international foundation for development alternatives
fundación internacional para alternativas de desarrollo
fondation internationale pour un autre développement

IFDA DOSSIER 23 , MAY/JUNE 1981

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Pages

BUILDING BLOCKS / MATERIAUX

. Issues in community organization (K. Constantino-David) 5
. Problématicque de l'eau en milieu rural ivoirien et aspects méthodologiques de l'animation rurale (Daniel Kadja) 21
. Las mujeres toman la palabra: Una comunicación alternativa femenina (Adriana Santa Cruz) 33
. Central American dilemma (Pierre Schori) 47

MARKINGS

. The doomsday clock closer to twelve (Inga Thorsson) 55

INTERACTIONS

. A proposal for a disarmament strategy of women and other citizens (Hilkka Pietilä) 67
. The Itaici message on transnational corporations 71
. Industrialisation of Third World for benefit of TNCs or people? (Chakravarthi Raghavan) 73
. Small fishermen meet at Kuantan, Malaysia (Danieul Mudali) 78
. On ne finit pas d'apprendre (interview de Mahdi Elmandjra) 81
. Un contingent pour la fonction publique? (Yona Friedman) 86
. Le Centre d'études pour le développement africain 89

MATERIALS RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION 92

FOOTNOTES / NOTES / NOTAS 93

Contributions to the IFDA Dossier are presented under the responsibility of their authors. They are not covered by any copyright. They may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means without permission of the authors or IFDA. In case of reprint, acknowledgement of source and receipt of a copy would be appreciated. IFDA Dossier is published bi-monthly.

executive committee: Ismail-sabri abdalla, ahmed ben salah, gamoni corre, mohbub ul haq, enrique iglesias, jan meyer, marc nohin (president), justinian f. teweymamu, iguado sahde, juan somavia, maurice f. strong, ingo thorsson
co-chairmen 1981-1982 : fernando henrique cardoso, ernst michanek
secretariat: 2, place du marché, ch-1260 nyon, switzerland; telephone 41 (22) 61 82 82; telex 26840 ifdo ch; cable ifda genve
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

the summits of pessimism

Two and a half years ago, in November 1978, a group of friends of IFDA met at Le Beitex, in nearby France, to discuss the prospects for a new international development strategy for the 1980s and beyond. 1/ In March of this year, a similar group - including many who were at the 1978 meeting - assembled at Nyon to exchange their assessments of the political environment for global negotiations on a new international order.

The basic analysis of the world crisis has not changed over these years. The exercise of Northern military and economic strength - the latter through the transnational corporate system - remains the dominant factor on the world scene. Those who hope for a new international order still look to the collective strength of the Third World to bring it about, supported by the smaller, "like-minded" industrialized countries.

What was different at the March 1981 meeting was the depth of the pessimism shared by most participants - a pessimism engendered by the wave of Northern militarism which has engulfed Afghanistan and now threatens Poland, El Salvador and Cuba.

The accession to power in Washington of the Reagan/Haig regime was uppermost on people's minds, still shocked by the barrage of "scientific conservative" ideology which has been laid down since 20 January. The world as seen from Washington (and reflected in the "Imperial Mirror" - otherwise the International Herald Tribune) is the stage for a power struggle between Good and Evil. Other countries are so many "theaters" for military operations. The Third World is not a political force to be dealt with; its constituent countries are pawns in the East-West game. Third World revolutionary nationalism is a manifestation of Soviet power, to be contained and suppressed. And so it goes.

Needless to say, the lip-service paid previously to the rhetoric of the NIEO has been replaced by open hostility. Third World countries must be convinced that their salvation lies in the free market, hence with the United States. The concept of common heritage, as applied to the sea-bed, is denounced as a "rip-off".

---

1/ See Michael Zammit-Cutajar, 'Notes on a political preamble for another development strategy', IFDA Dossier 4, February 1979.
The first sallies of the new US regime into multilateral development diplomacy are frightening. The Law of the Sea treaty negotiations have been stalled by unilateral decision. The US delegation has effectively blocked a procedural decision in UNCTAD on the choice of Havana as the site of the sixth session of the Conference, threatening to boycott a conference held there (as if its presence at previous UNCTAD sessions has been anything but obstructive). President Reagan, by demanding the postponement of the Mexican "mini-summit" on North-South issues as a condition for his attendance, has converted that meeting from an exchange among equals into an imperial audience. Clearly, we are being given to understand "who is the boss around here".

Infected by this outbreak of radical conservatism across the Atlantic, most West European governments have hastened their shift to the right, where some are already comfortably installed. European social democrats are drifting to the centre, at least for electoral purposes. European labour unions bury their heads deeper in the sands of protectionism.

Ahead on the international trail this year lie two prominent summits, at which global negotiations on development issues could be given a boost. Seen from Nyon in March, these diplomatic peaks are shrouded in clouds of pessimism. The Ottawa summit of the seven Western industrial powers in July is likely to be preoccupied with the new US grand design and with the internal economic difficulties of the West (notably the "problem" of Japanese exports). The Mexico meeting, now scheduled for October, seems to be focussing on the belated, if not altogether hopeless, task of educating Ronald Reagan. Moreover, the West will now arrive in Mexico with its backbone stiffened by the Ottawa encounter and it would be rash to expect much to come out of a pleasure cruise in the waters off Cancún.

Where are the silver linings? As committed optimists (since one cannot be both for change and against the future), it is our task to look for them. But we must confess that they are none too clear.

The great awakening of the Southern giant is not for tomorrow. The Third World remains vulnerable and exploitable on account of its internal divisions and conflicts (often armed ones). It shies away from collectively taking action which is within its reach in the fields of finance, trade and commodity supply management. The interests of those in power are usually entwined with those of the North. The kind of leadership which could motivate a revival of non-aligned Third World solidarity is elusive.
Moreover, the progressive elements in the governments of industrialized countries are increasingly marginalized. The prospect of "mini-NIEOs", worked out and applied among coalitions of like-minded countries from South and North, seems more distant now than it did in 1978.

Nevertheless, the world turns - and hope survives. There is hope in the tangible manifestations of Third World solidarity in certain limited regional contexts, such as the Caribbean and Southern Africa. There is hope in the restraining influence exercised by West European politicians on US interventionism in Central America. The growing trading and financial links among Third World countries, while not free of the dependency relationships which bedevil North-South flows, represent a valuable political alternative for both parties to such transactions. So does the participation of the smaller "non-imperial" industrialized countries in economic exchanges with the South.

Perhaps the greatest hope lies in the rigidity, the triumphalism of Northern conservatism itself. The Thatchers and Reagans of this world have, it must be admitted, the courage of their convictions. By expressing them openly and directly, they oblige those who disagree to sit up and take notice - and to organize their opposition. Here lies the hope for change. It is by appealing to this movement of opposition - whether manifested by governments or, as is more likely, by the third system in its organized groups - that a revived non-aligned movement could start to make headway in the countries of the North.
BUILDING BLOCKS

ISSUES IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

by Karina Constantino-David

Third World Studies
Room 428, College of Arts & Sciences
University of the Philippines system
Diliman, Quezon City
Metro Manila, Philippines

Original language: English

Abstract: The experience of a community organization project in the Philippines is used to illustrate a discussion of the contradictions inherent in such work: how to arouse awareness without creating new dependence, to lead or not to lead, to manipulate or to facilitate, to break restrictive laws or to respect them... The main lesson is that, without a clear alternative vision of society, the efforts of community organizers can easily be side-tracked.

PROBLÈMES DANS L'ORGANISATION DES COMMUNAUTÉS DE BASE

Résument: L'expérience de l'organisation d'une communauté de base aux Philippines sert de point de départ à une discussion des contradictions inhérentes à ce type d'action: comment faire prendre conscience sans créer une nouvelle forme de dépendance, diriger ou ne pas diriger, manipuler ou faciliter, briser les lois entravantes ou les respecter... La principale conclusion est que sans une vision claire de une autre société, les efforts des organisateurs à la base sont aisément détournés de leur objectif.

PROBLEMAS EN LA ORGANIZACIÓN DE LAS COMUNIDADES DE BASE

Resumen: La experiencia de la organización de una comunidad de base en Filipinas sirve de punto de partida en una discusión sobre las contradicciones inherentes a este tipo de acción: cómo hacer tomar conciencia sin crear una nueva forma de dependencia, dirigir o no dirigir, manipular o facilitar, romper las leyes limitantes o respetarlas... La principal conclusión es que sin una visión clara de otra sociedad, los esfuerzos de los organizadores de la base son fácilmente desviados de sus objetivos.
ISSUES IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Alongside the development hysteria that has engulfed the under-developed nations of the Third World, a condition that is usually accompanied by the establishment of authoritarian regimes, a counterpoint is increasingly being sounded: the urgent call for peoples' participation in their own development. Whether as rhetoric or as honest policy, this criterion has become part and parcel of the vocabulary of development thinking. In the authoritarian societies of the Third World, it has become common to encounter the curious paradox of governments suspending all the essential civil and political rights in the name of development, while at the same time pontificating on the virtues of participatory development. Technocrats in the service of such governments often miss the irony, however, for in their case the token participation of the people in decision-making is cynically treated as nothing more than an instrument of co-optation and social control.

People's participation, however, need not be an empty shibboleth. Over the years, in fact, a growing number of voluntary organizations have taken it upon themselves to organize and conscientize communities in such a manner that people's participation can be a truly meaningful concept. The concept of community organization takes as its basic premise the realization that the will to participate and to get involved must be developed, that the need to act as a unified collectivity must be instilled in the people and that people must be encouraged to define their individual private troubles in terms of larger issues of social structure. The basic thrust of community organization has thus been to cultivate a sense of potency and effectiveness in people and in whole communities. Communities must be made to believe that they must actively define their own destinies if they are not to become passive objects of development planning. They must actively develop the capacity to assert and to fight for their own rights because no one else in society will. The laws and institutions of the larger society exist to serve the strong and the powerful; those without power must therefore become stronger and knowledgeable to be able to effectively protect themselves from these laws and institutions, or better, to turn them to their advantage.

---

2/ Karina Constantino-David is the present Chairman of the Department of Community Development, Institute of Social Work and Community Development, University of the Philippines. In this capacity, she organized the LSE-COD program in Pantoc, Sariaya, Quezon where for one whole year students live and work with the people in the community. Her research activities include studies of pavement dwellers of Manila and empirical investigations of the nature of indigenous technology.
The entry of community organizers into communities, however, has run into a number of contradictions, not the least of which is the classic question of whether the exercise of freedom and the political will is something that can be taught. A related issue that is equally troublesome is whether self-reliance can be instilled within a relationship such as that between the organizer and the community, where dependence and feudal loyalty are the more likely outcomes. These are very real and serious problems which have all too often resulted in bitterness and acrimony, despair and helplessness. No voluntary organization entering a community can afford to ignore them for they have a way of awkwardly insinuating themselves at every point of the relationship between the community and the organizer.

The purpose of this brief essay is to consider these ticklish issues in the form of dilemmas that any voluntary organization involved in organizing communities is likely to encounter in the course of its work. The paper will trace the basic roots of these dilemmas and will in the process suggest that in the final analysis, what is crucial is that the voluntary group must constantly clarify in its mind the larger purpose within which organized and militant communities can have some instrumental meaning. These dilemmas will be illustrated as they have been manifested in the community of Pantoc, Sariaya, Quezon Province where the University's Department of Community Development faculty and students have been based since 1977 as part of the LINK-CDD Program.

Organization without vision

The people in Third World countries for generations have been excluded from decision-making, oppressed by conditions of poverty, disabled from understanding existing reality and paralyzed by a culture of silence and a very real climate of fear. In this context, community organization is widely held to be the most effective means through which people's participation in their own development can be achieved. It is the first stage in overcoming these conditions so that people can stand up to defend themselves and later wield the power to determine their own future.

Community organization, both as it has been developed in the West and implemented in the Third World, however, suffers from one basic flaw. While it challenges the existing structure and demands for change, it offers no concrete model of an alternative future. A vision of a more desirable society, not through the easy appeal to generalizations about people's power and popular participation, is a requirement if community organization is to proceed as it does, from a critique of existing reality. An alternative future should be the basis upon which present society can be assessed and ultimately changed.

---

1/ Linking with Communities for Development (LINK-COD) is an innovative approach to the study and practice of Community Development where undergraduate majors, together with the faculty, live and work for one year in a rural community integrating coursework and practice in the entire process.
This lack of a paradigm of an alternative societal system that can diminish, if not completely eradicate, oppressive conditions also affects the manner in which organizers view reality. While most organizers proceed from the perspective that society is divided into the powerful and the powerless, the oppressors and the oppressed, the absence of a clear vision prevents them from perceiving the totality of the situation. More often than not, they slide into the comfortable path of tinkering with the system without confronting the roots of the problem. The more radical organizers even engage in structural analysis and pass on to the people this method of viewing reality. However, the basic question still remains unanswered - assuming a certain level of awareness of existing conditions, how does one act to change these conditions and towards what direction? In addition, without a better system to compare the present with, how valid can an analysis of the existing conditions be?

Lacking a concrete perception of the future and a deeper insight into existing realities, community organization tends to center on the process of organizing. In fact, community organization has a comparatively well developed methodology that is at the same time creative and reformist. It is creative in the sense that it enables people, firstly, to critically assess a reality that they have for years taken for granted, secondly, to act upon their grievances and, thirdly, to develop a measure of self-reliance. And yet it is also reformist because community organization deals mostly with local issues leading people into believing that solving specific issues will improve the quality of their lives. Worse, it can blind them into accepting the viability of a system which in reality thrives on their oppression. Thus the vagueness of the end goal of any organizing effort leads to process-centred activities which, if left unchecked, convert the organizing process into a fetish that exists as a goal in itself. This situation results in a never-ending cycle of learning experiences geared to the acquisition by the people of methods and skills which they are unable to use to tame an oppressive environment.

While the relative absence of a systematized and concrete vision accounts for much of the internal contradictions of community organizing, a number of very pressing dilemmas still have to be confronted. These dilemmas may be significantly minimized if organizers have a definite view of the long-term purposes of organizing although they will never completely disappear in any organizing effort. Such dilemmas involve ethical as well as tactical alternatives.

Self-reliance vs. dependence

One of the basic aims of community organization is the development of a people who are capable of defining their own reality, identifying their own problems and determining their own future. Leaders are developed from within the community, people are encouraged to speak out their minds; problems are discussed and acted upon collectively and the community is trained to depend upon its own resources. Through all this training, the organizer
keeps a low profile. And yet an outsider is always immediately and acutely visible, no matter how well integrated he is in the locality. Communities that have either been cut off from the mainstream of national society or have languished in isolation for generations naturally look to an organizer for hope. His entry raises expectations, and even without actually accomplishing tangible results, he is often already accorded all the gratitude simply because he has offered to help. Of course, there are those who meet his presence with skepticism and even fear, but the majority generally regard an organizer as a last hope to cling to. No amount of clarification or explanation to the effect that he must not be showered with gratitude can erase that initial relationship.

The greater problem arises when the community, unused to this novel way of dealing with problems, constantly awed by the organizer's knowledge and bound by the traditional ways of following anyone who seems to hold a promise of a better life, start to look to the organizer for all the answers. The organizer then becomes the "Truth and the Light," the new messiah who shall lead them to a little heaven on earth.

At the LINK-COD site in Quezon, our initial entry was greeted with hope. We were invariably thanked for our concern. As the organizing process progressed, meetings were held at which our every move was monitored by the people. We became the people's barometer of right and wrong. Many times, when a problem needed resolution the people turned directly to us to sit as judge and jury. During one meeting which was concerned with determining whether the barangay captain should be ousted or not, the people turned to us saying that we were in the best position to resolve the matter. Confronted with such a situation, an immediate decision had to be made.

On one hand, to resolve the issue would encourage a dependent relationship that could facilitate organizing, on the other, to do so would discourage self-reliance. The danger is that dependence prolongs the organizing process because ultimately the organizer will have to leave the community. And yet in the initial phases of organizing this dependence can become a marked advantage in propelling change.

For communities that are lulled into a sense of security because the organizer maintains this dependent relationship, multiple problems arise especially during the pull-out phase. Especially in fairly successful communities, people tend to attribute to him much of their accomplishments. The mere fact than an organizer has aided the community in achieving a better life creates a sense of insecurity when he is no longer around. Thus, many communities that seem to be well-organized falter when they are left on their own without the guiding force of an organizer.
Evocative vs. provocative organizing

To minimize dependence, most organizers enter a community by using the evocative method. Instead of baring his own perceptions, an organizer evokes from the people their dreams and frustrations, their needs and limitations. He acts as a crystalizer of the knowledge and experience of the people. He starts where the people are and lets the people grow by experience. However, evocative organizing also has its limits. No one can really claim to be non-partisan. In fact, the very rationale for organizing already assumes a definite bias on the side of the masses.

The questions an organizer asks, like the topics he brings out for discussion are necessarily colored by the perspective he holds whether consciously or unconsciously. For instance, in the process of social investigation among farmers in Quezon, we necessarily inquired about patterns of sharing, usury, tenurial arrangements and the like. For many farmers, all these are taken for granted. They submit to the system, many times without being conscious of inequity. And yet the very process of eliciting responses may emphasize the importance of one aspect of their lives and provoke them into thinking about the situation.

Evocative methods are important especially in determining levels of consciousness, spotting potential leaders, setting up rapport and identifying issues. However, to hide behind the neutral shield of evocative organizing is either to tail behind the people or more importantly to fail to seize opportunities of raising consciousness to new levels. To provoke people into thinking and acting upon situations they had not previously perceived is necessary if an organizer is to indeed restore the potency among men who have been robbed of this quality.

And yet with provocative organizing emerges the possibility that an organizer may fail to take into consideration the level of awareness of people at that point in time. Many organizers enter communities with ready-made tools for analyzing reality. They pass this on to the people at times without regard of the level of awareness of the people, artificially analyzing reality in terms of pre-determined categories. In this situation, an organizer may isolate himself from the people because they can find no common ground.

In the earlier example, no matter how oppressive a feudal system may seem to an organizer, many farmers who believe that they have benevolent landlords, who regard their landlords not only as masters but also as sources of security, who feel they owe the landlords a debt of gratitude, may resent an organizer who tries to provoke them into viewing their landlords as enemies. This is not to argue that an organizer should let them drown in their illusions, but it is simply to suggest that he may have to find some other entry point in the meantime. While an organizer has to balance these two methods, he must constantly bear in mind that he can never rely only on evoking people's
perceptions of reality and their attendant problems, especially within societies that have effectively prevented individuals from seeing their surroundings clearly, either because they do not have access to the skills and information that can trigger a deeper understanding or because they have become so used to the same reality for generations, or because they have become captives of the alluring promises of development propaganda.

Facilitation vs. manipulation

Closely related to evocative or provocative organizing is the tension between the role of the organizer as facilitator and as manipulator. Community organization emphasizes the role of an organizer as primarily that of a facilitator, an agent of change whose expertise eases the process towards an organized community. Community organization assumes that since people are in the best position to determine their fate, an organizer should act as a catalyst, an outside force that is necessary to awaken people from a state of desperate apathy. The role of facilitator is most apparent in meetings, evaluation and reflection sessions and mobilizations.

Organizers, however, have been attacked for manipulating people's minds and managing their actions towards their own ends. While facilitation is contrary to manipulation, and most organizers refuse to accept the latter, it is impossible to maintain a neutral stance in most matters affecting a community. This is especially true when conflicts arise between the masses and some powerful figure in the community.

Let us consider a factual example. In Quezon, after six months of organizing, we were certain that the barangay council could not provide the leadership in the community. The barangay captain was a powerful figure whose family not only owned land in the area but for certain sectors monopolized the marketing of rice and copra. It was decided that it was too premature to risk a frontal collision with him. At the same time he was also our legitimator. We decided to manage the situation by setting up an organization that would not oppose the barangay council but had the capacity to neutralize it. This was not a plan we had hatched on our own, rather it was a response to a situation that the people themselves wanted to change.

The Sangguniang Pangkaunlaran ng Pantoc (SPP) was organized in 1978. This was a legal organization which was even provided for in a memorandum circular of the then Department of Local Governments and Community Development. The internal organization, in terms of representation, was based on the requisites of the situation in the barrio. It incorporated the barangay council and yet expanded representation from all sectors of the population in proportion to their number in the community. Thus, apart from the nine members of the barangay council, twenty-eight sectoral representatives were added, broken down as follows: landowners and overseers (1); tenants (3); lessees (2); hired laborers (6); professional, service, construction, transportation workers (2); commercial, livestock and vegetable raisers and
fishermen (2); women (6); and youth (6). This enabled the organizers to develop new leaders and set the stage for wider participation without necessarily antagonizing the barangay council.

At this stage, we could have already been charged with manipulation. Later, as the barangay captain realized that he stood to lose some of his power as the people increased their awareness and their determination to change reality, he attempted to undermine the SPP through various means — threats, counter-organizations, under-the-table deals — creating no small amount of disorganization and fear among the people. Faced with this situation, facilitation was not enough. The people were not ready to fight back. They neither had the skills nor the force to contend with their enemy. In addition, there was very little time for us to hold evaluation, reflection or role-playing sessions to train the new leaders. The only recourse was counter-manipulation, to speed up the process of organizing so that we could avert defeat. This was a difficult decision to make since this was a tactic that ran counter to a basic principle of organizing, which was to let the people decide and learn from both their successes and mistakes.

A new concept that perhaps summarizes how this particular dilemma can be balanced is facipulation. Essentially this accepts the necessity of both facilitation and manipulation as vital components of any organizing process. Facipulation is manipulative only in the sense that the organizer consciously directs the efforts of the community towards an objectively desirable goal that is beneficial to the people. The situation is analogous to a mother and a little child who is learning to run. Part of learning is committing mistakes, falling and getting up again. To a certain extent the situation is controlled in such a manner that while the child enjoys some freedom, he is guarded against serious accidents. In cases where the child, despite most precautions is about to fall off a cliff, then there is no question of whether manipulation is ethically right or wrong.

Inspite of the acceptance that a certain degree of manipulation is necessary in organizing, it must be remembered that the easiest way to achieve some degree of success is for an experienced organizer to call the shots and lead the people. But the relation between manipulation and long-term success is an inverse one. Thus an organizer who must engage in facipulation must constantly be aware of the dangers of having too much control.

Felt needs vs. objective needs
An effective organizer must start where the people are. However, underdevelopment not only stunts the ability of people to perceive reality but at the same time creates a consciousness that is warped by the requisites of an unjust system. Needs are felt even if these are secondary to objectively existing although not consciously perceived needs. While evoking from the people their
needs and problems, the organizer will discover that oftentimes their felt needs do not correspond to and may even contradict objective needs. To rely solely upon satisfying felt needs would be to ensure cooperation and perhaps highly motivated actions but may lead to further mystification. On the other hand, to insist upon what the organizer perceives as objective needs generally results in failure when the people cannot appreciate the importance of these issues.

After half a year of organizing in Pantoc, the people came to a consensus that what was most needed was an additional classroom for the elementary school since the last two grades had to share not only one room but also one teacher. Objectively, high school education was almost non-existent since the people could hardly afford to send their children to the town to study. However, in a diploma-conscious society, where education is viewed by the poor as their only avenue to a better life, the desire for an additional classroom overruled such pragmatic considerations as the content of learning, the lack of opportunities for higher education and the more basic problems of poverty and powerlessness. For us to have dismissed this as a false need would have been to insist on matters which the community did not as yet grasp. At the same time, for us to simply have followed such needs would have been to tail behind people's decisions and fail to really help develop the community.

An organizer has to balance these objective and felt needs to enable him to retain a clear picture of objective conditions without falling into the trap of insisting on pursuing needs only he can perceive. Rather, he must creatively strive to consider false needs so as to reorient them towards objective needs. Unfortunately, we were unable to manage this dilemma correctly. Instead of seizing the situation as an occasion to demonstrate the advantages of collective action and to raise levels of consciousness, we achieved only the former. The additional classroom was built but no increment to the people's understanding of reality was really inculcated. When working in communities it is so easy to be overwhelmed by the lack of everything, so much so that anything gained is hailed as a victory. But this kind of naiveté usually results only in temporary and minor changes.

Consciousness raising vs. dole-outs

One of the touchstones of community organization is consciousness-raising. Every activity impinges on consciousness and every rise in the level of awareness of the people results in a better organized community. But working with the poor always leads to the dilemma of whether one can sacrifice the sufferings of a group of people in the expectation that this very same situation may lead to a raised level of consciousness and the emergence of some social anger that can provide the basis for a more militant community. On the other hand, it is extremely difficult to stare a person in the face, much less convince him to transform his suffering into revolutionary fervor.
It is not uncommon for organizers to encounter situations wherein people request for services of either a personal nature or those that require the organizer to obtain things for them. For instance, requests for clothing, jobs, medicine, and other basic needs, are brought to the organizer since the people believe that he has access to these. Poverty has an uncanny way of depriving people of their last shred of pride and forcing them to virtually beg from the organizer.

