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POUVOIRS

France, Grèce, Bolivie, Suède, Espagne, Sao Paulo et peut-être Rio de Janeiro : de mai 81 à novembre 82, le mouvement se confirme. La gauche retrouve le pouvoir gouvernemental. Nous nous en réjouissons, mais sans illusions : ce retour résulte notamment de la crise, et la gauche aura d'autant plus de mal à la résoudre qu'elle n'a pas toujours fait bon usage de ses traversées du désert pour inventer de nouvelles politiques dépassant à la fois le capitalisme et le bureaucratisme, privés ou étatiques.

Les victoires électorales de nos amis appellent aussi un commentaire plus général.

Le dépeuplement de l'Etat n'étant pas pour demain, il faut bien reconnaître la nécessité des gouvernements. Il faut tout autant reconnaître le rôle des entreprises économiques, privées ou publiques. Mais il faut voir aussi que le pouvoir exercé par les États et les maîtres de l'économie, de fait ou de droit, dans l'intérêt général ou non, s'exerce sur la société ; ceux-ci n'en représentent ni la totalité, ni la complexité. En particulier, ils ne détiennent pas tous les pouvoirs.

La société - les femmes et les hommes que nous sommes - détient elle aussi un pouvoir et même, par définition, un pouvoir autonome. La société s'exprime aussi (surtout ?) par ses associations. Associations politiques, syndicales, religieuses, écologistes, sportives et autres, innombrables, si l'optique est celle du domaine d'intérêt ; associations de femmes, de jeunes, de vieux, de voisins, de producteurs, de manipulateurs et autres, innombrables aussi, si l'optique est celle des acteurs.

Les associations que forme la société constituent ce que nous avons appelé le tiers système 1/ . Ce concept traduit l'existence, à côté du système de l'État et du système des affaires, d'un système autonome qui, pour être moins articulé que les autres, n'en est pas moins un élément constitutif de la réalité sociale.

Ces associations contribuent à structurer certains groupes de la société et à en permettre l'expression et/ou l'action. Certaines peuvent n'avoir d'autre but que l'exercice d'une fonction particulière (à la limite un club de football). D'autres, celles dont nous parlons ici, sont politiques au sens strict.

1/ Cf. Dossiers IFPAD 1 et 17. Le terme d'organisation non-gouvernementale (ONG) est dangereux dans la mesure où il définit la société par rapport au gouvernement, qui n'en est pourtant pas le centre. Les mots ne sont jamais innocents, et l'affirmation de l'autonomie de la société appelle aussi un nettoyage sémantique. (Suite à la page 44)
COMMUNICATING AND DEVELOPMENT

by Smitu Kothari and
Jai Sen
LOKAYAN
Exchange Building
13, Alipur Road
Delhi 110 054, India

Original language: English

Abstract: A get-together took place in Delhi last year on the theme 'Communicating and Development'. Between 16 to 20 people attended, most previously not known to each other and from various parts of the country and from diverse fields - voluntary workers, intellectuals, journalists and professionals; and although also representing various points of view, we found that there were a number of important areas which we shared. Among other areas, it became apparent that there was a common element of disillusionment regarding both the general situation and, in a number of cases, the specific work that we had been doing and the contexts within which each of us was working. The following is roughly in the nature of a report on the debate that took place during which the exchanges touched upon a wide range of issues - through personal experiences, analysis and synthesis.

COMMUNIQUÉ POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT

Résumé: Une réunion a eu lieu l'an dernier à Delhi sur ce thème. 16 à 20 personnes y ont participé. La plupart ne se connaissaient pas. Elles venaient de différentes régions de l'Inde et représentaient une variété d'expériences: volontaires, intellectuels, journalistes. Bien qu'elles aient eu aussi des points de vue différents, elles se sont trouvées d'accord sur de nombreuses questions. En particulier, on a pu observer un sentiment partagé de déception à l'égard aussi bien de la situation générale que, dans certains cas, d'actions spécifiques entreprises par les uns et les autres et de l'environnement dans lequel chacun travaille. Le texte présenté ici s'efforce de refléter un débat qui a abordé un grand nombre de problèmes sur la base d'expériences personnelles, d'analyses et de synthèse.

