International Foundation for Development Alternatives
Fundación Internacional para Alternativas de Desarrollo
Fondation Internationale pour un Autre Développement

IFDA Dossier 26, November/December 1981

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There has been, for some years, a rather heated debate on what is now called the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). It is a debate among the media and the ministries of information, taking place in the press and in United Nations conferences, especially those of UNESCO.

The debate is of interest to everyone because what is at stake critically affects our daily lives and shapes our futures. Participation in the debate should therefore be much wider than it is today - it should be open to all citizens.

The time has also come to go beyond the exchange of arguments between commercial and governmental actors. There is a legitimate and crucial space in communication - as part of the NWICO - for the autonomous expression of the people and the third system - its associations and individuals.

The recognition of this need brought together a few sister organizations which have been active for some years in implementing the concepts of the NWICO, to join forces and pool their energies. IFDA, Inter Press Service Third World News Agency, the Association of African Women for Research and Development, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, the Instituto Latinoamericano de estudios transnacionales (ILET) and the Third World Forum have thus formed, this summer, CODEV, Communications for Development, a non-governmental, non-profit making foundation with headquarters in Malta.

CODEV sees communication as an essential part of the development process, as a social function, not as a commodity or propaganda. CODEV will work in three broad directions:

- toward direct communications between people and their organizations within the Third World as well as between South and North;
- toward "another information" which helps people and societies to know and understand each other better and reflects their development processes;
- toward participative communications among equals as opposed to the transmission of messages to passive audiences.

The initiators of CODEV hope that the new Foundation will get the necessary support to enable it to play, in the field of alternative communications, the role which IFDA played through its Third System project, that is, to facilitate the work of like-minded organizations.

The members of its Executive Committee (most of whom are well known to the readers of the IFDA Dossier) are: Ismail-Sabri Abdalla, Egypt, Chairman, Third World Forum; Salah Al-Shaikhly, Iraq, Director, Centre (cont. on page 12(16)).
Ismail-Sabri Abdalla, our friend, is among the 1536 Egyptians officially
arrested in early September (the real figure, it is reported, is closer to
4 or even 5,000 persons). Ismail-Sabri Abdalla is a member of the Executive
Committee of IFDA, chairman of the Third World Forum, member of the United
Nations Committee for Development Planning, Co-ordinator of the UNU-sponsored
Arab Alternative Futures Project, adviser to UNEP for the Blue Plan to save
the Mediterranean and vice-chairman of the Society for International Develop-
ment. In Egypt he was Planning Minister (1971-74) and Director General of
the Institute of National Planning (1969-71 and 1975-77). He is one of the
most respected Arab intellectuals and is widely known the world over as the
(partial) list above testifies. His writings, in Arabic, French and English
show his commitment to another development and to a genuine international
cooperation.

(cont. on page 12(16)).

On the picture above, taken in February 1969, from right to left, Lotfi el-Kholy,
Hassenein Heykal (also arrested), Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ismail-Sabri Abdalla and
Anouar el-Sadate.
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(Copies may be obtained from the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Övre Slottsgatan 2, S 752 20 Uppsala, Sweden.)
Abstract: Modern capitalism has entered a long phase of slow growth, for which there are no easy remedies. The resulting structural crisis has a global impact; the Third World is especially vulnerable to it. While the Third World seeks to restructure the international economic order, the response from the North is generally discouraging. The only positive reaction is the proposal for massive resource transfers to the South, seen by some as a remedy for both Southern underdevelopment and Northern stagflation. But this is far from acceptance by Western governments and public opinion.

The way out of the crisis is through fundamental restructuring of international relations and concomitant national change. The transnational corporations must be recognized as an obstacle to change and the hegemony of Western concepts replaced by cultural pluralism. The West must seek new, sustainable and humanizing patterns of development; the South must modernize within its own cultural framework; the East must assume its responsibilities to the world community. A genuine North-South dialogue must lead to global management. World leaders require a historical perspective and an awareness of the needs of the future; both are sadly lacking in the North as in the South.

(The article is a translation from the French original published in H-Histoire No. 6, October-December 1980 (Hachette, Paris).)

LE TIERS MONDE DANS LA CRISE

Résumé: Le capitalisme moderne est entré dans une phase de croissance extrê-ment lente pour laquelle in n'y a pas de panacée. La crise structurelle qui en résulte a un impact global; le Tiers Monde y est particulièrement vulnérable. Tandis que le Tiers Monde cherche à restructurer l'ordre économique interna-tional, la réponse du Nord est généralement décourageante. La seule réa- tion positive est le projet de transferts massifs de ressources financières vers le Sud, vu par certains comme remède et pour le sous-développement du Sud et pour la 'stagflation' du Nord. Mais ce projet est loin d'être accepté par les gouvernements occidentaux et par l'opinion.

La sortie de la crise se trouve dans la restructuration fondamentale des relations internationales et dans les changements qu'elle implique au niveau (suite à la page 10(14)).
Ismail-Sabri Abdalla

THE THIRD WORLD IN THE CRISIS

Like an abstract sculpture, the crisis manifests itself on several interconnected levels, whose true meaning escapes the fleeting glance of the uninformed observer. On the surface, one sees the cyclical fluctuations which are inherent in the market economy. The Keynesian medicine, before it ceased to work, merely served to smooth out their curve by bringing the peaks and troughs closer together. Cycles of an average duration of ten years have been followed by those of two or three years. The common economic indicators - rate of growth, level of unemployment, balance of payments, evolution of the money supply, etc. - continue, despite their imperfections, to reflect these fluctuations. These indicators thus remain the principal object of prospective surveys, of the ponderings of decision-takers and of political debate. The phases in the cycle are now so short-lived, that "experts" and those in power can get away with talk of mere "re-adjustments", more or less well synchronized - as if the crisis could be exorcised by banning the mention of its name.

On a second level, the persistence throughout the 1970's of two allegedly unrelated phenomena - lasting, large-scale unemployment, and a disquieting rate of inflation - has sparked off a theoretical quarrel between "monetarists", neo-Keynesians, and neo-classical economists. The science of economics is no longer able to provide perplexed decision-takers with the help they so badly need in dealing with what has come to be called "stagflation". Wielding the axe on public spending, particularly on welfare, has not enabled Mrs. Thatcher, for example, to bring about any radical reduction in the rate of inflation, while at the same time unemployment has continued to increase. (1.9 million were out of work according to the most recent estimates\(^1\). Taking the opposite course would start off a new round of inflation, make export prices less competitive, and increase social unrest as a result of further wage claims.

Confronted by this dilemma, a certain number of writers put the blame on the "rigidities" which they see as impeding market mechanisms and thus allowing the situation fewer chances of being righted by the spontaneous working of these mechanisms. By "rigidites" they mean, in essence, the power of the trade unions, which, through the indexation of earnings, prevents any substantial reduction in real wages, and unemployment benefits, which transfer to public expenditure a significant part of the wages of workers who have lost their jobs. Underlying this analysis is the idea

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\(^1\) Editor's note: This article was published in 1980; the estimates for September 1981 show 3 million unemployed in the U.K.
that a reduction in real wages would stimulate investment and increase the production of goods at prices which would be competitive abroad. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss whether that idea is well-founded. We will therefore limit ourselves here to pointing out another rigidity, attributable this time to businessmen: that is their refusal to reduce prices as a means of generating sales. Their common reaction to a recession is to reduce production and put workers out of jobs.

This discussion of rigidities, whatever their respective validity, leads us into the structural aspects of the crisis. For it is in the structure of present-day capitalism, and particularly in the nature and content of the economic growth witnessed between 1945 and 1970, that the basis of the phenomena briefly mentioned above is to be found. Here is the third level of the crisis; it deserves to be considered somewhat more fully.

The history of capitalism over the two centuries since the Industrial Revolution has been marked by the alternation of long periods of rapid growth with others of noticeably slower rhythms. The dramatic character of short-term cyclical fluctuations has attracted the attention of numerous economists, and has inspired a rather abundant crop of literature, ranging from the empirical studies of the good Doctor Juglar, to the famous "General Theory" and the post-Keynesian works. Nevertheless, an economist of considerably less renown, the Russian Kondratief, believed that he could discern major long-term cycles (lasting 30 to 50 years), encompassing the short-term fluctuations with which we are more familiar. While not going as far as Kondratief, certain writers (of whom Kuznets is undoubtedly the best known) have, by empirical means, observed a succession of long periods of intense economic activity followed by ones of relative sluggishness. These writers have shown that each of these periods had its own specific characteristics. Schumpeter, for his part, sought to link these long periods of rapid growth with the concept of innovation.

Beyond the differences in analysis, the fact of the phenomenon remains. The period between 1913 and 1939 as a whole was undoubtedly one of apathy, while that from 1945 to 1970 - in contrast - was a phase of growth on an unprecedented scale. The reasons for this phenomenon may be boiled down to two. The first was the reconstruction of Europe and Japan. The Marshall Plan not only served to facilitate this effort of exceptional dimensions, but also acted as a powerful engine of growth for American economy. The second reason was the symbiosis of the world's most advanced market economies which progressively replaced the conflictual situations so characteristic of the period between the Wars. This symbiosis has had many and lasting consequences. For the moment we shall focus on one of these: the propagation of the American way of life in all the other capitalist countries, which was instrumental in sustaining growth after the period of reconstruction was completed.

From before the Second World War, American companies, already benefitting from an immense domestic market, expanded this further by
Introducing consumer durables, in particular cars. Following close behind, Western Europe and later Japan set out on the same path, thus giving birth to what some American writers have christened the "automobile civilisation", in view of the immense investments which the generalised use of private cars has brought about in different economic sectors, both upstream and downstream in relation to the car industry itself. The subsequent electronic revolution markedly reinforced this trend: first, by introducing a whole new range of consumer durables (television, hi-fi) and also by achieving breathtaking improvements in labour productivity. The latter made possible substantial increases in the remuneration of workers in almost all categories, thus creating the market the new products needed. Entrepreneurial profits were in no way diminished in the process; indeed they grew and were used to finance substantial investments in all sectors of the economy.

Introducing a new type of consumption would appear to constitute an "innovation", in Schumpeter's sense of the term. Schumpeter however holds that the effect of any innovation is always temporary. Once the majority of consumers possess the new products, growth in demand tends to be marginal, and is mainly accounted for by the replacement of out-dated or unusable goods, and by the satisfaction of the needs of those social groups whose incomes are the last to reach the threshold beyond which they are translated into demand. Statistics showing the number of cars or television sets per inhabitant in the United States, Japan, or the EEC prove that these countries have practically exhausted the growth potential which resulted from the diffusion of consumer durables, including the "gadgets" of the "consumer society". Proof of this is to be found in the growing concern for the quality of life, which is sought even at the price of a reduction in the quantity of "things" which have become plentiful. All the evidence seems to indicate that capitalism is entering a new phase of extremely slow growth. In his book, "Post-industrial Society", Galbraith foresees this evolution, and pins his hopes on the development of the tertiary sector. But, there also the crisis has already made inroads.

What part does the Third World play in all this? In order to answer this question, one must remember that the weight of the industrialised countries in the world economy (80% of global GNP) makes of them the centre of the world order, while the majority of humanity, living in what are incorrectly called the developing countries, merely constitute the periphery. Waves of prosperity or depression are generated in the centre and radiate outwards, gaining in strength in the case of depression and weakening in the case of prosperity. This, at any rate, has been the model until now. Nevertheless, the Third World is no longer quite what it was before the movement of national liberation was unleashed. Its behaviour is likely to have less and less in common with the passive attitudes of the old colonies, as it becomes more aware that real development is nothing other than economic and cultural decolonisation.
Already, certain people are holding the OPEC countries at least partly responsible for the present crisis. The slogan "It all started when oil prices were raised in 1973" serves only to demonstrate the ignorance or the demagogy of those who brandish it. Let us recall certain facts to disprove this unfounded slogan which, as relayed and boiled down by the media, makes the Arabs in general, or at any rate the "sheikhs", responsible for all the woes of the West. First of all, the OPEC countries produce only 25% of the world's petroleum. Of its thirteen member states, two are among the world's poor countries: Indonesia and Nigeria. Six others are so heavily in debt that they are in fact net borrowers on external account. The five member countries which do have a capital surplus have a total population of between 10 and 12 million people, whence their very limited "absorptive capacity" for capital. We should add the often neglected fact that the bulk of these surpluses is invested on the Western financial markets.

Finally, let us note that oil producing countries outside OPEC sell their crude at prices well above OPEC levels: Mexico and the United Kingdom are examples of this.

This being said, it remains true that the action taken by OPEC affords a significant clue to the future behaviour of the Third World. In the near future, further measures aimed at increasing the value of raw materials may be expected. For a long time, the terms of trade have worked to the disadvantage of the countries producing raw materials. Nationalization of natural resources, establishment of "producers associations", and market intervention will become increasingly common practices. Though subject to the inevitable fluctuations, the trend for the prices of all raw materials, not only oil and natural gas, will be towards a marked rise. A still greater cause for concern is that there are real risks of scarcity. Many Third World countries are trying to industrialize. Often, these countries emulate the industrial model found at the centre, with its enormous energy and raw material requirements. Global demand for these resources will therefore increase, and it can safely be said that, if a number of highly populated countries succeed in establishing an industrial capacity comparable to that found in Southern Europe, there will be acute tension in certain raw material markets. To take an extreme example: if the whole world were to have the same per capita energy consumption as presently exists in the United States, oil production would have to increase fifteen-fold.

From another point of view, the historical role of old colonial empires as markets for the goods produced in metropolitan countries is progressively dwindling. Many Third World countries are protecting their fledgling industries or are simply reducing their imports of consumer goods in order to acquire capital goods instead. What is of even greater significance is the widening gap between the standard of living in the industrialised countries and that in the Third World. "Sophisticated" goods designed to attract consumers in the industrialised countries, and consumer durables in particular, are sold at prices which only a tiny minority of
Third World people, the so-called élitists, can afford. A glance at
world trade figures suffices to show how the Third World markets
have declined. In 1960 these markets took 24.9% of the goods ex-
ported by the industrialised countries. By 1970 this share had
fallen to 18.7%. Even with all the purchases made by OPEC coun-
tries after the quadrupling of oil-prices, it had increased to
only 23.7% in 1977, that is, still below the 1960 figure. Gone
are the days when empires absorbed the bulk of metropolitan ex-
ports. Furthermore, the protectionism with which the industrial-
ised countries now confront products originating in the Third
World countries, which they had previously encouraged to build up
export-oriented industries, will result in decreased demand for
the capital goods these very industries require.

Meanwhile, the Third World cannot remain indifferent to the crisis
or to the prospect of its deepening. The interdependence of nation-
al economies - if one strips the term of all rhetoric - is an incon-
trovertible fact in the present state of the world. The Third
World countries are an integral part of a global system which they
cannot control; they suffer the consequences of decisions taken
by the oligarchy which rules the world economy (the seven in-
dustrial powers whose leaders periodically take counsel together
at their summit meetings). The action - and the inaction - of the
leaders of the centre cannot fail to have repercussions on the
periphery.

To illustrate this state of affairs, let us suppose for a moment
that the disorder now reigning in the international monetary sys-

tem were to result in a crash in the major financial centres.

What effect would this have on the Third World? A country which
had fuelled its rapid expansion with an inflow of credit from
abroad (as is the case of Brazil, which has about US$ 50 billion
of debt outstanding to foreign banks) would suddenly see this
source of funds dry up, thus bringing its growth to an abrupt halt.

At the other end of the spectrum, a country with a large surplus
of capital (the case of Saudi Arabia) would see its surplus vanish
under the combined impact of the collapse of foreign currency
values and of emergency measures, such as a moratorium or a more
or less temporary freeze on all payments. Even without taking
such an extreme example, it is clear that continuing stagnation at
the centre is inevitably having an adverse effect on the quantity
and price of exports from the Third World (not only on raw material
exports, but on manufactured goods as well).

To take another aspect of the problem, history has taught us that,
in the centre countries, recessions tend to reinforce right-wing
political options, such as protectionism and interventionism in
regions where these countries perceive "vital interests". In this
context, those most directly concerned and especially vulnerable
are the Third World countries which depend most heavily on the
centre, either because they supply it with inputs which are

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Editor's note: An estimate of the figure for 1979 is 21.9%.
considered irreplaceable (e.g., oil), or because the centre countries have large investments in them. It is however equally certain that, given the present system of international trade links, no country would be totally sheltered from the fall-out of an explosion of the crisis. It follows therefore that it would not be in the Third World's interest to adopt a fatalistic attitude, and, in all probability, it will not do so.

Unfortunately, it would scarcely be true to say that a reciprocal attitude prevails on the other side. The West still fails to realise that interdependence implies, among other things, that the Third World must have its say in decisions affecting the world economy. The prevailing view among Western leaders is that their countries are able to overcome the crisis by their own means and by limiting to a minimum their commitments to the Third World. There is admittedly another school of thought, ranging from the World Bank to a number of social-democratic leaders, and whose approach is woven into the Brandt Commission's report. What it favours is a repetition, on a global scale, of the Marshall Plan, which it considers to have been a successful experiment. The idea is to transfer massive credits to the Third World - US$ 12 billion a year was the figure advanced by Robert McNamara - in the form of development aid. One can predict from experience that, virtually all of these credits would be recycled to the countries which provided them through the purchase from those countries of capital goods and technical know-how. These increased exports would, in turn, stimulate the economies of the industrial countries, provided the suggested transfers were continued for a number of years. By then, the economic progress achieved in the Third World as a result of this aid would increase its demand for Western products. With the Third World thus able to import capital goods and services, the obstacle arising from its inability to absorb sufficient quantities of consumer durables would have been circumvented, and it would have become an engine of economic growth for the industrialised nations. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the conditions and the chances of success of such a policy; while those who have devised it do not lack the spirit of innovation, it has yet to find acceptance by Western governments let alone by public opinion. Should the Western nations one day decide to implement such a policy, it could undoubtedly have a noticeably positive effect on their economies. However, in the light of the reaction of the "big seven" to the Brandt Commission's report, that day seems remote.

For us, the crisis in the West is a crisis of the entire world economic order, of which the West is the centre. It can only be surmounted by means of more or less simultaneous structural and conceptual changes in all three constituent parts of the world economy: the capitalist countries of the OECD, the Third World countries (known in UN circles as the Group of 77, although they in fact number about 120) and the socialist countries (those of the Comecon, as well as China).

The industrialised powers must re-examine the nature and content of their growth, so as to discover growth patterns which will be less polluting, less wasteful of energy and natural resources, and
better suited to improving the quality of life. Consideration of the environment and of people's non-material needs should result not only in a "new growth", as already preached by certain writers, but also in a less mechanised and more human way of life. Town-planning which encourages conviviality, and a re-organisation of time which reflects the needs for leisure, for the free acquisition of knowledge, and for activities which are compatible with old age: these are so many paths in the search for a better way of life for all people throughout the world. The "world of things", in which people have closer contact with machines than with their fellows, must give way to a "world of people", free from tensions and encouraging the satisfaction of two fundamental human needs: self-fulfilment and conviviality. Such a change in attitudes and structures will bring about a better understanding of the struggles and hopes of the dispossessed majority of mankind. The Third World will then be recognised as a fully fledged partner in the international community; a genuine North-South dialogue can then begin and lead to that collective management of the world's affairs which the growing number of problems which confront countries of both North and South make ever more necessary.