To give them their most basic needs would however be to unwittingly pacify them and also to take their minds away from the problems of injustice and oppression. In addition, the situation can also provide the first spark in their final realization that there is nothing in the present set-up that can solve their problems unless they collectively decide to move. But then a rejection of such a simple request is usually taken either as an insult or as lack of concern and rather than provide the turning point for them to comprehend how they have been victimized by the system it may only serve to isolate the organizer. One occasion when we were faced with this dilemma was when we were approached by an elderly woman whose son had been imprisoned after being charged with stealing three coconuts. The sentence was for five years in Muntinlupa and the woman was distraught because he was one of the breadwinners in the family. She claimed he was innocent and had been framed by his companions. She had, in the course of the trial, sold their carabao and other possessions but they were gypped by the two lawyers who accepted bribes from the landowner from whose land the coconuts were stolen. This request came at the height of some other issues in the community which were of greater importance. At some other time, the issue could have been used to illustrate injustices in the legal system. No matter how hard we tried, the woman was primarily concerned with reducing her son's sentence and we could not get to first base in trying to raise her awareness of systematic ills. Ultimately, we decided to help, more out of a feeling of humanity than anything else. At the same time we tried to keep our efforts unknown to the community fearing that we would then be swamped by requests for legal aid. Our efforts, with the help of some lawyer colleagues, were successful but had almost no effect on our organizing efforts except goodwill.

Immediate economic impact vs. long-term political development

On a larger scale, the dilemma between consciousness raising and dole-outs is replicated when an organizer views the community as a totality. The average community is confronted by the problem of economic welfare. Most of the time the people expect an organizer to improve their economic conditions. Their perceptions are bound by the expectation that the organizer will raise their standard of living. On the individual level, the problems of death, illness, malnutrition and sanitation cannot be dismissed by the organizer even while he realizes that organizing a community means raising levels of consciousness, confronting basic structural problems and not merely improving physical conditions.
Economic impact projects most of the time serve to inspire the people towards the benefits of collective action and self-reliance. At the same time, however, these types of projects which bring superficial improvements to their lives also carry with them the potential of developing, too readily, a sense of satisfaction. These projects also serve as palliatives in the sense that they prolong the illusion that the system has a self-correcting mechanism. The people content themselves with small concessions and minor welfare gains which may retard their political development.

On the other hand, to emphasize political development, or the capacity of people to grasp the political realities that surround them, without impact projects that would conform to their expectations, would be to risk rote memorization of concepts which the people cannot relate to actual conditions. It is only through praxis that political consciousness can be strengthened and it is only when people are convinced that change is in fact taking place that they will listen and learn the abstract concepts that must be actualized in experience.

Many organizers, while accepting the importance of both political development and impact projects, have the tendency to tackle each as a separate phase. Unfortunately, it is political development that suffers since people are naturally more interested in projects that have an immediate impact on their lives. In many cases, people have attended sessions aimed at raising political consciousness more out of a sense of gratitude to the organizer. On the other hand, those who start the organizing process by politicizing the people do so on the assumption that the moment the people have acquired a fairly good grasp of reality, they will be in a better position to dictate their own future. Unfortunately, the poor are unused to the practice of conceptualizing and abstracting. The mental frame of generations of hand-to-mouth existence is one that is rooted to what a person can immediately see and hear. When political development is conducted in much the same way it is done among students in universities, the people find it very difficult to comprehend the discussions. Most of the time, they are able to memorize slogans and speak in generalities but are unable to really use this framework in guiding their moves to change reality.

Many organizers fail to balance their responses to the people's need for both impact projects and more substantial activities. This dilemma produces either communities that are contented with minor changes but lacks the political will to actualize the aims of an organized community, or organized settlements that are politically aware but unable to apply their newly-acquired ideas for the betterment of local conditions.

**Issue vs. non-issue based organizing**

Central to the aforementioned dilemma, is the problem posed by the type of organizing thrust to be used in the community. Most organizers start with issues that are felt by the people. By utilizing this approach, the chances of the possibilities for
proving the viability of organized action are better, and the potential for people to internalize the process of organizing is wider. And yet for all these advantages, issue-based organizing tends to deal with small issues and, in many cases, small interest groups. Those who subscribe to this style hope that each issue will be perceived as a manifestation of the ills of a larger whole. The problem that usually arises is that even before an issue is resolved, others crop up, thus keeping the organizer and the community continuously embroiled in disparate issues. Since these issues are concrete, it becomes more difficult to relate each one to the larger system, resulting in the possibility of neglecting or superficially treating the actual roots of all these issues.

More importantly, many issue-based organizers, not fully realizing that issues revolve around interest groups, often fail to make any distinction between the classes of people found in a community. On one hand, the organizer may have an issue that is based on class conflict, and on the other hand, another issue may lump together various people from various classes who are reacting to simple sociological strains. Issue-based organizing is also limited in the sense that communities tend to overlook the bases for unity. Consequently, organizing rises and falls as each issue is resolved.

In Pantoc, the primary problem that the women raised was their lack of employment. While they helped to till the land, most of their time was spent caring for the children and the home. Asked what they would want to do, they enthusiastically suggested that they would like to learn to sew. Our initial reaction was one of coldness to the idea for a number of reasons. First, sewing would not give them employment and would perhaps only add to the expenses since the women would want to practice their new skills. Second, most of the women had no steady access to a sewing machine and this would only put them further in debt to the wealthier people in the barrio whose sewing machines they would have to borrow. Finally, the agency that had offered to handle the sewing classes would only do so on condition that the trainees would sew for the agency for one year at astoundingly exploitative wages. No amount of covert convincing could however change the women’s minds and so the training went on. Looking back, perhaps we should have been more active in dissuading the women. Much time was spent on the training, time that could have been more productively used in other undertakings. Neither did the women fully grasp the relation of this small issue to the larger society. In such a situation, the women tended to view their totality in isolation and their links to the system only in terms of specific problems.

If issue-based organizing tends to surround the roots of the problem with peripheral problems, non-issue based organizing emphasizes the community as a whole in its relation to the larger reality. While the chances of developing a more mature and stable community are higher, the process leading towards its attainment is fraught with problems. Like long-term political
development, it is much more difficult for people to readily understand the workings of society since they are unused to participating in the determination of their own lives. The ultimate goal must be non-issue based organized communities although it seems impossible to achieve this without going through an initial phase of issue resolutions.

Democratic participation vs. creating a new elite

While community organization aims for full people's participation in change, participation requires a certain level of awareness. In any community there will always be more advanced and less advanced members. Democratic participation, especially at the start of the organizing process, cannot be accomplished by simply inviting anyone to large meetings of the community. In most cases, organizers spot potential leaders from among the people, train these leaders and raise their levels of consciousness. Through this process, local leaders become the key in propelling change.

Unfortunately, when leaders from the community receive the prominence and feel the power that goes with leadership, a new elite is in effect created. This poses certain problems since some leaders use their power for personal ends and try to maintain this new-found status by employing the same techniques that traditional leaders use. They therefore build on this power to the detriment of the community. At the same time, they are isolated from the people thus keeping the community in a state of dependence, not only on the organizer but also on their leaders. This situation tends to frustrate the aspirations of the community and retards the organizing process.

On the other hand, full people's participation also has its limitations. In a study of the levels and bases of consciousness of leaders in Pantoc, we identified certain factors that would account for the levels of consciousness of people. Most important were the actual experience of oppression, the ability to grasp ideas and the degree of benefits one received from the prevailing system. The more oppressed, the less one benefits from the system and the higher the capacity to get excited by ideas, the more critical and liberative one's consciousness tends to be. Unfortunately, while the former and the latter were factors associated with the masses in the community, the ability to grasp ideas was a characteristic of those who had had some education, the wealthier sectors of the community who were also the traditional leaders.

To expect everyone to fully participate would have enabled the traditional leaders who also wielded social and economic power, to get their way. We needed time to develop leaders from the masses who could hold their ground against the local oppressors. The solution was to set up the Sangguniang Pangkabuhayan ng Pantoc that would draw representation from the poorer sectors of the community. To avoid the possibility of cooptation as well as the creation of a sub-stratum of oppressors from the same class, each representative was accountable to a maximum of fifteen members.
who could easily be convened to assure democratic participation. In addition, these new leaders were trained in skills and knowledge that they could use for their constituents. More importantly, we tried to constantly instill a new concept of leadership both in the people and their leaders that would ensure a leadership that was not self-serving. While we were not completely successful, a marriage between democratic participation and the problems of a new elite was achieved, mainly because the new elite was not only accountable to the people but because the new leaders represented a constituency that was aware of its own rights and obligations.

**Lawful vs. subversive acts**

The boundaries between development-oriented activities and subversion have always been hazy. Consequently, most organizers have to constantly face the danger that their acts will be labelled subversive. In a sense there is an indirect relation between successful organizing and subversion, causing some organizers to consciously censor their own activities or to prematurely disappear from the scene of their activity. Earlier in the paper it was pointed out that conventional community organization is typically not held together by a concrete vision of the future, and therefore often fails to measure present society against the possibilities of an alternative social order. At the same time the expressed development goals of most authoritarian governments employ a rhetoric that does not run counter to the vague aims of community organization.

However, it is also the absence of a well-articulated future that allows organizers to become easily overwhelmed by concrete problems at the local level. They content themselves with small victories that make the existing system look slightly less oppressive either because certain concessions have been won or because minor victories tend to be remembered with pride by people who are only used to defeat.

This situation has definite advantages. As long as they do not raise the prospect of an alternative social order, organizers threaten no one and are by and large left free to operate within the community.

In Pantoc, we received our first taste of harassment almost immediately after we started to encourage the people to air their gripes against the barangay captain. On two successive occasions, we were visited by intelligence officers inquiring about our activities in the area. Key people in the area were also asked about our activities. In many cases, situations of this kind are initial warnings to organizers.

One dilemma of the organizer is that as organizing work escalates, conflicts become more intense. Organizing ceases to revolve only around peripheral issues and the object of attack shifts from local powers to larger ones. Discussion and reflection sessions do not start and end with local problems but are now rooted on questions about the larger social structure.
While organizers still have some freedom in confronting the power structure at the national level, this can be done only indirectly. The legal system, many organizers have noted, can accommodate only so much. One has to choose in many instances between outright failure or extra-legal means. The situation is aggravated when an organizer is faced either by the possibility of his actions being branded as subversive or by the growing frustration of the people he is organizing who are willing to go beyond the bounds of the law.

The year 1980 ushered the LINK-COD group into this dilemma. After two years of organizing we had decided to concentrate our efforts on the most deprived sectors of the community—the farmers and the landless rural poor. Confronted with people whose actual experience of oppression was a daily occurrence, and since our activities in the previous two years had already resolved some of the peripheral although immediately visible issues in the community, the character of organizing shifted to one which emphasized consciousness raising. From small groups and finally to a two-day seminar, we discussed with the people the roots of their problems. Essentially, our role was to evoke their interpretations of existing reality, summarize these, build upon these and provide data for them to more clearly grasp the situation. Three months of concentrated work produced certain results. During the seminar, even we were surprised at the depth of the discussions. The people were able to grasp totalities, articulate the primary causes of their poverty, related local to national and even international issues and translate this new consciousness, in simulated as well as actual conditions, into action. In the meantime, these very same people, made an effort to share what they knew, not only with other members of their own community but with adjacent communities.

Summary

The frenetic development race in which Third World countries have found themselves has tended to place a tremendous value on governments that have the capability of acting swiftly, decisively and effectively. The first casualty of such a process is authentic mass participation or democratic decision-making. Authoritarianism and centralized decision-making are justified in the name of industrialization and economic growth. A grassroots movement all over the Third World is however gathering force. Its development has been mainly fostered by the slow but heroic activities of a few voluntary organizations that specialize in organizing communities in the name of people's power. Confronted by populations that have become atomized into individual self-seeking units and accustomed to the predatory and distrustful ways of people who can only survive at the expense of their neighbors, community organizers are experiencing in a dramatic way the classic contradictions faced by all political activists. The basic humanism and populism of community organization make these contradictions even more intense and at times traumatic.

This paper has attempted to discuss the nature of these contradictions or issues, and has argued that the absence of a
specific and concrete vision of a more desirable future in community organization has served to retard, muddle and create problems for organizers. Many of these recurrent problems in organizing work could be successfully avoided or resolved if groups involved in this kind of undertaking constantly oriented themselves to larger visions of alternative social orders within which militant and organized communities can play a truly meaningful role. A vision of an alternative structure would serve as the final arbiter in resolving these dilemmas since what ultimately matters is that communities approach rather than deviate from this goal. At the same time, the clarity of purpose of an organizer also serves as the best means by which he can continuously assess his own perceptions so as not to be blinded by the dogmatism of slogans or by the liberalism of neutrality.

And yet a vision will never completely free an organizer from these dilemmas. At best it will minimize the frustrations of having to deal with them. The acceptance of the existence of these dilemmas as well as the constant assessment of their meaning will enable organizers to anticipate rather than simply react to situations.

The International Monetary System
and the New International Order
The Arusha Initiative: A Call for a United Nations Conference on International Money and Finance

The Inadequacy and Loss of Legitimacy of the International Monetary Fund Ismail-Sabri Abdalla
Swallowing the IMF Medicine in the 'Seventies Norman Girvan
Restructuring the International Monetary System Justinian F Rweyemamu
Comments on 'Restructuring the International Monetary System'. Luigi Spaventa
Background Notes on the International Monetary Fund

The IMF and the Third World: The Case of Jamaica, 1974–80
Norman Girvan, Richard Bernal and Wesley Hughes

A limited number of copies are still available, free, from the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 2 Ovre Slottsgatan, S 752 20, Uppsala, Sweden
PROBLEMATIQUE DE L’EAU EN MILIEU RURAL IVOIRIEN ET ASPECTS METHODOLOGIQUES DE L’ANIMATION RURALE

par Daniel Kadja
Institut d’Ethno-Sociologie
Université Nationale de Côte d’Ivoire
08 B.P. 865
Abidjan 08, Côte d’Ivoire

Original : Français

Résumé: Cet article examine l’adéquation du programme-eau aux structures sociales visées et, en particulier, la prise de conscience des paysans, l’intégration du programme à leur vécu quotidien et la promotion du paysan ivoirien. À la lumière des insuffisances que révèle l’analyse, l’auteur propose quelques axes fondamentaux d’une animation libératrice et d’une anti-promotion des paysans à partir des structures existantes et dans une optique auto-sectorielle. L’autonomie et l’amélioration de la qualité de la vie ne peuvent devenir effectives et efficaces que si l’on prend en compte toutes les dimensions de la vie des paysans.

THE PROBLÉMATIQUE OF WATER IN THE RURAL AREAS OF IVORY COAST AND METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RURAL MOBILISATION

Abstract: Rural extension work in the sectors of health and water development is criticized and a proposal is made of a new kind of relationship between authorities and peasants. The latter should have more power over their own affairs and a word to say about their development. A new system of rural pedagogy could be built up from the existing, living social structures in the African villages. These villages have a great deal of autonomy in their internal management, but when it comes to "external" relations, they are totally dependent on the modern world. The new pedagogy should reduce that dependence.

PROBLEMÁTICA DEL AGUA EN EL MEDIO RURAL DE MARFIL Y ASPECTOS METODOLOGICOS DE LA ANIMACIÓN RURAL

Resumen: Este artículo examina la adaptación del programa del agua a las estructuras sociales señaladas, y en especial, la toma de conciencia de los campesinos, la integración del programa en su diario vivir y la promoción del campesino de Costa de Marfil. A la luz de las insuficiencias que revela el análisis, el autor propone algunas ideas fundamentales de una animación liberadora y de una antipromoción de campesinos a partir de estructuras existentes y en una óptica autosectorial. La autonomía y el mejoramiento de la calidad de la vida no pueden llegar a ser efectivos y eficaces sino cuando se toma en cuenta todas las dimensiones de la vida de los campesinos.
PROBLÉMATIQUE DE L’EAU EN MILIEU RURAL IVOIRIEN ET ASPECTS METHODOLOGIQUES DE L’ANIMATION RURALE

I LES DONNÉES PHYSIQUES DU PROBLÈME

La Côte d’Ivoire s’inscrit dans la partie méridionale de l’Afrique Occidentale. Son relief peu mouvementé facilite les échanges atmosphériques. On y rencontre au Sud-Ouest et au Sud-Est des zones recevant plus de 2000 mm/an de pluies, entre ces deux zones existe une région formant le climat baouléen qui connaît une pluviométrie de l’ordre de 1200 à 1600 mm/an. Seule la zone Nord et Nord-Est du pays est plus sèche avec un peu moins de 1000 mm/an.

En sa partie Sud, la Côte d’Ivoire est recouverte par une forêt dense, tandis que le Nord est caractérisé par une savane tantôt arborée, tantôt herbeuse. Entre la partie méridionale des lagunes et de la forêt dense, et le tiers septentrional du pays, s’étend une zone de transition forêt savane.

C’est la région des savanes du Nord qui constitue le réservoir d’eau de la Côte d’Ivoire, d’où partent trois grands fleuves qui l’arrosernt : Sassandra, Bandama, Comoé; il faut compléter ce tableau hydrographique en mentionnant d’autres cours non moins importants tels que le Cavally et les courtes rivières qui coulent vers le Nord et appartiennent au bassin du Niger et de Volta noire.

Ce réseau hydrographique relativement important par rapport à l’étendue du territoire (322.000 km²) n’a pourtant pas permis jusqu’ici aux populations rurales de résoudre de façon adéquate, qualitativement et quantitativement, les problèmes quotidiens que pose l’approvisionnement en eau potable. Trois faits rendent compte de cette situation:

1. Presque tous les villages et agglomérations rurales sont situés en retrait des grands cours d’eau ci-devant identifiés.

2. Il y a une inégale répartition des précipitations qu’accentue depuis environ six ans, une sécheresse persistante dans le centre et le nord.

3. Enfin, l’inexistence au niveau de chaque communauté villageoise, d’une structure qui aurait pour but de résoudre collectivement le problème de l’eau potable.
La Côte d'Ivoire est placée dans un contexte d'essai de développement, où du point de vue sociologique, l'adaptation et l'intégration des diverses catégories de populations à leur milieu social et naturel (ce qui suppose la maîtrise des facteurs sociologiques et écologiques) aux nouvelles structures de production, s'imposent comme une exigence vitale à la fois pour l'équilibre social interne de la société ivoirienne dans son ensemble et pour l'économie qui la supporte. L'alimentation en eau potable dont le projet a été arrêté par les pouvoirs publics, veut résoudre deux problèmes afin de faciliter cette intégration et cette adaptation des paysans dont il est question:

1. Le manque d'eau à proximité des villages.

2. La contamination des points d'eau non aménagés source de nombreuses maladies hydriques qui immobilisent une importante partie des populations rurales. Sous son premier rapport (aspect quantitatif) le programme vise la création en un premier temps de 7000 points d'eau entre 1974 et 1980.

Sous son second rapport (aspect qualitatif):

Il s'agit de rentabiliser au maximum des investissements en amenant les paysans à utiliser effectivement ces points d'eau équipés. Pour y parvenir, l'ONPR I/ prend en charge l'éducation de la population rurale afin que celle-ci change les habitudes qui l'empêchent de "profiter pleinement des avantages de ces équipements".

A ce niveau de la problématique, le Programme-Eau comme tous les projets de développement, est une action qui prend pour cible le milieu rural avec un objectif précis: la restructuration et la modification de ce milieu, dans le sens visé par les leaders politico-administratifs et les technocrates.

En effet, qu'il s'agisse de la création de nouvelles activités de production ou de manière plus complexe, d'opérer une mutation dans le comportement des paysans, les projets de développement interviennent sur un milieu déjà structuré, ayant sa cohérence et sa dynamique propres. Tout le problème est de savoir dans quelle mesure la cohérence structurelle d'un projet de développement peut se substituer ou recouvrir celle du milieu rural choisi, et répondre ainsi aux objectifs définis par les planificateurs.

S'agissant du Programme-Eau, cette question de l'adéquation du projet aux structures sociales visées peut être exprimé à trois niveaux.

---

1/ ONPR : Office National de Promotion Rurale.
1. En quoi ce programme-eau, au niveau pédagogique a-t-il débouché chez les paysans sur une prise de conscience du danger de l'eau polluée?

2. Dans quelle mesure le programme-eau a-t-il été intégré par les paysans à la dynamique de leurs structures sociales, et à leur vécu quotidien?

3. Troisième question solidaire des deux précédentes, en quoi le programme eau, au plan global, a-t-il contribué à la promotion du paysan ivoirien?

On peut examiner à ces trois niveaux, au vue des résultats acquis, les implications sociologiques d'une telle opération en milieu rural.

III LA DEMARCHE METHODOLOGIQUE DU PROGRAMME-EAU ET SES IMPLICATIONS

3.1 Une pédagogie sectorielle

Dans ses objectifs, le Programme-Eau se saisit essentiellement comme une action sectorielle visant à procurer de l'eau potable aux villageois et à sensibiliser ceux-ci aux dangers de l'eau polluée. Pour y parvenir, parallèlement aux forages des puits, des équipes d'animateurs avaient été constituées pour effectuer un travail de sensibilisation auprès des paysans par deux types d'actions:

1. Les séances d'éducation en matière d'hygiène;

2. La formation de comités de santé chargés de veiller à la propreté des puits.

Sur le terrain le caractère sectoriel de l'opération va rencontrer deux contradictions majeures: l'attitude de dépassement des paysans, et le formalisme ou l'inertie des comités de santé.

3.2 L'attitude de dépassement

Face aux animateurs du Programme-Eau, les questions et les besoins qu'expriment les paysans dépassent largement l'action entreprise. En effet, les paysans posent des questions sur l'alphabetisation, le groupement coopératif, les rapports avec l'administration (carte d'identité, acte de naissance etc... modalités d'obtention des puits selon les besoins du village etc...) maîtrise des techniques importées (comment réparer les pompes des puits). Face à ces demandes multiples la réponse ne peut et ne doit être que multiple. C'est que pour les paysans à travers ce programme-eau, se pose une exigence de promotion rurale globale. Mieux: pour eux, rien ne se coupe en "domaines", sous ce rapport, la promotion
3.3 Formalisme et inertie des comités de santé

Du point de vue pratique, la présence d'un comité de santé au sein du village, traduit pour l'Animateur et l'ONPR la concrétisation de la sensibilisation.

Dans les faits, le phénomène de l'eau et la sensibilisation entreprise par l'animation, n'ont pas entraîné un processus de dynamique sociale au sein des villages par l'auto-génération de comités d'organisation. En effet, les comités de santé ne sont pas des créations dont l'initiative revient aux villageois. Ils surviennent à la suite des propositions et des insistances des Animateurs. De là proviennent leur formalisme traduit en termes de Président, de Secrétaire etc... et leur inertie liée à leur caractère exogène par rapport aux structures sociales villageoises. Ce formalisme et cette incapacité à susciter un processus de changement indiquent le plus souvent, que les membres des comités de santé chargés de veiller à la propreté des points d'eau amenagés, n'ont en général aucun pouvoir dans les villages, et apparaissent plutôt souvent comme des éléments manipulables que la communauté villageoise pousse au devant des Animateurs.

Ce sont là des situations qui peuvent constituer des obstacles psycho-sociologiques majeurs au niveau d'une animation qui doit avoir pour objectif d'éveiller la conscience des villageois. Pour l'essentiel, cela signifie que l'hygiène en général et celle de l'eau en particulier ne sont pas perçues pour l'instant comme un état quotidien, permanent. Sous ce rapport, la référence à Dieu pour justifier toutes les pathologies, atteste d'une part que la liaison eau-maladie n'est pas encore faite, et d'autre part que les comités de santé n'ont pu déboucher sur une mutation mentale et gestuelle.

3.4 La maîtrise technologique "confisquée"

La pédagogie sectorielle du programme-eau n'a pas défini la maîtrise par les villageois des problèmes technologiques liés aux puits et aux pompes, comme un des axes fondamentaux d'une animation libératrice. Ainsi par exemple, la première panne de la pompe du puits aurait pu constituer un bon prétexte pour former les paysans à démonter, diagnostiquer et réparer la pompe; pour cotiser afin d'acheter les pièces de rechange nécessaires.

En fait, la logique d'une animation de promotion ne peut coïncider avec celles des entreprises chargées de la réalisation technique du projet. La logique dominante de celle-ci est la productivité; accomplir leur contrat au coût de revient le moins élevé.
Les villageois eux sont d'une part médusés par les machines et leur efficacité et d'autre part étonnés des pannes successives, et totalement impuissants, car ils ne connaissent rien à la pompe. Au demeurant, les paysans se voient contraints de vivre avec une technologie que sont seuls à posséder des personnages étrangers et inconnus.

L'opération programme-eau met donc en lumière les contradictions aliénantes de la logique productiviste appliquée à des villageois "bénéficiaires" et sans capacité propre de contrôle, par des entreprises capitalistes.

3.5 "Les puits du gouvernement"

Le mode d'intervention des organismes officiels et privés impliqués dans l'opération n'a pas fait des villageois les acteurs du Programme. Dans les faits, les puits et les forages sont exécutés sans consulter les villageois, ni sur le choix de l'emplacement, ni sur le jour d'arrivée des techniciens au village.