(Resumen en Español pag. 16)
COMMUNICATING AND DEVELOPMENT

This 'report' is an attempt to draw out from the proceedings of four very intensive days, the major issues dealt with as we understood them. It is in the form of a collage, drawing from minutes, notes, a round-up and tape-recordings, and tries to give images or reflections of the ground we covered. It is not chronological, but rather a grouping of opinions and expressed experiences under broad heads (the structure of struggle; communicating in struggle, some individual experiences; relating to institutions; two reflections on processes of change). This grouping, it must be emphasized, is a personal interpretation, by the same people who wrote the earlier note, as an attempt to focus further on issues which repeatedly came up and thereby to hopefully contribute to more - and more localised - debate. This report, therefore, and possibly complemented by the earlier note, is more like an agenda than a set of conclusions.

In the course of the debate, certain issues kept recurring. These, to an extent, set the parameters of the get-together.

1. Consciousness-raising versus energisation

The consciousness-raising approach advanced by some of the participants was countered by others who stressed the need (through a combination of local initiative and outside input) for energisation of socially/economically oppressed people which should avoid the attitudes of indoctrination or didacticism.

2. Form versus content

For any process of communicating to acquire relevance and meaning in a transformational context, the content of this process had to be evolved consciously as opposed to a preoccupation with forms. Selection of older forms or the evolution of new ones should be a consequence of this process.

3. Excellence versus relevance

The dilemma of achieving excellence (often of forms) versus being effective in achieving specific objectives was expressed. One view that emerged was that the test of excellence ultimately lay in the authentication (through application) of evolved forms of communicating. It would be necessary to respect and learn from experimentation and to evolve an alternative through full participation rather than apply a rigid ideology or a given blueprint or model.
4. Reform versus transformation

Many participants expressed the feeling of the inability of communicators to symbolise the evils of the established models of development. Allusions were made to Gandhi's projection of such evils (e.g. imperialism) and ways to deal with them. It was felt that the modern attempt at communicating alternate approaches was fragmentary and diffused leading to either an increasing frustration or a reliance on aspects of the earlier models. Should one find a space in the present context or should a new space be created which would involve people to seek collective alternatives?

Structure of struggle

The lead was provided by relating the experience of the Nav Nirman movement in Gujarat in 1974, by a journalist who had actively participated in the movement. There was a description of its strength and of the new forms of communication evolved (a simultaneous beating of 'thalis' at a specified pre-determined time, a network of activists involved specifically in disseminating information all over the State, a series of street plays satirising the role of the government, a continuous stream of new slogans and poems drawing from traditional folk forms, etc.). But the conclusion drawn was that the movement was an urban middle-class phenomenon and that it ultimately proved ineffective as a movement. For many people, the new forms simply became forms of entertainment.

This was countered by the opinion that there did emerge a sense of 'joining together' and solidarity among the people confronting a political set-up dominated by corrupt politicians. In this context, the Nav Nirman movement was significant and that in the transitional period it was important to work in an unstructured way to bring out action, confidence and particularly energies of people which could be harnessed at a later stage.

However, the need for a well conceived organised base in the course of the movement was stressed but this was immediately countered by pointing out that an attempt at creating such a base would inhibit spontaneous expressions and energies to flow into the movement. In the absence of such spontaneous popular reaction, no amount of professional skills could have generated such a vigorous movement.

A synthesis was attempted by saying that movements like Nav Nirman pointed to one thing - that the peoples' subjective sense of power acquires new ways of communicating. And the contents of the new forms were important to determine the difference between catharsis and disability. There was though, a consistent attempt to prevent the initial spontaneous
responses of the people from being capitalised by organised political groups, like parties.

But a footnote to this expressed the feeling that when durable institutions did not develop out of struggles, the net result was increased frustration. The totality of the struggle therefore had to become a concrete concept in people's minds and it is only within this totality that forms of communicating acquired meaning.

