thord Palmlund, Sweden, Under-Secretary for Development Cooperation; Jean Ripert, France, Under-Secretary General for International Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations; Justinian F. Rweyemamu; Ignacy Sachs; Soedjatmoko, Indonesia, Adviser to the Chairman, Development Planning Agency; Thorvald Stoltenberg; Maurice F. Strong; Joao Teixeira da Motta, Permanent Mission of Portugal to the UN, New York; Wang Ceng-Zhuang, China, Institute of International Studies.

PARTICIPANTS FROM THE NETHERLANDS
L.H.J.B. Van Gorkom, Director-General, International Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ferdinand van Dam, Deputy Director-General, International Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Leo Van Maare; M. Patijn, Deputy Director, Economic Cooperation with Developing Countries, Ministry of Economic Affairs; Jan Meijer; G. Ringnalda, Deputy Director, International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; J. George Waardenburg, Chairman, Advisory Council on Development Research.

PARTICIPANTS FROM THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS DIRECTOR-GENERAL FOR DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION
K.K.S. Dadzie; S. Abrahamian; Caroline Lockhart.

PARTICIPANT FROM UNEP
Branislav Gosovic

PARTICIPANTS FROM IFDA (SYMPOSIUM SECRETARIAT)
Marc Nerfin; Beat Alexander Jenny, Symposium Secretary; Ann Mattis; Michael Zammit Cutajar; Maria Teresa Dias; Jean Genoud; Rosemary Jommo; Anna Kleber.
PROJECT SECRETARIAT AND PRINCIPAL CONSULTANTS

Secretariat:
The secretariat included, at one stage or at another, the following persons:
Dawne Fletcher, Trinidad and Tobago
Béat-Alexande Jenny, Switzerland
Ann Mattis, Jamaica
Leelananda de Silva, Sri Lanka (resident representative, Third World Forum)
Michael Zammit Cutajar, Malta (on secondment from UNCTAD)
Maria Teresa Dias, Portugal
Jean Genoud, UK/Switzerland
Rosemary Jommo, Kenya
Anna Kléber, Switzerland

Senior scientific adviser:
Ignacy Sachs, France, Director, Centre international de recherche sur l'environnement et le développement, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, and member of the IFDA Executive Committee.

Principal consultants:
András Biró, Mexico
Mohamed Taghi Farvar, Iran, Director of the Center for Ecodevelopment Studies and Application, Tehran
Reginald Herbold Green, USA, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University, England
Sven Hamrell, Sweden, Executive Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation
Francisco Sagasti, Peru

Editorial consultants (IFDA Dossier 17):
Serge de Gunzburg, France (French)
Gamini Seniviratne, Sri Lanka (English)

Spanish translation (IFDA Dossier 17):
Luz Estrada de Serrano, Chile

Part-time and/or occasional help:
Pamela Abwao, Kenya
Gisèle Ackermann, Haiti/Switzerland
Jeanette Arnold, UK/Switzerland
Heather Grossenbacher, UK/Switzerland

Elena Jenny, Panama (Spanish summaries and editorial consultant for Dossier 17)
THE PROJECT STEERING COMMITTEE

The Steering Committee advised and assisted the secretariat in the planning and monitoring of the project as well as in the elaboration of this report. Its membership, largely drawn from the IFDA Executive Committee and Council, reflected the global concerns of the project as well as its third system orientation and its self-managed nature. The Committee also provided for the participation of the sponsors.

The members of the Steering Committee were:

- Ismail-Sabri Abdalla
  Egypt
  Chairman, Third World Forum

- Richard Falk
  USA
  Professor, Princeton University and fellow, Institute for World Order

- Godfrey Gunatileke
  Sri Lanka
  Director, Marga Institute

- Martin Huslil
  Norway
  Ambassador for International Economic Cooperation

- Charles Jeanmeret-Grosjean
  Canada
  Vice-Dean for Research, Ottawa University

- Cheikh Hamidou Kane
  Senegal
  Minister for Industrial Development and Chairman, ENDA

- Marc Nerfin
  Switzerland
  President of IFDA and project director

- Ngo Manh-Lan
  Viet Nam
  Association of Third World Economists

- Jan Pronk
  The Netherlands
  Member of Parliament

- Philippe de Seynes
  France
  Senior fellow, United Nations Institute for Training and Research

- Juan Somavia
  Chile
  Executive Director, Instituto Latino-americano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET)

In Meijer, The Netherlands, co-chairman of IFDA, and Leo van Maare, The Netherlands, Office of the Director General for Development Cooperation, participated in all sessions of the Steering Committee. Maurice F. Strong, Canada, former co-chairman of IFDA, participated in most of them.

The Steering Committee met seven times, as follows:

First session, Arbois-Bettex, France, 4-6 December 1977
Second session, Nyon, Switzerland, 2-4 April 1978
Third session, Nyon, 29 June - 1 July 1978
Fourth session, Arbois-Bettex, 10-12 November 1978
Fifth session, Arbois-Bettex, 25-27 June 1979
Sixth session, Nyon, 8-10 December 1979
Seventh session, Nyon, 9-11 February 1980 (joint meeting with the IFDA Executive Committee)
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Point n'est besoin d'espérer
pour entreprendre ni de réussir
pour persévérer.

Guillaume le Taciturne
1533-1584
Stathouder de Hollande
The International Foundation for Development Alternatives - established in 1976 - is committed to another development and to genuine international cooperation. By another development - need-oriented, self-reliant, endogenous, ecologically sustainable, and based on structural transformations - it means a comprehensive, people-centered, political, cultural and economic process. By genuine international cooperation, it means moving from an imposed asymmetry, through a fundamental restructuring of international relations, to a new international order supportive of another development.

It is not a research institution but an instrument of mutually educating dialogues between policy-makers, action-oriented researchers and communicators.

This progress report owes its substance to a process of which the IFDA secretariat acted as rapporteur. The text thus reflects one view of the process. This implies that no single participant, even among those closely associated with it, such as the members of the Executive Committee of the Foundation or those of the Project Steering Committee, would subscribe to all the elements of this report.
This is the season of reports. The Brandt Commission - The Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt - has just released its report (London: Pan Books Ltd., 1980, 304 pp.). The MacBride report - Sean MacBride is the chairman of a UNESCO-sponsored International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems - is scheduled to appear in April. And now comes this one from IFDA, on its third system project.

Even if some people took part in more than one of the three exercises, this report is different: it is a progress report, one perception of a process which involved the participation of more than 50 institutions and over 500 women and men from all regions of the world. The project reflects experiences and action-oriented thinking which are rooted in the search for alternatives.

The message can be summed up in seven themes which run throughout the project and the progress report:

1. Development is the process of liberation of people and societies: it cannot be reduced to economic growth, as necessary as this may be when socially meaningful.

2. Development is lived by people where they are, that is in the first instance in the local space. Activities in other spaces - national, Third World, global - may either prevent or enhance a people-centered development.

3. Maldevelopment pervades societies both in the industrialized countries and in the Third World. Another development in the North is therefore required for the sake of its people as well as for the facilitation of Third World development.

4. Militarization and repression are key stumbling blocks on the path to change.

5. Culture and communication are critical dimensions of development.

6. Power is exercised through the state and the market, but people have an autonomous power, legitimately theirs, which they are increasingly asserting.

7. Accountability of those who hold power - political, cultural, economic - must be established and mechanisms for its enforcement set up in all spaces of development.