Enfin et surtout, la participation des villageois est niée par la gratuité des points d'eau aménagés. Cette déresponsabilisation des communautés rurales fait d'elles des assistés. Le puits, le forage, c'est l'affaire du Gouvernement. Si celui-ci a donné un ou deux puits il peut encore en donner trois ou quatre. Dans certains villages on va jusqu'à attendre que le Sous-Préfet donne l'ordre de puiser l'eau du puits qui vient d'être amenagé.

Cette brève évaluation des actions du Programme-Eau, de l'ONPR permet de réexaminer, à la lumière de ses insuffisances, les axes fondamentaux ou les implications qui doivent guider un projet de ce type.

IV DES AXES FONDAMENTAUX D'UNE ANIMATION LIBERATRICE ET D'UNE AUTO-PROMOTION

Le Programme-Eau de l'ONPR tel qu'il vient d'être présenté se devait de mettre en œuvre une animation rurale dont les directions sont multiples. Il s'en faut que celles qui vont être examinées incessamment soient les seules; mais elles nous semblent être les plus fondamentales et déterminantes en raison de leur caractère global et dialectique.

4.1 La qualité de la vie rurale: une problématique anti-sectorielle

Le point d'eau amenagé ne saurait être la cible unique de l'animation. Si l'animation en matière de santé doit produire des résultats, c'est à coup sûr autour du puits pris comme point d'ancrage pour d'autres actions intégrées dans une pédagogie globale. Ainsi par exemple, la clôture du puits peut déboucher sur le parcage des animaux, qui à son tour doit conduire à une
alimentation rationnelle du bétail faisant appel à l'utilisation des produits et déchets agricoles, pour aboutir à la rentabilisation du bétai par une définition de sa place et de son rôle dans la production économique des paysans.

En tout état de cause, il nous semble évident que l'amélioration de la qualité de la vie des paysans (axée ici autour du problème sanitaire posé par l'eau), passe par la résolution d'autres contradictions socio-économiques et socio-culturelles générées par l'état de sous-développement.

Ainsi, dans l'objectif d'amener les paysans à résoudre leurs problèmes de santé, il convient d'inclure les questions d'organisation du travail, d'apprentissage du contact avec les autorités politico-administratives, d'organisation de la commercialisation de leurs produits (l'acquisition et l'usage du filtre à eau ne peuvent être possible et effectif que si les paysans ont résolu certaines de leurs difficultés économiques). Sous tous ces rapports, et en raison des contraintes aigües du sous-développement que vivent les paysans, nous pouvons dire que l'éducation sanitaire doit être intégrée à une animation globale.

4.2 Partir des structures d'animation villageoise

Il existe au sein des communautés villageoises de la Côte d'Ivoire, des structures collectives autour desquelles les populations organisent leur vie sociale de manière cohérente et autonome. Parmi ces structures auto-animées on peut citer:

- les communautés d'âge (classes d'âge, groupes d'âge);
- les communautés généalogiques (lignages aux segments de lignage à dominance matrilinéaire ou patrilinéaire);
- les communautés résidentielles (quartiers, cours, concessions).

Au niveau de toutes ces structures, il existe une animation primaire dans l'action. C'est par cette animation primaire que les détenteurs du savoir et de l'autorité (guérisseurs, herboristes devins etc...), les maîtres d'initiation, les conteurs, les griots, les musiciens, mobilisent la communauté pour des actions culturelles, économiques, et politiques déterminées.

Aujourd'hui, à travers des structures modernes qui dans la majorité des cas sont soit extérieures soit parallèles aux premières, des animateurs veulent mobiliser les mêmes populations à des fins politiques culturelles et économiques. Mais cette animation reste sectorielle et ponctuelle, et par conséquent incapable de mobiliser l'ensemble des populations de façon permanente pour plusieurs raisons:
1. Les structures à travers lesquelles s'expriment cette animation sont excentrées ou parallèles par rapport à l'organisation villageoise.

2. Ces structures sont conçues et proposées par des organismes officiels ou privés exogènes (par rapport aux structures villageoises).

3. De manière générale le mode d'intervention de ces organismes relève de l'assistanat plutôt que de la responsabilisation.

4. Les agents animateurs sont dans leur majorité des étrangers au village qu'ils animent.

5. Qu'elles se nomment GVC 1/, Comité de Santé, SLD 2/ etc... la maîtrise des nouvelles structures n'est pas encore assurée par les communautés villageoises qui ne les intègrent pas dans leur système de reproduction socio-économique.

Toutes ces raisons qui engagent et maintiennent les communautés villageoises dans un processus d'exclusion et de marginalisation au niveau d'un développement auto-géré expliquent largement l'échec, les résistances et les lenteurs que rencontrent les actions éducatives et animatrices auprès des populations. Cette situation, en rapport avec les raisons présentées ci-dessus, invitent à faire les propositions suivantes dans le cadre des actions de l'ONPR:

1. Il faut partir des structures villageoises existantes; le principe qui anime cette proposition est que les structures villageoises, modernes ou traditionnelles, à partir desquelles l'action peut être engagée, doivent être des structures auto-entretenues ayant leur dynamique propre.

2. Pour ce faire, il convient de recenser dans chaque cas, les structures internes existant dans chaque village, d'identifier et de comprendre les modes de mobilisation de ces structures.

3. Associer les communautés villageoises aux prise de décision, à travers des structures de concertation à mettre en place après consultation des populations.

En somme la méthodologie d'un projet tel que le Programme-Eau, du point de vue de sa cohérence (interne et externe) suppose la prise en compte des structures des communautés rurales sans

1/ G.V.C. Groupement à Vocation Coopérative.

2/ S.L.D. Société Locale de Développement.
4.3 Auto-promotion et participation des paysans

Les paysans sont l'épicentre de l'Afrique; ils sont au cœur de l'Afrique, dont ils gouvernent, scindent et rythment les battements; mais paradoxalement, ils sont les grands oubliés, les exploités et dominés de cette Afrique de fin de siècle entraînée dans un vaste mouvement d'échanges économiques internationaux inégaux et appauvrissants pour elle. Comment faire pour que les paysans ne soient plus ces damnés de la terre dont parlait Frantz Fanon? Il faut leur donner la parole et même le pouvoir par le biais de l'animation. Certes le paysan à son insu, est déjà programmé dans des plans quinquennaux de production que doivent soutenir des aides extérieures non moins programmées. Mais parler de l'auto-promotion autour d'un projet tel que celui du Programme-Eau en Côte d'Ivoire, c'est d'abord permettre aux paysans de parler: pour exprimer leur besoin.

En effet c'est un acte éducatif que d'apprendre à exprimer des besoins dans la mesure où tous les besoins ne sont ni ressentis, ni exprimés, ni explicites.

C'est ensuite donner aux paysans la capacité d'identifier le lieu ou les personnes à partir desquels s'élaboré le discours sur les conditions et les orientations du développement.

Donner le pouvoir aux paysans? C'est avant tout leur permettre de décider des actions qui sont liées à leur vie, et d'accéder à l'information. En effet, si la communauté villageoise doit prendre en charge son développement, il lui est nécessaire de connaître les multiples voies conduisant aux décisions administratives.

Dans l'ensemble, l'autonomie de la communauté villageoise reste encore grande lorsqu'il s'agit pour elle de se référer aux structures autochtones pour décider de certaines actions; par contre cette autonomie reste quasi inexistante quand il faut entrer en relation avec l'extérieur. C'est cette situation que résume le schéma ci-dessous.
La problématique du discours et du pouvoir paysan, et la prise en compte des structures internes de la communauté villageoise pour une réelle auto-promotion des paysans, nécessitent la pratique d'une animation "créatrice" dont l'axe principal doit être constitué par l'objectif suivant : l'éveil des consciences celui-ci suppose d'abord la connaissance des hommes qui composent le milieu; cette connaissance ne saurait se situer dans le seul champ méthodologique sujet-objet mais dans celui plus dynamique de la concertation, de la réflexion collective et de la découverte mutuelle. Ici l'animateur, dans le cadre par exemple du Programme-Eau, doit jouer essentiellement un rôle de décèlement et de médiation dans le processus qui amènera la communauté villageoise à saisir toutes les implications des solutions que nécessitent les contradictions rencontrées. Deux schémas résument les situations que peuvent vivre les paysans.

Schéma 1 : Logique de l'animation "créatrice"
Si dans le schéma 1 les flèches sont à double sens, indiquant par là le caractère dialectique du processus d'animation mis en place, dans le schéma 2, il n'en est pas de même où, à toutes les instances l'animation est à sens unique. Si un organisme d'État de promotion rurale (tel que l'ONPR) veut se valoriser aux yeux des paysans, c'est vers la cohérence du schéma 1 qu'il devra tendre.

Le pouvoir paysan entre souvent en contradiction avec le pouvoir de l'État. En effet le pouvoir paysan dont on parle tant s'arrête là où commence celui de l'État et de ses superstructures.

La self-reliance et l'amélioration de la qualité de la vie du monde rural (à travers un programme même aussi sectoriel que celui exposé ici), ne peuvent devenir effectives et efficaces, que si on prend en compte toutes les dimensions de la vie des paysans. Mais c'est surtout permettre aux paysans de se constituer structuellement en force économique et politique.

Conjurer la faim, la maladie, l'exode rural, la désintégration des structures sociales rurales, c'est redonner dignité et confiance aux communautés rurales, par la reconnaissance de leur force de développement, d'adaptation au changement; car c'est dans les structures de chaque société que résident les forces qui doivent assurer son développement.
women and disability

We live in a disabling world. At least one out of ten persons is physically, mentally or sensorially disabled. That means more than 450 million people, or 10% of the world's population. More than half of them are female.

Everyone of us is at risk. The risk however is not of the same degree for everyone. If one is born poor and female, the risks are especially high. Of the 100 million people presently disabled due to malnutrition caused by poverty, it is pregnant women and female children who face the greatest risk.

There are other causes of disability, for example lack of safe drinking water or proper sanitation, accidents on the road, at work and at home, old age, abuse of alcohol, drugs and of course wars.

Disabled women need special attention because the impact of their disabilities is magnified by unequal opportunities. They suffer double or multiple discrimination. They are also among the poorest of the poor: in many countries, although it is women who grow, prepare and preserve the food, they are the last to profit from it.

A kit on the special situation of disabled women in relation to development has been produced by the Joint UN Information Committee/NGO Sub-Group on Women and Development of the ad hoc Working Group on Development Education. It has been prepared by Eva Zabolai-Csekme and coordinated by Ed Sackstein of the International Labour Organisation, in collaboration with UNICEF, WHO, UNDP, FAO, and a number of non-governmental organisations. It is the first of a series of kits on Women and Development, intended for use by non-governmental and special interest groups, and is expected to be available mid-1981.
LADRILLOS

LAS MUJERES TOMAN LA PALABRA: UNA COMUNICACIÓN ALTERNATIVA FEMENINA

por Adriana Santa Cruz
ILET
Apartado 85-025
Mexico 20, DF, Mexico

Idioma original: Español

Resumen: La imagen de la mujer y de los atributos materiales, físicos y psicológicos que le confiere la cultura transnacional es un componente fundamental del contenido de los medios de comunicación predominantes. Estos atributos constituyen la que este artículo llama el Modelo femenina transnacional que aísla a la mujer de su medio ambiente, de los problemas sociales, de las diferencias, en una palabra, de la realidad. Este modelo es difundido sin la menor modificación en más de veinte países de América Latina, sin tener en cuenta los rasgos físicos o culturales específicos de las numerosas culturas del continente. No es sino la imagen de una mujer esencialmente consumidora cuyo nivel socio-económico es el nivel de un décimo apenas de las mujeres de América Latina. Se necesita otros medios de comunicación para desmitificar el modelo transnacional y reemplazar esta abstracción por una imagen de mujeres verdaderas. El artículo examina algunos de los problemas y propone alternativas capaces de reflejar la participación de las mujeres en el proceso de otro desarrollo mediante el cual ellas podrían iniciar la tarea de romper las barreras que las oprimen.

WOMEN TAKE THE FLOOR: AN ALTERNATIVE WOMEN’S MEDIA

Abstract: A basic component of the dominant media is the image of women presented with the material, physical, and psychological characteristics attributed to them by the transnational culture. These characteristics constitute what in this paper is called the Transnational Feminine Model. In this woman and her surroundings, social problems, differences, and the basic aspects of reality disappear. Without the slightest modification, this model circulates throughout more than 20 Latin American countries, and it contains not one physical or cultural feature originated in any of the continent's many cultures. It is the image of an essentially consumption-oriented woman whose socio-economic level is that of no more than 10% of the women from that continent. Alternative media should attempt to de-mystify it and replace that abstract model with one reflecting an image of real women. The paper looks at some of the problems and suggests alternatives, with an aim to reflect on women's participation in endogenous and self-reliant development processes through which they may begin to break the many barriers oppressing them.
LES FEMMES PRENENT LA PAROLE: POUR UNE AUTRE COMMUNICATION FÉMININE

Résumé: L'image de la femme et des attributs matériels, physiques et psychologiques qui lui confère la culture transculturel est une composante fondamentale du contenu des médias prédominante. Cet attribut constituit de que cet article appelle le Modèle feminisation transnational qui éloque la femme de son environnement, des problèmes sociaux, des différences, en un mot, de la réalité. Ce modèle est dit par la moindre modification dans plus de vingt pays d'Amérique Latine sans référence aux traits physiques ou culturels spécifiques aux nouvelles cultures du continent. Il n'est que l'image d'une femme essentiellement consommatrice dont le niveau socio-économique est celui d'un dixième à peine des femmes d'Amérique Latine. D'autres médias sont nécessaires qui s'efforcent de démystifier le modèle transculturel et de remplacer cette abstraction par une image des femmes réelles. L'article examine quelques-uns des problèmes et suggère des alternatives susceptibles de refléter la participation des femmes au processus d'un autre développement par lequel elles pourraient entreprendre de briser les barrières qui les oppriment.

JALONS POUR UN AUTRE DÉVELOPPEMENT

Tel est le titre d'une section régulière, préparée par Charles A. Jeanneret-Grosjean, de la nouvelle Revue canadienne d'études du développement (Université d'Ottawa, 65 Avenue Hastey, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada). Au sommaire du No. 1, une présentation par Charles Jeanneret-Grosjean (qui a activement participé au projet tiers système de la FIPAD), un article d'Ignacy Sachs (en anglais) et le rapport de Scheveningen, en français. Au sommaire du No. 2, 'Styles de vie et planification' par Ignacy Sachs et la reproduction (en anglais) de Matériaux pour d'autres stratégies de développement, Dossier FIPAD 17.

MARKINGS FOR ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT

Adriana Santa Cruz

LAS MUJERES TOMAN LA PALABRA: UNA COMUNICACIÓN ALTERNATIVA FEMENINA

Los medios de comunicación no reflejan la situación real de las mujeres latinoamericanas. Sus experiencias no son noticia. Menos aún lo son los esfuerzos que, a lo largo del continente, están realizando por superar su problemas de miseria, enfermedad, ignorancia, dependencia y discriminación.

Las grandes masas constituidas por las mujeres de las áreas rurales, las pobladoras, las que con escasos medios luchan por sacar adelante a sus hijos, las obreras; todas esas mujeres que engrosan las cifras de la pobreza y la extrema pobreza de este continente simplemente no existen en los medios informativos. Esas mujeres no están en el temario de quienes deciden qué imagen de la mujer merece proyectarse a través de las agencias de noticias, la televisión, la radio y la prensa. No hay espacio para ellas en la concepción mercantil de la noticia que promueve e implanta el sistema transnacional de comunicaciones.

El resultado es que, dentro de América Latina y en otras partes del mundo, imperan la desinformación, la distorsión de la imagen de la mujeres latinoamericanas y la incomunicación entre ellas.

Es un hecho que los medios no definen sus políticas con criterios que apunten a la satisfacción de las necesidades que agobián a las grandes mayorías de mujeres, ni se plantean como objetivo el que éstas participen en procesos de desarrollo endógenos y autosostenidos a través de los cuales vayan rompiendo los múltiples cercos que las oprimen.

La comunicación dominante responde a un modelo transnacional de comunicaciones tendientes a abrirle paso y consolidar un modelo de desarrollo elitista, consumista y transnacional, a la vez que articula el funcionamiento del mercado. La lógica que la rige es consecuente con ese hecho, y sus receptores son concebidos, fundamentalmente, como potenciales compradores; seres a los cuales venderles la información, los productos y los estilos de vida que se promueven a través de la publicidad que los financia.

Este fenómeno no atañe exclusivamente a las mujeres. Forma parte de una estructura de comunicación que afecta a la sociedad en su conjunto. Por otra parte, el fenómeno de la comunicación tampoco

1/ En América Latina 110 millones de habitantes tienen un ingreso per cápita anual inferior a 75 dólares. 200 millones viven con un ingreso per cápita anual inferior a los 200 dólares (Banco Mundial). Vale decir, casi el 60% de la población latinoamericana vive en condiciones de miseria.
es un hecho aislado, pero es neurálgico por el lugar estratégico que ocupa en la sociedad. Es tan vital para la mantención de sistemas opresivos, reflejo de intereses minoritarios, como lo es para quienes creemos en la necesidad y en la posibilidad de un cambio.

La mujer, sin embargo, es particularmente importante para el sistema social y productivo dominante por sus múltiples roles específicos y los medios tienen para ella políticas particulares. La funcionalidad de la mujer al sistema se manifiesta en diversos planos.

- Como consumidora, es la responsable del 75% a 85% de las decisiones privadas de consumo.
- Como eje y sostenedora del núcleo familiar donde se realiza el consumo.
- Como una receptora especialmente vulnerable de la ideología transmitida a través de los medios de comunicación y la publicidad y, a la vez, como agente transmisor de la misma (educación de los hijos).
- Como contingente productivo de reserva y como mano de obra barata, lleva a cabo los trabajos más indeseables y mal pagados.
- Convertida en objeto, es un poderoso seílluo capaz de acrecentar el consumo de otros objetos.
- Como contingente político de reserva, es activable en los momentos en que peligra el orden establecido.

En este marco, los medios de información dominantes han desplegado grandes esfuerzos y desarrollado políticas en permanente evolución para garantizar la adhesión de los sectores femeninos al sistema.

Es imperiosa, pues, la necesidad de hacer esfuerzos especiales por generar una respuesta tendiente a neutralizar el impacto nocivo del sistema de comunicaciones imperante y crear una comunicación alternativa, que se conciba a sí misma como un arma educativa y liberadora. Ninguna sociedad puede plantearse siquiera la posibilidad de "otro desarrollo" si no es capaz de visualizar y encarar los problemas específicos de sus mujeres con realismo y voluntad de superarlos, y ningún Nuevo Orden Mundial de la Información y la Comunicación sería tal, si no es capaz de responder con responsabilidad a esa tarea.

Teniendo en cuenta que la puesta en práctica y la capacidad de impacto de una comunicación alternativa dependen de muchos factores: espacio político, cuota de poder, capacidad de organización, medios económicos, tecnología adecuada, y otros, creemos posible intentar algunas aproximaciones que son factibles de ponerse en práctica, hoy, en la mayoría de los países de América Latina en el campo de las comunicaciones femeninas.
El Modelo Transnacional Femenino y las mujeres latinoamericanas

Un elemento esencial de las comunicaciones dominantes es la imagen femenina presentada con las características materiales, físicas y psicológicas que la cultura transnacional le asigna.

Estas características se artican en lo que hemos denominado el Modelo Transnacional Femenino, y son la suma de políticas y propuestas de las comunicaciones dominantes hacia la mujer.

A partir de un conjunto de cánones estéticos referidos a la apariencia física, los medios lanzan la carta de presentación del modelo. Este diseño, fácilmente distinguible, define las características visibles del tipo ideal de mujer, y promovido por imágenes que son estéticas, decorativas y llamativas, es el foco utilizado por el sistema para irradiar los aspectos más psicológicos y ocultos de la identidad del ser femenino requerido, así como muchas de las determinantes de su vida afectiva, cultural, social y política.

El modelo es una de las manifestaciones del proyecto homogenizador de la cultura transnacional. Responde a la necesidad de que todas, a través del mundo, lleguemos a ser lo más parecidas posibles como lectoras y consumidoras. Circula, sin ningún matiz de diferencia, por más de veinte países de América Latina y no tiene un sólo rasgo físico o cultural que se origine en una de las tantas culturas del continente. Es la imagen de una mujer esencialmente consumista que pertenece a un nivel socio-económico que, en este continente, alcanzan menos del 10% de las mujeres. Sus héroes y heroínas se encuentran entre las estrellas del cine, la televisión y el jet-set, a los cuales circunscribe su mundo cultural. La imagen joven, esbelta, occidental y sexualmente "irresistible", se plantea como el sueño posible de toda mujer y una meta por la cual luchar. Pretende ser la esencia de La Mujer, con mayúscula, Algo capaz de hermanar a todas las mujeres, sin distinción de raza, clase, ideología o credo. En esa mujer y en su contorno, los problemas sociales, las diferencias y lo fundamental de la realidad, se desdibujan. Se desenvuelve en un mundo armonioso, sin contradicciones, que es preciso preservar para que nada cambie; para que todo siga igual.

La consecuencia es que la imagen promovida es la de una mujer acrítica, que acepta cánones impuestos, avala la sociedad y su situación en todos los aspectos que son vitales a la mantención del sistema. Su capacidad de reacción se limita a los momentos en que éste se ve amenazado por fuerzas de cambio.

Un contrapunto necesario

Porque el Modelo Transnacional Femenino es un conjunto de políticas de promoción y uso de una imagen mítica de la mujer, una comunicación alternativa debería apuntar a demistificar esa imagen y substituir ese diseño abstracto reflejando imágenes de mujeres reales. La indígena, la obrera, la mujer de clase media, e incluso aquella que a veces sufre contradicciones de clase al
La nueva imagen de la mujer son todas las mujeres reales, insertas en contextos reales, con necesidades reales, y no un "cliché" producto de las necesidades de expansión del sistema capitalista transnacional. En esas imágenes veremos aparecer vidas afectivas, problemas laborales, búsquedas y soluciones que nada tienen que ver con la creación maniquea de las comunicaciones dominantes.

Una imagen pluralista

Sin embargo, no hay tampoco una imagen de la mujer alternativa. Las diferencias y contradicciones entre esas mujeres no deben encubrirse sino señalarse e investigarse a fondo. Reflejan las diferencias y contradicciones de la sociedad y deben darse a conocer. Es importante detectar la escala de valores de muchos tipos de mujeres de distintos orígenes culturales, niveles socio-económicos, profesiones, actividades y realidades personales.

Son negativos los intentos de universalizar modelos que prueben, arbitrariamente, que todas somos mujeres y, en consecuencia, iguales o muy similares. Hay aspectos en que unas mujeres explotan u oprimen a otras mujeres, y áreas en que es muy difícil conciliar la solidaridad. Una comunicación alternativa puede hacer conciencia en aquellas que explotan y en aquellas que son explotadas. La lucha común contra el machismo no basta para superar desigualdades que sólo pueden resolverse a través de un cambio profundo en las actuales estructuras sociales.

Una visión crítica ante la vida

Es necesario que, en una comunicación alternativa para la mujer, se presenten imágenes que motiven a las receptoras a plantearse críticamente frente a sí mismas y al mundo que las rodea. Esa actitud crítica debe abarcar todos los aspectos de su vida y del contexto social y político en que se da. La pasividad lleva a aceptar per sé los criterios morales, políticos, religiosos e ideológicos que la determinan como persona y como parte de la sociedad. Su participación creativa sólo puede darse a partir de una actitud crítica.

La banalización en los medios femeninos: una forma de desprecio

Una característica del estilo de las comunicaciones dominantes, cuando se dirigen a la mujer, es la banalización. Tamizar una noticia o un tema, "adaptarlo" para que sea "comprensible" a un público femenino, ha pasado a ser sinónimo de trivializar.
El supuesto no es sólo que las mujeres son incapaces de comprender un problema si no se les simplifica al máximo..., al mismo tiempo se le presenta la noticia desde una perspectiva que no resulte disonante con "el mundo de la mujer". Existen ejemplos constantes en las revistas y programas femeninos en que se presenta a un personaje destacado por su aporte a la sociedad, dando solo detalles de su vida sentimental, su dieta para mantenerse esbelto, o su buen gusto en materia de vestimenta o decoración.

Cuando un medio alternativo se dirige a las mujeres debe dejar de abordarla como a un ser inferior. Debe poner fin a la banalización, que es una forma de ocultamiento de la realidad y una manifestación de desprecio.

Por una noticia integradora

Lo que los medios de comunicación tradicionales presentan como "el mundo de la mujer" es una coerción. Es una manera de relegarla a sus roles tradicionales, y una forma de mantenerla en la periferia de los problemas que la atañen.

En una comunicación alternativa, debemos plantearnos el desafío de descubrir la especificidad de lo femenino, sin perder de vista el que las mujeres son parte de la sociedad. Si no se conjugan esos dos factores, se corre el riesgo de recaer en el vicio de desvincular a las mujeres de sus problemas sociales globales que afectan a todos por igual.

El mundo de la mujer es el mundo punto. Sin limitaciones. Las mujeres tienen parte y responsabilidad en todas las áreas del quehacer social, y lo femenino no es una parcialización de la mujer, es toda la mujer. Probablemente, la mayor especificidad de lo femenino se encuentre en las formas particulares de opresión que sufre y en las políticas particulares que debe asumir para superarlas.