The debate then shifted slightly when it was asked how exactly one measured the growth of subjective consciousness in the absence of concrete embodiments of such consciousness that ought to surface as a result of the movement. To this a reply was made that struggles like Nav Nirman were indicative of the fact that people had gone ahead of expected predictable action posed by any theorisation about protest movements and secondly that the sprouting of various small groups after such movements was an indication of the change occurring through growth in subjective consciousness. The questioner felt doubtful about this, asking whether such groups did not exist before the movement as well.

Another participant felt that there were different kinds of movements, some of which set up a tradition to which people returned to whenever such occasions would arise in the future, thus linking sporadic protest episodes into a movement. Some movements however, get quickly routinised into the ongoing structure of politics.

As an example it was stated that even the Bihar movement had two separate and opposite consequences. While the leaders of the movement got co-opted into the establishment, several students who became politicised during that period continue to work in different areas. Bodhgaya was cited as an instance of the latter.

The responses to these formulations were varied; one could build on the experience of others and can thus sustain a movement based on an alternative principle of organising the society; that any fragmentary effort was bound to be co-opted; and that direction given by 'progressive' forces was essential.

At this point one of the participants intervened and raised the question of how and why Gandhi had succeeded in building a long-term movement based on specific issues of protest. It was pointed out that this experience in our national history had a lot to offer.

Three dimensions were identified for Gandhi's success: (i) the unified view of ends and means, and with it a notion of the morality of action so that every specific action became meaningful in the context of total action; (ii) the conception and identification of evils in political and social life in a
palpable form; and (iii) the innovation of new techniques of resistance.

It was generally agreed that methods of communicating could not be isolated from the totality of the movement. Where there was such isolation, the efforts would automatically become mere forms of entertainment or fragments of political life devoid of societal or cultural meaning.

But why in the first place was there isolation? To this the response was that the process when initiated had to lead to organisations to be of a permanent nature. While if isolation persisted it was probably, more than anything else, an indication of lack of communication itself.

At this point the discussion moved to a more general plane. It was felt that there were two major problems in 'joining together'. One was lack of resources and the other was that the getting together of 'non-party' groups had not been seriously tried. There was disagreement on this and it was said that parties should be included in the attempt to get together people.

It was stressed here that a differentiation should be made between those who are working for the overall transformation of the system and those who are lubricating the system. There was always resistance to coordination from some central platform, and such efforts always failed.

Another participant expressed that there were two distinct tendencies (i) those wanting to be away from political parties; (ii) those who felt working with political parties was inevitable.

A participant pointed out that parties were necessarily geared, at least in India, to short range aims particularly with regard to electoral alliances and that the party system as a whole had declined. When any section, particularly an oppressed one, did not represent a visible vote bank, parties ignored it. Here it was felt that there was a difference between cadre-based ideological parties and looser ones. While the latter had deteriorated perhaps the former had not. One of the participants disagreed feeling that even left parties had deteriorated due to alliances of an electoral nature that were entered into and due to too great a preoccupation with electoral and legislative politics.

Communicating in struggle

The de-sensitisation of those who do political or developmental work was discussed. This highlighted the point that the forms of communication need to be consistent with the content (even
determined by the content). The importance of this became clear when we find that those who began their work with a recognition of the need to humanise one's contact with the poor ended up with establishing dehumanised relationships with them - primarily due to an attitude of 'saving the souls' of the poor and in the process forgetting what was happening to their own souls.

A vigorous argument was made not to view communication as an instrument, even for radical ideologies. Any value-laden super-imposition of contents was a subtler form of exploitation. Instead, it was emphasized that the need was to comprehend the spontaneous or unstructured communication among the people and give it voice. Others felt that this was hardly possible with the system which inevitably gave a decisive content to all such communications.

One experience was narrated suggesting that those who work with the poor take upon themselves the entire 'burden' of changing the world and sometimes the resulting attitude became a form of 'left imperialism'. Leftists would use whatever talent was offered and fail to establish human links. In fact, their efforts tended to break what older bonds existed, and often it became necessary to turn to bourgeois friends for getting strength to continue to face the world.

Another view was that the process of change itself was an ongoing day-to-day business, at the level of consciousness. The need was to energise the people and integrate them rather than breaking them up.