The Third World, for its part, must abandon once and for all the idea of repeating the historical experience of the development of Western capitalism. Such an ambition is a delusion; history does not offer opportunities for "remakes" and no-one can re-create the historical conditions in which the West developed. To understand this, one has only to call to mind the rôle of colonialism in that process or to consider the likely impact on the environment were Western-style industries to spread all over the globe. Furthermore, the coveted Western model is not without its drawbacks; its human achievements are debatable. Our countries should see no virtue in imitating, one might almost say in aping, Western attitudes and structures. It is now for us to innovate: to modernize without breaking away from our cultural identity; to benefit from the lessons to be learned from Western experience, adopting what is positive, avoiding what is negative; and to enrich human experience with our own new contributions. We must learn to be self-reliant as individual countries, as groups of countries and on the level of the Third World as a whole. We will thus become for the rich countries not only a valid partner in dialogue but also an inevitable one.

The socialist countries are emerging further and further from their isolation. It follows that they must therefore assume their full responsibilities in the affairs of the international community. The crisis may well be a crisis of capitalism; nonetheless, through their growing external trade and the upheavals it could cause in their supply of energy and raw materials, the socialist countries are not immune to its effects.

Thus, rather than turning the debate into a side-issue, the prospect of a deepening of the crisis should give new life and new dimensions to the debate on the new international order. In the face of a crisis which will affect the entire world economy, only concerted action by the whole international community can hope to succeed. Nothing less is called for than to restructure inter-
national relations (economic and others) and to carry out the consequent adjustments in the national economies of the different groups of countries, always taking care to minimize their cost.

The reasons why such an approach finds so little favour with public opinion and with the decision-takers are to be found in certain aspects of the present structures and in attitudes which betray a curious insensitivity to the changes which have occurred and will occur in production relationships. With regard to structures, it may be observed that the crisis has not affected all the "actors" adversely. There is a whole category of players, and not of the least importance, who continue to profit from it. These are the transnational corporations, operating in dozens of countries all over the world. Factors such as their transcendence of national frontiers - so that no government has an overview of the activities of such firms headquartered in its territory - and the flexibility arising from their unrestricted access to capital markets have enabled these "conglomerates" (incorrectly called "multinationals") to accommodate to such phenomena as rapid inflation, unemployment and falling consumption of one or several products, or even of a given national economy. If one considers their economic power (they control 40% of world trade), their political power (some have even succeeded in overthrowing governments...), and their considerable influence on the media, one can clearly see that they have ways of making their point of view prevail. Obviously any concerted action aimed at restructuring the world economy constitutes a potential threat to their interests. Let us consider one example: if a global agreement between oil producers and importers were reached, regulating supplies and prices through contracts among states, the fantastic profits made by the major oil companies would suffer harshly.

As far as attitudes are concerned, the fact has to be faced that the evolution of the last thirty years has brought about a real crisis of civilization, in more ways than one. First of all, certain concepts have to be abandoned. One example is the notion of "natural" resources - with its implication that these resources are unlimited and in some cases more or less free of charge. Today, however, we know that even pure air and pure water cost something. The inclusion of the environment in our economic considerations, obliges us to revise completely this notion and its corollaries, such as externalities and economies of scale. More generally, the idea of dominating or conquering nature - so central to Western ideology - will have to make way for the concept of symbiosis between mankind and nature, of which we form an integral part. Similarly, individualism, sharpened by the notion of the survival of the fittest, will have to be tempered by consideration of collective needs. Third, the concept of efficiency, which has in fact been reduced to that of maximising private profit, needs to be revised in the light of the long-term needs of the whole of society, of solidarity with future generations, and of mankind's non-material needs. On another level, it must also be accepted that the hegemony of Western
civilisation (in its broadest sense, including the socialist countries of Europe) is a thing of the past. Tomorrow's world will be one in which several civilisations (or cultures, as they are termed by anglo-saxon sociologists and anthropologists) will co-exist.

To conclude: observing the present crisis from the Third World, we perceive it as both structural and global. Hence, we are sceptical of the expedients to which the leaders of the big industrialised nations are resorting. In the present situation, we consider that a historical perspective and an acute awareness of future developments are indispensable. What we find most disturbing is that these qualities are lacking both in the North and in the South.

(suite de la page 5).

national. Il faudrait reconnaître les firmes transnationales en tant qu'obstacles au changement et remplacer par le pluralisme culturel l'hégémonie des concepts occidentaux. L'Occident devrait chercher des modèles de développement nouveaux, écologiquement soutenables et humanisants; le Sud devrait moderniser son propre cadre culturel; l'Est devrait assumer ses responsabilités envers la communauté mondiale. Un vrai dialogue Nord-Sud devrait amener une gestion communautaire. Une vision historique et une conscience des besoins de l'avenir sont indispensables aux dirigeants des nations; les deux font malheureusement défaut tant dans le Nord que dans le Sud.

EL TERCER MUNDO EN LA CRISIS

Resumen: El capitalismo moderno ha entrado en una fase de crecimiento extremadamente lenta, para la cual no se ve la salida. La crisis estructural que resulta como consecuencia tiene un impacto global; el Tercer Mundo es especialmente vulnerable a ella. Mientras el Tercer Mundo intenta reestructurar el orden económico internacional, la respuesta del Norte es generalmente desalentadora. La única reacción positiva es la transferencia masiva de recursos financieros hacia el Sur, vista por algunos como un remedio, tanto para el subdesarrollo del Sur como para la 'resección' del Norte. Pero este proyecto está lejos de ser aceptado por los gobiernos occidentales y por la opinión pública.

La salida de la crisis se encuentra en la reestructuración fundamental de las relaciones internacionales y en los cambios que ello implica a nivel nacional. Habría que reconocer a las corporaciones transnacionales como un obstáculo para el cambio y reemplazar la hegemonía de los conceptos occidentales por un pluralismo cultural. Occidente debería buscar modelos nuevos de desarrollo que sean ecológicamente defensables y más humanos; el Sur debería modernizar su propio marco cultural; el Este debería asumir sus responsabilidades hacia la comunidad mundial. Un auténtico diálogo Norte-Sur debería conducir a una gestión comunitaria. Una visión histórica y la conciencia de las necesidades del futuro le son indispensables a los líderes mundiales; desgraciadamente, ambas cosas faltan tanto en el Norte como en el Sur.
ARAB ALTERNATIVE FUTURES
by Ismail-Sabri Abdalla*1

In line with its policy of encouraging research workers in their national and regional environments and building up networks of research institutions, the United Nations University has decided to initiate major regional research projects in the Third World. Each project is to be tailored in close co-operation with social scientists from the concerned region so that it meets the real needs that differ from one region to the other.

The member countries of the League of Arab States have been taken as a region besides Africa, Asia, and Latin America. A planning period of over one year including several meetings and individual consultations ended with a project document entitled Arab Alternative Futures (AAF), that has been approved by the UN University council in December 1980. The document is characterized by two features. In the first place, the AAF project will focus on the unexplored areas of research in order to avoid duplication and overlapping. Secondly, the project will emphasize future studies. A survey of most research work done so far in the region shows that future studies did not yet draw enough attention or effort. A try at the exploration of the future of the region as a whole in the light of anticipated changes has never been undertaken thoroughly or systematically. As an exercise in future studies, the AAF project does not aim at building a forecasting model for the elaboration of a long range plan. More modestly, it tends to raise the awareness about the future in the region, to show that there is more than one possible future and finally that decisions taken today will have their impact on the future in one direction or the other. Future studies are not luxury, among other things they contribute to rationalizing present and short term decisions and options. They are not pure speculations either. On the contrary, they call for careful analysis of the present and the identification of factors deeply rooted in the past.

Designed from the outset to involve several research institutions, the AAF project remains open-ended, in order to attract a greater number of researchers and to cover, as extensively as possible, the retained research areas during its four years life and beyond.

Bearing in mind the above mentioned characteristics and objectives, the co-ordinating unit, (the Third World Forum - Middle East Office) publishes the AAF-Dossier, as a vehicle for dialogue within and outside the network of institutions and teams involved in the implementation of the project. The AAF Dossier will, in the first place, inform about all activities undertaken by the network. In the second place it will make available to research workers, concerned institutions and decision makers the intermediate intellectual products: think pieces, position papers, workshop reports, findings and conclusions of sub-projects... etc. It is hoped that this dissemination will provoke comments, and views both on methodology and subject-matter. By publishing this feedback material the audience of the AAF project will be enlarged and the substance of its

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activities will be enhanced. Moreover, this mutually educative dialogue may help in the identification of individuals, research groups and centres working on or interested in the study of the future of the Arab region. The AAF-Dossier will provide the desired publicity for this type of research that might otherwise be known only in limited circles. Arabic being the main working language of the project, while it is desirable to remain in contact with the international development community, it has been decided that the AAF-Dossier will be bilingual. Papers and other material will be published in the language used by the author, i.e. Arabic or English together with an abstract in the other language. In case a reader wants to get the original translated, this would be feasible at a translation cost. The material written originally in French will be published in an Arabic translation, together with an English abstract.

With this first issue of the AAF-Dossier, the editors start a venture the success of which will greatly depend on feedback they hope to receive.

(Excerpt from the AAF-Dossier No. 1. Copies in Arabic and English may be obtained from the address on the previous page)

As soon as we were informed of his arrest, IFDA started to inform a wide circle of friends as well as officials in the UN system, starting from the Secretary General. We also sent a telex to President Sadat to express our distress, our solidarity with Ismail and to request his immediate release. Since then, we have been informed of many letters, telegrams or oral representations to the Egyptian authorities (the president, ministers, embassies).

We wish to repeat here publicly our solidarity with Ismail-Sabri Abdalla and the other Egyptian democrats who are in jail with him. We wish to ensure them of our active solidarity. We ask the President of Egypt to listen to the many voices which request him to release immediately Ismail-Sabri Abdalla. We shall not stop until Ismail is back to work.

(continued from page 3.)

for Research on the New International Economic Order; William J. Maeda, Tanzania, Director-General, Posts and Telecommunications Corporation; Jan Meijer, Netherlands; Ernst Michanek, Sweden, Chairman, Board of Trustees, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation; Marc Nerfin, Switzerland; Manuel Perez Guerrero, Venezuela, Chairman of the "Group of 77"; Marie-Angélique Savané, Senegal, President, Association of African Women for Research and Development; Roberto Savio, Italy, Director-General, IPS Third World News Agency; Juan Somavia, Chile, Executive Director, Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies (ILET); Gabriel Valdes, Chile, Chairman of the Board, IPS Third World News Agency; Tarzie Vittachi, Sri Lanka, Contributing Editor "Newsweek" Magazine; Michael Zammit Cutajar, Malta.
Abstract: No one denies that Nicaragua faces substantial problems, tensions and contradictions. The first to recognize this fact is the Nicaraguan government itself. This article examines both the internal and the external forces currently opposing the construction of a new Nicaragua. It argues that the latter appear more of an immediate threat, not only in the damage they can inflict by themselves, but also because they may aggravate the internal problems by destabilizing the economy and making its management an impossible task. The article argues that the power conflict being played out today in Central America, and particularly in Nicaragua, is not a confrontation between superpowers - as the US Government is endeavouring to argue - but one between peoples struggling for justice, liberation and self-reliance, on the one hand, and neocolonialism on the other.

Résumé: Personne ne nie que le Nicaragua soit confronté à des problèmes sérieux, à des tensions et à des contradictions. Le premier à le reconnaître est le gouvernement du Nicaragua lui-même. Cet article examine les forces internes et externes qui font obstacle à la construction d'un nouveau Nicaragua. Il montre pourquoi les secondes apparaissent comme une menace plus immédiate, non seulement en tant que telles, mais aussi parce qu'elles peuvent aggraver les problèmes internes en déstabilisant l'économie et en rendant la gestion impossible. L'article montre également que le conflit actuel en Amérique centrale - et notamment au Nicaragua - n'est pas une confrontation entre super-puissances, comme le gouvernement des États-Unis voudrait le faire croire, mais un conflit entre les peuples luttant pour la justice, la libération et l'autonomie d'une part, et contre le néocolonialisme d'autre part.

Resumen: Nadie niega que Nicaragua esté enfrentando una situación difícil, tensiones y contradicciones. El primero que lo reconoce es el propio gobierno de Nicaragua. Este artículo se propone examinar las fuerzas internas y
No one denies that Nicaragua faces substantial problems, tensions and contradictions. The first to recognize this fact is the Nicaraguan government itself. All who visit the country, read the newspapers and talk to the leadership and to ordinary people can see that both the internal and the external problems are discussed in the open. The general belief is that only by recognizing and exposing those problems can the country find ways to solve them. Also, there is the conviction that the process of overcoming both inherited and new problems is a long and difficult one, and for that purpose all genuine solidarity and support is welcome.

Returning to Sandinista Nicaragua for the third time, I became convinced that, however complex and challenging the internal problems are, the potential and the human and material resources needed to overcome them exist, as does the willingness and power to organize a new society founded on the values of justice, solidarity and people's participation. Unemployment, inflation, shortage of investment capital and infrastructure, absence of skilled cadres in key economic activities, a traditional concentration of productive and social investment in the cities, opposition of the wealthy to policies aimed at political economic democratization, a mentality of dependence upon the State to solve all problems and assume all costs - all these are deeply rooted realities and tendencies. Nicaraguans believe that in order to reverse them, more than new policies and strong determination are needed. They seek a full reversal of the logic that generated and nourishes those problems. To do so, they are attempting to combine political pluralism with the organization and education of the masses to participate in decision-making at all levels. They are initiating economic planning and decentralized coordination of its implementation in order to make a mixed economy serve the needs of the majority. In so doing, Nicaragua is taking the first steps toward the construction of a new society based on its own traditions, resources and culture.

However, in a world where nations are more and more interdependent, and where development problems are increasingly globalized by the reach and the power of transnational capital, the small state of Nicaragua cannot aspire to become an island of autonomous development. Indeed, the attitudes of other countries in the region, of the US and of transnational corporations operating in Central

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America, are determining factors in the future of a country that is just emerging from four decades of Somoza-ruled neocolonial dependence. Flexibility or rigidity of private transnational banks in dealing with Nicaragua's foreign debt; fairness or bias of international financial agencies and governments of the Northern hemisphere in regard to the transfer of resources, credits and assistance needed by Nicaragua in this initial period; willingness of TNCs and industrial countries to support or boycott the implementation of Nicaragua's original development plan - all these will play an important role in the consolidation or destabilization of the new Nicaragua.

This article examines both the internal and the external forces currently opposing the construction of a new Nicaragua. It argues that the latter appear more of an immediate threat, not only in the damage they can inflict by themselves, but also because they may aggravate the internal problems by destabilizing the economy and making its management an impossible task. Finally, the article argues that the power conflict being played out today in Central America, and particularly in Nicaragua, is not a confrontation between superpowers - as the U.S. Government is endeavoring to argue - but one between peoples struggling for justice, liberation and self-reliance, on the one hand, and neocolonialism on the other.

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"1981 - YEAR OF PRODUCTIVITY": THE INTERNAL CONFLICTS

Nicaragua's heritage from 40 years of the Somoza dynasty is one where the country in 1979 began to rebuild from an appalling state of poverty. In this context, any external efforts to make the situation worse may be considered as overkill. Nevertheless, the threat of economic boycott is not illusory, with the present U.S. administration the main source of this threat. Using the pretext that Nicaragua is helping to arm the Salvatorian resistance, and using its aid policy as a political weapon, the U.S. recently cut economic aid to Nicaragua, including a US $9.6 M credit for wheat purchases. More recently, the U.S. threatened to ban beef imports from Nicaragua, as well as a resin used to manufacture polyvinyl chloride. While some justify such moves as part of the protectionist policy of the Reagan administration, they clearly demonstrate that the Big Brother is firmly committed to use its trade power as a political weapon.*

The Nicaraguan Economic Plan for 1981 was published before the end of 1980 and was widely disseminated throughout the country. A popular version was prepared and is being used by the mass organizations in study sessions, particularly with workers and peasants. The Plan is firm yet humble, pinpointing the achievements of the 1980 economic policies and recognizing the shortcomings in

implementing some of the targets.

In a rural school surrounded by the cotton plantations of central Chinandega, I attended a session where a 'companero' of the Ministry of Planning made a critical survey of the economy to about 60 intermediate cadres of the Sandinista Front (FSLN). The session stood in marked contrast to speeches one hears in most other Latin American countries by economic and financial authorities, usually filled with unrealistic propaganda and self-promotion. It was a session of realism, humility and mobilization for independence and self-reliance. In no instance did he show the economic achievements without pinpointing the ambiguities, risks and challenges. The questions raised by the participants revealed that they had carefully studied the Plan and were able to apply its guidelines to their particular situations with clairvoyance.

**Inflation**

The Sandinistas inherited the highest rate of inflation - 84% - in the history of Nicaragua. They were able to reduce it to 27% by the end of 1980. The target of 22%, projected by the 1980 Plan was missed basically for two reasons. First, the price of oil imported by Nicaragua went from US $19 to $36 per barrel and, second, the country's economy was so destroyed by the war of 1978-79 that most basic consumption goods were imported during 1980. Still, the reduction of 57 points in the inflation rate in one year is a remarkable achievement, of which most capitalist countries of the region, with or without IMF "aid", are not capable of approaching (not even the "miraculous" Delfim Netto of Brazil, where the inflation rate, from the perspective of the wage earners, is running at 160% a year).

This achievement, however, has an aspect of ambiguity and poses problems that must be faced in the current year. Indeed, prices did not go up for two basic reasons. First, sufficient goods for the internal market were largely supplied through an increase in the import bill. Second, the working class consciously collaborated with the new government in deciding against the use of its new political power to force wages upward. Let us examine each of these factors.

Supply based on imports means increases in foreign debt. Nicaragua's imports in 1980 were worth US $100 M more than projected. The government considers the increase in the country's foreign debt - US $171 M in 1980 - a serious shortcoming in economic management and insists that Nicaragua cannot have sustainable development on the basis of external resources. A shift from an open to a relatively self-reliant economy cannot be achieved overnight. But a corrective policy has been adopted to hasten the transition in the current "year of productivity and defense". This policy stands on three pillars. First, Nicaragua will only accept loans that are relatively "cheap" (in fact, the average conditions on loans obtained during 1980 were favorable: 20-year deadline, 10-year grace period at 4½ per year interest), and will cut imports to the level of absolute necessity while improving efficiency in the use of external
resources. Second, since it is impossible to achieve economic independence in this period of regeneration of the economy, the aim is to diversify dependence. Historically, more than 60% of the external resources needed by Nicaragua came from the US and presently about 70% of the external financing depends on sources predominantly controlled by the U.S. The target is to develop trade with the Third World, the socialist countries and Western Europe so as to arrive at a target of 25%. Third, the country will stimulate savings by enforcing a policy of austerity and efficiency on the public and private sectors, as well as on consumption of non-essential goods. The slogan has been launched: "we cannot live on money that we have not produced."