Estos elementos deben tomarse en cuenta para replantear lo que para las mujeres puede ser noticia. Noticia que la informe y la instruya; noticia que le permita descubrir los fenómenos sociales que hoy se le ocultan en el periodismo dirigido a ella; noticia que salga del terreno anecdótico y mueva al conocimiento, a la reflexión crítica y a la participación.

Libertad y falsa liberación

El concepto de libertad es otro de los tantos valores manipulados por los medios dominantes dirigidos a la mujer.

Frente al impulso de las mujeres por romper el cerco de opresiones milenarias (en un momento en que por todas partes surgen brotes de rebeldía), los medios responden con dos promesas de falsa liberación: la emancipación sexual y la liberación por el consumo. El estímulo sexual es utilizado por la publicidad como el suelo más eficaz para la venta de sus productos y el consumo femenino es presentado como un medio de afirmación de su propia autonomía.
Así, el sistema camufla, bajo esta pseudo doble liberación, su deliberada intención de mantener el statu-quo para promover sus intereses económicos.

En un medio alternativo debemos plantearnos la interrogante de lo que son libertad y liberación para seres que pertenecen a un sexo oprimido, de clases oprimidas, en países oprimidos.

Romiendo el mimetismo

Todo medio alternativo, dirigido a las mujeres o que trate primordialmente las perspectivas femeninas debe intentar romper el mimetismo frente a lo "occidental" que existe en las comunicaciones. No es imprescindible descartar todos los aspectos formales o todos los temas que ofrecen los medios dominantes; sin embargo, existen formas más adecuadas a los públicos latinoamericanos y más efectivas para lo que son nuestras realidades y posibilidades.

Hay culturas populares, urbanas y rurales propias de cada sociedad que deben ser reflejadas. Es importante promover y potenciar experiencias de teatro y música popular, de uso alternativo de audiovisuales y videocassettes, además del cine, la televisión y las revistas femeninas, y quizás inventar nuevos medios o aplicar los existentes de manera distinta. Sabemos, por ejemplo, que, en Nicaragua y en El Salvador, el encuentro en las iglesias ha sido una forma muy eficaz de comunicación alternativa.

Por otra parte, sabemos que es posible que la cultura de masas haya incorporado muchos elementos presentes en la comunicación dominante y que puede ser útil mantenerlos en algunos ejemplos de comunicación alternativa. El descuido de la presentación formal y del lenguaje ha llevado al fracaso a muchas experiencias de periodismo contestatario. A menudo, el producto resulta pantelegrado, poco atractivo y muy difícil de digerir. Una voluntad de cambio no tiene por qué ir acompañada de una carencia de sentido estético, o de un lenguaje que, a la postre, sólo entienden los militantes y los intelectuales comprometidos. La denuncia de una situación dramática no tiene necesariamente que plantearse en tonos grises. La imaginación y el humor son armas muy efectivas, y deben estar presentes en una comunicación alternativa. No debemos confundir los vicios de la comunicación dominante, que estrapean principalmente en la intencionalidad de sus mensajes, con muchos elementos técnicos que podemos tomar como lección.

Un cambio en la perspectiva

La temática en torno a la cual ha girado el periodismo femenino tampoco puede cambiarse íntegramente de la noche a la mañana. En primer lugar, porque existe un cierto hábito creado, pero también porque, a partir de ciertos elementos tradicionales, se puede intentar ir ampliando los horizontes del "mundo de la mujer" ya mencionado, al ir incorporando nuevos valores, nuevos temas y nuevas perspectivas.
A riesgo de aparecer avalando una fórmula parcializadora que, de hecho, nos parece necesario superar, tocaremos, a modo de ejemplo, algunos de los temas clásicos de los medios dirigidos a la mujer.

Un medio alternativo femenino puede seguir cubriendo las tareas del hogar, trabajo, vida afectiva, vestuario, etc., pero desde una óptica muy diferente.

El hogar no puede ser el lugar donde la mujer se inmola al servicio de los demás, incluyendo a un marido que debe aprender a ser más compañero. Por otra parte, las tareas que la mujer desarrolla en ese hogar son fundamentales a la reproducción de las fuerzas de trabajo y deben ser consideradas y remuneradas en consecuencia. Al mismo tiempo, es importante promover la necesidad de socializar esas tareas, en la medida de lo posible, para que las mujeres tengan la posibilidad de incorporarse a tareas productivas fuera del hogar.

**El trabajo fuera del hogar**

El tema del trabajo debe perder ese carácter de juego glamoroso que tiene para el Modelo Transnacional Femenino. El tratamiento que los medios dominantes le dan al trabajo fuera del hogar es de vital importancia para enmascarar la realidad objetiva de una sociedad de clases en cuyas relaciones de trabajo imperan la injusticia y la alienación. Intencionalmente, se presenta a la mujer en un ambiente mítico donde no existen explotadores ni explotados. No se hace ver que a la mujer se le asignan actividades subalternas y que, por igual trabajo, recibe menos salario que sus contrapartes masculinas. Ahí, los jefes son presentados como los amantes-futuros-maridos y lo que se gana es dinero "extra" que permite la adquisición de los productos hechos para satisfacer las falsas necesidades que el propio sistema va creando.

El trabajo femenino fuera del hogar debe ser abordado, por un medio alternativo, como un conjunto de experiencias difíciles, a menudo dolorosas, y en muchos casos, no exentas de vejaciones; y los problemas que ahí encuentra la mujer están relacionados con las barreras culturales que le exigen simultáneamente una eficiencia de tiempo completo en el hogar, salarios desiguales y el machismo en todas sus formas, además de las injusticias sociales sufridas por la mayoría de los hombres.

En un medio alternativo femenino, el tema de la mujer incorporada a la producción es crucial. Ahí se dan gran parte de las contradicciones del sistema, así como una buena oportunidad para promover la organización en torno a la solución de problemas concretos.

**El amor: una parte de la vida**

La vida afectiva es, para los medios dominantes, el eje central de ese reducido "mundo de la mujer". Ahí, se estimulan y refuerzan el sentimentalismo y la dependencia femenina. Su afectividad se concibe exclusivamente en función del hombre amante-marido y
Los hijos. Los temas románticos ocultan gran parte del espacio de los medios dirigidos a la mujer y la publicidad recoge las posibilidades de ese sentimentalismo exacerbado y ofrece, a cambio de la adquisición de productos, una gratificación afectiva. Como la zanahoria al burro, a la mujer se le promete que será amada si sigue los dictados de la moda, los consejos de belleza, si adquiere, para los suyos, los productos que se le ofrecen. Uno de los mensajes más claros de los medios es que si la mujer no se somete a los dictados de sus políticas consumistas, deberá sufrir el yugo de la soledad.

La comunicación alternativa se verá inevitablemente enfrentada al desafío de recoger la enorme carga sentimental de los públicos femeninos. Existen polémicas respecto a lo nocivo de muchos aspectos del amor romántico, pero, hasta nuevo aviso, sigue siendo uno de los sentimientos más gratificantes de la vida. En sociedades como la cubana, por ejemplo, la demanda por material de ese tipo es enorme, lo que demuestra que la incorporación de las mujeres a los procesos políticos y productivos no puede ni debe anular ese aspecto de la afectividad.

La diferencia estriba en que no podemos limitar a la mujer a la obsesividad de ese sentimiento. El amor debe presentarse conjugado y compatibilizado con la amistad, los sentimientos filiales, el trabajo, la maternidad, las actividades sociales y las políticas. Eso atenúa el agobiante sentimiento de la excesiva dependencia y democratiza las relaciones sentimentales para que hombres y mujeres sean dependientes en grados y maneras similares o equivalentes. Así, lo que puede haber de negativo, se neutraliza en buena medida.

Por otra parte, es necesario y posible presentar los sentimientos de afecto en contextos que reflejen la realidad. En los medios dominantes, el amor "todo lo puede" y se da en mundos míticos donde las cenicientas enamoran a los príncipes. Desaparecen los contrastes sociales y las identidades culturales. Es posible ahondar más en la psicología humana, alertar sobre peligros y estimular otros valores como el compañerismo, lo positivo de luchar juntos por causas comunes, el valor de la solidaridad con los demás. No bastan, como se hace creer en los medios dominantes, el atractivo físico según los cánones transnacionales, ni el hacer méritos siguiendo las recetas de cómo hacer para ser amada. Los medios tienen que abordar los temas de la afectividad y lo erótico con mayor realismo; y para eso, como en casi todas las áreas que aquí se señalan, la vida real de mujeres de distintos medios tiene mucho que decir con su experiencia.

¿Podemos seguir incluyendo moda y belleza?

Otro tema conflictivo para un medio femenino que quiere plantearse como distinto a lo dominante, es el tema de la moda. Con justa razón, es vista como uno de los elementos más evidentemente negativos del periodismo femenino.
Conviene aclarar que moda y vestuario no son sinónimos. No es que las mujeres intenten vestirse de un modo que les permita sentirse cómodas y atractivas, lo que debe combatirse. Son las exigencias que la moda le hace para impedir que se sienta cómoda y atractiva si no incurre en grandes gastos; es el juego despiadadamente consumista movido por los intereses económicos que están detrás de la moda. No existe mejor ejemplo de obsolescencia planificada que la moda en el vestir.

La belleza, como requisito indispensable de la femineidad, es otro elemento hábilmente manipulado con fines económicos. La industria del cosmético está estrechamente ligada a la de la moda y, como ésta, es transnacional. Juntas, constituyen la fuente publicitaria más importante de los medios 1 y un elemento de influencia muy grande en su filosofía. Esto determina que los medios no solo refuercen el viejo imperativo de que "la mujer debe ser bella", sino que, además, debe serlo según cánones estéticos establecidos fuera de sus propias culturas.

La presión ejercida para que las mujeres aspiren a emular al modelo transnacional es, sin duda, un factor de angustia y dispicado financiero que es preciso combatir.

Es imperioso que las grandes mayorías de mujeres latinoamericanas, que no son ni "occidentales", ni esbeltas, ni jóvenes, se sientan avaladas por la prensa femenina.

Menos "cocina" y más nutrición

La alimentación de su familia es un problema que las mujeres siguen enfrentando a diario. Un medio alternativo tiene muchos aportes que hacer en ese terreno. El enfoque tiene que superar las eternas recetas de cocina, y la buena presentación de una fuente. Los problemas de la alimentación tienen estrecha relación con hábitos culturales, tipos de producción, precios, disponibilidad de tiempo para la preparación de los alimentos y, sobre todo, las posibilidades económicas. Con estos factores debidamente conjugados, debemos hacer ver la importancia del valor nutritivo de los alimentos. Este sólo adquiere su justa dimensión en la prensa marginal, porque atenta contra los intereses de las grandes transnacionales de la alimentación. Este tema fundamental tiene estrecha relación con los problemas de la salud y el medio ambiente y necesita del conocimiento participativo y crítico de las mujeres. Estas son víctimas e intermediarias de los hábitos de consumo que incluyen la progresiva invasión de productos envasados carentes de valor nutritivo y potencialmente dañinos para

1/ Los avisos de moda y belleza representan el 40% de la publicidad total de las revistas femeninas latinoamericanas. Adriana Santa Cruz y Viviana Erazo: "Compropolitan", (Mexico: Editorial Nueva Imagen, 1980). El libro se basa en un estudio de las revistas femeninas en América Latina, hecho en el ILET.
la salud. Debemos incorporar éste y otros temas sobre el problema de la contaminación, en los medios alternativos de la mujer.

Hacia una organización creativa

Tradicionalmente, los medios femeninos se han autodefinido como útiles para solucionar problemas prácticos de la vida de sus receptores. Un medio alternativo debe responder a ese requerimiento, pero superando el clásico método de las recetas: recetas para ser atractivas, recetas para cocinar, recetas para desmanchar, o recetas para vivir. Esa fórmula genera dependencia. La organización es un medio de resolver problemas de una manera creativa y autodemándate. Un grupo de vecinas pueden juntarse para crear guarderías, policlínicos, centros artesanales, jardines, etc. Pueden adquirir productos a precios de mayoristas, o juntarse con otros grupos y presionar por las condiciones de las escuelas, las fábricas y, en general, contribuir a la solución de los problemas de la colectividad a la cual pertenecen. Los medios dominantes han atomizado las fuerzas femeninas para impedir que actúen y se expresen. Un medio alternativo puede contribuir a que las mujeres se organicen, participen y tomen la palabra.

La organización para la comunicación es un área particularmente importante de estimular porque contribuye fuertemente a potenciar los demás esfuerzos de acción para el cambio.

Las mujeres toman la palabra

También dentro de lo formal, los medios alternativos tienen un campo donde marcar importantes diferencias con las comunicaciones dominantes. Estas envían mensajes elaborados desde el punto de vista del emisor y los imponen verticalmente. En una comunicación alternativa, éstos deben surgir más de la base, y relacionarse más con las instituciones y grupos sociales a los que el medio dirige sus mensajes.

Debemos apuntar a sustituir lo que es simple información vertical por una comunicación efectiva y horizontal, en donde las mujeres pasen a ser sujetos y no sólo objetos en el proceso comunicativo.

En este marco, un medio alternativo no sólo debe plantearse como un medio para las mujeres sino también desde las mujeres. Esto debe seguirse confundiendo con que el hecho que la directora y las redactoras o locutoras de un medio femenino sean mujeres. Aquellas que representan a las mayorías que han estado silenciadas deben tomar la palabra. Para lograrlo, por una parte, debemos estimular el que esas mujeres tengan sus propios medios dándole las herramientas de análisis de su realidad y los medios técnicos para que la comuniquen. Por otra parte, puede hacerse periodismo testimonial. Haciendo reportajes y entrevistas a mujeres podemos recoger y difundir las inquietudes que surgen de las viñetas de un pueblo, y no sólo lo que, de antemano, algunos o algunas quieren imponer como modelo de vida para quienes suponen son incapaces de contruirse uno.
El sentido con que se hace una entrevista o se pide un testimonio influye enormemente en lo que de ahí surge. Por lo tanto, ¿a quién darle la palabra? ¿Y para preguntarle qué? La primera respuesta está estrechamente ligada a lo planteado más arriba. Deberemos cuidarnos de no caer en el error de limitarnos, total o parcialmente, a entrevistar mujeres de las superestructuras, porque sus experiencias pueden ser interesantes o hayan logrado posiciones de poder. Los medios dominantes no sólo nos educan indicándonos cómo pensar, sino también sobre qué pensar y sobre quiénes. Existe una tendencia a reproducir esas agendas de personas y temas relevantes. No es fácil descubrir a seres "destacados" o "interesantes" (para lo que son, de hecho, los criterios de la ideología dominante) en mundos y gentes que son ignorados por la cultura imperante. Pero están ahí. Ahí para sugerir nuevos criterios de selección, para resaltar la importancia de aspectos de la vida que la cultura imperante descarta, para entregar sus conmovedoras experiencias y hacer su fundamental aporte para un cambio hecho por y para las mayorías.

De la misma manera, un medio alternativo debe buscar el que la gente exprese sus intereses. Es importante recordarle a las mujeres que no sólo interesan sus opiniones frente a cómo llevar el hogar, mantener al marido, la silueta y otras áreas típicas. El espectro debe ampliarse y mostrar una visión integral de las personas y la sociedad a través de la palabra de sus mujeres.

Cuidado con la publicidad

En los medios de comunicación dirigidos a la mujer, la principal fuente de financiamiento es la publicidad, y en especial la publicidad de productos transnacionales. A modo de ejemplo, en las revistas femeninas latinoamericanas, ésta no es sólo superior en cantidad sino que acapara los espacios publicitarios más caros e impactantes (tapas, contratapas y páginas satinadas a color). La fuerza de esta publicidad determina que los valores transmitidos por ella sean los seguidos por la publicidad local y por el contenido general de las revistas. Conduce los estilos de consumo que se promueven, está en las raíces del Modelo Transnacional Femenino, e impone estilos de vida sólo accesibles a pequeñas minorías.

Estos fenómenos indican la necesidad de alertar respecto al papel que está jugando la publicidad al interior de nuestras sociedades. La impunidad con que el sistema publicitario opera es incompatible con las necesidades reales de América Latina.

---

1/ Adriana Santa Cruz y Viviana Erazo, op. cit. En el conjunto de revistas analizadas, la publicidad de productos transnacionales sobrepasa el 50 por ciento. En el caso de las tapas y contratapas (2o., 3er. y 4o. forro), los avisos transnacionales ocupan el 74.07 por ciento y el 70.37 por ciento, respectivamente; 68 por ciento de los avisos de productos transnacionales son en papel satinado, a color y de una página o más.
Una comunicación alternativa debe estar conciente de estos peligros y buscar, en lo posible, dentro de los marcos actuales, fuentes de financiamiento que la hagan paulatinamente menos dependiente de una publicidad que se contrapone con los valores de "otro desarrollo". Existen fundaciones, instituciones públicas y privadas, universidades, iglesias, sindicatos, y organizaciones populares que pueden interesarse en colaborar en proyectos de comunicación alternativa. Por otra parte, en la medida en que la presencia de la publicidad sea imprescindible en las actuales condiciones, debemos optar por aquellas formas de publicidad que son menos contradictorias con nuestros mensajes y dar prioridad a una publicidad más neutra, menos ligada a estilos de consumo y, en último caso, aceptar que se anuncien productos sin promesas de gratificaciones que nada tienen que ver con la adquisición de ese producto.

No todo está por hacerse

Las perspectivas que orientan este trabajo no están completamente ausentes del panorama informativo latinoamericano. Hay grupos e iniciativas que apuntan en esa dirección. Son esfuerzos embrionarios que requieren ser estudiados y apoyados. Están atomizados y enfrentan serios problemas financieros; sin embargo, existen. Luchan y se sobreponen a las dificultades, pero no tienen una dimensión industrial que les permita adquirir una presencia propiamente masiva para competir en el mercado dominante. Hay ciertos espacios de libertad que se están aprovechando; sin embargo, hoy esa libertad es sólo relativa. La auténtica democratización de los medios de comunicación sólo podrá darse donde se logre la democracia de la sociedad en su conjunto.

Esa constatación, sin embargo, no debe paralizarnos. Nuestras acciones de hoy pueden llevar a esa democracia de mañana. En medio de las contradicciones de esta cultura transnacional avasalladora y excluyente, podemos hacer uso de la lucidez, la esperanza y la generosidad expresadas en organización para dar pasos adelante en el sentido de una comunicación que refleje nuestras realidades, nuestras aspiraciones y la plenitud de nuestros valores.

Las mujeres y sus esfuerzos para el cambio han estado silenciados. Es necesario y posible que tomen la palabra.
Pierre Schori, international secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, here makes a detailed assessment of the dangers inherent in the sharp move to the right that has been promised in US policy towards its neighbours in Latin America and the Caribbean.

A new tendency in the political development of contemporary Latin America was confirmed in March 1980, when international social democracy seriously entered the scene. Under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt, over thirty European parties assembled for deliberations with representatives of a large number of Latin American and Caribbean political movements. In addition to SI member parties in the area, participants also included, for example, the Sandinistas from Nicaragua, the PIP independence party from Puerto Rico, the El Salvador guerilla and the ruling party in Mexico. The meeting took place in Santo Domingo, where, after twelve years of sacrificial endeavour, one of the SI’s member parties had at last succeeded in overcoming the electoral malpractices and manipulations of the US-supported regime.

The SI’s active presence coincides with an interesting and significant change of course among the forces struggling for the liberation of the continent from dictatorship and tutelage. New strategies have been framed and new alliances formed above all under the impression of the defeat of democracy in Chile. In this way the liberation struggle has acquired a substantially broader base.

Reformist thinking and action have been radicalised — as in Central America and Bolivia — at the same time as the revolutionary message, also in its Cuban centre, calls for moderation, cooperation and even pluralism. A Régis Debray might perhaps be moved to ask whether we are experiencing a revolution in reformism and reformism in the revolution.

The Santo Domingo meeting took place against a dramatic background. The previous day Archbishop Romero had been assassinated while celebrating mass in San Salvador. The former Venezuelan president Carlos Andrés Perez, voiced the feelings of many when he said: 'Let us tell President Carter that his human rights policy was buried in El Salvador yesterday'. The European visitors were also met with new reports of the deaths of party comrades in Guatemala and El Salvador. In the daily bloodbaths which have been taking place in those two countries ever since the murders of the Social Democratic Party leaders Fuentes Mohr and Colom Argueta in Guatemala in 1978 and 1979, practically the entire leadership of the SI’s brother parties has been liquidated, driven into exile or forced to go underground.

The explosive situation in Central America set the tone of the conference. The final resolution was severely critical of US foreign policy, which the meeting described as promoting neocolonialism (Puerto Rico and Guantanamo), state terrorism (Chile, Argentina and Uruguay) and institutionalised violence (El Salvador). The SI also condemned the economic warfare against Jamaica and the pressure exerted by the IMF.

But the clear, rigorous standpoints adopted by the conference were not the only novelty. Social democrats from El Salvador and Guatemala and invited guerilla representa-

(Excerpted from Socialist Affairs, No. 1/81, pp. 33-39).
tives spoke unanimously of the necessity of revolution and appealed for understanding for armed struggle as the only remaining expedient and reply to the policy of extermination practised by right-wing forces against opposition of all kinds.

These appeals were not heeded, and the Santo Domingo meeting marked the beginning of general support for the two resistance fronts FDCR in Guatemala and FDR in El Salvador, where social democratic parties have for the first time thrown in their lot with the insurrectionist left.

The SI's first massive presence in Latin America and its much publicised final resolution attracted a great deal of interest all over the continent, not least on the part of the many visiting journalists. In the North American press this event was passed over in complete silence. But it aroused all the more interest in the State Department, where there was evidently a realisation that a new protagonist was present in Uncle Sam's back yard, a protagonist that could not readily be accused of pro-communism or complete irresponsibility and, to make matters worse, adopted statements diametrically opposed to official American foreign policy in an area of such importance to Washington as Central America. A reaction was called for, and the answer was not long coming.

In an unparallelled diplomatic offensive, all the European parties present at the Santo Domingo meeting were contacted, together with a selection of Latin American ones. True to their instructions, American diplomats expressed their country's displeasure on a large number of counts, a displeasure rendered all the greater by the fact that a number of leading figures in the SI had actually been contacted prior to the meeting with a view to explaining US policy above all in Central America. The protests were delivered to the chairman of the SI special committee on Latin America and the Caribbean, the Dominican party's secretary-general, Peña Gomez, in the form of a memorandum.

Clearly the SI's Latin American policy was being taken seriously, which meant that one of the aims of the Santo Domingo resolution had been achieved, namely to inaugurate a serious, broad-based dialogue between Washington and international social democracy on the subject of US policy in Latin America. Another positive side effect of the American demarches was that several European parties now had occasion to make a closer study particularly of conditions in Central America.

The official American arguments, partly presented in various background papers and in speeches above all by the State Department's undersecretary for Latin American affairs, William Bowdler, and by its foremost Latin America specialist, Luigi Einaudi, are an improvement on those pronounced by previous administrations. European social democrats can to a great extent endorse the main contours of the actual background analysis. Our opinions diverge when we come to the conclusions.

Let us consider one of the State Department's 'issues analyses' from the end of June 1980, which was distributed to all important US embassies. It was entitled US Policy: Central America and the Caribbean. This paper will provide us with a starting point for a more detailed discussion of the lines of demarcation between international social democracy and Washington and will also explain the motives behind US policies of the last years.

The analysis begins by noting the American change of approach regarding this area: 'US policy in the Caribbean Basin has undergone modification in recent years'. This, we read, stems from 'an acknowledgment that forces of change are sweeping the area and an attempt to align US policy with the efforts of progressives and democrats to effectively preempt extremist solutions. The US has sought to move from being perceived as a supporter of the status quo to defining itself as the ally of progressive, democratic forces'.

Central America has become 'a focal point for the new US policy in the area, and an important crucible for the effectiveness of that policy'. The situation in the area, with the exception of Costa Rica and
to some extent of Honduras, is that 'an older order is passing, eroding under the combined pressures of endemic socio-economic problems, popular dissatisfaction with the status quo, the inability of the traditional elite to meet demands for change, and right- and left-wing extremism. Destabilizing world influences, including world oil prices and Cuba, also contribute to the problems. Central too is the emergence of new leadership elements whose attitudes towards modernization and the role of government and its attendant social responsibilities place them at odds with the traditional power structure'.

In words which are in fact reminiscent of SI resolutions, it is affirmed that 'reactionary solutions are seen as only postponing the problems and making the pressures for redress more desperate and more violent'.

Two guiding principles are stated for US policy in Central America.

'First, because traditional patterns are in many respects both unjust and unstable, we recognize that change is both natural and inevitable. We believe that peace and democracy in the region depend on broadly based and fundamental socio-economic and political reforms that will increase wellbeing and strengthen the rights of the individual.

'Second, we will not attempt to impose our views. We will not use military force in situations where only domestic groups are in contention. We harbour no illusion that we can define the nature of change or substitute ourselves for Central American leadership; but we can and will support local reform initiatives'.