It was pointed out by the earlier participant how, when confidence was established with the people at a meeting, leftist friends would ask for or question the 'method' by which this was done. It was not found necessary by leftists to 'make sense' to the people at the level of their existence. Sensitisation of and to the people was itself very political, while it was not generally seen to be so.

Another point however, was that even people's spontaneous response or initiative was only the starting point, and leadership required skills of its own kind. What one could do was provide 'information' and perhaps assist in drawing implications thereof for action, remembering all the time that the aim is participation in and sharing of experiences.

The above discussion was followed by a demonstration of some materials used by a communicators group as part of their efforts to evolve relevant forms of communication, illustrating the problems involved in experimenting with building an alternative communication structure for peoples'movements. The stress was on how lower level technology was readily available to the people and the aim was to create skills among people by
making them participate in things like making posters. Stress was also on the need to link cultural work as as part of a larger whole.

After a TV programme from the Kheda project was shown, the possibility of exposing local power relations even when working within government institutions was discussed. A slide show stressed the importance and usefulness to discuss issues with the audience after the showing. After the slide presentation, however, the question was asked: in what way do you enhance awareness by showing this?

From here the discussion shifted slightly and folk forms and their utility were reviewed. The question was debated whether traditional forms lose their efficacy if the content is changed. Most participants however felt that if people accept the ideas in the presentation, they will accept the changes also.

From these discussions, two major points emerged. One that there had to be a process of myth destruction and of new myth creation or new use of old myths in this process of using traditional forms of communicating; the other that the form being creative by itself did not automatically assume success in communication.

It was asked whether the efforts described had brought about any noticeable change among the participants, and that one needed a balance between deterministic effort and spontaneous participation.

The main response to this was that it was enough to "draw people out" and to make them "active".

This then led to a longish discussion on methods of making such efforts or struggles permanent in their effect and to examine whether in fact in peoples' experience this actually happened.

The point that participation was a means to an end, was insisted upon, while someone else said that one cannot pre-determine these things. It was argued that the Nav Nirman movement in Gujarat had been preceded by energising efforts by intellectuals and activists, the results of which became visible during the movement; and that this was the difference between indoctrination and consciousness-raising.

A participant in the movement tended to disagree, pointing out that seven years later, the sum total that remained as a remnant of the movement was total cynicism.

The suggestion was made that there was a comparison between system-breaking activity and consciousness-raising activity. But when the term 'conscientisation' was used, another
participant strongly objected saying what they were trying to do was useful to make people "active" and not "raise" their consciousness or conscientise them, along a predetermined line of thought.

The idea that 'development' was a man-making, man-changing industry was pointed out, and the question was discussed whether man needed to change or just to be given a chance to flower.

Some individual experiences

A voluntary activist in the rural areas of Maharashtra related his experiences: teamwork was very important for communication at the level this group was trying to work. It was felt that a combined effort by urban and rural activists worked best. On the individual level, there was need for certain norms and values as mediating agents. Within the groups, criticism and self-criticism was essential if team-work and creativity had to be sustained. But above all, the main thing was to see people as human-beings and not as objects to be changed.

Efforts in local organisation and struggle were dealt with in detail. It was argued that militancy itself was a form of communication, the evolution of which had its roots in the situation of oppression. Cultural continuities had to be evolved and integrated into this process. After a struggle it was always easier to communicate to people due to their heightened enthusiasm. People, most often, acted on their own initiative in response to issues of local oppression. The role of the team was mainly in the areas of strategy and coordination. Only when there was sometimes a choice between short-term and long-term perspectives was it extremely important to intervene. Militancy could then be misleading as it would concentrate on immediate gains. The talk then went on to the experience with parties. Parties were often authoritarian and more talking of change did not help and efforts of getting together several parties and groups did not succeed except around concrete struggles and common issues.

Small groups like this however, face the great problem of localism. Such groups could not acquire a national perspective nor effectively communicate national issues to the people. Grass-root organisations in general have their limits. Their own work soon reaches a dead end, and some members of these groups felt the need to work with the party formations in order to establish linkages with the wider forces of change.