The other important factor responsible for relatively stable prices during 1980 was labour self-discipline. The creation of a National Federation of Trade Unions generated a process of organization which resulted in increased awareness and self-discipline within the labour force. While the income of rural labour increased, that of industrial workers has generally remained the same as of July 1979. At the same time, the wage level of the middle classes and government officials has decreased from the final months of the Somoza era. Thus, a process of redistribution began, favouring the most needy, in this case the rural work force. Labour self-discipline is also an indication that the moral authority of the FSLN and the governing Junta is real. However, this type of corrective policy can only be effective in the short run. And the only way to replace it without losing what was achieved is to increase the country's wealth so that wages rise in real terms.

**Economic Reactivation**

The 1980 GDP growth rate of Nicaragua in real terms was 10.5%, the highest in Latin America. The original target for 1981 was 18%, aided by the effort being made to substitute imports. But the government now believes that it will not surpass 14%. One reason is that it is difficult to correct the distortion in the pattern of growth of the past year, which consisted of an 18.5% increase in services and trade against a 3.8% increase in material production. To reverse this pattern, the government has launched a Contingency Plan for essential grains production, a programme to increase productivity and stimulate the export sector, and a campaign to rationalize the use of available resources, particularly by the State apparatus.

In the eyes of the country's planners, Nicaraguan peasants have the potential not only to feed the whole population but also to finance the country's oil imports. The targets of the Contingency Plan are to create sufficient supply of basic grains (cereals and beans) to feed the population, to gather a 2-month inventory, to improve storing facilities and to maximize the earning of foreign currency from exports in a time of shortage in the international market (a 10 M ton deficit of basic grains is foreseen for Central America and the Caribbean in 1981).
The program to stimulate exports is based on Nicaragua's traditional strengths: coffee, sugar cane, cotton, meat and gold. It was an impressive experience to see the joyous faces of the young combatants of the Sandinista army as they returned to Managua on crowded trucks decorated with cotton branches, after having achieved striking levels of productivity in the cotton harvest. The labour shortage was anguishing the big private cotton growers, who feared a loss as the rainy season approached. Their formerly aggressive opposition to the government turned toward peaceful coexistence as the government rapidly mobilized the Army for the cotton harvest. "We only ask two things from you", said the government to the cotton growers. "One, that you continue to produce: our country is still in bad need of foreign currency. Two, that you pay the combatants fair wages for the work they did: this will be an incentive toward the goal of a self-supporting army sometime in the future." In Nicaragua, more than elsewhere, economics and politics go hand in hand.

The fulfilment of an austerity and efficiency programme within the State apparatus seems to pose a more difficult challenge. The 1981 Plan adopts a no-growth strategy for the State budget, while aiming at a qualitative leap in State organization and efficiency by two means. First, the hope is to increase the centralization of surpluses and productive accumulation for this initial period, as well as improving fiscal-financial control. Second, efforts are directed at improving the operative capacity of the departments and local governments in the production and supply of goods and services, while strengthening the participation of the workers in the management and control of various economic tasks.

Reactivation and Adult Education

The program to increase productivity, as well as the campaign to rationalize the use of available resources, depend heavily on the development of post-literacy adult education consistent with the priority targets for this year. Nicaraguans seem aware that the traditional method of "scholarizing" adults leads to selectivity and exclusion, while postponing society's enjoyment of its eventual benefits to the distant future.

The country needs a popular education that produces immediate results. Following the lessons of their successful literacy crusade, Nicaraguans are now discussing the possibility of establishing an alternative model of popular education whereby the learning process is based on the coordination of the educative capacity of the various mass organizations and State entities. Each will become responsible for the education of adults in its own sphere of activity, training the people both in practice and theory, in their own places of life and work.

If successful, this innovative model will transform all workplaces, communities and institutions into popular schools; productive and communal activities into study disciplines; and all adults - whether professionals, militants, workers or peasants - into both
teachers and students. Training peasants today on how to use available resources more efficiently, how to work collectively and how to make decisions concerning their own activities within the context of the country's agricultural policy helps generate immediately visible results in terms of productivity, organization, participation and, last but not least, defense.

**Employment**

The fact that 112,000 new jobs were created in 1980, instead of the 95,000 projected by last year's plan is a significant victory. The rate of unemployment was reduced to 17.5%. However, this achievement implies a structural distortion: only 53.1% of the new jobs were in the productive sectors (projected: 78.9%) against 46.9% in the State, commerce and informal sectors (projected: 21.1%). This reflects the unequal development of the reactivation process by sector and also the hypertrophic tendency of the tertiary sector.

The target for 1981 is, on the one hand, to reduce unemployment to 13.3% (that would be the lowest in the country's history) by increasing the utilization of the existing idle capacity. Concurrently, the given government plans to transfer part of the labour force from sector C to sectors A and B, so that 69.5% of the new jobs are in productive sectors. A special Labour Fund was created to reduce the social cost of that transfer to a minimum.

**Income Distribution and Wages**

One of the central guidelines of both plans (1980 and 1981) has been to improve the living conditions of the 50% poorest of the country. Two years before the fall of Somoza, the upper 20% of the population controlled 60% of Nicaragua's GDP, whereas the lowest 50% had a meager 15% share of the total. *

The policy of income redistribution is a constant theme in the 1981 Plan. The target in 1980 of not letting the workers' real wage fall was generally accomplished by regulating the supply and prices of essential goods; subsidies to public transportation and basic grains; preferential tariffs on electric energy and water for the popular districts; and housing rent reductions. A 10.4% readjustment upward of the wages of workers earning 1200 cordobas (10 C = 1 US$) or less was granted in June 1980. The labour demands for wage increases led to the signing of more than 200 collective agreements (in the 46 years of the Somoza dictatorship only 46 collective agreements were reached). Moreover, the evaluation of 1980 conditions resulted in a considerable increase in the social wage of the salaried workers, particularly in the areas of education and health.

The 1981 wage policy of a maximum 20% monetary ceiling for upward readjustments will be selectively applied so as to preserve the purchasing power of the workers with lowest incomes, and thus will have a redistributive effect. The organized workers are being asked to participate with management in reshaping the wage structure so as to allocate a just value to their contribution in the creation of social wealth, thus reducing the historical injustices inherent in

* Revista da Cepal, August 1977: P. 16; Santiago de Chile.
The external sector

Nicaragua's exports reached 90% (US$ 470 M) of the 1980 target of US$ 524 M, while imports were 12.5% higher (US$ 870 M) than the projected US$ 773 M. The most important reason for the excessive value of imports was the deterioration of the terms of trade: the almost 100% jump in oil prices during the period, and the reduction of the international coffee price from US$ 180 per 100 lb. in 1979 to $ 120 at the beginning of 1981. Overall, the average import prices increased 15% while the average export prices remained un- changed, resulting in the weaker purchasing power of exports.

The plan aims toward reduction in the external vulnerability of the economy by recuperating Nicaragua's historical export capacity; reducing the imports of non-essential consumer goods and inputs which can be domestically produced; and diversifying the geographic origin and destination of trade flows. The degree of economic regeneration in both agriculture and manufacture, as well as the favorable situation in the international cereals market, allow for an export target of US$ 680 M (FOB) for 1981. Imports are expected to amount to 956 M, bringing the external trade deficit down to 275 M. To avoid going beyond this import limit, regulations and control of consumer goods imports were established and considerable import substitution is projected.

Nicaragua's endeavour to reactivate its economy for the benefit of the majority is not being received positively abroad, if we review the transfers of resources this far. US$ 490 M in contracts and external financing were raised, of which US$ 370 M were disbursed in 1980. However, only 50% of this amount entered Nicaragua. The debt service amounted to US$ 84.6 M in 1980, and will reach US$ 190 M this year, or 28% of Nicaragua's exports.

To make the financial situation even more difficult for Nicaragua, the Reagan administration has clearly engaged in an international campaign to destabilize the Nicaraguan government. The suspension of the US financial package (US$ 15 M yet to be disbursed from the US$ 75 M agreed to in 1980, plus US$ 9.6 M in credits for the purchase of vitally needed wheat supplies) may be only the first step into a strategy of economic sabotage, a strategy which proved to be effective against the Unidad Popular government in Chile. One consequence of the US government's decision to cut the credit for wheat purchases was the donation by the USSR of 29,000 tonnes of wheat to Nicaragua.

Throughout Central America, the US administration is using food as a weapon to undermine governments that are considered a "threat to US national security", no matter how poor and economically powerless they may be. A parallel policy that the US is pursuing, is to boost military juntas that are seen as friendly to US interests, regardless of how illegitimate, unpopular and repressive they may be.
It was dinner time. Before the session ended, one of the "companeras" got up, turned to the plenary and said: "They have killed another 'companero' this afternoon in Somotillo. A band who came from Honduras. He was one of the secretaries of the FSLN in the area." Her voice trembled with emotion and rage. "It is the third one they have assassinated in 15 days."

1981 - YEAR OF DEFENSE: THE THREAT OF INVASION

"The US will avoid direct intervention but will try to boycott our economy and undermine our independence," says the Sandinista leader as we stroll along the beach at Masachapa. From this site we can see the fuel deposits belonging to the largest international airport in the country, built by Somoza for his private use in one of the luxurious farms that he possessed before the triumph of the insurrection.

The US administration has mounted a powerful campaign to convince international public opinion that the struggle of peoples in the Southern hemisphere for their basic rights, justice and national liberation must be seen in terms of superpower confrontations. For the Nicaraguans, this represents a return to "big stick" diplomacy. The roots of El Salvador's problems, as viewed by the Reagan administration, are not the state of hunger and deprivation imposed on the majority by the 14 leading landowning families, nor is it the official and semi-official terrorism imposed by the military and the national guard with US financial and military support. It is Nicaragua, and ultimately Cuba.

The Trilateral Commission's interpretation of the world, which largely characterized the Carter era, proposed an alliance between the three industrialized regions of the 'free market' world - North America, Europe and Japan - as well as economic cooperation and détente vis-à-vis the stable regimes of the socialist sphere. This would counter the increasing pressure for basic economic and political change in the Southern Hemisphere. The underdeveloped countries were seen as a threat to the power, the stability and the life styles of the societies of the North.

The Reagan administration, in turn, is trying to reestablish the manichean "Cold War" vision of a bipolar world. One side represents the Christian white civilization of the West, whose radiating center is the US and whose manifest destiny is to impose the 'free market' and the Western notion of progress and democracy on the rest of the world. The other side represents evil, with the struggles for national liberation seen as a major component of evil. If this interpretation has not been spelled out in such words, it has been crystallized into concrete policies. These include the selective application of the concept of "terrorism" and the "quiet diplomacy" of burying the cause of human rights by escalating militarization and economic support to the most repressive regimes in Latin America.
"What does the US want of our country?" is a question asked by many Nicaraguans. "How can such a poor and small nation be, in any real way, a threat to the national security' of the Northern giant, with whom we do not even share a common border?"

The US supported more than 40 years of Somozan dynasty, and Nicaraguans have endless stories to illustrate that "bloody dictatorship" was a cruel daily reality. The same can be applied today to El Salvador and Guatemala. Yet, Nicaragua is now run by a pluralistic civilian government, which has, as testified by the International Commission of Jurists, an exemplary human rights policy and practice. This unfolds in a continent where military dictatorships abound, and where human rights violations are a rule of government and democracy is the exception. The Nicaraguan government's legitimacy today is safeguarded by a human rights record that includes the rejection of the death penalty, the just treatment of the Somozista National Guard, whose members were arrested and publically tried, and the dismissal of more than 2000 policemen (who abused their authority) since the triumph.

The opposition was guaranteed seats in the National Parliamentary Council and is represented by at least three parties. Its voice is heard daily throughout the country in the newspaper La Presa, whose policy is to exploit any opportunity to attack the government. There have been no restrictions to the free transit of opponents of the government either within or outside the country.

The great majority of Christians in Nicaragua took part in the insurrection against Somoza and consider themselves as an essential component of the Sandinista victory. Today there is full religious freedom and the active participation of Christians in the Sandinista government is an important critical element and a safeguard of the principles of justice, solidarity and participation. Three of the State ministers are Catholic priests and a number of other government functions are also occupied by priests and pastors. Recently, the Archbishop of Managua, Mgr. Ovando, called upon all the faithful to respond positively to the plea by the FSLN for the whole population to unite around the Junta's endeavour to reconstruct the country.

All these facts serve to preempt the accusation that Nicaragua is run by a Marxist-Leninist government. Still, the enemies of Nicaragua have spent enormous sums to try to convince international public opinion that such accusations are real. The failure of both the Eagleburger mission to Europe and the Vernon Walters mission to South America (both trying to gather support from allies for a new "big stick" policy against Nicaragua and Cuba) is explained in good part by the widespread disbelief with which the State Department dossier was received. The dossier attempted to prove that Nicaragua was channeling arms to resistance movements in El Salvador. A well-informed West European ambassador in Managua discounted the dossier in his comment: "The CIA is so thoroughly present in Nicaragua that they would have easily traced the route of the traffic of weapons; if it didn't, it is because this traffic does not exist."
The Somozistas today are being armed and trained both by Cuban "veterans" of the CIA-sponsored failure at the Bay of Pigs, and by US "military advisors." Training camps are located in Florida and in parts of Central America that are under US control or influence, such as the Panama Canal Zone and Honduras.

The Nicaraguans are preparing themselves for the eventuality of an invasion. They are organizing and training popular self-defence militia in every village of the countryside and in every street of the urban centers. As one watches them training with old weapons but advanced skills and unbeatable willpower, one has the feeling that an invasion would only be successful if it were to wipe out virtually the whole population. The Somozistas seem to have the same perception, for they are asking the US administration to give the green light for the invasion within the next few months, "before the Sandinistas become invincible."

The threat of an invasion from Honduras is no fairy tale. According to a Hondurean army sub-commander, "war had been 70% likely" in May, when delegations of the two countries met at the border to negotiate. "The three stages of preparation for full-scale invasion had all been completed - an anti-Nicaraguan press campaign, giving Somozista units 'carte blanche' to provoke the Nicaraguans and putting the army on to full alert". According to the same source, "the Hondurean military leaders had been deterred by the size of the May Day demonstrations in Tegucigalpa and other towns, in which Trade Unions openly condemned war preparations." Meanwhile, Gen. Vernon Walters announced the doubling of military aid to Honduras (from US$ 5 M to US$ 10 M) on May 15th. Yet, U.S. domestic opposition to their governments policy of increasing militarization of and provocation in the region is mounting. On May 3rd, a mass anti-war demonstration was held in Washington, D.C., against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Some U.S. newspapers considered it the largest anti-war demonstration since the Vietnam war.

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The formation of a critical consciousness and political and technical competence within the population; overcoming the dependent, passive and fatalistic mentality brought from the past; and building institutions and mechanisms that ensure an operative participatory process, are all seen as indispensable elements of a Sandinista society. All those who visit Nicaragua have the opportunity to learn that the country is approaching this process in a historically original and creative fashion.

* Jo Thomas, "Nicaragua ex-Guards Train with Cuban exiles in U.S." International Herald Tribune, 19.3.81 and "Ensaios de Invasao", VEJA, 6.5.81, p. 43-44, Sao Paulo.

** See Latin America Weekly Report, Nicaragua-Honduras war headed off, WR-81-20, 22.5.81, p.2.

*** See Ibid. Popular Pressure builds up in U.S. against aid to Junta, p.5.
It is well known that the role of Christians in the Sandinista insurrection and society has been crucial. For a large majority of Christians in Nicaragua, to be an active part in the building of a Sandinista society is the only form of being faithful to the Gospel and to Christ's example. Their task, however, is a difficult one. They have to fight not only unjust social relations, but also oppressive structures and old forms of behaviour which they themselves inherited. They also have to face lack of understanding and persecution from within the Church hierarchy. * It is, therefore, the duty of Christians and the ecumenical movement to support the Christian communities in Nicaragua in their struggle to be faithful to the cross.

"Nicaraguans find it difficult to believe in the sincerity of the U.S. government," said one of the priests with whom I talked. "They proclaim a policy of support for the autonomy of nations and respect for human rights, including the right of a people to govern themselves and participate democratically in decisions concerning their own destiny and that of their nation. This is a basic right North Americans demand for themselves, and their Constitution spells it out very clearly. Yet, that government does not show any respect for the rights of other peoples and nations. The Reagan administration has in fact engaged in a campaign of internal destabilization and has defined as a principal enemy in the region precisely the government which is putting those policies of freedom and democracy into practice. It is fighting the one nation that is implementing structural and value changes in the quest for a new world order in which human beings become the center of economic activity." In his opinion, the strategy of internal destabilization and the threat of invasion can only delay the endeavour to create a real participatory democracy.

My experiences in Nicaragua have convinced me that, however difficult the internal problems, tensions and challenges may be, Nicaragua is capable of facing and overcoming them with their own human and material resources, and with some outside cooperation. The major threat and gravest element of instability are the external menaces. What the Nicaraguans need and demand from the world is that they be given enough peace and security so that they have the opportunity to develop themselves economically, politically and socially, according to the specific character of their own history and cultural identity.

* See Latin America Weekly Report, Late News, WR-81-23, 12.6.81, p. 12.

(cont.de pag. (17)

externas que obstaculizan la construcción de un nuevo Nicaragua. El muestra porque la amenaza externa es más grave e inmediata, no solo en tanto que tal, sino también porque ella puede agravar los problemas internos desestabilizando la economía y haciendo su gestión imposible. El artículo muestra igualmente que el conflicto actual en América Central y en especial en Nicaragua, no es una confrontación entre las super potencias, como el gobierno de Estados Unidos quiere hacerlo creer, sino un conflicto entre los pueblos que luchan por la justicia, la liberación y la autonomía de una parte y contra el neo-colonialismo de otra.
Abstract: The challenge of Koraput is not the challenge of raw material supplies, infrastructure, finance and technology; it is the challenge of innovation, of self-management, administration and progress towards self-reliance in a manner that is particularly responsive to the needs of the tribal people. It is the challenge of ensuring their voluntary participation. It is a challenge in which success is measured not in gross aggregates such as exports, but by the increase in the consumption of essential commodities and services by the people through whose efforts the wealth is created and made available for general consumption and welfare. Alternate Development Strategies for Koraput suggests ways in which this challenge could be faced.

STRATEGIES POUR UN AUTRE DÉVELOPPEMENT À KORAPUT

Résumé: Le défi ouvert à l'État indien de Koraput n'est pas celui des matières premières, de l'infrastructure, des moyens financiers ou de la technologie. C'est le défi de l'innovation, de l'autogestion, de l'administration et du progrès vers l'autonomie ('self-reliance') d'une manière qui répond aux besoins des populations tribales. C'est également le défi de leur participation effective. Son succès ne se mesurera pas en termes d'exportations, mais par l'accroissement de la consommation de biens et services essentiels par ceux-là même qui produisent la richesse. L'article suggère les voies par lesquelles le défi pourrait être relevé.