Contrary to an otherwise popular and virtually unrivalled thesis in the United States, the State Department is not disposed to regard Cuba as the underlying cause of the Central American crisis:

'While it is argued by many on the right that Central America's difficulties are nothing more nor less than "communist subversion", and in particular renewed Soviet-backed Cuban efforts to export revolution, it seems clear that Castro, while actively involved in taking advantage of situations that offer him opportunities, is not the fundamental problem. The essential need is to remove the conditions which spawn desperation and drive people to radical solutions'.

Developments in the Caribbean are made the subject of a fresh analysis.

'While older elites in the Caribbean are generally free enterprise and democratically oriented, younger generations of leaders and university students increasingly identify with third world aspirations and seek alternatives to Western democracy and capitalism. They are attracted by neo-Marxist theories, black power, socialism and Cuba (despite its tarnished image in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the 'refugee' exodus').

Here too the State Department concedes in its analysis that a change is desirable. 'Experimentation with new values is inevitable, and in the long run probably desirable'.

But the solution must not be too radical.

I feel that the official line needs to be thoroughly analysed and seriously discussed in order for us to understand the American dilemma fully. As I said, this analysis is quite different from and more radical than its predecessors, it is on the whole characterised by insight and in many respects it concurs with the opinions voiced by social democracy.

But the dilemma ensues when the policy that has been outlined is to be put into practice: the crux for the policy makers of Washington will be to find a centre alternative compatible with their theory. In an article published in the New York Times, Alan Riding quotes a State Department official as explaining the problem in the following terms: 'We don't want wild bloody revolutions, but we can't give a blank check to a wild bloody fascist. We want fundamental reforms that lead to democracy, we don't want to choose between revolutions and fascists'.

Paradoxically enough, this is an attitude resembling the main line of the European social-democratic approach to Latin America not all that many years ago. But developments in the area have been moving
fast of late. We have experienced the murder of Allende, the victory of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the anachronistic oligarchies and their insane policy of extermination in Central America, and most recently of all the coup in Bolivia. In these countries the centre alternative has either been obliterated by the right-wing forces or else forced into a polarisation and in most cases joined in a species of people's front against the dictatorship. Archbishop Romero, for example, was probably assassinated because he could have become a dangerously attractive rallying point for a front of this kind. Many reformists have been obliged by circumstances to adopt revolutionary methods in their endeavour. A revolution has entered reformism. But this change has also been accompanied by reformism within the revolutionary movement, not least in Cuban thinking. A little noticed but important contribution towards this development was made by Fidel Castro in his speech on the first anniversary of the Sandinistas in Managua on 19 July. For the first time the Cuban leader referred to the importance, indeed the wisdom, of respecting party-political pluralism in the Latin America of the 1980s. Thus Castro the revolutionary interesting enough appears to have accepted parliamentary democracy as a method, even after a revolutionary struggle for liberation. In this respect, therefore, Cuba comes closer than the traditional Latin American extreme left to the views of social democracy.

Against this background it was not surprising that the European social democrats chose to stand up to the pressure from the US. Sensible observers at the State Department also realised that it was more logical for the Europeans to support their persecuted party comrades in El Salvador and Guatemala than to accept the US policy, a policy implying support for regimes which harrass and kill members of our fellow parties, among others.

The main lines of the Santo Domingo resolution were confirmed at the next SI summit, the Bureau meeting in Oslo in June last year. The resolution stated that 'The SI greet with satisfaction the efforts of Latin American democratic forces to unify in order to fight more effectively for democracy, real independence and social justice'. Once again it was affirmed that 'The SI fully supports the struggle of the Frente Democrático Revolucionario for freedom and democracy in El Salvador'. This support was further underlined by an appeal to the US 'to consider that support for the present junta in El Salvador is not a viable solution and will not prevent further bloodshed'. The SI therefore called upon the US to change its policy. This, it was declared, was 'not a matter of anti-Americanism but an effort to achieve a constructive relationship between the US and the countries in Central America'.

The resolution went on to declare the support of social democracy for Frente Democrático Contra la Represión en Guatemala and Grupo de Convergencia Democrática in Uruguay. An earnest appeal was also addressed to the IMF for greater sympathy for the precarious position of Jamaica, at the same time as warnings were issued, in a mood of gloomy apprehension, concerning a military coup in Bolivia.

The SI line has on the whole concurred with that of another very active organisation recently established in Latin America: COPPPAL. COPPPAL was formed on 12 October 1979 at the instigation of the Mexican ruling party PRI. The formation of COPPPAL is a manifestation of Mexico's new, dynamic foreign policy which among other things includes support for Cuba and Nicaragua. PRI put up most of the finance behind COPPPAL offices, organisation, meetings and a bulletin. There is also a great deal of personal union at leadership level between COPPPAL and the SI Latin America Committee.

At present COPPPAL represents twenty-three parties from fifteen countries which, according to the statutes, define themselves as democratic, nationalist, socialist and antiimperialist.

The SI's decision to adhere to its analysis and to its criticism of US policy has also
obliged Washington to abandon another cherished notion, namely that of forming a united front 'in defence of democracy' between the SI and international christian democracy. Instead Washington now appears to have put all its eggs in the christian-democratic basket. Thus the christian-democratic government in Venezuela and President Carazo of Costa Rica have declared their support for the junta in El Salvador.

A conference arranged in Washington last May by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute was also attended by leading State Department representatives, who gave lectures there. The State Department representatives can safely be said to have occupied the extreme left of that assembly.

If we regard the background of christian democracy in Europe and the sponsors of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, for example, a marriage between the SI and these forces becomes even more absurd. Franz-Josef Strauss, a christian democrat, is the leading light in the conservative international, the European Democratic Union (EDU), whose members also include Margaret Thatcher. These politicians are playing a reactionary part in Latin America. Thus Thatcher is lifting the ban placed by the former Labour administration on arms exports to Chile while denying the same privilege to Grenada. Strauss visits Videla and Pinochet and assures their dictatorships of his respect, saying that they stand for law and order and democracy in their country. It is hard to see the value of such allies in the struggle against dictatorship in Latin America.

The antipathies of Europe have their counterparts in Latin America, particularly where Federal Germany is concerned. The leading figures of the two internationals, the SI and the EDU, are Willy Brandt and Franz-Josef Strauss respectively. Each of the two schools of opinion has at its disposal an organised and financially powerful foundation, the social-democratic Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and the christian-democratic Konrad Adenauer Foundation. Strauss also controls a smaller organisation of a similar kind, the Hans Seidelstiftung. A species of German ideological tug-of-war is in progress on Latin American soil under the auspices of the two big foundations. As a result of its generous and intrepid commitment — on behalf of progressive forces such as the FSLN, the two fronts in Salvador and Guatemala and Manley in Jamaica — the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung has fallen out of favour with the Americans, and in two quasiofficial statements it has been branded as an undermining factor in Central America. Heavy pressure has been put on Bonn to release the frozen German development assistance grants of 14 million dollars for various rural development projects in El Salvador and to appoint an ambassador to that country once more. In addition, efforts have been made to induce the SPD to refrain from siding so actively with 'revolutionaries and procommunists', but the German social democrats have not responded.

The official American arguments have not been convincing even in the US. Practically all North American organisations with human rights on their programmes have followed the appeals by Archbishop Romero and Amnesty International to Washington to discontinue its military support to the junta in El Salvador. A number of religious organisations have taken the same line.

Edward Zorinsky, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee for the Western Hemisphere, expressed his opposition to US military assistance in the following terms: 'The core of the Salvadorean problem is political — not military. Nor is it susceptible to a military solution which does not command the broad support of the Salvadorean people. To underscore this point, one has only to recall the recent Nicaraguan experience. There the Sandinistas won, not because they had superior military training and equipment, but because they had strong popular support'.

And in a widely publicised letter to President Carter on 31 March last year, twenty-four Congressmen, headed by Tom Harkin and Ron Dellums, delivered a far
more outspoken and exhaustive protest than is contained in any of the critical resolutions adopted by European socialism:

'Ve the undersigned firmly oppose the proposed $5.7 million in military assistance to El Salvador. We believe that military assistance to the government of El Salvador at this time is extremely dangerous, politically ill-advised, and immoral . . .

'According to recent reports from a delegation of American church officials, rape, torture, mutilation, decapitation, garroting, and murder of defenceless men, women and children are being carried out by that government, not simply to eliminate opponents but to terrorize the entire population . . .

'We believe that the Administration's view that there is no alternative to the present government in El Salvador is in error. The popular organisations are widening their support, and a broad coalition of peasant, labour, intellectual, student, religious, and professional people is in the process of formation. Unless and until these elements can be brought into the political process, there can be no peace in El Salvador and no amount of American weapons can procure it.

'We believe that sending military assistance to a government which cannot control its own military, and which continues to brutally repress its own people, is a repudiation of the principles upon which the United States was founded'.

It is really a mystery how the US government could enter such a political deadend as that in El Salvador. The massive rejection by popular opinion of the US-supported military regime, the breadth of organised opposition and the impact of armed resistance, together with the international mobilisation, add up to an apparently irresistible force. The question is whether such an extensive front has ever been established against any regime in the history of Latin America. Resistance can of course be contained or temporarily overcome by dint of superior military might, not to mention a catastrophic intervention from outside. But in both cases the price will be that of immense slaughter and incomprehensible suffering until the unavoidable end eventually comes all the same.

To surmount popular resistance, the regime, willingly supported by the US, has pursued a policy resembling that once attempted in Vietnam, to try to win the hearts and minds of the people. In El Salvador this is being done by promises of a land reform, but since this reform has no popular backing and is partly being implemented by the army, the traditional enemy of the farmers, a measure of coercion and oppression is inevitably involved. And so the famous formula 'repressive reformism' has been coined as though at the command of the worst enemies of democracy. The stick has been replaced with the gun, and the carrot has proved none too edible. With one hand the regime displays a political solution with the promise of elections in a few years' time, while with the other it spreads death and destruction with a view to the physical liquidation of an alternative.

To justify this fatal contradiction, a traditional ally has been conjured up: the spectre of communism, which in the living world wears Cuban uniform.

But the anticommunist propaganda which is being aimed against the revolutionary groups has lost credibility in the Latin America of the 1980s. Cubans are no longer entering by stealth along jungle tracks together with guerilla soldiers, determined to unseat the governing regime.

Fidel Castro has come to terms with the realities of the 1980s. Besides, I believe that Cuba's position in Latin American opinion has been misjudged in the US and in many other quarters. As I have already shown, the State Department analysis hints at Cuban attractions in certain situations. I believe that the legendary aura of the Castro revolution still outshines the political and material austerity of everyday life in Cuba.

This is because Cuba has succeeded where all others have failed, in cocking a snook at the giant of the hemisphere and surviving. In Latin American eyes this is an exploit on a par with the victories which
Bolivar and the other rebels achieved in their day against European colonialism. Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos are quite simply a part of the heroic tradition of the continent. No propaganda in the world can dispel this fundamental impression in Latin America, least of all among the rising generation.

The US rather than the Cuban leaders is made to take the blame for Cuba's internal developments subsequently having moved in an undesirable direction for many people, perhaps for the majority. Cuba would not have had any cause to drift into a new state of dependence on a great power if it had not been forced into doing so, partly for security reasons (the Bay of Pigs) and partly for economic reasons (the blockade).

Nor is it any coincidence that Cuba, while capable of sending tens of thousands of troops to Africa, could not dispatch as much as a revolver to Nicaragua. Overt material support from Cuba would be a kiss of death for any left-wing group in Latin America. Fidel Castro's Cuba can exert great moral influence in the tactical and strategic context, but in the present situation Castro is very careful to avoid becoming embroiled in a country's internal power struggle.

There is greater likelihood that a misguided and antipopular US policy will force the revolutionary process in Central America to 'go Cuban'.

In August 1980 Fidel Castro gave the following answer to my question about Cuban interference in El Salvador: 'We do not have any Cuban advisers in El Salvador. It would be madness. And we have no need to do this. The guerrilla army is very strong. They have a large number of instructors at various levels. They could launch a final offensive shortly. They have tens of thousands of men in arms and a strong popular following. And they have an almost incomprehensible disregard for death. They seem to feel that they have nothing to lose'.

There is reason to take the Cuban premier at his word. With his two decades' experience, Castro appreciates the importance of playing his cards skilfully and prudently, not least during election year in the US, so as to avoid doing the hawks any extra favours. And besides, it has been established Cuban policy for many years not to provide military support in Latin America.

It is not much more intelligent either to claim that the Soviet Union is acquiring a bridgehead for itself in Central America. The Soviet Union cannot afford to befriend yet another country which, in the event of a communist takeover, would inevitably be subjected to an efficient and devastating isolation.

What the Soviet Union is instead engaged in is the economic penetration of Latin America — and successful economic penetration at that. The global duel between the superpowers is conducted mainly in economic terms where Latin America is concerned. Ironically enough, President Carter's attempt to bring about a worldwide grain blockade following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has put a trump card into Moscow's hand, because the Soviet Union today is one of the principal trading partners of anticommunist Argentina.

Shortly after the US tried to dissuade the Videla regime from selling to the Soviets, a large Soviet trade delegation visited Buenos Aires. The visit was a success. In 1979 the Soviet Union imported Argentinian goods valued at 400 million dollars, and this figure is expected to be doubled in 1980. Meat and grain are the principal import commodities. Argentina has done well out of the transaction, because her imports from the Soviet Union are only one-tenth of her 400 million dollar exports to that country.

The American allegations — emanating, for example, from the Pentagon — that Cuba is sending military advisers and arms to El Salvador appear to have a purpose other than that of veracity, namely that of discrediting the opposition. It is to be hoped that there is not an even more sinister motive involved, namely that of preparing the ground for open military intervention by the US in the event of the junta collapsing. Seen in this perspective, the State Department's oft repeated thesis that 'we
will not use military force in situations where only domestic groups are in contention' acquires a menacing overtone.

The Church in El Salvador has clearly taken these ominous signs seriously and has repeatedly appealed to the US not to interfere in the country’s political development. Archbishop Romero first wrote to President Carter in mid-February last year, protesting against Washington’s plans to give military aid to the junta. Then on 17 February, just over a month before he died, the Archbishop wrote as follows:

‘Instead of promoting greater justice and peace in El Salvador, it [military aid from the US] will no doubt sharpen the injustice and repression against the organisations of the people who repeatedly have been struggling to gain respect for their most fundamental human rights.

The present junta government and above all the armed forces and security forces unfortunately have not demonstrated their capacity to resolve, in political and structural practice, the grave national problems. In general they have only reverted to repressive violence, producing a total of deaths and injuries much greater than in the recent military regime’.

And referring to a US shipment of tear gas in November 1979, the Archbishop said:

‘The security forces, with better personal protection and efficiency, have repressed the people even more violently using lethal weapons’.

Archbishop Rivera y Damas, the successor of Romero, has reiterated his murdered predecessor’s apprehensions.

On 7th September he attacked the US’s ‘uninvited intervention in the internal affairs of El Salvador’.

The new archbishop has gradually stepped up his criticism of the policy of the christian-democratic military junta: ‘Week by week the violence gets worse. The excessive force, cruelty and indiscrimination of military operations cannot be justified’.

A week later, on 13 September, the Archbishop’s Legal Aid Office stated that it had evidence showing that at least 4,258 persons had been murdered between 1 January and 1 September; 80 per cent of them had been killed by the army and the national security forces and the remainder by parliamentary death squadrons with army protection.

A month later the same organisation updated its figures to 5,500 persons murdered and 27,000 families forcibly evacuated as a result of repression by the regime. Ten priests, Archbishop Romero among them, had also been murdered since 1977, and a large number of churches and other religious institutions had been attacked by the armed forces.

Rivera y Damas once again condemned ‘the oppression in the north by the army and the right-wing armed forces’. He also revealed that the regime was arming reluctant farmers and threatening them with imprisonment or with treatment as subversives if they refused to accept arms.

According to persons close to the Archbishop, the number of fatal victims will have passed 10,000 by the end of the year. Needless to say, the Archbishop also condemns revolutionary violence, just as he unambiguously condemned the senseless murder of the kidnapped South African ambassador in October. But in the polarised situation existing today there is no doubt which side he and his assistants support and where they pin most of the blame for the Salvadorean tragedy.

Testimony concerning the grotesque manifestations of ‘repressive reformism’ come to us not only from Salvadorean sources. Last June embittered priests and nuns at Santa Rosa de Copan in the neighbouring country of Honduras published their own grief-stricken evidence of the massacre in the village of La Arada. ‘Impelled by our faith in God and Truth and Life’, they attested among other things to the following: ‘Last January, a good number of Salvadoreans, mostly children, women and elderly, sought refuge in our country. In their exodus they were systematically harassed by the Salvadorean National Guard.

‘The most evident example of this harassment and cruelty happened last May 14.
The day before, several trucks and vehicles of the Honduran Army arrived filled with soldiers. Without stopping, they went 14 kilometers further down, to near the Sumpil River, the border between the Honduras and El Salvador. The megaphones directed to Salvadorean territory shouted out the prohibition against crossing the border.

‘On the opposite side, at around 7 a.m., in the Salvadorean village of La Arada and its surrounding area, the massacre began. At least two helicopters, the Salvadorean National Guard, soldiers and the paramilitary organisation ORDEN opened fire on defenceless people. Women tortured before the finishing shot and infants thrown into the air for target practice were some of the scenes of the criminal slaughter. The Salvadoreans who crossed the river were returned by the Honduran soldiers to the area of the massacre. In mid-afternoon the genocide ended, leaving at least 600 corpses’.

Thus the arguments put forward by our brother party the MNR in January for (caving the junta and joining the FDR have not only been confirmed but have gained credibility and strength, not least in view of the escalation, attested by this account, of state-sanctioned terror. It is obvious, among other things, from the great offensive launched by the junta in October/November against the guerrilla strongholds in the north that the military have opted for a military solution to the country’s political problems. On 26 October the Archbishop’s office once more condemned the army’s methods and accused the regime of conducting a war of extermination:
‘The repression we are now suffering is worse than the sadism and bloody cruelty in the days of Romero’.

* * *

We European social democrats have ourselves repeatedly conveyed our criticism of US policy to Washington.

The so-called reformist centre alternative is unrealistic. It is a right-wing alternative without any will to reform, from which most of the forces in the centre have defected or else been forced to capitulate. The same process has occurred within the military establishment, where the reputedly more radical Majano lost a vote to the more hard-line, pro-US Gutierrez.

The purely decorative nature of the part played by the two Christian democrats in the junta, in spite of possibly honest intentions, is eloquently borne out by the valedictory letter signed by a group of their party colleagues, including three ministers, last March. Hector Dada, formerly foreign minister and member of the junta, also seceded from the party in protest and formed the Movimiento Popular Social Cristiano, which later merged with the FDR.

Another Christian democrat who resigned on 26 March, Jorge Alberto Villacorta, was deputy minister of agriculture and responsible for the implementation of the land reform. His resignation reflects the impracticability of that reform. As an active politician in the country at large, he has seen with his own eyes how the army and the paramilitary forces of the right wing have harassed and murdered farmers. He maintains that, in addition to its failure to stop violence, the government is generating violence through its oppression.

Villacorta’s impression is confirmed from many other sources, by aid workers, priests and journalists operating independently of the Church and the FDR. According to one German source, the US international development agency AID has made a study of the first phase of the land reform which turned into a ruthless criticism of the entire project. The person who compiled the study then resigned from AID.

According to other reports the main adviser to the regime on the land reform is Mr Prosterman, on loan from the US trade-union agency AIFLD. Prosterman’s qualifications in this connection date back to his advisory services to President Marcos of the Philippines and to the forced urbanisation programme in Vietnam which was designed to eliminate the support derived by the FNL guerrilla from the civilian population.

Similar developments are in progress in Guatemala. The opposition there has long been leading a very dangerous life. By
means of a systematic policy of extermination, the various dictatorships have been able to obliterate practically all resistance ever since the CIA coup of 1954. About 50,000 people have been murdered in the past twenty-five years, and even today the violence is of exceptional proportions. More than 3,000 Guatemalans are estimated to have disappeared or been killed in 1979, and during 1980 this figure has risen considerably. Every day ten dead bodies are found, often tortured and mutilated. But resistance survives, and in new forms. The Democratic Front Against Repression, FDCR, was founded in February 1979 at the instigation of the National Committee for Trade-Union Unity, CNUS. The Front represents about 500 organisations, corresponding to 95 per cent of all democratic organisations in the country. This membership rate, 7-10 per cent of the population, is greater than that achieved by the Sandinistas during the war of liberation against Somoza. Parallel to this widespread civil resistance, four different guerilla groups are in action and are progressively coordinating their operations.

The FDCR includes the two social-democratic parties, the FUR and the PSD. These parties have finally been compelled to accept the thought of meeting violence with violence in sheer self-defence. The last remaining democrat in the government, Vice-president Villagran Kramer, resigned after a hopeless struggle in September and went into exile in the US. Asked who was responsible for the murders in his country, he replies: 'The government, who else?' The FDCR, unlike El Salvador, is dominated by civilian and moderate forces. The peculiar thing is that the US does not display any exaggerated interest in the democratic opposition. The FDCR has difficulty in gaining the ear of top-level people in Washington. In the meantime the work of the death squadrons continues and the ongoing polarisation diminishes the chances of peaceful settlements in future.

From our European vantage point we have asked whether the agreement concluded by the radical left with the civilians in FDR is to be relied on. After a possible military victory, for example, will they place their armed forces under the authority of the Democratic Front government and respect pluralism, the mixed economy and all the other features of the joint programme? We Europeans, after all, have had long and bitter experience of the underground tactics and unreliability of the extreme left.

The answers received from Latin America have been unequivocal. Our party comrades and other civilians we have spoken to within the FDR trust their allies. The guerilla representatives for their part assure us that they will honour their commitments to the letter. Clearly they are aware of what effect coup methods would have, nationally and internationally, on the no less important postwar phase of consolidation and recovery.

Fidel Castro shares this attitude. He is convinced that the guerilla is just as sophisticated and responsible as the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. He if anybody ought to know. The Cuban leader also knows what backlash effects a disintegration of the FDR would have on the entire Latin American liberation struggle during the 1980s. There is reason to believe that, against this background and on the strength of his good contacts, Castro is also pursuing this line. Contrary to the allegations made by the Pentagon and other hawks, therefore, it is arguable that Cuba constitutes a factor of moderation in Central America.

We sometimes hear from US quarters that, given this acute situation of crisis in Central America, social democracy ought to stay neutral or at least lie low until US policy has had a chance of gaining effect.

We find it curious and unfortunate that instead of querying and counteracting the involvement of European social democracy the US does not make positive use of it. Our purposes are not extremist or even extreme. We believe, like Mexico for example, that it is unrealistic to try to exclude from a solution armed resistance against the regime. The guerilla has a substantial following among the people and the country
cannot be governed without it. The solution must be political, not military. This attitude, we believe, is founded on a long-term analysis and on consideration for the interests of all the parties involved.

The involvement of social democracy could be used in order to relax positions and further increase the guarantee that victory for the opposition, which we believe to be inevitable, will truly lead to respect for pluralism and nonalignment. Our support for the FDR does not mean that we unreservedly endorse their policies or actions. We believe that both sides in the conflict will have to compromise, that a new deal will have to be made. For as things now stand, both blocs are powerful. They appear capable of continuing the conflict for a long time to come. Neither side can be conclusively defeated. This ‘deal’ will have to be based on social justice, respect for human rights and national independence. In the meantime a truce will have to be proclaimed and the paramilitary forces disbanded and kept under control.

Measured in human terms, the junta and the policy of the US have amounted to a bloody tragedy. The bloodshed has not been stilled; on the contrary, it is mounting from day to day. European social democracy therefore refuses to accept any latter-day Monroe doctrine for Central America. We regard our involvement as a contribution towards peace and democracy, for the longer the minority regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala are propped up from outside, the bloodier and more radical the ultimate solution will be.

* * *

The future of Latin America will of course be decided by the Latin Americans themselves. The manner in which the liberation struggle is to be waged has been a constantly recurring theme ever since the revolt against European colonialism. The first attempt in modern times at a continental coordination of the struggle for democracy came during the 1950s, when a group of socialdemocratically minded politicians held joint consultations and supported one another.

The group’s strategy was to substitute broad-based popular parties for the dictatorships and to seek support for their struggle in the US. The first of these objectives was difficult, but it was achieved on the whole. The PLN in Costa Rica, Acción Democrática in Venezuela, APRA in Peru and the PRD in the Dominican Republic all became the biggest parties in their respective countries. The second objective was illusory. Instead, association with the US became a source of discredit for many of the Latin American freedom fighters. To the US at that time, stability and profits counted for more than democracy and national independence.

The early 1970s saw a nationalist revival in opposition to the privileged status of the US. All governments, whatever their political hue, realised that the US was reaping most of the profits in all sectors, at the same time as underdevelopment in Latin America was actually being aggravated. The Progressive Alliance had also proved to be a colossal failure. An American analysis showed that there was really only one country that satisfied the criteria of economic and social development which had been defined by the Alliance, namely Cuba — the very country against which the Alliance had been directed.