The indirect conclusions of their experiences were that cultural forms like bhajans could be used for communicating modern messages if the content was consciously and skillfully changed. Often songs were spontaneously composed during marches and struggles. They themselves had set up cultural groups - kala
pathaks. Secondly, women are capable of great militancy and can take collective action. But it was felt that there is need for urban women to come and work with the adivasi women to broaden the consciousness of the struggle.

A discussion on the role of women in struggle, and the gradual growth of confidence in a rural area with the help of an urban women's team, prompted the conclusion that struggle grown from and on the basis of local issues and the relating of these issues to larger contexts through the participation of urban based radical activists.

The activist concluded that democracy was not just a question of altering structures by a legislative fiat but was itself a method, a process of communication. At the same time, although the lesson was learned not to go as leaders, not to cause expectancy, it was also realised that the concept that initiative lies with the people (for instance, as in Paulo Freire's ideas) is not correct. The opposite, however, of 'pouring' consciousness into people, is also wrong and irrelevant, and one must avoid both - either treating the people as objects or romanticising them in a populist manner.

One of the participants felt that perhaps struggle against caste is the central form of the class struggle today.

The debate shifted to caste as an institution and the following points came up:

(i) caste often represents - at least in Maharashtra - an entire value system, and is acquiring new forms;
(ii) Dalits are perceived as outside society itself; and
(iii) Dalit protest has found literary expressions of which poetry, a more personal form, was the most developed.

The above was further detailed: the world of caste is very enclosing, deterministic, difficult to get out of; it seemed in Marathwada that Dalits and the Marathas were 'opposite identities' and there was no question of man, of equality.

* * * *

One of the participants talked of three types of communication that his group took part in (i) with the people at large both collectively and individually; (ii) with individual activists and (iii) with other voluntary groups. The three, he said, are interrelated. He emphasised that all communication was ineffective without organisation.

The forms of the three types of communication were also different, however. With people the effort was to make them question why things are as they are; with activists what actions they were themselves involved in; and with groups the nature
of their organised work. In all this there was an attempt not to lecture, and the idea was to go from a developmental to a political perspective.

The explanation included the statement that behind any theory of communication there had to be a theory of society and it is from this theory that one derives one's motivations to intervene in society. He said he would, therefore, like to discuss the theory of society of different participants also but apparently the meeting was not designed for such a discussion.

* * * *

Another participant explained that during 1976-77, he made a film on the Emergency called "voices of People", in which he tried to document together impressions and issues raised by people in different parts of northern India. A conclusion of this experience was the feeling that an alternative medium is necessary through which reports on political and social issues could be disseminated. A new feature service is the outcome of this effort. Seven or eight groups have been formed in different parts of the country. They will write on events and issues not normally reported, or misreported by the established press; these will be circulated in different languages. For the initial seed money five to six hundred people throughout the country were being contacted to subscribe to the service as individuals besides other subscriptions from voluntary groups and publications.

The feature service will attempt to give event-based commentaries with critical analysis. Of new items, nearly 80% are discarded. The selection (by editors) of items to be printed as either random or self-centred. The service will attempt to provide value-based investigative reporting on a sustained basis.

Relating to institutions

It was asserted that communicating in India was a one-way process. There were blockages like caste and class and the power structure at the top sent messages below to which there was little except sporadic response from below. As a result there was demoralisation below and power at the top.

A participant reaffirmed that communication seemed to be (too heavily) a one-way process only and added that there also seemed to be a separation between the world of communication and 'reality' - a preoccupation with the economistic aspects of communicating, possibly partly a function of Marxist analysis. Related questions were raised; what is the future of community? What is the role of communication in this future?
This led to a discussion on breakdown of communication between individuals in a group. Where 'changers' tend to take on the entire burden of change on themselves, a form of 'left imperialism' emerged. Sometimes in this process, people become bereft of values, wrecked. One needed to learn, to regenerate. Why was it that groups fall apart?

Man is not conceptualised as the centre of the universe. How then can we fight for civil liberties? If the civilizational context is kept in mind instead of reflecting the western dichotomy in the Indian context, it was suggested that the problem can be transcended. It was stressed that along with the ideologies of the West have flowed the economic organisations. that go with them.