ESTRATEGIAS PARA ALTERNATIVAS DE DESARROLLO EN KORAPUT

Resumen: El desafío que se ha lanzado al estado indio de Koraput no es el del abastecimiento de materias primas, de la infraestructura, de los medios financieros o de la tecnología. Es el desafío de la innovación, de la auto-gestión, de la administración y del progreso hacia la autonomía ('self-reliance') en una forma que sea especialmente sensible a las necesidades de las poblaciones tribales. Igualmente es el desafío de asegurar su participación espontánea y efectiva. En esta tarea el éxito no se medirá en enormes beneficios lucrativos tales como las exportaciones, sino en el crecimiento del consumo de bienes y servicios esenciales, por la misma gente cuyos esfuerzos producen la riqueza y la hacen asequible al consumo y bienestar general. Estrategias para Alternativas de Desarrollo en Koraput propone formas de enfrentar este desafío.
Vinod Vyasulu

ALTERNATE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES FOR KORAPUT

In this paper an effort will be made to discuss alternate approaches to development policy in the case of one backward district - Koraput in Orissa, India. The discussion is meant as a background to an action research project concerned with field experiments in development policy.

I Koraput today

Koraput is the second largest district (after Baster in Madhya Pradesh) in India, and in area it is larger than Kerala. Koraput, the district headquarters, was built by the British; it was the office of the Political Agent and the first collector, R.C.S. Bell, who is the author of the first District Gazetteer. The district was formed by a merger of Zamindaris of the area, mainly Kashipur and Jaypore. The Zamindaris were Oriya speaking, but a large number of people in the district are Telugu speaking with close links to neighbouring Andhra Pradesh. Before 1936, the district was part of the Madras Presidency. However, since 1936, it has been part of Orissa Province, under the Bengal Presidency, and later, of Orissa State. The biggest part of the population is Scheduled Tribes - 61% and another 13% are Scheduled Castes. It is a "declared" backward district that is eligible for all the Central and State incentives for development activity.

The backwardness of the district is quite well reflected in the poor infrastructural facilities, which are all geared to taking out of the district its rich raw materials. For Koraput is very rich in raw materials. It has at least 10 million tonnes of iron ore and very large deposits of high grade bauxite - over 60 million tonnes, enough for several centuries at current rates of consumption. It has 225 million tonnes of limestone of the best cement grade quality and also some deposits of mica and other metals. Official agencies feel that further geological and other studies of the district are necessary since full information is not yet available about its natural resource potential.

Koraput has vast forest resources, in spite of the indiscriminate deforestation that has occured in the last half century. There is good quality timber (such as sal and teak) and plenty of bamboo.


2/ It has some 2 million inhabitants on an area of 27,000 km².
The potential for various activities connected with forest produce, such as collection and processing of minor oil seeds /, mohua flowers, spices and so on is considerable. The Department of Soil Conservation of the Orissa Government has experimented, (solely as a by-product of soil conservation activity) with plantations of cashew, coffee and sisal. The Coffee Board is planning to extend its activities in a big way to this district, in conjunction with industrial groups like Thepers and Khodays and this effort has the backing of the Governor of Orissa. Surviving from the past are fruit plantations of mangoes and apples. The main cereals grown are mandia (ragi) and paddy.

Koraput has tremendous hydro-electric potential. The power station at Machkund (the second in the country after KRS in Mysore) is a joint endeavour of the Governments of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. In addition, Indrawati power station is being expanded, and construction work has begun on the Upper Kolab Project. Thousands of acres will benefit from irrigation. Yet there is no debate on the implications of such vast changes which are being wrought by administrative decisions from above. In this, Orissa is quite different from Karnataka and Kerala where hydro-electric projects have been centres of public controversy. Lower Kolab will soon be taken up. Across the border, Andhra Pradesh has the Lower and Upper Sileru power projects. Thervali will coordinate the power from Balimala, Machkund and even Talcher. Orissa is currently a power surplus state, and the addition of power from these projects provides it with one of the essential inputs for rapid growth in the district where, currently power consumption per capita is 4 KWtt. At present, the surplus power is simply being sold to neighbouring states.

The total railway length in this large district is only 224 kms. This is part of the Raipur-Waltair line and the Kirandue-Kottaval-sala line which simply pass through the district, linking interior sources of raw-material to the port at Vizag. Although designed for goods traffic (especially the KK line), they cater marginally to passenger traffic. The Chattisgarh Express connects the district to Delhi. The Department of Mining has proposed a Koraput-Rayagada rail link, but this has not yet been approved. The major reason for this link is to facilitate the shipment of bauxite out of the district to Vizagapatnam. The important townships in Koraput are linked by the national highways connecting Andhra

/ One of these is the sal seed, now used in large quantities not only in soap manufacture, but also to prepare a substitute for cocoa butter which gives chocolate its "melt in the mouth" quality. Hindustan Lever has pioneered this technology and advertises its role in helping the tribals of Orissa. While the benefit to the transnational seems clear enough, it was very difficult for us to pinpoint the exact benefit to the tribals. This is a matter that requires dispassionate study.
Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. State highways link most of the other townships. In 1975, there were 387 post offices, ten telephone exchanges and 23 telegraph offices.

The level of literacy in Koraput is only 10 per cent, well below the Orissa average of 26 per cent and the national average of 30 per cent. While there are 3161 primary schools, 515 middle schools and 69 high schools (run by State Government and Ashrams) 5 colleges, one ITI and one Technical Training Institute and one Crafts school, the spread of education is poor, and perhaps the education itself is of little immediate relevance to the people in their daily working life.

The district is served by several agencies of the Orissa Government. Central agencies and the nationalised banks also serve Koraput. The lead bank of the district is the State Bank of India, which prepared an action plan in 1970 and is currently (1980) in the process of preparing an updated Credit Plan. While all the agencies are prepared to collaborate in development projects, there appears to be no-coordination and clear-cut direction to the little work currently underway.

A large number of agencies have conducted studies of the district.

An important part of the economic and social scene in Koraput is the Dandakaranya Development Authority (DDA) which has its headquarters in Koraput. Although the DDA is active in neighbouring districts also, it has had a great impact particularly on the economy of Eastern Koraput (Malkangiri) through the settlers who have been brought in from Bengal, and also through the introduction of crops like mestha which are new to this area, and which seem to be doing quite well. The DDA, however, has functioned solely as a rehabilitation agency, rather than as a development agency. It does not appear to have the ability to act as a catalyst for progress.

Inspite of all these rich natural resources, minimal institutional and infrastructural support, the Koraput tribals have consistently been outside the mainstream of the national economic and social life. This is the main reason for Koraput being a backward district. Perhaps one should say that Koraput is an underdeveloping district today, since it is an excellent case of internal colonialism, with every major development since Independence reinforcing the Indo-colonial forces of exploitation, particularly of the tribals.

Koraput is predominately dependent upon its own forest and agricultural wealth. Six large-scale industries are located in the district: Sugar, Ferro-manganese, Ferro-Silicon, Silicon Carbide, Paper and MIG Engines.
In addition there are proposals to set up a cement factory, a maize starch plant and a paper mill. There is also the Indo-French Consortium Plan for tapping the resource of bauxite (via the ecologically harmful process of open cast mining) by setting up an Alumina Smelter with its own captive power station envisaging a total investment of Rs. 1620 crores. A public sector company, NALCO, has recently been set up for this purpose. None of these large units have had any positive impact on the local people of Koraput district and they tend largely to be islands of privilege catering to the external Indian and foreign markets. No effort is even made to train the local people in the required skills - in this case, aluminium technology. All the skilled workers come from elsewhere. No effort is even made to set up downstream units to convert aluminium into other products, such as utensils, even though non-ferrous casting as a skill is locally available. Rather, the market sucks out the natural resources of the district, giving nothing in return to the local poor.

There are some small scale industries in the district concentrated mainly in Jeypore and Rayagada. Those are in the categories of engineering, chemical, glass and ceramic, textile, leather, wood, forest and agro-based industries. According to the District Industries Centre they number 324 with blocked capital of Rs. 1,25,54,694/-; working capital of Rs. 90,61,294/- and employing 2375 persons in 1971.

The district has a rich tradition in tribal handicrafts which include metal and smithy such as non-ferrous metal casting at Umerkote. There are many other rural industries related to traditional activity such as oil extraction, hides and skins, handloom and so on, but these are gradually dying in the light of external market stresses. The various government agencies have identified Jeypore, Rayagada and Sunabeda as potential growth centres and it is around these towns that most of the agencies are making their action plans for tribal development. But the tribals themselves have no part in the process of planning for their welfare. Nor do these agencies seek to give them such a role, even in the future.

If the district of Koraput is ever to develop, attention must be focussed on the main factor because of which it has remained backward. This is the non-integration of its vast tribal population in the economic activity of the district, and this is because the district economy is only an appendage to the external market. As things stand today, Koraput is a rich district whose many natural resources are being heedlessly extracted by outsiders for
their own benefit and at great cost to the local, largely tribal, population. There are also industries located in this district which have no links whatsoever to the district and sometimes even to the state. An example of such an industry is the HAL factory in Sunebeda which is more closely integrated with Vizagapatnam and Andhra Pradesh than Koraput and Orissa. If any agency is to break this vicious circle of grinding poverty of the majority of the people of Koraput, it will have to concentrate its activities upon strengthening the traditional skills of the tribal people and upon the local production of goods consumed by them while countering the exploitative market pressures. That is to say, it must expand the economic base of local production and consumption and later reintegrate the district to the national economy in such a way that the pattern of overall growth ensures that at all times the majority of the local population, specially the tribals, derive clearcut benefits in the form of increased investment in projects of importance to them, improvement in their living conditions, and a continual betterment in their quality of life, as perceived by them and not by the external "development catalysts" and change agents. This is important, since, say, the idea of the two on what constitutes "decent housing" or "adequate food" often turns out to be radically different, reflecting their respective class and other biases. In such cases, it is the external agent whose views must be passed over. To do this it must in some measure in the early stages delink itself from the Indian and foreign markets - an apparently impossible requirement.

Such a process is unlikely to succeed within the traditional approach of industrialization based upon the identification of entrepreneurs who are given technical, financial and marketing support to set up industrial activity. For an Indian entrepreneur of today, to succeed in the best of conditions, he requires to belong to a certain culture in which he can operate in the market, deal with vast numbers of "educated" and "sophisticated" people such as suppliers, customers and officials spread across the country and the world. The tribals of Koraput, whose educational and cultural traditions are completely distinct from those of the industrial class, and whose traditional values are against individual initiative and private enterprise of modern variety, cannot be expected to industrialise the district by becoming entrepreneurs, nor perhaps may they even wish to \(^1\). This is particularly so in view of their concrete experience of exploitation - brutal exploitation - by the market in recent years.

\(^1\) And yet, there is really little option. It is becoming increasingly clear that traditional systems are today inadequate from many points of view. Simultaneously, modern solutions are out of reach of the poor. So change they must, and the question is "how", I have benefitted in this connection from discussions with Prof. Amulya Reddy of ASTRA.
Self-reliance is a long way from the traditional systems of bondage like the "gotha" system prevalent in Koraput. It is not a matter of surprise that a large factory like the HAL has been unable to attract even one local small scale ancillary entrepreneur inspite of the incentives and Government Guidelines on Ancillarization.

Nor is it a matter of surprise that a village outside the HAL township, Indraguda, seems to have benefitted little, if at all, by the modern industry in its neighbourhood. In such a situation of vast difference in values, cultures and behaviours, promotional efforts must first win the trust and confidence of the tribal people who are the "target population" of any development. Managerial innovations and major efforts need to be made at divising new methods together with the tribals to meet the situation. Some general ideas in this alternative direction are presented below as a base for action research.

II An alternative vision

The resources of the district would suggest that efforts should be made to tap the potential that already exists. With the availability of oil seeds in large quantities, it is natural to consider the setting up of units engaged in oil extraction, in the processing of the oils into soap base (and glycerine) and later in the decentralised production of cakes of toilet soap. In the same way the availability of hides and skins would suggest that small rural centres for the tanning and finishing of leather and at a later stage for the development of leather products, first for local consumption, should be encouraged. This can only be done by breaking the Madras stranglehold on this industry - a formidable task under the best of conditions.

The existence of sisal plantations would suggest village level units and taluk level plants for extracting the chemicals available in the sisal juice in addition to the traditional fibre products. Today R & D efforts are underway in Bangalore to examine these possibilities 1/. The availability of vast resources of wood would suggest that the people be trained in the use of wood working machinery and encouraged to build up a furniture industry in which the basic components can be manufactured in their own district and exported for assembly elsewhere. This must be accompanied simultaneously by a planned reforestation programme drawing on the tribals vast experience of and inherent respect for his habitat. The existence of a tradition of metal working and non-ferrous casting would suggest that efforts be directed towards

gradually upgrading their skills by introducing new products such as builders hardware and hand tools, developing at a later stage into updated foundry technology.

Knowing the traditional resistance to change, one of the key factors of such an alternate strategy would be to make haste slowly. No one will participate in new activity unless it benefits them in some way - this statement is as true of urban elites as of tribal people. In a situation where traditional methods are no longer adequate for a decent life, and where the modern, market solutions are accessible only to a few - who most often are from outside the district - it is necessary to think of measures based on modern scientific knowledge but which have built into them an egalitarianism that is missing from market solutions. This is obviously difficult because it is new and novel. It is nevertheless necessary. Thus, in the early stages, such efforts should be related to consumption technologies where concrete benefits, and egalitarian opportunities, are evident. One such technology seems to be the community biogas plant, which meets the essential need for cooking fuel, provides opportunities for other activities, and introduces new cultural work forms in a positive context. It is such technologies that need to form the starting point of alternate development strategies - and the complexity of this process must at no time be understated. New technical options, along with novel organizational frames, will together need to form the base of an alternate technology, which itself will be part of an overall strategy.

In all this, care must be taken to see that essential inputs are made freely available (but not free of cost). For example, the district must be assured that the alumina that is produced from local bauxite will be available for downstream processing, for example, into utensils, in the decentralized sector. There is no reason why these industries should be set up elsewhere. While on this point, it should be ensured that the proposed captive power station has enough power to supply the downstream units as well. Under the usual cost/benefit calculations even of the social variety, this would never happen.

The availability of vast quantities of agricultural wastes in the forest suggests that technology for pelleting this into fuel for local use be explored. The existence of sabai grass naturally leads to notions of small hand made paper units, which can supply local schools and offices. Since there is a tradition of handloom weavers among the tribals it should be possible to give suitable support to encourage spinning through the improved pedal charkha in such a way that the yarn produced by tribal women in their homes goes on to the local handloom weaver and then to meeting the demand of the same people for cloth. Further market support will be forthcoming if the local unions can be prevailed upon to advise that the uniform for their members be made from the cloth. In the process their per capita cloth consumption can
be increased. This is in fact, a return to the original concept of Khadi and Swadeshi; and, in the light of recent experience, quite an uphill task!

The ideas mentioned above do not see the role of traditional crafts as being simply linked to the market by producing souvenirs and other trivia for foreign tourists. It does not envisage a situation in which the resources of the district are extracted and sent as raw material to industries located in India or abroad for further processing, and in which manufactured goods are sent back to Koraput, for consumption by the few who have money. Rather the effort is to try and explore methods by which gradually at each stop local value added is increased by manufacture in the district itself by the people who live there, and where trade with outsiders is conducted on equal, not colonial, terms. This may be contrasted with the way in which the NALCO projects seems to be going. At present officials are thinking of extracting alumina in Koraput and sending this ore to a smelter in Talcher. In such a situation, the investment of a thousand odd crores will benefit the district very little. If one were to use the concept of net present value of net gains to the region, the ranking of this project may turn out to be quite adverse. It is a matter that requires much deeper analysis. (But this must not be mistaken for an anti-industrialization argument either, since it is not the intention here to oppose industrial growth in India). It is however, an argument for strengthening intersectoral and structural linkages in the economy.

Such an effort calls for major innovations in introducing new values, organizational structures and improved and alternate technology. There is no easy method by which in a very short span of time spectacular results can be obtained. What is called for is a major effort relying upon the persons stationed in the district, cooperation with all other developmental agencies, be they central, state or private, in order to set up new structures in which the opinions, abilities and talents of the tribal population will at all times be respected and built upon. This might, for example, call for the formation of a Trust between the NSIC, the DIC, the lead banks (in this case the SSI, and the tribal Development Cooperative Corporation, the District Collector and suitable, democratically chosen, representatives of the tribals. This Trust could begin industrial activity on projects chosen by the tribals at locations of their choice after explaining to them all relevant facts called from modern techniques, (away from the identific growth centres which are based solely on market considerations), which would undertake the entire basic task of setting up, operating and managing the new industrial units. If such a Trust were to set up a unit for converting oil which is being extracted locally into base soapy matter, it can also encourage a system by which the soapy matter is converted into soap cakes locally by smaller units. Orissa can become the soap supplier of the entire country. Such a Trust could build units for non-ferrous casting
by introducing new products in locations chosen by the tribals in terms of their own conveniences. All authority will need to be vested in this Trust, the formation and operation of which requires managerial innovations on a heroic scale. Eventually the entire concern from the provision of inputs, through the process of conversion, to the disposal of final output, may be handed over. In the early stages, the tribals, while being included in all committees and decision making bodies, may only function as ordinary workers. An effort needs to be made, perhaps by special training programmes, over a period of time, to enable them to become the supervisors and organizers of the production process. In the near or foreseeable future, there is no possibility by which the total management can be handed over to them. Many managerial functions, such as raw material supplies, quality control, finance, R & D and marketing will have to be handled by such a Trust for quite sometime. Such questions may be re-examined after Trusts of this sort have functioned for two or three years; and the experiences of Trusts can differ greatly from district to district and region to region. Caution will need to be exercised in generalizations from specific experience.

Such enterprises would also have to adopt attitudes towards tribals that are quite different from those of employers to wage-labourers. While it is true that all who work in a production unit of the Trust must receive at least the local minimum wage, it would seem desirable that the Trust pay them only part of the wages in the form of cash. Given that, currently, they receive less than the minimum wage, in fact (after the contractors keep their cut). This need not mean a decline in real income for them. The rest should be ploughed back into further investment and into services designed towards increasing per capita consumption of basic essentials of what in a modern state is considered to be the good life. One example would be a community kitchen functioning, (with modifications where needed) like the Indira Community Kitchen in Pune, open to all in the neighbourhood. Other examples would be the provision of safe drinking water, clean toilets (perhaps of the Subbh Sanchalaya type pioneered in Patna), and so on.

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1/ This must not be misunderstood as any fear of the growth of an industrialized labour force. As the discussion brought out, the opportunities for such growth are limited anyway. And the focus here is on encouraging cooperative form of behavior. It is from such nuclei that alternatives will draw their strength when the overall environment is more attuned to them. And such efforts are important in contributing to the emergence of such a supportive environment.

2/ This suggestion is also made by P. Hanumantha Rayappa and Deepak Grover in Employment Planning for the Rural Poor: The Case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, (Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1980), p. 104.
This would include investment by the Trust in health, sanitation, education and the breaking of barriers between the tribals and outside people. Such a process would inevitably have to be suitably monitored; a tricky business at best.

A method that ignores entrepreneurship on the side of management will also have to accept the logical consequences of ignoring entrepreneurship in dealing with workers. In fact there can be no workers without entrepreneurs. Thus the promotional agencies will have to experiment with a whole host of new forms of organization and administration of local consumption, production and marketing. It is the challenge of expanding the local economic base, as opposed to the simple integration of the district into the national and world markets on unequal terms. It is only the latter that is being attempted today.