How was the liberation struggle in each country to be carried further? The left had long since realised that it was practically impossible to build socialism in a country without introducing a new state of tutelage. Perhaps it was also impossible to achieve democracy in a country without considerable support from outside?

The Chilean coup has taught many people that a reformist government must have a stable majority within its own borders if it is to survive. A broad popular home front supported by world opinion seems to be the recipe for success. It goes without saying that a recipe of this kind presupposes compromises and ideological alliances.

Following the coup which took place in Bolivia in July 1980, all six countries making
up what is geopolitically termed the Southern Cone (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay) now have military-dominated regimes. Consequently the Latin American continent is roughly divided into two blocs, the northern one of which is governed by democratic regimes while the southern one is governed by military regimes. There are tendencies towards coordination between the latter.

Secret security cooperation already exists, within the framework of 'Operation Condor', in the form of special agreements between certain countries in this group providing for exchanges of information concerning current activities within various 'terrorist groupings' and consultations on combined efforts to combat them. Since the coup of 17 July, the new military regime in La Paz has at regular intervals been signalling its desire to leave the Andean Pact in order to enter a new foreign-policy constellation which has actually been named 'The Southern Cone Pact'.

These insights and experiences have produced in Latin America a new situation in which new alliances have taken shape. Nicaragua was in a manner of speaking a catalyst. Ideology was put to one side and all attention was concentrated on the front against dictatorship, and outside support was widespread and symptomatic of the new situation. European social democracy gave political backing to the Sandinistas and the Group of Twelve and material assistance to the governments of Venezuela, Mexico, Costa Rica and Panama.

A similar pattern can be seen in El Salvador and will soon become apparent in Guatemala. And following the coup in Bolivia, where the left has shown sacrificial obstinacy in supporting the parliamentary process and the right-wing military have once more thwarted the will of the people, we have been given substantial evidence of the need for a broad front against dictatorship.

As Latin America enters the 1980s, we are perhaps on the threshold of something new: the old dream entertained by the Figueres - de la Torre - Betancourt - Bosch quarter of coordinating the struggle for democracy within and between the various countries has been revived, this time strengthened by a more militant and conscious opinion in both Latin America and Europe. In this way isolation has been broken and a greater impact achieved. The FDR in El Salvador and the FDC in Guatemala have been followed by GUN (Gobierno de Unidad Popular) in Bolivia and Convergencia Democrática in Uruguay, and similar attempts are under way in Argentina, Paraguay and elsewhere.

The change of power in the US will mean a considerable tougher climate for the liberation struggle in Latin America in general. Even if the Republicans do not fulfil their aggressive promises of the electoral platform, Reagan's victory has already had an effect on the military regimes and their policies. The dictatorships know that Carter's demand for respect for human rights is becoming a fading memory. They know that their scope for action has increased and they believe that they have an ally in the new US president in the anti-communist crusade.

In Central America, the Sandinistas will no doubt meet a more hostile US and a more active CIA. In Guatemala, the regime will count upon becoming a bulwark against the revolutionary pressures from the south. In El Salvador, however, the conditions have not changed dramatically. There, in spite of all talk of reformism and democratisation, the US is firmly on the side of the military against the 'communists'. The front lines are already drawn.

In that struggle social democracy has made its choice, and will continue its policy of solidarity, irrespective of who is sitting in the White House. The coming trial of strength between dictatorship and democracy in Latin America would be so much briefer and less excruciating if the US could learn to live with liberation movements, to accept a people's right to self-determination also in its own hemisphere, and to realise that free people are not only superior to free-market mechanisms but also better partners in cooperation.
When today we start the 1981 session of the Committee on disarmament (CD), we have to look back on two consecutive years - the first two years of its existence - of failure to achieve real results in our work. And we shall therefore tell ourselves in all sincerity that our main task now, two years and a half after the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD I) and one year and a half left to the convening of SSOD II, must be to analyse the reasons behind these failures and try to find new approaches in order to achieve genuine progress in our efforts.

True, last year the CD managed to establish working groups in four areas of our activities. Sweden is participating and will continue to do so actively in the year to come, in the endeavours of these working groups. But it is essential to the true purpose of these endeavours to be realistic in the assessment of what can be achieved in relation to the request for negotiations, with particular emphasis on two high priority areas, that is a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and a Chemical Weapons convention, directed to us by the UN General Assembly.

I shall not now try to make such an assessment. A more appropriate time for that will come later. My point is really that these two high priority areas must be, and remain, the centre of our attention and our efforts in the time remaining to us up to the SSOD II. (...)

* Excerpts from a statement by Inga Thorsson, Swedish Under-Secretary of State for Disarmament at the UN Committee on Disarmament, 3 February 1981.
It must be demonstrated that the nuclear weapons mystique, the notion that a nuclear weapon in any way can increase the national security of any state, is a fraud, what I have earlier called "the greatest fallacy of our time", which far from increasing anybody's security is certain to reduce it for all.

Here, of course, the nuclear powers are requested to recognize their particular responsibility to set an example. There is, regrettably, little sign that such a recognition is forthcoming. It would indeed be more accurate to term the performance of the superpowers in this respect a study in irresponsibility.

Let me take two examples:

Dramatic revelations have been made recently concerning the alarm and nuclear weapons safeguards system of one superpower.

According to a US Congressional report in October 1980 there were, in an 18 month period, 147 false alarms that were serious enough to require an evaluation of whether they represented a potential nuclear weapon attack.

Four other alarms, including two that had not been disclosed previously were considered even more serious and resulted in orders that increased the state of alert of B-52 bomber crews and intercontinental ballistic missile units.

Finally, there were also 3,703 lesser alarms, primarily caused by atmospheric disruptions. To use a simpler expression: thunderstorms and lightnings. Mr. Chairman, I believe that such "atmospheric disruptions" will continue to occur around the systems of surveillance. Should human survival be dependent on natural phenomena, technological or human failures of this kind? And how could Nuclear Weapon States face that responsibility?

From another recent report, also quoted in the US press, we learn that at least 27 accidents, so-called Broken Arrows, have occurred
involving US nuclear weapons. One of them is reported to have left only one out of six control mechanisms intact to prevent the explosion of a 24 megaton nuclear weapon, 1,800 times stronger than the 1945 Hiroshima bomb, over US territory. It has further been alleged, in the same context, that 10 more accidents occurred in the territories of other states.

In addition to all this there is increased alarm over late increases in leukemia as a result of exposure to nuclear weapons testing in the US in the fifties.

Some of the cases may be overstated or tendentious and, as always, there is no information of a similar nature from the other side. There is, however, little reason to believe that the same false alarms, accidents and exposures are not occurring there too as well as in a more limited way in the other nuclear weapon states.

But a weapon which causes such dangers to own and other populations already in peace-time should clearly be declared unacceptable already on such grounds, not to talk about its impossible consequences for everybody if used in wartime. There is much concern about the environmental and other hazards of nuclear power. Perhaps recent revelations will help to bring home to everybody that also the peace-time dangers of nuclear weapons are too grave to contemplate.

We shall probably be told that such alarmist talk is completely unfounded. Management and control routines will be improved, and so on and so forth. But the basic fact remains that we are talking about a weapon which can in a matter of minutes reach every corner of the globe, a weapon a few of which can in a matter of seconds extinguish civilization as we know it. Such weapons cannot ever be safely managed and controlled, they must simply be abolished.

But instead of choosing a joint path of responsibility and reason the superpowers and, to some extent, the lesser nuclear powers
seem bent on pursuing the course of mutual and general annihilation.

Already last year SALT II was in trouble for a variety of internal and external reasons. To assess its fate today is all but impossible. Strong voices have been raised recently to have these eight years of negotiations shelved in another vain attempt at achieving that elusive, yes impossible nuclear superiority instead of a possible parity or equivalence of forces. New weapons systems, projects of a complexity and cost beyond imagination but of doubtful military benefit, are already far advanced and ready to be implemented. The era of mobile ICBM's and new ABM's, ground or space based, would not be far away if this new round of arms competition is allowed to get underway. There are few experts who do not see a grave threat to stability in such policies. If there has been any constant feature of the nuclear age it has been that action feeds counter-action ad infinitum or until such time as the weapons come to be used.

We therefore today request the superpowers to stop a further futile round of armaments, to find a way to finally complete the laboriously negotiated SALT II agreement and to move from there to negotiations to further reduce the level of nuclear arms. (...)

This point in time when we open the 1981 session of the Committee on Disarmament, is marked by uncertainties and warnings.

Events have happened recently which make it even more difficult for us to see clearly ahead, to understand present realities, against the background of which we have to work and which we shall have to try to change.

This point in time witnesses new developments in the field of nuclear weapons through further and gigantic leaps forward in military technology. For at least the first part of this crucially decisive decade these are illboding in the extreme. We must ask ourselves if they are irreversible and, if that should be the case, where that would lead us.
Let us keep in mind that everyone in the world under the age of 45 has no, or only very vague, memories of Hiroshima, and its realities. Is that one of the reasons why the recent UN Study on Nuclear Weapons has almost disappeared from the public debate and even from the debate on the official level? I find it of utmost importance that the conclusions of the Study be kept intensely in the public's eye, in spite of, or - better - particularly because the Nuclear Weapons States boycotted the Expert Group that produced the report, did not participate in its work, did not provide it with the requested open material.

Fortunately, it was possible for the Expert Group to overcome the obstacles created by the Nuclear Weapons States and present its conclusions based on a wealth of factual information.

From this and other sources we know that the nuclear arsenals of the superpowers are many times larger than needed for the effective fulfillment of their declared purpose of deterrence. The technological diversification of nuclear weapons has made it more and more difficult to maintain that the so-called balance of terror is a functioning instrument for peace. The risks that the development will get out of hand are increasing. Particularly worrying is that new delivery systems permit nuclear weapons "to be used" the same way as other weapons leading up to the illboding idea that a nuclear war could be fought and won. On the contrary, the study shows that there can be no winner in a nuclear war and that its primary and secondary effects would be catastrophic for all countries of the world. The notion that a nuclear war could be kept under control is found to be unrealistic. This means in political terms that the superpowers arrogantly keep the people of the world hostage for what they perceive as their own security needs. But the study shows that a system based on a precarious balance of nuclear deterrence can never be a reliable long term solution for international security.

Furthermore, in the gloomy atmosphere in which we live and work, it is at least heartening to know that groups of dedicated physicians in various countries are determined to bring to the atten-
tion of world public opinion the medical effects of a nuclear war, in other words the unbelievable horrors of human sufferings that follow. This indispensable knowledge should be brought home to citizens everywhere, to enable them to raise their voices in an invincible protest cry: No more Hiroshimas! And still there are wise men, in East and West, who from their desks and their computers preach the gospel of the limited nuclear war that can be fought and won. Shame on their blindness and their inhuman theories!

The realities of today show us that in spite of what common sense and an ordinary amount of foresight would tell those who consider themselves big and mighty, we shall in the foreseeable future witness no farewell to arms. The predictions for the early years of this decade point to a continuing arms race, a further increase in military expenditures beyond the disgusting figure of well above 500 billion dollars annually, further leaps forward in military technologies. As the new Defence Secretary in one of the superpowers said: "I am very much aware of the need to add greatly to my country's military strength."

This would lead me to the unfortunately realistic assessment that in the early 1980's and in spite of the upcoming Second UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament in 1982, there are limited reasons to expect a conclusion of a CTBT for all time, a cessation of the nuclear arms race, a convention banning production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, a start of a disarmament process.

And we should keep in mind that the crucial factor time is not on our side. The longer negotiations and agreements are delayed, the more difficult they tend to become.

We often speak about the need, even the necessity to have an increasingly widespread public opinion engaging itself in the struggle for peace and survival. But we do not make it very easy for concerned citizens to come on speaking terms with us. The disarmament debate deals with facts and figures, which understandably transcend what can easily be grasped. Who can catch the
proportions of a reality, where the present worldwide storage of nuclear weapons correspond to 1,300,000 Hiroshima bombs? And let us further agree, that the language itself with its tremendous power over the human mind, as well as over the process of decision-making has been corrupted by means of the frequent euphemisms, which have entered the vocabulary of the armaments community, such as bonus-kills and mega-death. This has the effect of throwing dust into people's eyes. Everybody knows what a cannon or a gun is, but what is the general cognitive value, one may ask, of a mininuke or a MIRV, of Honest John or Fat Boy?

Part of this development is furthermore accounted for by the very approach to disarmament, which has been adopted for practical purposes in the absence of general and complete disarmament: the step by step approach. As we all know disarmament negotiations thereby necessarily engage in highly technical matters and issues, which unfortunately tend to obscure the very purpose of the whole process. But we must always keep in mind, that disarmament is too important to be left solely to experts and governments. We must be able to communicate with people in human terms, in order to get their indispensable support and demand for results.

A prerequisite for a decisive increase in public awareness of "present dangers" is of course, that a radical change in thinking, attitudes, values, decision-making and actions takes place soon. Now, in the international debate, reference is often made to the need for a display of political will of nations and governments, in order to reach results in the decades-long, gray drudgery of disarmament talks. This is without doubt correct, but by now, somewhat worn out. Because of that, another radical change is needed. What is required now is a clear expression of the political will of peoples, materializing in the action needed, to make governments mobilize their political will to move decisively towards real and genuine disarmament.

This is not sheer rhetoric, although I sometimes feel, that the words we use are losing any real meaning. If, in the medium- or
long-term perspective, we are going to survive the consequences of
our own actions, these worn out words must be given back their
ture and very concrete purport.

More than two years and a half have passed since the SSOD I. What
has happened since then? Which paragraphs of the Final Document's
Action Programme have been implemented since then? Less than one
year and a half remains to the SSOD II. What will the Committee
on Disarmament have to report then? Real progress in the multi-
lateral negotiations on high priority issues entrusted to us? Or
nothing else but the fact that such multilateral negotiations were
denied us by forces beyond our collective control?

It is high time to choose. The doomsday clock has again moved
closer to twelve. Does that mean that we have shown our inability
to stop what must be stopped?

I asked myself earlier in this statement what amount of harsh
criticism the SSOD II will bestow upon us if we do not improve our
performance. Perhaps the Special Session will remember Oliver
Cromwell's famous shout to the Rump Parliament in 1653: "Give
place to better men!" But I do hope not. I do hope that facing
what sometimes seems the impossible, we shall not give up, nor
shall we give in to forces which continue to put obstacles in our
way. I believe that we all agree to make another and another and
another try, to find new ways, new approaches.

This is the message that should guide us: Four per cent of world
military expenditures, less than fourteen days of present use of
resources for military purposes would eradicate the worst conse-
quences of mass poverty and create a better future for the chil-
dren of the earth.
INTERACTIONS

A PROPOSAL FOR A DISARMAMENT STRATEGY OF WOMEN AND OTHER CITIZENS

by Hilkka Pietilä

In disarmament negotiations between governments so far most of the proposals discussed have been complicated and partial, serving more as bases for continued negotiations than as real plans seeking tangible results in stopping the arms race. In recent years negotiations have even concentrated mainly on controlling the arms race rather than slowing it down or stopping it.

Such plans do not satisfy those people looking for tangible results. The "civilian angle" - the fate of civilians in the event of modern weapons being used - has been totally forgotten and attention has focussed on estimating and maintaining the balance of power, on assuring the ability to counter-attack if the other side attacks first.

In each country, the general public can only influence its own government. Our demands must therefore be addressed to our own respective governments and in each case such demands must be based on the situation and status of the particular country in the world structure. Popular movements can, however, support and encourage one another across national frontiers.

The point of departure of the new proposal for peace action by women and other citizens is those factors which are important to civilians, to women and children and to non-military men. Its requests to governments are based on these points and are expressed simply and clearly, so as to relate directly to the situation and status in the international military structure of each country. It aims to mobilise people into demanding definite action on the part of the governments of each country.

Our aim is to establish a people's movement which will unite the public opinion for disarmament to become a political pressure which will gradually gain impetus and focus on the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, forcing them to revise their policies.

The popular movement will start in the neutral countries. It will attract women and other citizens from smaller countries in both military blocs. Finally, it will channel its strength through the corresponding movements of citizens of the big powers confronting their governments and thus creating political pressure to force those governments to stop the arms race.

Basic facts

1. Nuclear weapons are an appalling threat to the security of all people.

2. There is no defence against nuclear attack. Therefore, even the major powers concentrate on consolidating their counter-attack.

3. It is impossible to protect the civilian population in the event of a nuclear attack.

4. No country is protected against nuclear disaster, irrespective of whether it has nuclear weapons itself or not.

5. Those countries having nuclear weapons are in the greatest danger, because they will certainly be the targets of their opponents.

6. If the big powers use nuclear weapons, the biggest disaster will take place in Europe because both sides will first attack their opponent's bases in Europe.

7. The Soviet Union and the United States are responsible for the continuation of the arms race. Both also force their allies - the members of NATO and of the Warsaw Pact - to participate in the arms race.

8. No longer can any country protect its citizens by national measures.

9. The only way to avoid a nuclear disaster is to prevent the use of nuclear weapons.

People everywhere must be made to realize these facts. The movement will therefore:

- disseminate information so that everyone will become aware of these facts;
- protest strongly against the present trend and the continuation of the arms race;
- rise a political opinion which refuses to live under such a threat and will force governments to take action to abolish it.

Specific demands

I. The women of the European neutral countries (Finland, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, Cyprus and Yugoslavia) can demand that their governments:

- stop increasing their own stock of arms because such stocks do not increase anybody's security;
- protest against the arms race between the big powers and their allies, and against the arms trade;
- prepare a plan for a nuclear-free zone throughout Europe, from Poland to Portugal, and devote all their political power to promoting such a plan.

II. The women of NATO countries (Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Great Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Iceland,
Italy, Canada, Greece, Portugal and Turkey) can demand that their govern-
ments:
- Refrain from increasing their arms according to the demands of the
United States;
- call for the withdrawal of American troops, weapons, bases and military
stock piles from their countries, because these become targets, and
will cause a holocaust to be unleashed on their own people;
- demand that the government of the United States stop the development
and production of arms and agree with the government of the Soviet
Union on a way of disposing of existing weapons.

III. The women of the Warsaw Pact countries (Poland, Czechoslovakia, the
German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria) can:
- Refuse to be protected agains the threat of the United States and the
NATO by weapons which threaten themselves;
- demand that Soviet troops and weapons be withdrawn from their countries,
as their presence will make themselves a target and cause a holocaust
to be unleashed on their own people;
- demand their governments to put pressure on the Soviet government to
stop the development and production of weapons and agree with the
government of the United States on the disposal of existing weapons.

IV. The women of the United States can:
- Refuse to pay taxes to finance the arms race which their government
is conducting, and encourage others to do likewise;
- demand the government to stop the arms race because it merely accele-
rates the stocking of arms in the Soviet Union and makes themselves a
target and causes a holocaust to be unleashed on the people of the
United States;
- demand their government to agree with the government of the Soviet
Union on stopping the arms race and on the disposal of existing
weapons.

V. The women of the Soviet Union can:
- Refuse to believe that the American people are their enemies;
- demand that their government stop the arms race since it only accele-
rates the stocking of arms in the Unites States and makes themselves a
target and causes a holocaust to be unleashed on the people of the
Soviet Union;
- demand that their government agree with the government of the United
States on stopping the arms race and the disposal of existing weapons.

VI. We, the women of Europe, together will:
- Devote all our strength to supporting our American and Soviet sisters in
their demands on their governments;
- force our own governments to disarm.
we don’t want to be the last generation in Europe.

we do not want to be exterminated because of the madness of the big powers.

We want to unite our political strength in all countries against the insanity of the arms race.

We will not stay silent any longer.

Governments must listen to us!

Implementation in practice

The Women for Peace action calls woman to woman, man to man, at the horizontal level.

One approach at this level is by letter. The programme for disarmament action by women and other citizens will be initiated by preparing letters along the lines of this memorandum in different languages:

- containing the basic information on page 2;
- explaining that we Finnish, or Nordic, women are joining forces to put pressure on our own government (specific demands, point I.);
- expressing what we wish women in the recipient countries could do (points II, III, IV and V).

To this end we intend to print letters containing the basic information, the text addressed specifically to each individual country. Each letter will include a space in which the sender can add her own personal message to her sister in her own or other countries.

The correspondence will:

- take place within countries, from woman to woman, person to person, so that information on the basic facts will be spread and thereby the awareness will be created that one can act and has to act;
- pass from country to country so that the information will spread and we can activate and encourage one another across frontiers.

We should also urge one another to promote the message by sending the letter to an additional ten persons.

This type of chain letter is an extremely effective way of spreading information, of mobilising people. If each person sends the letter on to at least ten people there will be 100,000 recipients already on the fifth round, and the sixth round would encompass one million. If each letter is sent on within one or two weeks, within a few months millions of people will have been reached.
The letters will assure us that each of us can do realistic work for peace and against nuclear weapons, each of us can make a contribution towards decreasing the risk of nuclear war, and everyone can do something tangible for the survival of the children and for their future.

THE ITAICI MESSAGE

MESSAGE TO THE CHURCHES AND CHRISTIANS OF LATIN AMERICA

From the Latin American Consultation on Transnational Corporations (Itaici, Sao Paulo, October 1-5, 1980) */

The Latin American Consultation on Transnational Corporations, co-sponsored by the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development (CCPD) of the World Council of Churches and by the Coordenadoria Ecumênica de Serviços (CESE), met in Itaici, Sao Paulo, from 1 to 5 October, to study the impact of transnational capital on the Latin American economies and the lives of their peoples.

The meeting was presided by Rev. Dorival Rodrigues Beulke of the Brazilian Methodist Church and by Salvador Pires of the National Labour Front (Brazil). Manuel de Melo, President of CESE and Minister of the Pentecostal Church "Brasil para Cristo", gave the inaugural speech. Other participants were representatives of member churches of the WCC, the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops (CNBB), the Latin American Council of Churches (CLAI), ecumenical groups from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, organizers of pastoral work, urban and rural workers and several Latin American socio-economic research institutes.

the message

The Consultation's main concern was to reflect on the responsibility of churches and Christians in relation to the injustice and oppression to which most people of our continent are subjected.

In their work for the liberation of the oppressed and the defence of human rights, through which human beings, the supreme work of creation, achieve human dignity, the churches are called to bear witness to their mission of being a sign of redemption - a redemption fulfilled by the Lord in our peoples.

We realize that this period in human history is crucial. TNCs are playing a decisive role in the transnationalization of our economies. This results in a world which is divided, wherein a minority enjoys unlimited privileges while a large majority is relegated to an existence which is sub-human.

With the help of analyses and particularly the witness provided by our brothers, the workers and peasants, about the reality of transnationalization and its influence on our economies, we arrived at some conclusions:

1. Transnationalization is a world-wide phenomenon which deeply affects all dimensions of life in our countries: economic, social, cultural and political.

2. In Latin America the impact of transnationalization is becoming more and more obvious in the following areas:
   a) the establishment of economic policies which protect the minorities and place the majorities in a marginal position by promoting income concentration, inequality and unemployment;
   b) the increase of technological dependency;
   c) the spreading of consumeristic attitudes and customs at the expense of depriving and excluding the majority;
   d) the worsening of political and social crises as a result of the establishment of authoritarian regimes;
   e) the hindrance to national sovereignty;
   f) the escalation of the arms race and fratricidal conflicts;
   g) the destruction of cultural values and the identity of our peoples through the transnational control of information which serves to encourage consumption habits oriented toward the superfluous;
   h) the devastating effects on the environment, particularly of the so-called Third World, where TNCs operate with total and unscrupulous abandon from privileged positions of power;
   i) the submission of the national dominant classes who subordinate national economic development to transnational interests.

3. There is obvious conflict between transnationalization which promotes authoritarian regimes and the emergence of a world-wide struggle for democracy which aims at a redefinition of alternative models of development and of social and political organization of our societies. This type of democracy is founded upon values of social justice, equality and participation, and is a crucial element for the building of a new society where the workers enjoy the benefits of their labour and where, at last, democracy is no longer a hollow notion utilized to manipulate and deceive the hopes of our peoples, but becomes a factor for the humanization of all dimensions of life of our societies.

4. These realities require profound and systematic analysis. The Consultation therefore drew up the following recommendations which it presents to the churches and to all Christians in Latin America:
a) to encourage systematic study and dissemination of information about the transnationalization process and its effects on national societies through the establishment and utilization of international, national and local networks of communication;

b) to promote wide discussion of the topic with various social movements, particularly with the sectors most affected by that process, such as urban and rural workers, native peoples, those working in cultural, scientific and educational fields, students, parents and teachers, the political and religious leadership of our countries;

c) to promote solidarity with the social movements which are victims of transnationalization, in their grievances and struggles which are of a national and democratic nature, both within our countries and on the international level;

d) to collaborate with our peoples in their efforts to formulate alternative development proposals which aim at bringing about an economy that fulfills the aspirations of all men and women of our continent—a society that liberates and humanizes;

e) to encourage churches in Europe and North America to use their moral and economic influence with TNCs and their respective governments to spur them to support movements for social justice and the rights of the peoples of Latin America.

At the close of this Consultation we feel encouraged by the conviction that the struggle for human rights and the building of a just society, with equality and participation for all, is spreading its roots and gaining strength, despite enormous cost and sacrifice, all over Latin America.