There was then some discussion as to what was the nature of smaller groups. Civil liberties groups were mentioned and characterised as being open and small and yet political. It was also suggested that the liberals and the left groups are very suspicious of each other; the moment they meet, they cross their ideological swords. Here it was added that voluntary groups were just as deluding at any rate the bigger organisations among them, and perhaps it was important to remain small and learn from each other both in terms of positive and negative experiences. It was also pointed out that any party coming to power became dogmatic; for instance, voluntary groups have suffered under both Congress(I) and CPI(M) governments in West Bengal.

The discussion shifted to relating to specific institutions. The first issue brought to the fore was that whichever government came to power, it tended to want to control the press. Secondly, it was pointed out that national dailies were less conservative than smaller regional newspapers and that above all journals were relatively the only form that tended to assert their freedom and were serious.

The debate around this brought forth several other types of contradictions e.g. between news and features; the role of exposures in national dailies enabling regional groups to act as pressure groups; and the contradictions between the organised and the unorganised press. To this was added a qualification: while the job of a journalist working within the prevailing power structure of newspapers, and brought great insecurity if he/she expressed his/her views freely, there was also some scope available in the established newspapers to communicate news and important ideas. Issues relating to censorship during the Emergency and the current censorship in Assam were discussed. Self-censorship was also increasingly evident.

One of the specific experiences related was that after hearing of the mass attack on dalits a participant went to Marathwada
to try to understand the situation, and found that he could not get his report on the riots printed anywhere and that neither was the fury and violence properly reported.

Another participant related her process of evolving the use of audio-visual means as a mechanism to initiate debate. She had got into the work by accident; while teaching, she felt a middle-class guilt, met a marxist group, felt the burden of revolution on her shoulders, used slides etc. depicting the reality of life in the shows, found people attracted, and so began to use it to propagate particular ideas. But gradually she found that even though the shows were quite effective, they were more so among the middle class than slum dwellers, who found for instance, the message of "unity" not really achievable.

The focus went on to cinema with an elaborate account of the capital intensiveness of the medium and the technical difficulties and bureaucratic blocks in the process of film making. State Governments were often more restrictive to work with than the Central Government. The second point mentioned was that the film society movement among the students at least in Maharashtra was encouraging and younger activists were now more interested in cinema.

Another slide presentation showed rather graphically the failure of an experience to help rehabilitate evicted slum dwellers in Calcutta due to the non-cooperation of a Christian voluntary organisation. The participant who presented this felt a sense of betrayal and detailed the total lack of accountability and sense of responsibility among the development agencies.

He then talked of a monograph written by him called 'the Unintended City' where he wrote of rich traditions of self-help among the people and of the corresponding richness of culture of the basti-dwellers, of how the economy and functioning of the whole city depended on them.

Reflections

An extensive personal synthesis in evolving a relationship with being a concerned intellectual was outlined. Some points:

"We had been having doubts about the way the system was working but we had a faith in the developmental model. Now we have had to change that idea. Development and progress, ideas imported from the West, had written into them the seeds of exploitation. The North-South problem, the rich-poor dichotomy, etc. are all examples of this."

"It is one thing to say: let us eradicate the caste system but it is quite another thing to try and study the system and why it endures. A serious scholastic effort is very necessary
for the international and national process."

"In my encounter with Marxists I find their naivete in the belief in increasing use of technology very surprising. Marxism does not sufficiently question the structures inherent in an obsessive reliance on technology. For instance the effect of increasing bureaucratisation. How far can we ignore the cultural and civilisational context? How far can one go in the belief in linear development e.g.: Nehru's blind belief in science and technology; that it would soon wipe out all the evils of our society. Unlike the Marxists, I have not questioned the theory underlying the basic democratic model."

"I have moved between two levels: the national and international, the problems of the Third World especially. We are trying to at least share our experiences with similar efforts in South and South-East Asia and elsewhere. In our attempts to generate such an alternative the elites will not keep quiet though they may be taken by surprise."

"I define political activity as intervention in the process of history. We should attempt to modify situations in the direction of where we would like it to go. We ought to intervene and to that extent we are all politicians."