It would be useful to examine how such work could start in a district like Koraput. There are already several welfare and other organizations working there. One could begin by looking at the potential of all of them together. There are schools, Primary Health Centres, and other establishments already working in different parts of the district. The schools need chalk, blackboards, notebooks, mid-day meals, fittings, and even, from a longer point of view, clothes, shoes etc. for the children. PHCs, need bandage cloth, simple medicines antiseptics, medical and surgical instruments, first aid kits and so on. All need simple buildings. They need people who can impart field level knowledge, volunteers with local roots who can carry out sustained work. There are many welfare programmes that can finance such activities. Then there are the agriculture related projects under the umbrella of ITDR and what not. All of these, if properly handled, both generate demand by providing some income to poor people and create some assets, tangible and non-tangible, on which people can build in the future. There is no reason why some of these demands cannot be met from local sources. Notebooks can be made from locally produced handmade paper. Bandages can be made from locally woven handmade cloth. Shoes can be made from locally tanned leather by local cobblers. These and other such products which come today to Koraput from Vizag, Vijayawada, Hyderabad and Calcutta - because it is presumed that they are cheaper and of better quality. Whether they are in fact cheaper is a moot question. There is a need to question whether indeed the quality specified in Calcutta is suitable for Koraput. If not, there is a need to emphasise the positive impact of people being able to meet their own needs, of the much needed confidence that can come from such experience. It is on the basis of such experience that growth and development take place, and not in the face of submission to a market that is manipulated from elsewhere. There is therefore an urgent need to begin such work. And those who can best do it are those in Koraput. Outsiders have only a small, (and gradually diminishing) role to play. If this is not accepted, the result will be, not a farce, but a tragedy.
The challenge of Koraput is not the challenge of raw materials supplies, infrastructure, finance or technology, it is the challenge of innovation, of self-management, administration and progress towards self-reliance in a manner that is particularly responsive to the needs of the tribal people. It is the challenge of ensuring their voluntary participation. It is a challenge in which success is measured not in gross aggregates such as exports, but by the increase in the consumption of essential commodities and services by the people through whose efforts the wealth is created and made available for general consumption and welfare.
Abstract: The argument is advanced that African countries need a much broader and systematic framework for determining policies regarding the choice and use of relevant technology. "Appropriate" technology is regarded as a mix of technological elements at key levels of economic and social development which recognizes national needs and an obligation to satisfy realistically-defined patterns of national production and consumption. It is proposed that countries build up an inventory of available technology, indigenous and "transferred" at various levels, with the active participation of young people. A program of education in basic economic and social technology is suggested - "another education" - designed to adjust national and individual attitudes and production and consumption patterns. This would be directed not only at young people but also at adults and decision-makers in development. A role is also defined for foreign assistance.
como una obligación de satisfacer modelos de producción y consumo nacionales realisticamente definidos. Se propone que los países elaboren un inventario de tecnología disponibles, tanto indígena como 'transferida', a varios niveles, con la participación activa de gente joven. Se sugiere un programa de educación en tecnología económica y social básicas - 'educación alternativa' - destinado a ajustar actitudes nacionales e individuales y las puntas de producción y consumo. Esto se dirigiría no solo a la gente joven sino también a los adultos y a los que toman las decisiones en materia de desarrollo. También se determina un rol para la ayuda extranjera.

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Technology, "Another Education" and Development in Africa

A brief review of aspects of relationships between the choice of technology, education and development in African countries, this paper argues: firstly, that technology choice should be systematically related to the totality of the countries' economic and social situation and development planning and prospects. Secondly, a concept of appropriateness of technology mix is advocated which sets as a strategic objective in technology choice the need to facilitate the building of a technological infrastructure compatible with coordinated industrial development. Thirdly, the necessity is underlined for comprehensive popular participation, particularly of young people, in the entire process of technology build-up. A program of economic and social re-education is proposed as a focus of efforts to stimulate interest in technology, foster creativity and eliminate some of the prejudices which have so far plagued general economic development in Africa.

Technology in the Service of Development

Whatever the state of their knowledge of applied science, African countries are endowed with a mix of various categories of technology. Available evidence indicates that levels of industrial development in African countries, as indeed in other countries, are related in ways which require further investigation to the proportion of the principal categories of effective technology in a nation's technological endowment. Bearing in mind the present economic difficulties facing African countries and the questions which have been raised regarding the suitability of some elements in available technology, a more optimal or appropriate mix of technology elements should improve significantly returns from human and industrial effort. A two-phased approach of interacting elements is proposed to promote such a mix.

The first element requires the systematic building up of an inventory of available technology actually being utilised in a country, as an initial step for determining effective technology mix and the choice of technology for various categories of development activity. The inventory is not conceived as a static, once-and-for-all accounting record, but as a framework for balancing continually technology endowments and revealed development and technology needs. The second element is a comprehensive program of education in technology designated "Basic Economic and Social Technology" as part of "another education" program for schools and other educational and informal sector institutions.

The basic justification for an inventory and of the approach to its development which we propose is the realization that African countries do need a carefully determined technological base on which to anchor industrial development, including "transferred technology". In the absence of an adequate technological infrastructure the capacity is limited for small and even large countries to absorb relatively simple technology - for instance,

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involving assembly of small trucks requiring, among other things, the accurate interpretation and utilization of technical information in process sheets, blue prints, operational instructions for machines, minimum standards for parts, material testing procedures, quality control techniques, and so on. A typical European vehicle comprises 2,500 major parts and assemblies and up to 10 times that number if every nut and bolt were counted separately1/. In order to improve the capacity of this infrastructure to support an economically efficient and socially acceptable industrial edifice, it is necessary to identify its strengths and weaknesses, to correct defects and reinforce areas of actual or potential strength. An inventory of technological endowments of various types is thus a logical first step.

Broad Categories of Technology

Technology types may be classified quite simply into (a) primary, mainly indigenous technology and related skills in self-employed or small business units; (b) intermediate, including larger amounts of both indigenous and relatively simple imported technology employed in enterprises technically more elaborate than in the case of primary technology. In this category is included small/medium scale manufacturing or assembly operations which use largely imported equipment and foreign complementary factors such as skilled labour or management, but also some local factors; and (c) large-scale, capital-intensive technology with imported inputs and generally owned wholly or partly by multinationals through their subsidiaries, or operated under licence and other international commercial or governmental agreements.

It is not presumed that all primary technologies are better than others simply because they are mainly indigenous. Only that there is often in African countries far more opportunities for the more organized use of primary technology than is often realized and that enlightened encouragement of its use might lead to the discovery of latent ingenuity and innovative qualities which would otherwise go unrecognized. It would be the purpose of the technology inventory to aid in the documentation and appraisal of this kind of technology.

Similarly, it cannot be presumed that all intermediate technology is necessarily "appropriate". In fact, inappropriate and appropriate elements are found in all three categories. It is possible to choose a technology which is intermediate and is still "inappropriate" because it relies, for instance, more heavily on imported technical components (capital-intensive) or industrial property rights than an alternative, equally technical, but socially efficient (labour intensive) technology. Nevertheless, the evidence grows and is convincing2/ that low income, relatively small economies such as are found in African countries should look as much as possible, for the satisfaction of their technological needs, to appropriate small and medium-scale intermediate technologies.


2/ George McRobie, Small is Possible (London: Jonathan Cape, 1981)
An Inventory of Primary Technology

The target group of primary technology users would comprise the wide range of semi-skilled and skilled operators in enterprises mainly in the service industries. This group, which is all too often neglected in technology and manpower planning in African countries, includes artisans, village and cottage industry workers, mechanics and simple plant operators who, not only develop know-how, but modify or innovate in the course of their normal production operations.

The manner in which this part of the inventory would be compiled could be critical in determining not only the uses to which it can be productively put, but also in relation to the process of education and the stimulation of interest in technology itself. It would require the active participation of young people in the documentation and evaluation of existing primary technology in conjunction with planning authorities. Students and, for that matter, school children in Africa are often very sensitive to the realities of current problems of development and adjustment. They are a potential force which could be harnessed in tasks of the kind envisaged here. Their participation would also serve to break down the barriers of indifference and the constraints of social attitudes which alienate young people from the activities of users of primary technology.

The Inventories of Intermediate and Large-Scale Technologies

In this area there is no less a problem of basic documentation. Because of differences in the units of technology involved, more formalized processes of data collection are required. However, as indicated below, there is nevertheless much scope for the participation of young people. In the public sector access to information, over which a government is in complete or partial control, should pose little problem. It is in the private sector that there might be a tendency towards secrecy. This need cause few problems where no infringements of industrial property rights are involved. Moreover, much of the required information on intermediate and large-scale technology exists as a result of routine legal and administrative activity associated with the registration of patents, the licensing of technology, and the negotiation of commercial agreements.

Non-secret technical information is also contained in files and records of government departments, institutions, associations, etc., all too often recorded without regard to the possibility that the information could be put to further constructive use without compromising confidentiality where appropriate. All available information could be documented on patent, non-patent and technical know-how including designs, plant and equipment characteristics, apparatus, spare parts, tools, special accessories; on formulae, calculations, plans, drawings; and concerning process, product characteristics, factory practices and execution of projects, organisation of work, requirements regarding buildings, electrification, measurements, standards, production routing and inspection methods, energy consumption, labour input, turnover, accounting system and costing data, etc.1/

Modalities

The initial step in building up the inventories would, accordingly, be more systematic and comprehensive reporting of the technical data from all available sources. It would be desirable in particular to include information relating not only to technical characteristics of technology and their sources but also to their effective ownership and the terms on which the right to use them are specified. This redocumentation of technology information actually available, would be undertaken jointly by the authorities responsible for recording patents, licences, commercial agreements and related arrangements, by ministries of industry and trade, by factory and mines inspectorates or, where appropriate, by a new authority set up to formulate and implement technology policy. The exercise would require review and updating as new information is added. Where this would not compromise confidentiality and industrial property rights, a complementary recording process would be undertaken on-site, where technologies are used. Industrial and installation staff, factory management, mineworkers, and other operators as well as industrial development officers, are in control of a great deal of practical information on industrial processes, required inputs of various categories of labour and other production factors, and on machine performance and efficiency characteristics.

Faced with limitations in educational or scientific capabilities, simple factory workers are often driven by necessity to create or innovate modifications in processes and, sometimes, in products, which are more compatible with development needs and resources than the available technology. It is also probable that some useful technologies and innovations on them, still employed with efficiency from pre-independence days, are not documented anywhere. It would be one of the aims of the inventory to research, record and evaluate them.

The participation of students in the documentation of information would impart a sense of involvement in an important activity in the development process, as well as provide a depth of practical experience which would usefully complement academic work. As they come in contact with machines in action and the techniques that make them work, nothing could be more calculated to spark their interest in the scientific principles which underlie technology and its effective use.

Clearly the classification of technology- elements for the inventory, the development of documentation procedures, and the analysis and retrieval of information require substantial relevant expertise. This may need to be imported into some of the smaller African countries, perhaps from international organizations, bilateral government sources or from private technology institutes. Where foreign assistance is necessary it should be deliberately merged with local inputs to preserve in particular the role which we think it is vital to accord to young people in this regard.

A technology inventory would only be as good as the uses to which it is put. The primary use is to provide a basis for technology policy. Secondly, to

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1/ For a definition of technology, see Licensing Guide for Developing Countries, WIPO Publication no.620(E)1977.
facilitate technology choice of a mix appropriate in relation to needs and resource endowments. The setting together of available technology against needs enables priorities to be determined in relation to industrial and general development objectives. In the process, fairly definite assessments could be made of particular strengths and weaknesses and of where they lie. Basically, assuming, for example, that a country can only afford a given amount of technology of all types, policy makers would be better placed to prescribe an appropriate mix of technology and, by means of legislative, administrative and fiscal concessions and directives, to influence its distribution among activities, industries and sectors.

The Choosers of Technology

In the public sector, professionals and administrative officials have, as part of their function, the choice of technology for various public projects. So also have those responsible for industrial projects in government/foreign enterprise joint-ventures, bilateral governmental arrangements and in local and tribal authorities, all of whom we call industrial development officers. These officers are often faced with grave problems in searching out, locating, not to mention choosing and negotiating for technology which is appropriate to individual projects. In the private sector, the problem is usually as follows: the owner of a particular technology is a foreign company. The importers are either a subsidiary, a branch or an affiliate of that same foreign company or a non-related local business company, whose interests do not coincide with the concerns of policy-makers to choose a technology appropriate, economically and socially, for that particular project. In many cases, especially in the private sector, official policy has no direct say. But it has a powerful weapon and thereby a decisive part in the choice, by means of granting or withholding of concessions, protected monopolistic markets, tax holidays, capital investment allowances and numerous other benefits which African countries usually afford industrialists. An appropriate technology conforming to carefully laid-out guidelines, based on insights from the inventory, can be made a pre-condition for the granting of these benefits at the level of individual projects.

Guidelines on Technology Policy

Based largely on the preceding argument, a few broad generalisations may be made regarding the strategy of technology policy. Firstly, the opportunity should be used to tilt the balance from the usual concentration on the production of consumer goods to increasing attempts to produce really needed durable and intermediate goods. For this purpose, a serious study should be made of existing technologies and areas where available resources would make a search profitable for technologies that would blend with local resources. Secondly, in choosing a technology compatible with need, overall resource endowments, and costs, every effort should be made to avoid unnecessarily complicated technologies which are generally associated with large-scale, high capital and overhead costs. Producers would be encouraged through administrative and fiscal incentive measures to use appropriate primary or small/medium scale technology, labour-intensive and adapted, where possible, to domestic requirements.

Thirdly, where relatively advanced modern technologies are necessary, such as in heavy engineering, electronics, heavy chemicals, and some types of
infrastructure\(^1\), the choice mix problem is usually pre-determined by ownership rights and "transfer of technology" considerations, rather than by considerations regarding "absorption" of technology into the host country's economic and social situation. The immediate problem is usually to avoid conflicts between a multinational corporation or other owners of plants and process technologies and the real interests of African countries. While corporations are usually interested in transferring, and businesses in the private sector in accepting, technologies which maximize their profits or satisfy other operating objectives, host country governments would need, for each project, technology which helps in reducing technological dependence on outside sources, increase indigenous innovative potential, can be absorbed in the overall productive process and lead to a cost efficient industrial development.

In practice, agents in the public and businessmen in the private sectors are often constrained to accept only those technologies which owners are prepared to part with for the price, whatever the disadvantages to the former. For example, in the case of the transfer of technology through licensing agreements, negotiations often are undertaken "with inadequate technical knowledge and background and with little experience of the intricacies of technology licensing\(^2\) on the part of the prospective licensees. Evidently, technology owners are not in business to help solve Third World economic problems. The net result of conflicts of interest situations is often the utilisation of square peg technologies in round hole projects. Armed with information and evaluation from the inventories, negotiators in the public and private sectors would be in a better position to direct their search to technology appropriate to their demands. A well documented inventory can be a useful aide memoire and can contribute significantly to the process of negotiations in both sectors.

**Technology Need and Demand**

The demand for technology is in essence a derived demand, derived from specific products and activities which are produced with the aid of technology. Where actual demand and basic real needs diverge, the possibilities increase for distorted choices of technology and mixes of its elements. Possibly even more significant is the fact that products acceptable to, or demanded by, African populations largely determine the average level of technology which manufacturers of consumer goods in particular are prepared to employ. On the one hand, manufacturers' choices of sub-standard, inappropriate process or product technology have all too often led to the production of low quality, sometimes even dangerous products which cause problems of domestic acceptance and are often unsuitable for export. These industries are usually protected from competition by legislative or fiscal prohibition on the imports of the goods they produce, through tax holidays and other fiscal concession. In some African countries, the establishment of bureaux of standards and measurements has enabled policy makers to specify and enforce product standards. The effect of this initiative on the choice of technology has, however, sometimes been long delayed.

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2/ Guidelines for the Acquisition of Technology in Developing Countries with special reference to Technology Licence Agreements (UNIDO Sales no. E.73,II,B.1)
On the other end of the spectrum, producers have themselves chosen, and/or consumers have revealed preferences for products which require, technologies that are unnecessarily more advanced and more costly relative to need and available resources. What clearly is needed is, firstly, for policy-makers in conjunction with appropriate agencies and private industry to determine what may be called "basic quality goods" to be produced locally by the most appropriate technology available. Secondly, on this basis, industrial policy authorities would be enabled to set out broad guidelines, backed by suitable financial incentives, regarding the use of technologies.

The objective would be to encourage the use of small/medium scale, low cost technologies which are generally labour-intensive, low energy-intensive, and which are justified by small market size, basic need and the prerequisite of building an industrial infrastructure capable of sustaining realistic industrial development. An infrastructure which would, in general, facilitate the absorption of small/medium size transferred technology and, in particular, provide a durable base into which the more advanced, large-scale technologies can be progressively integrated. Most African countries face a problem of dualism in their economies, of two more or less distinct economic sub-systems having very little to do with each other.

Tastes, Consumption Patterns, Popular Education and Technology

It would evidently not suffice if producers were to adjust to new technology approaches and policies while consumers make no corresponding modification in their consumption patterns, tastes and attitudes and resort, for example, to black market importation to satisfy their demand. The basic practical question is how to get across the message that the new order of realism in development approaches and policies requires the progressive abandonment or adjustment of the old, inherited order of tastes and consumption patterns. This formidable problem is first and foremost a problem of education - of entire communities across-the-board. Clearly, no simple, self-evident solutions exist. Nevertheless, experience does suggest that a start could be made with the social education of the young people. As indicated above, young people in African countries understand the problems of national development more sensitively than would probably be the case in more well-off societies.

Teaching economics to sixth form students in an African country some years ago, I realized that we all shared the same desire for "another economics" whose substance and method derived more or less from and related specifically to the African condition of "underdevelopment" rather than to an industrial revolution which had yet to occur in an African country. This condition of underdevelopment was more complex than the text-books acknowledged. From this "underdeveloped" state, i.e., of different social, economic and trading systems, however rudimentary, of enormous raw material wealth, unspoiled ecology, whose peoples lived closer to nature, we have had to "develop" societies which have historically been encouraged to accept foreign cultural patterns, economic systems and consume products of large-scale production and advanced technology. Societies which needed at the same time to assess the impact of ideas rapidly communicated to them on their traditions, lifestyles, consumption patterns and development possibilities, but seldom did so. The students readily accepted that there had been widespread "Westernization" of African tastes, attitudes, etc., which had produced "Westernized" Africans in thinking, action and consumption patterns. Some of these
Africans were in positions of authority, responsible for and influential in industrial and development policy decision-making and its implementation. Much of the costs associated with distorted demand patterns and the domestic production or importation of goods to satisfy them appeared to be borne by the mass of African peoples least able to bear them. Among these costs were the perpetuation of absolute poverty, rural migration to urban centres and higher unemployment and underemployment. No less burdensome social costs included budget deficits, balance of payment problems and the crippling cost of a protracted shortage of foreign exchange for essential imports.