We are convinced that, together with our peoples, we will find answers to the numerous and serious problems of our times, and especially the challenges posed by the TNCs.

INDUSTRIALISATION OF THIRD WORLD FOR BENEFIT OF TNCS OR PEOPLE?

An Inter Press Service Feature by Chakravarthi Raghavan 1/

An entrenched oligopoly of transnational conglomerates, deploying their economic and political power, now determine prices and output in the whole world's fibres and textile economy, an UNCTAD study reports.2/

1/ IPS correspondent, Palais des Nations, Geneva.

The study covers some eight sectors of the economy: cotton production, cotton trade, petrochemicals, chemical fibres, textiles, apparel, wholesaling/retailing and textile machinery.

Like earlier UNCTAD studies on bananas and tobacco, the present study makes no policy suggestions, but the issues it considers raise questions about commodity development and trade and industrialisation policies in the North-South context, and the futility of some current policy ideas that do not strike at the root of TNCs and their global power.

An oligopoly is a situation in which large corporations act as price-makers as opposed to a situation of full competition where individual enterprises are price-takers.

The fibres and textile market, involving natural and chemical fibres and allied textiles, affects and involves producers, intermediaries and consumers, large and small farmers, rural and urban workers, manufacturers in the industrialised and Third World countries, consumers everywhere, and the banks and trading community.

The oligopoly functions differently in the primary commodity trade and in industry. But in both, according to the study, a tiny number of large firms exercise power to obtain prices geared to profit maximisation.

The growth of the oligopoly now closely links the future and fate of the cotton textile industry with that of chemical fibres.

There is one chain, beginning with the production of cotton, through its processing into yarn and textiles and then into clothing and apparel, and ending with its wholesaling/retailing to the public.

There is a second marketing chain, intimately affecting the cotton economy, beginning at the oil fields, meandering through refineries and petrochemical complexes to the fibre plants, and intersecting the first chain at the stage of the textile plants.

Cotton production is dominated by the USSR, China and the USA. But in some 60 Third World countries, cotton is produced in a highly fragmented way.

The marketing of this cotton to the spinners is an oligopolistic stronghold of the TN conglomerates, with head offices mainly located in the USA, Switzerland and Japan.

Third World countries now have a substantial share in the production of yarn. The capital-intensive next stage of textile weaving and knitting is primarily still the domain of the industrialised countries.

The apparel sector has so far been less amenable to comprehensive mechanisation, and production is overwhelmingly in small-scale and fairly competitive economic units, but automation is making inroads here, forcing even Third World countries to automate and thus reduce employment in order to maintain market shares.
The wholesale/retail link, operating in national markets, has medium levels of concentration in many industrialised countries and is highly fragmented in the Third World.

The textile machinery industry, with sophisticated engineering design and research, is directly involved in the erosion of the market share of cotton by intrusion of chemical fibres. This sector is highly concentrated geographically, with the Third World accounting for less than five percent of the world export markets and facing poor prospects of increasing this share.

The chemical fibres industry has a direct bearing on the cotton economy. Due to natural endowments, the USSR, USA and China are the leaders in oil and gas production. But a limited number of Third World countries are also in the picture.

The processing of natural gas and petroleum into petrochemicals has been dominated by the industrialised countries. But several socialist countries, the OPEC, and Mexico are also now involved, and the industry is spreading into the socialist and Third World countries.

While comparatively few resources are needed to set up chemical fibre plants, the capital resources needed for basic and applied research are enormous. The TN conglomerates, promoting chemical fibres, intersect the cotton chain at the stage of textile manufacture and are systematically and irreversibly eroding the share of cotton in end fibre uses.

From a 70 percent share in 1955 of the end use markets, cotton's share has now been reduced to under 50 percent by chemical fibres.

In this perspective, the study questions concepts of "interfibre competition" between cotton and chemical fibres and suggests that the competition is really between the corporations producing the two commodities.

At one end of the chain is the power of the TNCs engaged in the production and marketing of chemicals and petrochemicals and the relevant research, and at the other end are the millions of small farmers, subtenants and landless labour in the Third World where subsistence income is the norm.

As cotton moves into processing and manufacturing, oligopoly enters the scene. Fifteen giant traders, all of them multicommodity conglomerates, control 85-90 percent of the world cotton trade.

In contrast to the fragmented state of the cotton economy, twelve large firms produce 3/5ths of the world's chemical fibres and account for 80-90 percent of the world's trade in these fibres. Fibres account for only one-fifth of the total sales of these firms, and they can capture markets by lower pricing.

The textile processing stage has a less cohesive oligopolistic structure, but approximately 35-40 large textile corporations do control a broad range of textile and non-textile activities. These TNCs, many of them chemical firms, largely dominate the world textile trade in both the industrialised and Third World countries.
The centres of power are in six countries – USA, Japan, France, UK, West Germany and Italy. The apparel stage is highly fragmented though recent technical innovations have opened the gates for future concentration.

But at the wholesale and retailing level, oligopolistic concentration has become much tighter, with wholesale and retail gross margins now absorbing as much as half the retail price of the textile products.

At the textile machinery level, almost every advance since world war two has favoured chemical over natural fibres. There are increasingly close corporate links between the chemical fibres oligopoly and the textile machinery producers. The latter market is controlled by a handful of TNCs located in West Germany, USA, UK, Switzerland, France, Belgium and Italy.

This oligopoly, besides influencing fibre choice (between cotton and chemicals) is spreading sophisticated engineering technology throughout the world involving high capital intensity and hence reductions in the workforce.

In the absence of countervailing powers against the transnational conglomerate oligopoly in the world fibres and textiles market, there will be no return to the "normalcy" of the 50s, however such normalcy is defined, according to the UNCTAD report.

The 260-page report studies the dimensions of the corporate marketing structures in the world fibre and textile economy. The study has concluded that at present an oligopoly of transnational conglomerates dominates the economy and determines prices and output.

Viewing the growth of the oligopoly in this sector against the background of the global economic scene and the general growth of oligopolies since the end of the 19th century, the UNCTAD study suggests that "there will be no return to the normalcy of the 1950s, however such 'normalcy' be construed".

The sharpening of the crisis of the 1980s in its view, will speed up two forces inherent in the present capital accumulation process: an accelerated elimination of the small and medium scale enterprises with liquidity problems playing a pivotal role, and a speedup of the conglomerate thrusts of the TNCs.

"In the absence of countervailing powers, the deployment of such a concentration of conglomerate power points to further and intensified corporate takeovers and economic conflicts, which would run counter to the objectives sought in the establishment of the NIEO", the report says.

The UNCTAD study, with its multisectoral approach, provides some insight into the relative power of the successive stages of production and marketing chain reflected in the retail price of the product.

For most commodities entering international trade, value added by the foreign enterprises accounts for 80-90 percent of the retail price.
In the case of cotton, the production and marketing structure of the world cotton industry varies considerably at the national level. The real earnings of tenant farmers and the landless wage earners are not generally or directly affected by a rise in prices on the international market.

The employment creation is disproportionate to output value, particularly in the Third World, where natural fibres are as important as fibre processing in providing jobs - 39 million people are engaged in fibre production and 36 million on natural fibre manufacture.

In 1979, roughly one-third of world cotton output, with an estimated value of 6.1 billion dollars, entered the global market.

Production is very varied. The three major producers are USSR, China and the USA, accounting for 56 percent of world output. But in recent years their relative shares have altered drastically, with the socialist forms of production in USSR and China, and some other countries accounting now for two-fifths of the world cotton production.

Besides the three major producers, cotton is also important to the agricultural cash economy of 77 countries, and is an important foreign exchange earner as a fibre for more than 60 of them.

The foreign exchange earnings of cotton is as high as 70 percent for Chad, 40 percent for Sudan, and 25 percent for Yemen, Egypt, Mali, Central African Republic, Benin, Nicaragua, and Upper Volta. Cotton provides employment for 71 percent of the people of Chad, 35 percent in Nicaragua, 20 percent in Guatemala, 16 in Syria, and 13 in Sudan.

The output of natural fibre and manufactures accounted in 1972-74 for 5.3 percent of GDP in Third World countries as against a mere 1.2 percent in the industrialised world. But in both Third World and industrialised countries, there is a regular decline in the contribution of natural fibres and associated manufactures to GDP, reflecting the increasing substitution of man-made for natural fibres.

In both industrialised and Third World countries, processing accounts for a larger proportion of GDP than raw fibre production: in the Third World the contribution is twice as large - in the industrialised world processing's contribution to GDP is six times that of natural fibre production.

Contrary to the widespread myth of free market price formation, a small number of multi-commodity traders and speculators exert a powerful and pervasive influence on short-term movements of world cotton prices. The longer term price movements are conditioned by other factors of which the most significant are the pricing and marketing activities of the petrochemical and chemical companies.

As a result the socialist and Third World countries, producing four-fifths of the world cotton, play a marginal role in the short-term and long-term movements of cotton prices at the global level, and are forced to accept the price fluctuations and suffer their potentially harmful effects.
While the New York cotton exchange plays a negligible role in the actual cotton traded and delivered, the New York cotton futures prices play a role similar to the oligopolistically determined posted prices of synthetic fibres. Sales of the latter are based on markups or markdowns of the declared prices.

The inherently unstable price quotations of the New York futures are disseminated globally, determining prices elsewhere. The operation of the futures markets in cotton has modified the mechanism of the market forces of supply and demand.

The futures market is strongly influenced by the larger traders who tend to pursue policies that circumvent the competitive forces of an earlier epoch.

In sharp contrast to the stability of the chemical fibre prices, speculators in cotton futures tend to heighten the peaks and deepen the troughs, adding another dimension to the instability of the cotton prices.

SMALL FISHERMEN MEET AT KUANTAN, MALAYSIA

by Danieul Mudali */

Twenty four participants from diverse background - including six village development committees - met in Kuantan, Pahang, Malaysia in October 1980, to discuss the subject "Consumers and Technology - A Consultation on Outboard Motors".

The Workshop - organised by the Pahang Association of Consumers - was a response to the PAC's growing concern of the fishing industry. Fishing is a most important industry in Malaysia. It not only provides employment for some 100,000 fishermen, but fish is also by far the greatest source of protein for most Malaysians, particularly for the low income groups.

In recent years Malaysians have been witnessing contradictions in the industry:-

- A rapid increase in the price of fish; yet the small fishermen community is among the poorest in the country.

- Conflict between trawler fishermen and small fishermen in the West coast of Malaysia.

*/ Executive Secretary, Pahang Association of Consumers, B-1455, 1st Floor, Jalan Beserah, Kuantan, Pahang, Malaysia.
Declining catches of quality fish - as opposed to trash fish used mainly for making of feedmeal - inspite of the increased imputs (both in the numbers and tonnage of boats and modern methods of fishing).

This crisis in Malaysian Fishing Industry and the inflated price of fish has been brought about by a combination of factors:-

- Overfishing by trawlers and other big boats.

- The use of destructive and illegal methods of fishing.

- Pollution of sea, rivers and fish ponds.

- Profiteering middlemen.

- Export of fish and fish products to overseas markets (the integration of the Malaysian fishing industry into the "global Supermarket").

The low productivity of traditional fishing gear used by the small fishermen was a cause for concern for the Malaysian government. As part of a programme to improve productivity subsidies of nets, boats and motors (both in-board and small outboard motors) were given to the small fishermen.

The International Organization of Consumers Union (IOCU) sponsored a world-wide test on outboard motors after consumer groups, both the Third World and industrialised countries expressed concern over the problems of outboard motors. The low horse power models were deliberately chosen to cover the needs of sea-bound Third World countries where outboard motors are used for transport and fishing by low income groups. Twenty-two different brands, ranging from 3.5 to 7.5 HP were tested. The results of this test would be useful to the small fishermen in Malaysia as many of the outboard motors are used by them.

A preliminary study on the technical and economic aspects of the fishing industry was done in five fishing communities. Information was obtained by asking the villagers to answer a questionnaire as well as by observation. Valuable insights were gained by speaking to the fishermen and community leaders.

The specific objectives of the workshop were as follows:-

- To identify the problems faced by small fishermen in the East Cost of Malaysia.

- To discuss technical, financial and socio-economic aspects of the fishing industry.

- To establish dialogue and chart out areas of cooperation between the participating groups.

The main subjects discussed at the workshop were:-
- The crisis of the Malaysian fishing industry.
- The socio-economic problems of the fishermen.
- The problems faced in the use of small outboard motors (both economic and technical).
- The report on the IOCU test on outboard motors.

The participants agreed to adopt the resolutions 1/ of the small fishermen seminar held in Bangkok on 22-26 May 1978 in its totality.

A charter for joint action was drawn up which reads as follows: "We the representatives of the fishing communities and of the Pahang Association of Consumers believe that our common problems very often have their roots in greed, ignorance and inefficiency. There is a need for joint action between and cooperation between citizens groups to fight for our rights as consumers and as citizens. We pledge to help each in identifying and solving our common problems."

Three areas of cooperation and concrete action have been identified:

1. Consumer Education Programmes in the Fishing villages.
2. Bulk Buying Schemes in the fishing villages.
3. Direct Buying Programmes between the fishing villages and consumers in the urban areas.

The workshop was an innovative method for disseminating technical information. Too often the written word is used and is inadequate. We also found this method of disseminating technical information useful as the immediate feedback pointed out more areas to be tested if further work on outboard motors is to be done.

The workshop will function as an entry point for further consumer education for change and consumer protection activities directed at the rural fishing communities. The initiation and organisation of genuine fishermen cooperatives is one area to be looked into.

1/ IFDA Dossier 3, January 1979; Interactions - Small Fishermen's Charter.
ON NE FINIT PAS D'APPENDRE

INTERVIEW DE MAHDI ELMANDJRA PAR MICHEL DEBOSTE
(Radio France Internationale)

- On ne finit pas d'apprendre, apprendre quoi, pour faire quoi, dans quel but?
- Je crois qu'il s'agit d'apprendre pour vivre ou plutôt pour s'épanouir afin de survivre et de ne pas subir.
- Alors, à votre avis, cela vous semble-t-il une question-clé à un moment où les nations s'énlisent dans un impossible dialogue Nord-Sud et que l'on s'interroge sur la prochaine décennie du développement, si elle sera un échec comme les autres?
- Je crois que c'est le problème fondamental. Le problème de la survie aujourd'hui se pose d'une manière très aiguë et pas simplement théorique. L'humanité aujourd'hui a une capacité de destruction qui est égale à presque dix fois le nombre d'êtres humains qui se trouvent sur cette planète, c'est-à-dire que l'arsenal atomique à lui seul, d'après les derniers chiffres cités par le Secrétariat général des Nations Unies et par l'Agence atomique internationale, nous démontrent que si l'on utilisait tout l'arsenal militaire, il serait non seulement possible d'éliminer toute la race humaine, mais potentiellement, sept à dix fois le nombre d'habitants sur cette planète. Donc, ce n'est plus un problème théorique, c'est un problème réel.

Il est aussi écoeurant de voir, à la fin du vingtième siècle, que les sommes qui sont dépensées annuellement sur les armements, plus de cing cents milliards de dollars par an, sont au moins égales, sinon supérieures à la totalité des sommes dépensées sur l'éducation, la formation, l'apprentissage dans le monde. Je crois qu'une société mondiale qui n'a pas encore choisi ses priorités ou qui plutôt, actuellement, accorde une priorité supérieure à la destruction par rapport à la construction de l'esprit est une société malade et qui a besoin d'apprentissage.

- Alors, justement, vous avez lancé un mot que l'on retrouve beaucoup dans votre ouvrage, le mot apprentissage. L'apprentissage en fin de compte, tel que nous le concevons, c'est surtout apprendre à être maçon, à être plombier. Alors, quel sens donnez-vous à cet apprentissage? En quoi cela nous concerne-t-il tous?
- Evidemment, c'est une traduction d'un concept qu'en anglais on appelle learning. Effectivement, pour le traduire en français, le mot apprentissage à lui seul ne suffit pas. Il s'agit à la fois d'apprentissage, il s'agit d'éducation, il s'agit de formation. Mais, dans ce livre, ce que nous entendons par apprentissage ne se limite pas à la notion que vous avez décrite, ne se limite pas non plus au système éducatif, mais s'applique aux

mécanismes et aux processus par lesquels on apprend et évidemment, dans l'esprit de ce livre, c'est un processus qui ne se termine jamais. On apprend toute sa vie, mais ce qui compte c'est comment on nous a appris à apprendre. Et, nous constatons que les systèmes d'apprentissage actuels pris dans ce sens très large du terme, sont des systèmes essentiellement conservateurs, dont le but est tout simplement de reproduire des espèces semblables de génération en génération. Il y a un phénomène de conservation qui est ancré par les méthodes d'enseignement, par les méthodes de formation de professeurs, dans le contenu des programmes scolaires, dans le contenu des manuels scolaires, dans les démarches pédagogiques, qui tue la créativité et qui limite l'imagination et qui, de ce fait, réduit le potentiel humain qui est énorme à des proportions très inférieures aux possibilités que l'esprit humain a pour créer et pour faire face à la complexité croissante du monde actuel.

- Et cela explique, à votre avis, que l'homme moderne n'arrive plus à maitriser sa société contrairement à celui d'il y a quelques siècles, qui savait encore trouver les gestes qu'il fallait pour évoluer et se comporter dans la société dans laquelle il vivait?

- Certains, c'est-à-dire qu'aujourd'hui, il ne fait plus aucun doute que nous ne sommes plus capables de maitriser la complexité que nous générions nous-mêmes par le développement des connaissances et de la technologie, c'est ce que nous appelons dans ce livre le fossé humain qui est croissant; c'est ce contraste entre notre habileté de développer les connaissances à une rapidité extraordinaire, d'aller sur la lune, d'étudier la cellule, d'étudier le fond des mers, de développer l'informatique, mais d'être incapables, sur le plan socio-culturel, de maitriser ces mêmes technologies que nous avons créées.

- Alors, M. Elmandira, lorsque l'on vous écoute et lorsque l'on lit le livre, on a un peu le sentiment que l'on s'est peut-être fourvoyé dans ce dialogue Nord-Sud, que les négociations globales ne sont peut-être pas le véritable sujet dont il faudrait discuter, mais que c'est finalement tous des problèmes de structures en profondeur qu'il faudrait remodifier. Mais, est-ce possible?

- Je crois que c'est possible. Personnellement, je ne crois pas dans le dialogue Nord-Sud. Je ne crois pas dans les négociations globales et je crois que, même la notion du Nouvel Ordre Economique International, qui avait un sens il y a encore six ans, du fait qu'elle a été rejetée par les pays industrialisés, elle non plus n'a plus de sens. Parce que quand on dit Nord et Sud, nous avons d'abord un écart énorme entre les deux régions du monde. L'écart ne se mesure pas tellement par le produit national brut ou par le niveau d'industrialisation. Je crois que l'écart le plus sérieux se mesure au niveau des ressources humaines. Comme on l'a constaté cette année, nous sommes heureux de voir que même une institution comme la Banque mondiale, qui opère selon des critères économiques et financiers très stricts, se réveille et se rend compte que l'investissement le plus important est celui des ressources humaines. Le Tiers Monde est presque paralysée avec cette masse énorme d'analphabètes et je crois que tant qu'on n'aura pas pris conscience de l'importance de rattraper ce retard, d'abord au niveau du développement des ressources humaines et de ce potentiel humain, on ne pourra rien faire.
Plus que la Banque mondiale, il est intéressant de voir que de grands économistes comme Galbraith, que certains hommes politiques comme Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, dans leurs derniers livres, tous commencent à découvrir cet élément humain, cette dimension humaine dans le développement. C'est pour cela que je crois que la crise essentielle entre le Nord et le Sud n'est pas d'ordre économique, elle n'est même pas d'ordre politique. Elle est bien plus sérieuse et plus profonde : elle est au niveau culturel. Au niveau culturel, quantitativement, c'est-à-dire du fait que d'un côté, vous avez cette masse d'analphabètes (près d'un milliard). Elle est aussi culturelle sur le plan qualitatif, c'est-à-dire au niveau des systèmes de valeurs qui ne sont pas les mêmes. Et, il y a, il faut utiliser le terme, il y a une agression culturelle du côté des pays industrialisés. Il y a bien plus que cette agression culturelle, il y a une arrogance, il y a un égoïsme, il y a une incapacité de comprendre l'autre et de vouloir comprendre l'autre et d'exiger constamment que ce soit l'autre qui se mette à votre fréquence culturelle, qui suit votre cadre de référence. C'est une manière de vouloir tuer l'identité culturelle de l'autre, et je crois que cela est déjà la cause des principales confrontations et que cela va s'accentuer énormément dans la prochaine décennie et que la seule solution est justement au niveau de l'élément humain et au niveau de cet apprentissage qui doit être à la hauteur des défis auxquels l'humanité doit faire face actuellement.

- Et ceux qui sont justement chargés de nous aider à relever ces défis, ne posent-ils, en fin de compte, les véritables questions?

- Il serait prétentieux de ma part d'y répondre parce que, comme ce sont des décideurs, ils disposent d'éléments dont je ne dispose pas. Ils se trouvent dans des situations psychologiques, comme décideurs, que je ne connais pas, n'étant pas moi-même un décideur, mais en tant qu'irresponsable, dont le seul but est d'essayer de réfléchir, je dirais, qu'à mon avis, ils ne se posent pas ces problèmes-là. J'irais plus loin, je dirais que même s'ils se les posent parfois, ils les écartent consciemment. Je prends le problème de l'analphabétisme et il est connu aujourd'hui. Tous les spécialistes savent que l'élimination de l'analphabétisme peut se faire en cinq ans, dix ans avec très peu de ressources, sans aide extérieure, en ayant recours tout simplement aux moyens locaux. Mais, combien de dirigeants, combien de décideurs dans le Tiers Monde souhaitent réellement éliminer l'analphabétisme? Car, on sait que l'éducation est l'élément qui apporte le plus grand changement et la plus grande innovation sociale et qui dérange les structures existantes. Je n'accuse personne, mais je constate tout simplement qu'il n'y a pas encore la volonté politique dans le Tiers Monde pour éliminer l'analphabétisme. Ce qui est valable là pour les pays du Tiers Monde l'est également pour les pays industrialisés qui, eux de leur côté, ne sont pas du tout dérangés par ce problème et il est évidemment dans leur intérêt que les structures existantes, que les systèmes des rapports internationaux existants demeurent tels qu'ils sont pour le maintien du statu quo. Ils ont peut-être besoin de cette masse d'analphabètes. Ils ont besoin d'un apprentissage conservateur qui existe et qui maintiendra, pour encore quelques années, je ne sais pas combien, je ne crois pas pour trop longtemps, les structures internationales actuelles qui, qu'on le veuille ou non, sont amenées à changer.
Alors, le problème fondamental est-il une question d'objectif, de moyen ou bien l'interrogation est toute autre?

Je crois que c'est tous les trois ensemble, parce que d'une part, pour ces problèmes-là, il est très difficile de les concevoir ou de les résoudre à très court terme. Les problèmes d'apprentissage dont nous parlons ici requièrent une vision à moyen terme ou à long terme car on n'apporte pas des changements dans les systèmes d'éducation, dans les systèmes d'apprentissage en moins de dix, quinze, vingt ans.

Le malheur, c'est que les hommes politiques, les décideurs, qu'ils soient du Nord ou du Sud, sont des êtres qui sont programmés pour penser à court terme, pour penser aux prochaines élections, pour penser au prochain budget, pour penser aux prochaines élections même à l'intérieur des partis politiques. Donc, toute l'action des décideurs est orientée vers le court terme, et je crois que c'est là que ce décalage que nous constatons, ce fossé humain que nous avons décrit s'accentue, c'est que le plus on se concentre sur le court terme, le moins on est en mesure d'apporter des solutions durables à des problèmes qui deviennent de plus en plus complexes.

Alors, la clé de cet apprentissage innovateur, pourquoi ou comment?

Je crois que c'est d'abord le pourquoi. Je crois que l'on ne souligne pas assez l'importance du pourquoi. Ce qui est à la mode aujourd'hui pour le développement, ce qu'on essaie d'apprendre à tout le monde et notamment aux pays en développement, c'est cette notion de know how. Ce sont tous les systèmes de valeurs qui sont liés à une société technologique où on est absolument obsédé par le comment mais sans se pencher sur le pourquoi. Mais le pourquoi à lui seul ne suffit pas, c'est-à-dire que le pourquoi en lui-même peut changer et il faut prévoir les moyens pour atteindre ces objectifs. Ce qui est essentiel, c'est de transformer les structures mentales, et vous ne pouvez pas transformer les structures mentales sans toucher à l'apprentissage, l'apprentissage de l'individu et des sociétés, parce que, comme nous le décrivons dans ce livre, il n'y a pas que les individus qui apprennent, les sociétés apprennent, les groupes apprennent. Il faut un apprentissage innovateur, dont les deux piliers seraient, d'une part la participation, et, d'autre part l'anticipation. L'apprentissage est quelque chose de dynamique basé sur l'interaction et, sans associer à 100% ceux qui sont en train d'apprendre au processus d'apprentissage, on limite le développement du potentiel humain.