A major failing in African educational systems, which have remained essentially as they were inherited from the imperial past, is that they have not emphasized the need for self-reliance and self-dependence. A failing which is partly responsible for the relative neglect of scientific research and the laisser-faire attitude towards technology. In particular, the social costs of foreign dependence, where it can be avoided, need to be more explicitly documented and communities made more aware of them. This has nothing to do with ideology. The African, both the masses and the élite, must learn to divest his present patterns of wants of the "luxuries" of both Northern factories and those at home. A shift from these towards "basic quality goods" could be facilitated mainly through a program of re-education.

Regarding the content of education, much more emphasis needs to be put on cultivating inquiring minds from early childhood towards the encouragement of research aptitudes, and on the potential benefits both to the individual and the community of systematic large-scale training of artisans, technicians, engineers, technologists and research and scientific personnel. Greater efforts would be needed to re-orientate and restructure life patterns. Here, it would not be the objective simply to dissuade inappropriate consumption and production patterns. The reality has to be acknowledged that some imported goods have become "incentive goods". Those who wish to consume such goods must be made aware of their social costs, and be required to pay no less than this cost for their consumption. It would be an objective of the educational system to disseminate knowledge of how costs of inappropriate consumption and production patterns are distributed among various segments of society, together with emphasis on the need to accept the logic of cost distribution and responsibility for them. Urban élites should not expect to raise their living standards at the expense of development in rural areas and of the welfare of rural masses.

The transformation of education which should take place at all levels cannot be a simple or rapid process. There seems little doubt that technological education of the right kind would be a major contribution to this end. It is in this regard that the need is urged for reorganization of the technology aspect of education systems around two "new" core subjects which we call "Basic Economic and Social Technology" to be taught in schools, technical institutes, training centres and colleges and communal and village informal sector institutions. An important feature of the programs would be its development from "bottom up" on a participatory principle and active involvement of youth. It would be the intention, through such programs, to foster a greater awareness of the need to eradicate the prejudices which have distorted lifestyles, demand and production, to give directional impetus to scientific inquiry and to stimulate the non-scientific mind to search for constructive solutions to economic problems.
Although Basic Economic and Social Technology programs would need to be developed in much greater detail than is possible here, some key elements may be mentioned:

- the role of technology in economic activity, with emphasis on measurement, industrial design, standardization and quality control;
- analysis and appreciation of the economic use of local and regional natural resources;
- employment and deriving satisfaction from increased work;
- the implications of the distinction between renewable and non-renewable resources, including energy resources;
- the commitment to and the rationale behind the preference for basic quality goods rather than luxury goods which carry unbearable costs;
- the development of a resources and management dimension, from small scale business units with limited resources to larger, more organized enterprises;
- the need to forge greater links between ways of producing appropriate goods and services, patterns of national consumption, and the effective use of national and imported resources;
- the benefits of organic agriculture and the role of appropriate technolo-
y.

As a complement to the above we would envisage parallel programs of social education, particularly for adults engaged in a wide range of activities, from literacy classes at village, chiefdom or local levels, including societies and associations, organized labour, extension workers in agriculture and university extra-mural classes, to employers, producers, managers, industrial development officers and other policy administrators. The principal initial objective here would be how to avoid, constructively, conflicts between the requirements of an alternative approach to development and long-standing social values and institutions. It would be necessary to give much attention to considerations regarding the fair distribution of the benefits from the development process among those who make significant inputs into it and generally to avoid the perpetuation of inequalities.

The economic and social technology elements of education, as with the technology inventories proposed in the first section of this paper, will be researched and developed through the procedures of informal and organized participation and involvement of the youth as outlined above. The link between appropriate lifestyles and demand, technological base and the re-adaptation of educational systems is a crucial factor in stimulating creative thinking and innovative action among the young and policy-makers and administrators and planners alike. Participation at all levels in the search for solutions could reduce the misdirection and depletion of effort which have plagued economic activity.

How are the proposals for the Basic Economic and Social Technology likely to be received? Judging from the success of the elaborate and sustained national and inter-governmental programs of a few years ago for introducing the "new mathematics" into primary and secondary education in Africa, there are good prospects for success. New mathematics programs were welcomed by
professors, teachers and pupils alike, implemented with much zeal and backed by educational authorities and governments. The fact that Basic Economic and Social Technology programs would essentially be built from bottom up, and involve active popular participation, should be a considerable advantage.

Fundamental Research and Development

The need to develop appropriate technologies, to elaborate programs for technology education, and to complement this with wider programs of education in society, does not dispense with the need to build capabilities in more basic scientific research for technology. Universities and technical institutions which in the main undertake advanced scientific research in African countries would need to align their work with the requirements of the technology processes and products which are compatible with appropriate demand, consumption and production which we have discussed above. This would be undertaken within a context of redefined technology priorities and resources to be recommended by planning and development policy.

The contribution of the North to this initiative would be its experience from the history of technology of a systematic build up from small beginnings. It can facilitate the search for small/medium scale tested appropriate technology for capital and consumer goods. Several institutions in Northern countries are already doing this1. A further vital contribution already being made towards improving, in a dispassionate way, the capabilities of the South in negotiations for the transfer of technology is of clear benefit to African countries. If, however, the technology transferred as a result of this help does not lead to an appropriate mix of technology elements and is not supportive of the technological infrastructure, then it can only help to perpetuate the vicious cycle of dependence and frustrated development.

Conclusion

There is still a need in most African countries to take stock systematically of requirements in technology and education, as a basis for identifying an alternative development and lifestyle consistent with social and economic advancement. Technology policies must seek to upgrade the human factor. While it is often not necessary to reject imported technologies simply to reduce dependence, there is a need to plan for and support through suitable policies a mix of technology elements more compatible with redefined needs, priorities and available resources. It is for African peoples themselves to lead the way to this more realistic future.

1/ Intermediate Technology Publications, 9, King Street, London WC2. and George McRobie, Small is Possible, op.cit., pp.297-309.
The International Commission of Jurists held a Conference on Development and the Rule of Law in The Hague on 27 April - 1 May 1981. It considered, inter alia, the concept of the 'right to development', participation in the formulation and application of development policies, self-reliance in development strategies, agrarian reform, and the role of lawyers and legal assistance in development.

This document is a summary of the discussions and conclusions of the conference. A full report containing the key-note speech, the list of participants, the working papers and the conclusions of the conference are available from the International Commission of Jurists, B.P. 120, CH-1224 Geneva, Switzerland, US$7.50 plus postage.

At a Commission meeting held following the conference it was decided that the International Commission of Jurists in its future activities should pursue these questions and concern itself with the impact on human rights of alternative development strategies.

1. The Conference first considered the concepts of 'development', 'human rights' and the 'right to development'. It then discussed a number of related topics, including militarisation, participation, agrarian reform, and the role of lawyers and legal assistance.

Development

2. The concept of development was considered in terms of the growth of the gross national product (GNP), the meeting of 'basic needs', and a 'global' concept of development embracing all human rights.

3. The need was recognised for a balance in development policies between investment aimed at increasing long-term economic growth and investment aimed at meeting basic needs, particularly by strengthening local communities to make possible development on the basis of 'self-reliance'. However, as the emphasis has hitherto been placed on the first of these aims priority should now be given to the second. Experience has shown that development

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1/ Summary of discussions and conclusions of an International Commission of Jurists' Conference.
strategies based solely on the objective of GNP growth and following the western model of industrial development have often worsened the position of the rural and urban poor, who constitute a large majority of the population. This has resulted in grave violations of their economic and social rights, and frequently also of their civil, political and cultural rights.

4. In general terms, the concept of development refers to the kind of society one is aiming to build. This should be a society in which everyone has real access to all human rights. Development policies which concentrate on relieving "absolute poverty" or on meeting "basic needs" can properly be adopted as matters of first priority. However, they should not be seen as sufficient goals in themselves; as policy goals they would be inadequate and would tend to relegate the countries concerned to a permanent status of dependency. Moreover, the satisfaction even of basic needs would be permanently achievable only with structural changes at all levels, local, national and international, that would enable those concerned to identify their own needs, mobilise their own resources and shape their future in their own terms.

5. Development should, therefore, be seen as a global concept including with equal emphasis civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights.

6. Strict application of the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status was seen as an essential element in development policies and programmes.

Human Rights

7. The traditional approach to human rights has been to consider separately civil and political rights on the one hand and economic, social and cultural rights on the other. True development requires a recognition that the different human rights are inseparable from each other, and development is inseparable from human rights and the Rule of Law. Likewise, justice and equity at the international level are inseparable from justice and equity at the national level. All these, taken together, are essential elements in the realisation of the human potential and the common aspirations of mankind.

8. Human rights organisations have tended to concentrate mainly on violations of civil and political rights. In keeping with the growing demand for a fuller realisation of human freedoms in our times they should now become involved in the more complex field of social, economic and cultural rights.
9. The enjoyment of the totality of human rights calls for the organisation and mobilisation of the poor in Third World countries for self-reliant development. Mobilisation and organisation provide the most effective means whereby the poor are enabled to marshal resources to protect their rights and assert their interests in their dealings with people in power, such as landlords, creditors, employers, government officials and transnational corporations.

The Right to Development

10. There was prolonged discussion about the use of the term 'right to development', some finding that it was too vague a concept to constitute a legal right, some that its use would distract attention from and weaken the plurality of concepts in the International Bill of Human Rights. Others argued that the right to development embraced all human rights, and that it was a useful instrument for ensuring a true human rights content in development policies. They urged that the implementation of the right to development in this global sense should be considered as a condition of legitimacy of a government, and that there was also an international right to development to be implemented not only by development aid, but by removing the asymmetry in economic relations between North and South as illustrated by ruinous deteriorations in the terms of trade. It was argued that the legal basis for the right at both the international and national level was to be found in Articles 1, 55 and 56 of the UN Charter, in Articles 22-28 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the two International Covenants.

11. Eventually, agreement was reached upon the following formulations concerning the right to development.

12. Development should be understood as a process designed progressively to create conditions in which every person can enjoy, exercise and utilise under the Rule of Law all his human rights, whether economic, social, cultural, civil or political.

13. Every person has the right to participate in, and benefit from, development in the sense of a progressive improvement in the standard and quality of life.

14. The concept of the right to development needs to be more fully elaborated as a legal concept. Nevertheless it already serves to express the right of all people all over the world and of every citizen to enjoy all human rights. The duty of governments to promote the development of their people is often a legal obligation which can be derived from the constitution. At the international level it is, as yet, largely based on a moral obligation of solidarity. There are, however, clear beginnings of recognition of the right to development as a general substantive principle of international law.
15. Implementation of the right to development implies the realiza-
tion of a number of conditions at the local and national level as well as at the international level. These include the partici-
pation of those concerned in the formulation and application of
development policies, the adoption of policies based on the
principle of self-reliance, and respect for all human rights under
the Rule of Law.

16. The primary obligation to promote development, in such a way
as to satisfy this right, rests upon each state for its own ter-
ritory and for the persons under its jurisdiction. As the develop-
ment process is a necessary condition for peace and friendship
between nations. It is a matter of international concern, imposing
responsibilities upon all states.

17. In addition to a state's legal obligation to cooperate with
other states in the process of development, in accordance with
Articles 55 and 56 of the UN Charter and other international and
regional instruments, each state has a moral if not a legal obli-
gation to collaborate in rendering the international economic order
more just and equitable.

18. Consequently, a state promoting its own development within its
available resources is entitled to the support of other states in
the implementation of its policies. The industrialised countries
should cooperate with the Third World nations to achieve a New
International Economic Order with a more just and equitable dis-
tribution of the world's resources and wealth.

19. In recognition of the relevance of all human rights to the
development process, governments of all countries which have not
yet done so should be urged to sign and ratify the two International
Covenants on human rights, and the Optional Protocol to the
Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

20. In promoting human rights of all kinds, priority should be
given by the international community, as well as by states, to
positive rather than negative measures. Experience has shown that
sanctions against impoverished countries tend to provoke defiance
rather than compliance. In cases of the breakdown of the rule of
law, or other grave violations of human rights, the response of
the international community should aim primarily at the restoration
of these rights and the provision of assistance to victims, rather
than the mere condemnation of the violations or the punishment of
offenders.

Militarisation

21. During recent decades the traditional role of the military, to
safeguard their country against invasion, has in many countries
been replaced by the self-appointed task of overthrowing the govern-
ment, imposing authoritarian regimes, and suppressing the rights of
the people. Frequently this is done in the name of "national security" or in the guise of furthering development. Assisted by the world arms race, east-west competition and its client system, and the activities of state and private arms dealers, these seizures of power by force or threats of force have resulted in the direct or indirect control of society by an overweighted military sector.

22. The first and outstanding consequence is a total disregard and suppression of human rights. Some economic gains in terms of GNP growth have at times been achieved, but in such cases they have been accompanied by torture and other gross violations of individual and group rights. Declaring that the state should protect itself against subversion the military forces in the state become increasingly powerful, economically and politically. In some cases the failure of civilian governments to solve national problems has been used as the justification for introducing systematically repressive regimes, but these in turn have usually proved incapable of finding a solution to the problems.

23. Military regimes in Third World countries tend to divert a disproportionate amount of the country's scarce resources to military purposes.

24. The militarisation process in both industrialized and Third World societies needs to be vigorously exposed and condemned. For example, $500,000 million per year, or 6% of the total world output, is devoted to military expenditure. The growth of military expenditure continues in all countries under all systems. In recent years the total growth in military expenditure in Third World countries, where the people are desperately poor, has increased 1½ times as fast as their GNP. The combined expenditure on militarisation in all Asian countries in which data are available is now higher, as a ratio of GNP, than that of the NATO countries, and much higher than their expenditure for education and health services. Of course, military expenditure in the North far exceeds the expenditure for development.

Participation

25. The adoption by the international community of the principle of the right to development offers a unique opportunity for revitalising what to the world's millions appears to be innocuous or at times even irrelevant concepts of "human rights" and "the rule of law". As seen from the perspective of victims of maldevelopment, "the rule of law" and "human rights" appear as no more than the rights of ruling elites to perpetuate dependency and exploitation. Lawyers attempting to promote the right of development should therefore concentrate their efforts on enhancing the ability of the impoverished to assert for themselves the right to development. Attention should be given to the scope for protection that lies in preventive action, e.g. by securing real and
meaningful participation as a means for creating structural conditions which are less amenable to violations of human rights.

26. The vital need for participation by all people in the decision-making processes that affect their lives and fortunes should, however, take such forms as are decided upon by or in agreement with the people themselves. These people should evolve their own basic procedures and processes and decide the particular institutions and procedures suitable for the fuller realisation of this right.

27. Increases in development assistance and resource transfers have not always resulted in increased development or in the promotion of human rights. Sometimes they have generated a growing sense of secured dependence; at other times they have supported repressive policies. Assistance leads to true development only if there is a political will, obtained by consensus, for its proper utilisation - if there is true participation by the people who should be its beneficiaries. In most cases the people are far removed from policy making and implementation, with the result that aid has often been channelled for personal gain or for repression; its beneficiaries have been mainly an urban élite or the authoritarian regimes themselves. To avoid these consequences, preference should be given to project aid over programme aid. Likewise, care should be taken that development assistance does not increase the arsenal of weapons for the suppression of human rights.

Reasons for the Continuance of Poverty

28. It was argued that the contrast between the enormous growth in production and productivity in the world in the last thirty years and the reality of destitution for so many people was due to certain myths that govern the policies of development and the relations between states and peoples:

- The myth of growth as the solution to the problem of poverty. A considerable increase in the standard of living of the majority of the population can be obtained with a lower rate of growth in the GNP if, instead of focussing the main effort on growth, it is focussed on the way to resolve the problem of poverty.

- The myth of western style modernisation. When the western model is transferred to Third World countries, only a minority of the population can be incorporated as modern producers and consumers. It may be added that the western model itself is in crisis today.

- The myth of international solidarity between states. In the relations between states the egoism of national interest predominates.
The myth that a 'New International Economic Order' can relieve governments of Third World countries from the necessity to make essential internal social reforms. The struggle for a New International Economic Order should be inextricably linked to the struggle for justice in human relations internally.

Agrarian Reform

29. The phenomenon of 'maldevelopment' was illustrated by the failure of agrarian reform in many Third World countries. Examples were given of a pattern to be found equally in Latin America, in Africa and in Asia.

30. The failure of agrarian reform programmes has been due not only to obstruction by powerful landowners, bureaucrats and, at times, the legal process. It has also been undermined by failure to support the transfer of land ownership with the necessary services to enable the new owners to farm the land effectively. These include appropriate education and technology, agricultural credits and cooperative marketing services, as well as agricultural pricing policies which make it possible for peasants to farm their land economically.

31. The lack of these facilities has often been due to an excessive emphasis in development strategies upon industrialization and production for export, rather than seeking to satisfy basic needs as far as possible from within the country's own resources under self-reliant strategies. The effort to make Third World industrial exports competitive in the international market has required a low wage policy in industry, leading in turn to excessively low pricing of agricultural products. This, together with the use by the larger landowners and by transnational corporations of advanced agriculture machinery to produce cash crops for export, has reduced severely employment opportunities in the rural areas and contributed to the massive exodus from the country to the cities, which then transfers the poverty from the country to urban shanty towns.

32. This process has had disastrous effects upon the economic and social rights of the rural population. When those affected have sought to organise to assert their rights and reverse these trends, they have frequently been subjected to severe repression, denying their basic civil and political rights.

33. These problems are unlikely to be resolved merely by establishing more democratic processes in the election of national parliaments. They also require, as already stated, meaningful participation by the communities concerned in the formulation and implementation of development policies, and freedom to these communities to organise themselves so as to assert their rights and mobilise for self-reliant development. Making a reality of civil and political rights at all levels is an essential element in a
programme of agrarian reform, as of other development policies.

Labour and Social Legislation

34. Labour and social legislation in all countries should be in accordance with the basic ILO Conventions and should guarantee the freedom of association and freedom of expression of all workers, rural and urban, to enable them to organise and engage in concerted activities. This will enable them to participate actively in shaping the structures which govern the production, processing and distribution of goods to satisfy basic needs for material survival.

35. It was suggested that human rights organisations should manifest their concern about the violation of human rights by some transnational corporations which exert pressure on the governments of Third World countries to prohibit the right of workers to strike, as a means of ensuring competitive production in international trade.

The Role of the Lawyer and Legal Assistance

36. A special responsibility rests upon members of the legal profession to contribute to the development of the Rule of Law in such a way as to promote development.

37. The task of the legal profession, in the context of the impoverishment of peoples in the Third World, is not only to provide them with traditional legal aid but to build up their legal resources, i.e. the development of their community strength, knowledge and capacity to make use of the law. Towards this end, a new type of legal profession is required, who will be:

- an advocate of collective demands and group interests both in courts and in administrative, legislative and other institutions;
- an educator helping to develop community awareness and knowledge of relevant laws and helping to train community paras-professionals;
- a critic of proposed or existing legislation and administrative actions which impinge on the human rights of impoverished groups;
- a law reformer asserting claims for changes in legislation and state structures; and
- a jurist developing new jurisprudential concepts needed to realise the right to development.

38. Lawyers in the Third World, as elsewhere, have traditionally been linked with the ruling élites. The remoteness of successful lawyers from the majority of the population makes it difficult for them to sense and understand the needs of the people, though
there have been some notable exceptions. There is also a serious shortage of lawyers in many Third World countries.

39. Third World lawyers face an option between defending the interests of a minority who can afford their services and accepting the moral commitment to give professional support to the demands of the impoverished majority for their human rights. It is usually easier to interest young lawyers in such work, than those who are already established and fully occupied in their profession. It is also easier for these young lawyers to win the confidence of the poor and understand their needs. The development of internship programmes for newly qualified lawyers in this role should be considered in cooperation with law faculties in the Third World.

Subjects for Study

40. It was agreed that many of the issues discussed call for further study by human rights' lawyers aided by experts in other fields. Among those mentioned were:

- the actual relationship between development policies and human rights' observance in different countries, circumstances and periods;
- the reasons military take-overs occur in some countries and not in others;
- access to the courts, including constitutional, legislative, procedural and other obstacles;
- the way in which some of the activities of financial institutions, transnational corporations, banks and money-lenders effectively act against the enjoyment of human rights;
- the possibility of drawing up a draft model code for legislation relating to development, for distribution to parliaments and courts;
- recent experience in the field of human rights and development, including the more successful projects and experiments;
- the need for a free and independent judiciary and adequate legal services as an indispensable part of the process of development.

41. It was also suggested that seminars echoing the themes of this Conference should be held in different regions and countries on various aspects of human rights with subjects appropriate to the situations in those countries.
The third system project papers

This micro fiche collection reproduces the 347 third system project papers, the full text of IFDA Dossier 1 to 20, together with indices by author and by country. The collection is presented in two volumes (7x23x32 cm). The price is Swiss francs 950.-

Available from: Inter Documentation Company AG, Poststrasse 14, 6300 Zug, Switzerland
S'attacher à espérer et même à croire en un renouveau de la coopération internationale ne nous semble pas une gageure. Certes, le contexte international, tel que nous le vivons et dans lequel demeurent posés les graves problèmes de la misère et des rapports économiques et politiques internationaux, est plus lourd que jamais.

Mais c'est peut-être en raison de ce contexte et de son évolution exploserment négative que s'imposera de plus en plus l'impératif d'une révision profonde des voies de la coopération internationale, des relations internationales.

Depuis la grande espérance levée lors des sessions des Nations Unies en 1974 et 1975, peu de progrès concrets et dynamiques ont été réalisés ; dans les espaces nationaux, ce fut généralement la fuite en avant devant les nécessaires transformations structurelles exigées par ce qu'on appelle à juste raison la crise, dans ses multiples aspects. En fait, aujourd'hui encore, les problèmes de la misère, du développement, des rapports économiques internationaux sont posés à chaud.

En effet: 1) L'inflation et le renchérissement du coût de la vie ont pris partout des dimensions intenables, voire explosives; les thérapeutiques classiques appliquées ici et là pour neutraliser cette situation, les replâtrages nationaux ou nationalistes visant à tempérer les perturbations du système économique et monétaire international, tout l'arsenal des mesures, en général stéréotypées, utilisé pour juguler les tensions et les malaises, tout cela demeure impuissant devant le mal économique et politique de cette fin de siècle. C'est qu'on se refuse à voir qu'il est le fait des systèmes et des structures en place ; on refuse d'admettre que partout dans le monde, la gravité et la profondeur des troubles économiques, sociaux et culturels expriment en définitive la volonté des peuples, sensibles, eux, aux profondes mutations qui agitent le monde, de remettre en cause les systèmes économiques oppressifs.

*/* Ahmed Ben Salah, membre du Comité exécutif de la FIPAD, est le secrétaire général du Mouvement de l'Unité Populaire (Tunisie).
en vigueur et les systèmes politiques qui les expriment comme
l'ordre international qui en a découlé et qui s'en nourrit.

2) La thérapeutique qui devient le recours principal des prin-
cipaux pouvoirs dans le monde est une fois de plus la course aux
armements aussi frénétique que celle qui en découle, à savoir la
course à la satellisation, à l'alignement des autres pouvoirs...
et à l'affrontement planétaire.

3) Les guérillas et les guerres au Moyen Orient, en Afrique, en
Asie, en Amérique Latine, ne semblent pas du tout susceptibles
d'extinction; elles le seraient si elles n'étaient que les expres-
sions violentes des affrontements entre les volontés populaires
de libération réelle et des volontés d'asservissement, d'exploita-
tion et de dictature; mais elles sont aussi les expressions meur-
trières des stratégies des grandes puissances en compétition pour
le développement et le renforcement de leurs hégémonies.

Pendant ce temps et en raison de cette situation, la dépendance
des pays du Tiers Monde s'est aggravée; non seulement la dépendan-
ce économique, financière ou technologique, mais aussi et surtout
la dépendance culturelle et politique. L'alignement de nombreux
régimes du Tiers Monde sur l'un ou l'autre des systèmes économi-
ques et politiques dominants est devenu tellement ancré qu'il
s'agit, ni plus ni moins, d'un alignement stratégique et du rejet
effectif de l'indépendance, de la volonté d'être soi-même, de jouer
un rôle collectif dans la défense de la paix. Il s'agit en défini-
nitive du reniement, camouflé ou non par le verbe, du non-aligne-
ment et de ce qu'il peut apporter au monde comme force de renou-
veau des rapports internationaux dans l'intérêt du développement
de la prospérité et de la paix. C'est dire que l'on peut considérer
toutes les négociations Nord-Sud comme des pourparlers Nord-Nord
ou Nord-Est; même les coopérations balbutiantes Sud-Sud seront
de plus en plus des coopérations Nord-Nord ou Est-Nord...

4) Oui, les problèmes de la misère, du développement et des rela-
tions internationales sont aujourd'hui, et à certains égards plus
que jamais posés à chaud. Non seulement, comme nous l'avons évoqué
brièvement plus haut, en raison des situations économiques des
pays industrialisés et puissants, non seulement en raison des
affrontements à l'intérieur du Tiers Monde ou de l'alignement de
la plupart de ses régimes sur telle ou telle puissance, mais aussi
pour une raison qui nous semble déterminante: cette raison se trou-
ve dans le nouveau réveil des peuples à l'Est, à l'Ouest et dans
les pays du Tiers Monde. Nouveau réveil des peuples depuis la fin
de la dernière guerre et après la ferveur de la reconstruction, de
l'adhésion aux idéologies ou systèmes politiques considérés comme
garants sûrs contre le nazisme, le facisme et la guerre; nouveau
réveil des peuples du Tiers Monde depuis la fin officielle du pro-
cessus de décolonisation et après la levée d'une grande espérance
vite étouffée par des directions politiques assoiffées de pouvoir
et de richesses immédiates.
Les explosions polonaises, les progrès du socialisme en Occident, le développement des mouvements écologiques, la grande force des exigences de la jeunesse, les réveils culturels, autant de facteurs qui se rencontrent naturellement avec ceux qui aiguisent le renouveau de la volonté des peuples du Tiers Monde de se libérer et de se développer, de se développer pour consolider leur libération en tant que sociétés, que nations.

Tous les partenaires dans la négociation universelle pour un nouvel ordre, y compris les absents, devraient d'abord avoir la sagesse de tenir compte des expressions vivaces ou violentes de la mutation de l'humanité; tenir compte des nouvelles données annonciatrices de nouveaux rapports de force dans le monde. On ne négocie pas pour consolider l'éphémère, pour parer aux volontés rénovées de liberté, de justice et de paix par la force militaire, les préparatifs de guerre, les satellisations toujours révocables, les duperies.

Pour ce qui est du Tiers Monde en particulier, la principale des données qui s'imposent est que les peuples sont de plus en plus présents; ils se libèrent de plus en plus des mythes atrophiants qui cultivent à leur intention leurs propres "leaders"; les nouvelles générations de l'indépendance se tiennent déjà à l'avant-garde partout; grâce à elles les mythes s'effondrent; ceux qui se sont sacrés "pères" de leurs nations sont de plus en plus accumulés à se démasquer dans des répressions impitoyables contre les jeunesse, les travailleurs, les intellectuels; ceux-là mêmes qui se redressent dans la fureur de voir leurs "leaders" s'appuyer sur une minorité engraissee et sur les protections étrangères pour étouffer leurs aspirations à la démocratie réelle, à la liberté et au droit d'être de quelque apport à la civilisation humaine. S'acharner à ne pas tenir compte de l'évolution rapide des peuples et des jeunesse, notamment du Tiers Monde, relève de l'aveuglement générateur d'extrémismes et de bouleversements incohérents et souvent meurtriers. Ces peuples, contre lesquels on utilise la "coopération" pour soutenir des régimes répressifs et sans espoir, ces peuples compteront demain des multitudes de cadres, d'ouvriers hautement qualifiés, de chercheurs, de savants, d'intellectuels; autant de forces qui donneront à ces peuples, eux-mêmes de plus en plus éduqués, les moyens de réaliser leurs puissants espoirs de dignité, de bien-être, de liberté, de culture et de joie de vivre. Les répressions, les épurations, les saignées de l'émigration, des récupérations, du brain drain, ont toutes leurs limites dans l'espace et dans le temps.

Seule demeurera vraie et utile au progrès et à la paix, une coopération loyale avec les peuples et leurs cadres attachés à leurs libertés, à leur culture, à leur promotion.
Contre les objectifs de satellisation, de domination par la guerre généralisée ou la multiplication des guerres de harcèlement ou encore et toujours par l'exploitation, l'objectif global de la coopération internationale devrait être en premier lieu de freiner et neutraliser toutes les tentations vers le pire. C'est dire que les moyens de cette coopération devraient accéder au niveau requis par un objectif aussi important que la paix par le développement, contre les stratégies de balkanisation, de satellisation ou de zones d'influence. La stratégie de la coopération internationale devrait pouvoir être fondée sur la création et l'extension continue de réseaux de solidarité des besoins, de complémentarités des intérêts dans l'égalité scrupuleusement calculée et respectée des partenaires qu'ils soient nations individuelles, groupements régionaux ou organismes sectoriels.

Par delà les idéologies capitalistes ou socialistes ou à travers elles, par delà les sociétés transnationales ou à travers elles, contre les entrepreneurs du sous-développement et des explosions, la coopération internationale rénovée dans ses moyens, ses structures, ses dimensions, ses procédures, devra pouvoir être la grande affaire de cette fin de siècle. Parce qu'elle protégera les pays riches et puissants contre leurs propres instincts d'aliénation et de destruction, parce qu'elle permettra l'émergence réelle de forces vives, de cultures originales, et l'élosion d'un optimisme nouveau qui sera l'apport essentiel des peuples du Tiers Monde. Parce qu'elle, et elle seule, pourra assurer un développement soutenu au bénéfice de l'ensemble de l'humanité qui alors saura se coaliser et agir collectivement pour préserver la paix et la consolider.

HUMAN RIGHTS: THE SILENT VICTIMS

by Asma Ben Hamida */

A "minority right group" called on international organisations for an urgent and concrete action through practical and financial assistance to eradicate sexual mutilations of some 70 million female children. For the first time, a UN human rights body, namely the subcommission on protection of minorities and prevention of discrimination, has taken up the cause of the "70 million silent victims" of female circumcision, excision and infibulation in some 20 countries in Africa and Asia.

The minority rights group, based in the United Kingdom, presented a report on the facts of these practices generalised mainly in an interrupted belt across the African continent and the Red Sea coasts, particularly in Egypt, Sudan, Mali, Somalia, Senegal, Republic of Yemen and Oman.

*/ Inter Press Service, 207 via Panisperna, 00184 Rome, Italy.
The group presented proposals for change and suggested that the report should be referred to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), UNICEF, WHO and UNESCO for their observations on this matter.

Benjamin Whitaker, director of the group, wondered why the world community has been silent on this question. Even though it is still hard to know the exact number of what he called "the silent victims", the most recent estimate of women mutilated is 74 millions according to the report.

"If these seventy million had been men, there would have been protests in the General Assembly, public demonstrations and urgent programmes to deal with the problem", Whitaker argued.

According to the report four types of mutilations, circumcision, excision, infibulation and intermediate, were practiced every day on female children from a few days old to seven years old. The gravity of these mutilations vary from country to country and even within the same country from region to region. The report points out that the belt of African and Arab countries where the practice is almost universal corresponds strikingly with the belt of countries which have the highest child mortality rates (over 30 percent for children from one to four years of age). Refuting the widespread allegations that these secular practices were originated by religion, the group director said that "this unnecessary mutilisation with no discernible rationalisation was a tradition only, having, - despite common belief - no authentic connection with any religion, it was carried out on young children without their consent and was everywhere illegal".

According to the report, the practice was widespread in the pre-islamic era, in Egypt, Arabia and the Red Sea coasts and referred to in Sudan as "pharaonic circumcision" and in Egypt as "Sudanese circumcision".

Excision and infibulation, wrote the group, are practiced by moslems, catholics, protestants, jews, copts, animists and non-believers in various concerned countries.

Despite several studies on the subject, it is still not possible to know about the origins of this practice. It has to be recalled that female sexuality has been repressed in a variety of ways in all parts of the world throughout history and up to the present time.

The report cited the cases of female slaves in ancient Rome, chastity belts in Europe of the twelfth century, burning of Indian widows, binding of Chinese girls' feet and the very recent practice of "clitoridectomy" performed until very recently in Europe and the USA.

Halima Ourzazi, a well known Morrocan defender of women's rights, recalled that such practices should be explained in the wider context of discrimination practiced against women over all ages according to the mythical belief that women, at the origin of the mortal sin, should pay the tribute of her sin with suffering, isolation contempt and submission to the blind rules promulgated by men.
The report of the minority rights group drew attention to the grave physical and psychological consequences of the sexual mutilations on the child. Immediate and long term complications range from chronic infections to post-operation deaths of little girls to various sexual inhibitions and socio-psychological effects on mutilated adolescents and women.

These genital mutilations still practised by millions on babies, little girls and women, have provoked violent emotive reactions from the Western media and various human rights and other concerned groups; angry words have been written asserting that a "conspiracy of silence" has surrounded this subject until recently.

However, determined African and Arab women within organised groups have started taking up this matter, campaigns against mutilations are advanced in Sudan, Kenya, Egypt and Somalia.

At the Copenhagen conference on the UN decade for women, last year, several African women regretted the "sensational" way the Western media have been treating the subject. It can make it more difficult for those in the countries concerned to accept and understand the interest shown by the Western world and might slow down the progress of activities aimed towards abolition of these practices, African women warned.

According to the report, some Western groups became convinced that the only efficient way to support African women in that campaign is by financing specific projects and educational activities planned and implemented by and with those of the countries concerned.

The report largely referred to the views expressed by some African and Arab women who started speaking out against these secular traditions and undertaking bold and courageous steps towards the eradication of these inhuman practices.

For that purpose, the minority rights group, launched a call for an urgent and concrete action from the international community particularly the UN agencies such as UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO to help these women by providing funds for research and information and health educational campaigns in the countries concerned.

The human rights group asserted in its report that these African and Arab women, working tirelessly to see this form of violation eradicated, are looking up to the UN for action now.

The report accused UNESCO of maintaining total silence on the subject and stressed that UNICEF should extend its recent initiative in the Sudan where they assisted in the preparation and production of an illustrated information pamphlet in Arabic.

The minority rights group agreed however that in order to have any hope of success the issue must be treated as a health issue with the greatest sensitivity according to the conditions in each country.
BLACK IS THE COLOR OF MY TV TUBE

An Inter Press Service Feature by Claude Robinson

'Black is the color of my TV tube' by Gil Noble, published by Lyle Stuart Inc., New Jersey, pp. 190, 10 dollars.

According to the blurb on the jacket of this book, 'Black is the color of my TV tube' is a newsmen's personal account of the world in which he lives.

True. But it is more than that. It is also about two of the central issues of the current debate about a new international information order, - the need for minority access to national media systems and access by the poor Third World nations to the transnational media systems.

Gil Noble is a Black American journalist with more than 20 years professional experience behind him. He is the producer and host of a black public affairs television series called 'Like it is' which is aired throughout the New York area on the American Broadcasting Company, ABC's east coast flagship station.

He has won the coveted Emmy Award, television's equivalent of Hollywood's Oscar, for the series.

By themselves, these are unusual achievements. No other producers of a major show are blacks, and there are no comparable black programmes.

While they carry the recognition which usually go to the famous, they also carry enormous responsibility, which is also what this book is about.

The main thesis of the book is straightforward enough: Noble attributes his presence in television to the Civil Rights struggles of the 1950's and the 1960's which created opportunities for blacks. This struggle was a part of the struggle in the Third World for independence.

The early phase of the struggle has been won, but racism and economic discrimination remain a reality of American society, and economic self-reliance and a new international economic order remain distant dreams among a few leaders of the Third World.

Noble develops the thesis and draws very clear conclusions about his role as a black journalist in the United States. 'The key to being an effective media person is involvement in the community' (p.141) and for him, that means the black community.

He does not apologise for this view although he is aware of the arguments that it endangers objectivity. However, he does not believe that white journalists who pow wow with white political and business leaders can morally or professionally challenge his involvement with black people in Harlem.

Noble justifies the way he helps blacks get their voices heard on the media on the grounds that whites control all the major media in the United States, and that their output reflects this white bias.

IPS, United Nations, Room 485, New York, N.Y. 10017.
He points out that in the three eastern states of New Jersey, New York and Connecticut, blacks comprise 35 per cent of the population, hispanics 25 per cent, and other minorities five per cent. Yet 'I have never heard of a news director, producer or assignment editor at any of the major radio or TV station news operations who are either black, brown or yellow'.

'Mass audiences are being subjected daily to information that comes from the priorities and preferences of a small number of people who represent less than half of the population' (p. 36).

He also argues that this white bias is also reflected in the power structure and journalistic output of such papers as the New York Times, one of the most influential papers in the country.

At the international level, Noble gives examples of misrepresentation of events in several African countries, and Caribbean states such as Jamaica under Michael Manley.

It is impossible, he argues, for African countries to get their viewpoint across on the major transnational news wires, AP, UPI and Reuters.

'There is an inbuilt bias in the material, no matter how well intentioned the reporters are', he claims, arguing for the need for an independent network operating among Third World nations owned and controlled by people of colour.

'Black is the color' is not the detached scholarship of communications bureaucrats. It is not encumbered with statistical details, or endless footnotes.

This is not to say that the views he expresses are personal prejudices. There is evidence of white control of the US media. There is evidence of the biased coverage of the Civil Rights era. There is evidence of the limited exposure of blacks on TV, and the lack of seriousness in what exposure there is.

There is evidence too of the dominant influence American TV enjoys in the Third World, and of transnational news agency penetration.

'Black is the color of my TV tube' is a highly readable book, and an important contribution to understanding the media in the United States. It also represents another view in the debate about the need for a broader range of actors in the news process.

But perhaps those who would benefit most from reading the book are black and other Third World professionals. 'I invite blacks who are upwardly mobile, or who have "made it" to join with me in my anger and concern. I ask that you do not separate yourselves from the masses of our race and our common predicament. Never forget that the benefits you enjoy were made possible by the struggle of the masses' (p. 174).