D'autre part, il est inconcevable de développer un apprentissage qui n'encourage pas l'anticipation, c'est-à-dire qui prépare les êtres humains à des situations auxquelles ils ne sont pas encore parvenus, mais auxquelles on sait qu'on va parvenir et pour qu'ils soient disposés et prêts avant qu'on y parvienne. Et là, par simple illustration, on constate dans ce livre que ce que nous disons là n'est pas tellement nouveau parce que c'est déjà ce qui est mis en pratique par deux institutions dans le monde : d'une part les armées des grandes puissances opèrent par anticipation et font des études bien à l'avance des développements qui doivent se passer, que ce soit du point de vue de la technologie, de l'armement, de la stratégie et ainsi
de suite. Et, nous constatons aussi que les grandes transnationales font déjà beaucoup d'anticipation, beaucoup de prospective et ne misent pas que sur le court terme. Ce sont les deux seules exceptions que nous avons constatées.

Par contre, tous les pays du monde, industrialisés ou en voie de développement, capitalistes ou socialistes, tous les régimes ont des systèmes d'éducation qui sont désuets, qui sont dépassés, qui ne préparent pas l'homme et la femme à l'avenir et même encore moins au présent.

- Bien que des ministres vous écoutent avec attention et même des Chefs d'Etat, on a un peu le sentiment que vous êtes encore une voix qui crie dans le désert. Alors, que faut-il, des chocs plus violents encore que ceux d'ores et déjà prévus pour se réveiller et commencer à apprendre les moyens de maîtriser notre changement au lieu de le subir?

- A nouveau, comme ce rapport l'indique, avec l'apprentissage actuel, qui est un apprentissage conservateur et de reproduction, on n'apprend que par chocs. On attend que le choc se produise, on essaie d'en tirer la leçon et on avance sur cette base. Dans le passé, on pouvait se le permettre. Aujourd'hui, le moindre choc peut être fatal, et on ne peut pas se permettre de choisir cet apprentissage actuel, qui permet d'anticiper ces chocs et de les contrecarrer avant qu'ils ne se développent. Mais, si je suis optimiste à long terme, c'est-à-dire que je crois que ces chocs, qui se produisent actuellement, qui vont s'accentuer, vont apporter des transformations radicales dans les systèmes d'apprentissage qui existent à travers le monde, je suis malheureusement assez pessimiste en ce qui concerne, je dirais, au moins les cinq années à venir où on va payer très cher pour toutes les erreurs des systèmes d'apprentissage que nous avons eus jusqu'à présent et qui sont totalement inadaptés, je le répète, à la problématique mondiale.

- Et payer très cher les dialogues de sourds qui finissent presque par nous faire désespérer de l'avenir?

- Il ne faut pas désespérer parce que je crois que ces dialogues de sourds, je m'excuse de l'expression, ridiculisent ceux qui les entrentennent de part et d'autre, quand on sait que la voie est bouchée. Ce n'est, je le répète, qu'au niveau de transformations de structures mentales, d'attitudes et de réactions entre certains égoïsmes qui sont très développés dans les pays justement dits développés, ce n'est qu'en changeant ces structures mentales, ces attitudes que l'on pourra commencer à dialoguer véritablement. Mais, à l'heure actuelle, je crois que, malheureusement à nouveau, d'après ce qu'on peut constater, que ce soit même le rapport de la Commission Brandt, que ce soit les débats qui viennent d'avoir lieu à l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies dans la session spéciale sur le dialogue Nord-Sud, que ce soit les débats qui se poursuivent actuellement, que ce soit même certaines idées dans l'air sur des dialogues ou des triologues ou des quadrilogues, je crois qu'on n'est pas du tout sur la voie de la réalité des problèmes et surtout des problèmes qui touchent de très près la majorité de la population mondiale, dont on ignore les besoins réels et dont on n'est pas disposé actuellement à examiner les solutions pour pallier à une situation qui ne pourra
pas durer trop longtemps. Je crois que nous rentrons dans une période de confrontation, d'affrontements, qui ne seront pas toujours nécessairement violents, mais qui vont se passer de plus en plus au niveau culturel.

- A. J'ai, le titre de votre ouvrage aurait peut-être pu être "Quand les peuples s'éveilleront".

- Il aurait pu être cela, mais je crois que les peuples ont déjà commencé à s'éveiller. Il s'agit de savoir maintenant si leurs dirigeants vont s'éveiller avec eux simultanément ou vont devenir des somnambules.

UN CONTINGENT POUR LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE?
par Yona Friedman

En France, 20% de la population active (c'est-à-dire environ 10% de la population totale) est fonctionnaire public. Dans la plupart des pays membres de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les proportions sont sensiblement semblables. (Il faut bien remarquer que l'ONU n'est une "organisation des peuples" mais plutôt un super-syndicat mondial du fonctionnariat et que, de ce fait, elle n'est représentative que d'une fraction de la population mondiale).

Nous connaissons les raisons de cette plèthore de fonctionnariat : d'abord, la "loi de Parkinson" (suivant laquelle chaque fonctionnaire s'efforce d'augmenter le nombre de ses subordonnés, afin de rehausser son importance), puis le principe du "contrôleur contrôlé" qui contrôle un autre contrôleur et enfin, la conviction quasi-générale suivant laquelle "l'état, c'est le fonctionnariat" (conviction qui remplace cette autre apprise à l'école : "l'état désigne l'ensemble des citoyens"). Cette idée "d'état des fonctionnaires" a conduit aux conflits actuels, parfois si violents, entre "états" et "citoyens".

Le problème n'est pas l'oisiveté des fonctionnaires, ils fournissent souvent un gros travail, mais celui-ci est souvent inutile et coûteux. L'état fait figure de "mafia", par l'intermédiaire de laquelle les fonctionnaires peuvent utiliser leur position pour atteindre des objectifs personnels qui n'ont rien à voir avec le bien public. Un dixième de la population du monde travaille donc sans trop se préoccuper des aspirations des neuf autres dixièmes ; nous pouvons même aller jusqu'à dire qu'ils contrecarrent souvent les espérances de ces neuf dixièmes, aux frais de ces derniers qui financent le salaire des fonctionnaires.

Cette situation a son parallèle dans l'histoire : presque partout, de tout temps, l'armée a joui de cette même puissance quasi-feodale. Coûteuse, inefficace, sauf quand il lui faut imposer ses propres lois, telle est l'armée de métier : les troupes prétorienes ont toujours été les vrais détentrices du pouvoir. Aujourd'hui pourtant le service national - le contingent - qui remplace l'armée de métier rend la situation plus supportable : le soldat du contingent n'est pas

* 33, Cité Garibaldi, 75015 Paris, France
soldat à vie, ses objectifs personnels se situent en dehors de sa brève carrière militaire; il fait donc beaucoup moins partie de la "mafia" qu'est devenu l'état (surtout si la durée du service militaire obligatoire est courte). Les "postes de soldat de deuxième classe" sont attribués chaque année à d'autres titulaires; une armée où ces "postes" seraient assignés pour longtemps deviendrait par contre, très certainement, une armée prétorienne.

Si le système du contingent a démocratisé l'armée, alors pourquoi ne pas appliquer ce même système à la majeure partie du fonctionnariat? Pourquoi ne serait-ce pas le contingent qui fournirait les agents de police, les inspecteurs des contributions, le personnel enseignant ou médical, les cheminots? Les appelés d'un service national, auxquels seraient confiés des postes dans les services publics, ne seraient pas nécessairement moins efficaces que des fonctionnaires à vie, mais sûrement moins coûteux à l'état et leurs postes ne risqueraient pas d'être transformés en bastions d'intérêts particuliers. En admettant volontiers que ceux qui détiendraient ces postes pour un an seraient inexpérimentés, il n'en reste pas moins qu'ils ne coûteraient pas plus au budget national qu'un "titularisé" travaillant à soigner son avancement personnel. Si le système du contingent fonctionne bien quand il s'agit des pompiers (qui sont des spécialistes), pourquoi ne fonctionnerait-il pas tout aussi bien ailleurs?

Certains objecteront que "réduire" le fonctionnariat à un service de contingent, c'est saper le pouvoir de l'état. C'est tout à fait faux : confier les tâches des fonctionnaires à un contingent n'affaiblit pas l'état, il ne diminue que la possibilité de la mise en place d'une mafia ou d'une dictature implicite. L'instauration du contingent n'a affaibli ni l'armée ni l'état. De même, l'abandon du système de la royauté pour la présidence de la république (système particulier de contingent, opposé à la royauté "de métier") n'a pas nui à la puisance de l'état.

Du point de vue des dépenses publiques, le service par un contingent ne serait pas plus coûteux qu'un service de métier : l'armée du contingent n'est pas plus coûteuse que l'armée des mercenaires. Faire appel au contingent pour les tâches administratives ne serait pas plus coûteux au trésor public que ne l'est le "fonctionnariat de métier"; il faut remarquer que l'effectif du contingent peut plus facilement varier en nombre que celui des "titularisés", ce qui rend possible un usage plus rationnel du budget tout en permettant, pour une certaine période, l'absorption d'une certaine partie des chômeurs, (ce qui, de plus, assurerait une utilité publique à cette "aide aux chômeurs"). Que la croissance du manque d'emploi entraîne l'amélioration des services publics, n'est-ce pas là une idée à creuser?

A première vue, le fait de confier ces tâches de fonctionnariat au contingent semble réduire le nombre des postes (quand bien même la transformation de ces postes en service national se ferait lentement et par étapes). Mais, si nous examinons la question plus attentivement, nous allons voir qu'il s'agit, en fait, de confier les postes actuellement occupés par environ deux millions de personnes pour une durée de 40 ans à 20 millions de conscrits pour quatre ans chacun. Autrement dit, il s'agit d'introduire dans les postes de l'état un "partage de l'emploi".
En dehors d'une distribution plus juste des postes publics, il est important de remarquer aussi que leur ouverture au contingent entraînerait probablement une certaine diminution de la discrimination sociale. Aujourd'hui, beaucoup de chômeurs n'accepteraient pas volontiers un emploi, disons, d'un égoutier, emploi plutôt méprisé par certains; par contre, si les postes d'égoutiers faisaient partie du service national, un universitaire ne serait pas gêné de remplir cette tâche durant une année de son service (toujours si il peut être solde de deuxième classe, métier qui ne jouit pas non plus d'un très haut prestige social); l'égalité sociale y gagnerait...

Réduire les coûts de l'administration, éviter le néo-féodalisme du fonctionnariat, disposer d'une marge de sécurité contre le manque d'emploi, tout cela impliquerait que chaque Français accepte de faire un service national (avec salaire approprié) de 2 à 4 ans durant sa vie, par des périodes de un an. Ces périodes de service ne se ferait pas, à chaque fois, dans le même genre de "poste" : un an soldat, un an cheminot, un an en poste dans l'administration, par exemple. La "mobilité de l'emploi" commencerait donc par le service national.

L'armée du contingent est supposée être la garantie de la démocratie. Que penser du fonctionnariat du contingent?

Il est évident que la réalisation de cette idée n'est ni facile ni simple : elle implique l'élaboration de règlements complexes, une mise au point budgétaire à adapter aux circonstances, et, surtout, un calendrier. Il serait impossible d'imaginer pouvoir introduire une réorganisation des services publics de cette envergure et de cette importance autrement que par étapes prudentes et échelonnées. Après tout, la démobilisation d'une armée (donc la conversion de postes de "soldat du contingent" en postes civils) se fait par étapes et ces étapes peuvent servir de modèle au calendrier d'une réorganisation des fonctions publiques en un fonctionnariat du contingent.

Pourtant il n'y a aucune illusion à se faire : seule une terrible crise, un état d'urgence admis par tous, pourraient amener la réalisation rapide d'une telle proposition, et, sincèrement, je préfère espérer que nous n'en arriverons pas là.

Mais il y aurait une manière plus "douce" d'amorcer ce système du fonctionnariat du contingent (sans déclencher de conflit social aussi lourd que par une réorganisation radicale, même lente) : il s'agirait de ne plus recruter de nouveaux fonctionnaires salarisés. Les fonctionnaires actuellement en activité continueraient leur carrière jusqu'à la retraite et leurs postes seraient ensuite confiés au contingent.

Dans cet article, il s'agit simplement d'esquisser cette idée du fonctionnariat du contingent (idée qui n'est même pas neuve car elle a déjà été appliquée, durant l'histoire, avec des résultats souvent assez spectaculaires pour palier à certaines crises, économiques ou sociales); et il est plutôt inquiétant qu'une réflexion sur ce sujet n'ait pas encore été entamée, alors que nous sommes déjà enfoncés dans la crise.
Répétons-le : 20 millions de nouveaux emplois, chacun pour une durée de 2 à 4 ans sont plus profitables à la société de tous points de vue que 2 millions de postes réservés à une minorité pour 20 à 40 ans.

Il faudrait y réfléchir et peser le pour et le contre.

LE CENTRE D’ETUDES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT AFRICAIN */

I - Un bilan

Depuis 20 ans des opérations dites de développement sont étudiées et réalisées en Afrique. Elles représentent une somme importante d’informations par :
- leur diversité sectorielle et géographique,
- leur réussite ou leur échec,
- le cadre socio-politique dans lequel elles ont été conduites,
- leurs méthodes d’évolution, leur mode de gestion et leurs effects.

Une analyse de ces expériences doit être entreprise.

L'Afrique n'a pas retiré de ces actions un résultat à la dimension des efforts accomplis : effort d'elle-même (travail de ses habitants et endettement considérable) et effort de ceux qui, du dehors souhaitaient apporter leur contribution. Cette disproportion entre moyens et résultats conduit à remettre en cause les modèles utilisés.

Le développement a été vu au travers du seul impact économique et financier avec l'idée sous-jacente - non exprimée car peut-être non perçue - que les structures sociales, les cultures, les modelages de l'Histoire, ne pourraient que s'effacer et suivre la ligne imposée par la "réalité" économique. Les faits ont démontré que le poids de ces facteurs ne pouvait être négligé.

Le problème de la définition et des objectifs du développement reste posé. On peut espérer que les succès seront plus nombreux et plus significatifs si des réponses africaines sont données à ces questions.

Ainsi est née l'idée d'un "autre développement", endogène. Il convient de donner à cette notion confusément ressentie un contenu concret.

II - Le cadre

Ces problèmes ont déjà plus ou moins été abordés, soit par des centres d'études - le plus souvent extérieurs à l'Afrique - soit par des indépendants : chercheurs, sociologues, historiens, économistes. La prise en compte de tous les facteurs évoqués ci-dessus, impose de travailler dans le milieu même que l'on se propose d'analyser.

*/ B.P. 606 Ouagadougou, Haute Volta
Cette volonté de travail "in situ et in vivo" ne devra pas conduire à rejeter l'apport que constituent les travaux et les méthodes élaborées par ailleurs. Il est nécessaire, ayant un éventuel rejet, de les confronter avec les expériences vécues pour en vérifier la fiabilité et le cas échéant y apporter les aménagements nécessaires.

Dès lors que l'on se fixe comme objectif de définir des modèles intégrant les contraintes économiques, sociales, culturelles, historiques et techniques, il convient de se fixer un espace d'application précis. Les données africaines ne sont pas celles de l'Inde ni celles de l'Amérique Latine malgré d'évidentes convergences. Et l'efficacité de l'action conduit dans un premier temps, à retenir l'Afrique de l'Ouest comme le cadre privilégié d'analyse et d'expérimentation.

Il a été imaginé que le cadre dans lequel s'effectuera ce travail d'analyse d'expérimentation et de réflexion pourrait être un Centre d'Etudes pour le Développement Africain (C.E.D.A.).

III - Méthodologie et activités

La vocation de ce Centre le distinguerait des Instituts et organes de recherches existants en Afrique ou ailleurs. Cette originalité ne devra pas le couper de ces organismes mais au contraire lui permettre d'être un pôle de convergence par sa volonté de synthèse.

La démarche du Centre restera guidée par un souci d'efficacité et la définition d'objectifs concrets. Chaque sujet d'étude, chaque thème de recherche sera donc abordé en fonction de ses spécificités.

Ce pragmatisme n'est pas exclusif d'une ligne générale d'action que l'on peut ainsi définir :

1. accumulation de données et analyses des expériences concrètes de développement en Afrique de l'Ouest,
2. confrontation des résultats et des objectifs, recherche des lacunes dans les modèles utilisés,
3. synthèse des éléments positifs obtenus sur des opérations diverses et épar- ses en vue de dégager des idées nouvelles conduisant à une autre stratégie du développement centrée sur la libération et la coresponsabilité des personnes et des communautés,
4. formulation de nouveaux concepts précisant la notion de développement, les moyens d'y parvenir, les contraintes à respecter, la participation des divers acteurs du développement.

Dans son action le Centre devra associer étroitement tous les groupes concernés.

Les activités du Centre seront organisées par programme. Elles comporteront trois aspects:

a) Études. Analyse et synthèse de tout aspect du développement en collabora- tion avec toute personne ou institutions intéressées par un même thème. Ces
études pourront être entreprises à la demande, et sur financement, d'organismes extérieurs.

b) Expérimentation et soutien des expériences. Le Centre doit lier la théorie à la pratique; pour ce faire il expérimentera et/ou fera expérimenter les modèles qu'il étudie.

Le Centre recherchera tous moyens pour soutenir et participer aux expériences de développement particulièrement significatives en raison de leur caractère collectif, communautaire, endogène ou autogéré.

c) Diffusion de la recherche. L'impact du Centre est directement lié à sa capacité de diffuser ses objectifs et ses résultats.

Pour rassembler les acteurs du développement et les intéresser aux travaux du Centre, des publications (périodiques, ouvrages de fond, documentations...) sont nécessaires.

Pour sensibiliser les responsables, le Centre devra organiser des Conférences, des séminaires, des stages de formation... auxquels il associera les personnalités et Instituts de recherche travaillant dans les mêmes domaines.

IV - Quelques thèmes

On peut donner une liste - à titre indicatif - des thèmes que le Centre devra aborder :

- les blocages structurels internes et externes dans les sociétés africaines,
- les problèmes de l'espace et de son intégration : démographie, marché et marchés, flux d'argent et d'expertise, la ville : moteur ou cancer?
- le poids et les virtualités de l'histoire,
- les technologies traditionnelles et actuelles face à la stratégie des gadgets,
- l'éducation reproductrice en pire du statu quo ou matrice d'une société nouvelle,
- état et nation : le tribalisme,
- la culture comme source et ressource de développement endogène.

Le CEDA est dirigé par le Professeur Joseph Ki-Zerbo, membre du Conseil de la FIPAD.
MATERIALS RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION

The papers listed below have been submitted to the IFDA Dossier for possible publication. Mention of a paper does not mean that it will not be published at a later stage, but it was thought that in the meantime some readers may wish to obtain a copy directly from the author.

LOCAL SPACE

. Anita Anand, Rethinking women and development: the case for feminism (Board of Church and Society, The United Methodist Building, 100 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington DC, 20002, USA), 11 pp.

. Anil K. Gupta, Small farmer: credit constraints - a paradigm, 10 pp.; Planning for rural credit in arid region, 12 pp.; Issues in labour mobility in arid regions: a case illustration, or why poor can't organise: the dependency webb, 34 pp. (Indian Institute of Public Administration, Indraprastha Estate, Ringroad, New Delhi, India).

. Institute for Nutrition Research, "Re-thinking food and nutrition education under changing socio-economic conditions", Who is ignorant? (University of Oslo, P.O. Box 1046, Oslo 3, Norway), 11 pp.

. George Kent, Development and consciousness (University of Hawaii at Manoa, Department of Political Science, Porteus 640, 2424 Maile Way, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822), 20 pp.


. Knut Samset, Technology and structures for appropriate development (ILO, P.O. Box 9212, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania), 33 pp.

NATIONAL SPACE


GLOBAL SPACE

. F.A. Ryan, Equality unions: a new approach for transferring technology (President's Office, Department of Finance, P.O. Box 313, Liberty House, Republic of Seychelles), 11 pp.

. José R. Sabogal-Wiesse, Aquello que el primer mundo parece ignorar: puntos para una mejor comprension entre los Andes y Occidente (Francia 761, Miraflores, Lima 18, Peru), 10 pp.
FOOTNOTES / NOTES / NOTAS

LOCAL SPACE


. James Robertson, The redistribution of work (Turning Point paper No. 1, Spring Cottage, 9 New Road, Ironbridge, Shropshire TF8 7AU, England). Two Turning Point meetings were held during 1980 to discuss the redistribution of work. About 40 people came to a preparatory meeting in May, and about 300 to the main meeting in November. Following these meetings, this paper provides a short reference guide to the issues, to opportunities for constructive action, and to people, organisations and publications concerned with new contexts for work. 40 pp.


. Andrew Pearse, Seeds of plenty, seeds of want, Social and Economic implications of the green revolution (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980). The results of a major UNRISD project undertaken during the 70s, under the leadership of Andrew Pearse who died recently. A crucial contribution to the understanding of the 'green revolution', 262 pp.


. Une riche moisson d'ENDA (B.P. 3370, Dakar, Sénégal) sur l'habitat (documents préparés pour une réunion tenue à Bogota en septembre 1980, 'Echange d'expériences en matière de technologie combinée et de participation de la population à l'aménagement et à l'amélioration de l'emploi dans les bidonvilles du Tiers Monde'), et notamment

- Alberto Arecchi, Maputo - Opération maxaquene: un exemple de mobilisation populaire pour aménager une banlieue populaire en auto-contruction.
- Roger Katan, La création de la Caisse populaire du quartier Cissin à Ouagadougou.
- Alfredo Rodriguez y F. Diaz, Notas sobre las intervenciones en los barrios en Chile.
- Teolindo Bolivar, Papel del rancho en la sociedad venezolana.
- Ann Schylter, The basic need of space: an example from a squatter settlement in Lusaka.


William H. Matthews, 'Moving beyond the environmental rhetoric', Mazingira (Vol. 4, No. 2), pp. 6-14.


NATIONAL SPACE

EL URUGUAY DE LOS 70: BALANCE DE UNA DÉCADA

El Centro interdisciplinario de estudios sobre el desarrollo Uruguay (CIEDUR)1/ ha realizado en el año pasado un seminario sobre este tema. Durante el transcurso de nueve semanas, 97 participantes discutieron los principales temas vinculados a la problemática social del país. Se presentaron trabajos 2/ de muchos de los cuales contienen planteos originales acerca de la temática que abordan, revelando claramente el intento de renovación que representan desde el punto de vista metodológico, ante una realidad social como la uruguaya, que ha experimentado cambios tan importantes. Fue la primera experiencia de este tipo que se hizo en Uruguay en los últimos siete años.

La discusiones realizadas sobre la base de los documentos presentados permite al CIEDUR diseñar su línea futura de investigación, concediendo una prioridad

---


2/ Incluyendo Jorge Notaro, Estado y economía en el Uruguay: Hipótesis sobre sus interrelaciones actuales (54 pp); Cesar Aguiar, ¿Estado aislado, Sociedad inmóvil? Hipótesis y líneas de investigación sobre estado y sociedad en Uruguay (65 pp); Darío Sarachaga, Consideraciones sobre la apertura externa (20 pp); y Danilo Astori, El papel del sector agropecuario en la economía uruguaya: raíces históricas, situación actual y perspectivas de futuro (24 pp).
sistemática a los temas identificados como centrales en el contexto de la sociedad uruguaya y percibiendo—s— desde la perspectiva correspondiente y la propuesta de un modelo alternativo por el país.


- R. Blas Tomic, El Estado, la clase media y la integración económica, Una reinterpretación de las relaciones de clases en Chile (Quito: Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales, 1980).


THIRD WORLD SPACE


GLOBAL SPACE


David Weir and Mark Schapiro, the authors of Circle of Poison, won the National Magazine Award for Reporting Excellence for their 1979 Mother Jones article on pesticide dumping. In Circle of Poison, they break new ground. For the first time, these pesticides are traced through the entire circle—from American chemical plants where they disable workers, to the Third World where they are routinely sprayed on field workers or carelessly sold in Coke bottles, and back again to American consumers on imported foods.


Margaret A. Biggs, The challenge: adjust or protect (Ottawa: The North South Institute, 1980), 170 pp.


Udo Ernst Simonis, 'Die entwicklungspolitischen Empfehlungen der Nord-Süd Kommission - eine kritische Analyse zum Brandt-Bericht', Zeitschrift für Ganzheitsforschung, Philosophie, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft (Neue Folge, 24 Jahrgang, Wien 111/1980), pp. 159-175. The author reviews the report of the Brandt Commission (A programme for survival, London: Pan Books 1980) from a general point of view focussing (a) on its global analysis and approach to the North-South problématique and (b) on criticism of the sectoral chapters including the poorest countries, hunger, population, disarmament, commodities, energy, trade and industry, transnational corporations and development finance.

PERIODICALS

Disarmament campaigns, International newsletter on actions against the arms race, a quarterly published at non-violent alternatives, Kerkstraat 150, Antwerp, Belgium.

Economie et humanisme, No. 257, 1981 L'immigration qui fait la France.

The Smallholder, an exchange of ideas and information of interest to country people (Argenta, BC, VOG 180, Canada).

Renewal, a bi-weekly report published by Mark Satin (Box 3242, Winchester, VA 22601, USA).