'Black is the color' is partly about television and the media. It is profoundly about the role and responsibilities of trained and skilled blacks in their people's liberation.
FEAR, ANXIETY AND HATE WE STILL KEEP
"... but we know our lessons a little better now!"

(In 1977, development workers participating in a regional program for some South and South-east Asian countries visited a remote village in the Philippines. Today a peasant from there would write. He speaks of a people long deprived. Here is the translation from the dialect.)]

Our dear young Men:

Your trace had become very obscure in our minds until Sabur visited again earlier this year, like a pleasant flicker, we remembered we had friends from Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India. We remembered all of you. We would still know too your individual bents. Like the one of you who would not really mind eating meat as long as it is a lady chicken's!

But until today we are still in a maze why you had once come. Then went. Then it would be the last we hear about you. The Filipino in your group we would not even see again. Sometimes we would like to think we were never friends at all. We would both, you and us, not indicate in tangible terms how we would partner in our common concerns about the history of our peoples. Or did we ever have common concerns, anyhow? If there may have been, you and your program, either during your stay with us or after, have not initiated nor attempted any definition to consolidate it.

Nothing much has changed since you visited. Not overtly, anyway. The land we till the titles we do not still own. We nourish no illusion about peaceful rights over it under present political conditions. The authorities would still wish that we leave our land.

We would not know if you have told others of our story. That our village is a good twenty-four kilometers from the town center of a province here in Mindanao. About a hundred of us families sought homes in here in the year 1939 as landless homesteaders. We stayed on through the war years. The place had been our sanctuary from the onslaught of the Japanese invaders.

We have told you that over the years, a generation of our families cleared about a thousand hectares of choice agricultural land hereabout. From a once dense jungle of wild animals and thick forest, this village has become a community of food-rich farm lands.

The government released this village's land as alienable for agricultural purposes in 1953. In 1956, a corporation told us through the courts that an ownership title for the land has been issued the corporation by the land bureau since the year 1952, exactly one year before, by virtue of land alienability laws in the country, the land can be titled to anyone. But who can beat a corporation led by a postwar lawmaker! But who cares?

1/ Published by the Peasant Program of ACFOD, 4th Flr. 486/109 Phyathay Road, Rajthevi Barza Bangkok 4, Thailand.
The refinements of the law have always intrigued us. We lost a series of injunctions in court. But like we have told you, we will resist, and creatively, all kinds of attempts from anywhere to deprive us of our rights over this land. We will keep holding on. Our resolve of struggle rooted in whatever meager leftover there is of justice for the poor.

There have been killings in this village. You knew our lawyer, very young like you, was, coming from this village, waylaid, murdered and consequently robbed of documents crucial to our case. The leader of the band surrendered to the authorities. To this day, he continues to be in active duty as a military personnel. We heard he is due for promotion very soon.

Soon after you left, the military massacred three of our brother-farmers in this village. At an early dawn raid in November, 1977, military soldiers, aided by members of the local civilian defense brigade, most of whom also work as security guards of the corporation, surrounded the house of a farmer-leader you had earlier all met and exchanged jokes with. Without presenting any search or arrest papers, the soldiers strafed the house. Inside were the farmer, his wife and five children. The firing lasted for about an hour. The piled-up bags of rice just harvested provided effective, if opportuned, cover for the family. No one was hurt except for some bruises from flares. Then the helpless farmer was dragged out, beaten up several meters away from his house. His skull cracked from the beating. They shot dead two more farmers in the vicinity, one of them on his way to the farm astride his carabao. The military virtually dragged their bodies up till near the military camp, old guns taken from the military armory put on top of their corpses, photographed and publicized as rebels.

There has been hate in the hushed outcry against the massacre. The church had asked if there was any connection between the incident, the rumors spread by the barangay captain of the place (who also happened to be a security man of the corporation in the village) that all the homesteaders in the area are communists or rebels and the move of the corporation to eject all the homesteaders from the village by all means imaginable. The governor of the province, knowing of the social question in our midst for so long had, about two years before the massacre, instituted a commission to study the land dispute and had come up with recommendations. Masses of concerned people have asked whatever happened to the same study that found out documented facts tilted in favor of the homesteaders. Hope for answers we did not expect. We know from experience that not any mitigating one was forthcoming.

The government side who proved instrumental in pursuing the claims of the corporation did suffer some casualties too. The court sheriff and his military escorts who carried out the house demolition and property repossession (confiscation!) orders of the court in 1976 were killed in their quarters by a group of unidentified persons who apparently shared with us our just aspirations over the land in question. We always knew the sheriff had been assured of a twenty-thousand-pesos appreciation grant by the corporation and a twenty-four hectare choice land in the village as soon as we leave.

That year, more than sixty of our homes had been burned. We have evacuated. Some have returned to our places of origin in the Visayan islands. Today,
only a cluster of about twenty or so families of a generation that has grown into about three hundred families, pioneers all in the village years and years ago, are left in here. Price tags have been earmarked for the lives of our homesteader-leaders. We are witness to our fully productive coconuts and other crops being harvested by the guards of the corporation. The complete elementary school operating for years has not been fully re-opened. But someday soon, all of us will come to re-occupy our cultivation in this village, and in droves, no one can stop us because this is our land.

Nothing much has changed indeed since you had come and then went. The cultivated area by the corporation is fifteen hectares in 1956. Another sixty-eight, and so fast, in 1973 at the onset of martial law. All to rubber trees. All by force. The same question therefore of justice we still ask. The same fear, anxiety and hate we still keep. But we know our lessons a little better now.

We are sad though that your tour with us would not seem to be different from the many others that we know. To some of us, if only for a while, perhaps, as we have yet to grow into understanding better the dynamics of history, your coming was a cause for hope that out plight would lessen on with you. We thought we shared common concerns. We have been told that yours was for development. And we know that the struggle of the poor, as ours is, needs the objective collaboration of the more lettered ones like you. We would not really know till now if that ever were part of your coming nor would we yet know whether that too had become part of your present perceptions about development in the context of our, you told us, homogenous country-realities.

We could only hope that you are doing your share in your own countries. Like us, we know, your own peoples have their own hates to keep at least, yet. Sometimes these hates are directed even against those like you who would still come and go, up and down the countries, without daring to light a bit more the blaze now burning in the many countrysides of Asia. Like them, we should have guaranteed access to our land if there were a democracy. Like them, we wish the guaranteed equal rights and access to life. We are one with your peoples in their aspiration. We would like to forge deeper friendships with them. Kindly tell them to write us — for a start.

THE NEW WAVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONSUMER MOVEMENT

Some 350 delegates from 38 countries concluded the 10th IOCU Congress, The Hague, June 22-26, 1981, with the announcement that the following projects will be launched:

* The International Organization of Consumers Unions (IOCU) links the activities of consumer organizations in some 50 countries. An independent, non-profit and non-political foundation. IOCU promotes world-wide co-operation in consumer protection, information and education. Its Headquarters are: 9, Emmastraat, The Hague Netherlands. The Regional Office for Asia and Pacific is at P.O. Box 1045, Penang, Malaysia.
1) a CONSUMER INTERPOL - not only as a citizen's network to exchange information, but also as a tool for action and a basis for local, national and international campaigns against hazardous products;

2) a WORKING GROUP ON TRANSNATIONALS which will plan and execute programmes;

3) support for the EXPANSION OF THE CONSUMER MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA. As a first step a special newsletter and clearing house for information will be established.

"The consumer movement starts this decade with a renewed energy and confidence to provide a multinational response to multinational problems", said Anwar Fazal, who was re-elected unanimously as President of IOCU. "A new wave in the consumer movement has begun", he added.

Anwar Fazal also stated that the Consumer Interpol which was supported by a grant from the Netherlands, will focus on the Dumping of hazardous products, technologies and waste into Third World countries.

The reasons for the high priority to the Consumer Interpol are as follows:

. the environmental and health damage caused by certain unregulated asbestos, dye, and pesticide industries, to name only a few, has been far greater, even when reduced to economic terms, than the total value of these industries;

. Third World countries are more and more becoming dumping and testing grounds for hazardous technologies;

. in many cases a high level of technical expertise and critical awareness is needed to identify products and technologies that pose unacceptable risks and that these qualities are not those normally required of, or easily accessible to, government officials controlling such imports;

. transnational corporations use highly sophisticated promotional and sales techniques:

. the technology offered to poor countries is of very little relative value and mostly for the production of superfluous or luxurious goods, out of reach of the majority. In the food industry this has resulted in the massive promotion and marketing of high cost luxury junk foods with little notion on nutrition at the same time promoting the incidence of malnutrition that already exists in large sections of the population;

. the non-governmental community has the obligation to assure that the health of the public and the protection of the environment are accorded a higher priority than concern about the balance of payments and the promotion of foreign trade.

IOCU, with the cooperation of its member organizations will widely publicize the details of the export or import of dangerous products and technologies so that governments will eventually be forced to apply severe economic disincentives for this totally outrageous behaviour.

An efficient hazardous products information network will be established.
A databank on product safety standards and regulations, as well as on accidents caused by products will be examined.

IOCU will promote international product liability legislation and its implementation as part of the campaign to stop what has been described as "the corporate crime of the century", said Fazal. "The worst thing is that you get a combination of a violent technology and manipulative marketing".

Anwar Fazal of Malaysia also stated that "the consumer movement is an integral part of the developmental process and is therefore even more important for Third World countries. The consumer movement concerned economic justice, it concerned human rights, it concerned action and change but most of all it concerned people with integrity, commitment and stamina. We must be concerned with the new powers and effects of information technology and also be sensitive to the impact of consumption on the environment. Consumers must also be conservors".

THE POLITICS OF THE SOLAR AGE by Hazel Henderson

The Politics of the Solar Age provide alternative visions of the future and viable strategies for the transition, showing how we can fully release human potential and employ the talents of all citizens while conserving natural resources. The author proposes that, in fact, resource limits are good news, forcing us to grow up into a fuller human maturity, now that we can no longer let cheap petroleum do our thinking for us. Stress is evolution's tool, and the stresses of the 1980s can lead not to breakdown, but to a new breakthrough to more humane, ecologically-compatible, sharing societies, where competition is balanced again with cooperation and community. This new politics of alternative futures for industrial countries within a planetary context of human interdependence will no longer fit the narrow polarities of Left and Right, inflation or recession, stop-go of traditional political/economic debates. It is not contained within the old parties or their labels of Democrat or Republican, Liberal or Conservative, Tories or Socialists, nor can it be explained by invoking the 19th Century debate between Adam Smith's Invisible Hand and Karl Marx. The macro-economic "management" tools and levers have stripped their gears, and economists vainly manipulate controls that are swinging wildly, whether provided by schools of laissez-faire, free-marketers, Keynesians, Monetarists, Post-Keynesians, state planners, corporate planners or socialists. All these attempts to "manage" the excessive complexity and interlinkages of industrial societies have led inevitably to increasing centralism, exploding bureaucracy, technocracy and overly abstract governance, whether from Washington, Brussels, London, Moscow or Tokyo, using statistical illusions devised by academic elites, which do not fit any real-world cases anywhere in the world.

The Politics of the Solar Age outline major realignments in all industrial countries as the old parties break down and fail to channel the energies of increasingly alienated voters. It describes the new, winning coalitions already existing, waiting to be forged in these societies, composed of all those groups marginalized, and for whom the existing economy does not work. These coalitions, together with the increasing number of drop-outs, non-voters (only 52% of the electorate voted in the 1980 Presidential election in the US), will include: the poor, the untrained, the young, the senior citizens, the structurally-unemployed, the workers in old and newer unions who see labor losing its membership base and are organizing those formerly-excluded women, blacks, Hispanics, service workers, the activists in food, housing and other co-operatives and credit unions; the "small is beautiful" rural and urban homesteaders and land-trusters; the solar and renewable energy and appropriate technology inventors and entrepreneurs; the self-help health-care and nutrition reformers; those in the human potential and education movements advocating new approaches to human motivation and productivity (humanizing workplaces, flextime, day-care, worker-ownership and self-management, sharing jobs and joint-parenting, etc.) as well as the movements for consumer and environmental protection, for greater accountability from huge corporations and the government bureaucracies that cater to them; media activists demanding less violent TV programming and better access for citizens' concerns; as well as the activists for human rights, global justice, and an end to nuclear proliferation and converting the arms race expenditure to meet human needs, hunger and disease. Such a new coalition, together with the 48% who no longer vote at all, comprises a majority of Americans, and it implies an alternative future for the U.S. as well as a more equitable, therefore less dangerous world order. It does not imply a retreat to a past agrarian parochialism or isolationism. Rather the new coalitions will be composed of autonomously-thinking planetary citizens, "Thinking Globally and Acting Locally", creating communities within ecological tolerances in mutual self-reliance. Some of their slogans sum up the new worldview: "We do not Inherit The World from our Parents We Borrow it from our Children", "There is Enough in the World for Our Needs but not for our Greeds" and "Stop Tourism! Make Where you Are A Paradise".
PROPOSAL FOR THE CREATION IN BRASIL OF A CENTRE FOR THE STUDY AND PROMOTION OF URBAN AND RURAL ALTERNATIVES (CEPAUR)

by Manfred A. Max-Neef */

The context

The big cities in Third World countries are growing at such a fast pace that they are becoming burdensome and unmanageable. The process has no precedent in history. Unemployment and squatter settlement increase, in their midst, at alarming rates, as a consequence of migratory waves that originate in the rural areas and small cities and seem to have no ending. Simultaneously small cities deteriorate and the rural areas become poorer.

The immoderate urban growth that accompanies an equally speedy debasement of small cities and rural impoverishment, represent the product of a development strategy that failed, in as much as it emphasized rapid industrialization at the expense of rural development.

The possibilities of finding solutions - at least for the time being - are not simple, and this because of a very curious reason. The problem has not attracted so far, a sufficient and widespread interest. Hence, political leaders and administrators have been lacking the necessary support to penetrate the question in depth in order to search for feasible solutions. The reason for this lack of interest is even more bizarre. It is mainly due to the fact that the phenomenon of hyper-urbanization affecting the poorer countries was never foreseen by development theory that promoted the model of rapid industrialization. Therefore, it was not supposed to come about. On the contrary, a number of intricate self-regulating mechanisms (or planned controls) were supposed to make the development process "tend" toward a relative global equilibrium. The fact that such mechanisms refused to function, has disconcerted many theoreticians.

We find ourselves at a crossroad. We know what should be done, but we still don't know how to do it, because we are lacking a convincing alternative development theory. While waiting for the apparition of such a new grand theory, little or nothing is done. Yet a new grand theory is what we may need the least. Grand theories have failed too often. Probably what we need instead of a theory is a purpose. A purpose that gives way to peoples' full participation, through multilevel action processes, starting at grass-root levels from the Village to a World Order.

The need for vigorously intensifying rural development (and revitalization of small cities) is accepted in the majority of countries, although it is not practiced. If this persists, the Third World countries may never reach the aspired levels of wellbeing that the rapid industrialization was supposed to bring about. All benefits will be annuled due to the severe and chronic urban problems. The utmost absurdity may be - and in many cases already is - that the economic benefits accruing from the development process are used in the solution...

* / c/o Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Övre Slottsgatan 2, S-752 20 Uppsala, Sweden
of those acute problems created by the same development process.

A new orientation is required. There are centers in Europe and experiences of importance in Africa and Asia. Little, along these lines, is to be found in Latin America. Hence the great practical and theoretical utility for Brasil - and for the continent - to create a centre capable of integrating efforts and promote knowledge and experiences about rural and urban alternatives.

Objectives

The following should be the fundamental objectives of the Centre for the Study and Promotion of Urban and Rural Alternatives (CEPAUR):

1. Promote and advise demonstrative experiences to be carried out in selected regions of the Brazilian territory and other parts of Latin America, with the purpose of perfecting theories, strategies and tactics destined to diminish the severe existing regional and sectoral desequilibrium.

2. Design methodologies and strategies for the revitalization of small cities and their rural environment, following the principles of full participation and education with production, for the achievement of adequate levels of local self-reliance.

3. Stimulate, sponsor and assist all actions that, within the region of the Centre's location, as well as other regions in Brasil and elsewhere in Latin America, are carried out for the purposes of diminishing regional and sectoral desequilibrium and promote local self-reliance.

4. Make the infrastructure and technical services of the Centre available to those persons and groups that are interested in the study and promotion of alternative development.

5. Stimulate theoretical and practical advancement in the field of its concern through seminars and technical meetings with the participation of specialists together with public administrators and planners.

6. Act as a vehicle of diffusion and exchange of experiences both at national and international levels, for the benefit of the Latin American region.

7. Maintain close contact and collaboration with institutions, in other parts of the world, whose interests are coherent with the purposes of the Centre.

8. Through appropriate communication channels establish a bridge between scientific researchers, on the one hand, and public administrators and planners, on the other, so as to facilitate concrete actions.

Location of the Centre

In the Spring of 1981, the implementation phase of the "Tiradentes Project" was completed. The project was an initiative promoted by SENAC (Brazilian institution devoted to professional training in the tertiary sector) and CINTERFOR of the International Labour Organization with the purpose of "promoting the revitalization of small urban centers as alternative societies vis-à-vis the
increasing disfunction of the great metropolitan areas, allowing for a bett-
mer in the quality of life and productivity of the informal economic sectors".
The work that was carried out in addition to the accumulated experience had
repercussions in the Latin American region, and shows the convenience of esta-
blishing the proposed Centre in Brasil, and, more concretely, in the city of
Tiradentes in the State of Minas Gerais.

The advantages of setting up the Centre in Brasil are several. First, the
country, due to its dimension and regional varieties, offers an immense gamut
of challenges in terms of alternative development in the spirit of local self-
reliance. Second, it is the country of Latin America most affected by the
hyper-urbanization process. Third, it maintains close relations with all Latin
American countries and the African continent. Fourth, there are a number of
public and private institutions interested in the subject, that could give
support to the activities of the Centre. Fifth, the Federal Government is
seriously preoccupied with the great regional desequilibrium affecting the
country, and the President of the Republic himself has recently granted high
priority to all efforts geared towards the solution of the problem.

Structure and support

Due to the principles that inspire it, the Centre will be dynamic, open, agile
and with a great organizational simplicity. It will have a minimum of technical
and administrative personnel, thus allowing for a high rotativity of social
scientists, specialists, planners and public administrators working for short
periods and devoted to concrete and practical tasks without representing a
burden in terms of its fixed costs.

The Centre's performance will depend on a scheme capable of insuring the
availability of funds to cover those fixed costs; additional costs may be
financed through ad-hoc agreements with institutions for specific projects.

International support is also necessary, at least during the initial period of
the Centre's life. It is hoped that such support, both technical and financial,
may be obtained from institutions already established and interested in the
problématique of alternative development for local self-reliance.

Technical assistance will be of paramount importance in order to allow the
Centre to become an active and efficient component of the growing network of
institutions that, internationally, are devoted to Another Development.

It will be greatly appreciated if any institutions or people potentially
interested in establishing any type of relations with the Centre, would inform
Manfred A. Max-Neef in writing. If we can show how much interest there
exists, it may be easier for the Centre to be established.
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