"Ideas and institutions are the only things that survive."

Another personal synthesis based on intense personal experiences and a 'take-off' from the note distributed before the meeting, highlighted the following points.

(i) That politics of a certain narrow missionary kind brought about a destruction of personality and that even with the kind of sustained contact made with the working class, a breakthrough of some sort still remained distant.

(ii) The Emergency and more particularly, the '77 elections and the results of these elections had brought home the realisation that the left group to which he belonged lacked sufficient grasp over the ongoing political process.

(iii) The question of 'freedom' was generated by the experience of the Emergency and its aftermath and seemed to have deeper philosophical implications.

(iv) On the other hand almost in opposition to the idea of freedom earlier held in view of the Marxist perspective, a compromise position could be a form of democracy as long as it was only a realisation of the possibility of other forms of interpretation of the reality and not opportunism.

(v) And finally since even the problem which activists faced was intellectual in nature it was important not to be apologetic about making
an intellectual effort. since in such a case there was a danger of
an intellectual vacuum being created which could only be filled by
the most degenerate of ideas.

This last statement led to a prolonged debate and a sort of
synthesis was reached, where while it was agreed that intellec-
tual effort could almost be an end in itself, some way had to
be found of creating some kind of exchange between people who
were functionally intellectuals or activists, to prevent either
intellectual or activist arrogance from taking place.

(Viene de la pag. 3)

COMUNICARSE PARA EL DESARROLLO

Resumen: Una reunión sobre este tema tuvo lugar el año pasado en Delhi.
Participaron entre 16 y 20 personas. La mayor parte de ellas no se cono-
cían. Venían de distintas partes de India y representaban un sinúmero de
experiencias: voluntarios, intelectuales, periodistas. Aunque hayan
tenido también diferentes puntos de vista, se pusieron de acuerdo en
numerosos asuntos. En especial, se pudo observar un sentimiento compartido
de decepción con respecto a la situación general, como en ciertos casos,
tanto como a acciones específicas emprendidas por unos y otros, y en cuanto
al medio en que trabaja cada uno de ellos. El texto presentado aquí se
esfuerza en reflejar un debate que tocó un gran número de problemas basados
en experiencias personales, de análisis y de síntesis.
Abstract: In 1977 the Kenyan authorities banned a popular theatre performance, in which over 200 villagers of Kamirithu had participated, and imprisoned one of its organizers, Ngugi wa Thiong'o. He was released a year later, but was refused to resume his teaching job at the University. He went back to work with the villagers. In March 1982 the authorities again clamped down on the activities of the Centre; performances were banned, the 2,000-seat open-air theatre which the community had built was destroyed and the organization deregistered.

The paper describes the conditions under which the participatory theatre had emerged, the level of self-organization attained, the significance of the experience and its translation in the community's social, economic and cultural life, as well as its use as a tool for conscientization. The author examines the reasons behind the repressive measures taken against the Centre.

(Resumen en Español pag. 29)
Ross Kidd

POPULAR THEATRE AND POPULAR STRUGGLE IN KENYA: THE STORY OF THE KAMIRITHU COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL CENTRE*

In March 1982, Kenyan authorities banned for the second time a popular theatre performance created by a community organization of peasants and workers, the Kamirithu Community Educational and Cultural Centre (KCECC). The organization was subsequently deregistered and the open-air theatre which the community had built was battered down.

The following article gives some of the background. On 12th December 1963, Kenya got its "constitutional" independence. In spite of a decade of armed struggle, the political settlement left the economy firmly under foreign control. Transnational capital moved into Kenya in a big way, taking the dominant economic position formerly occupied by the white settlers. Power and wealth became more and more concentrated in the hands of a small ruling clique of Kenyans.

The KCECC was started in a place with a long tradition of struggle. In fact, its existence as a village was a direct result of the liberation struggle.

Many of the villagers are squatters who lost their land through white settlement or through the land consolidation process in the late 50s. Some have been forced to sell their small plots because of failure to repay bank loans without an adequate source of income. Those without their own land live in temporary structures built on footpaths and are constantly faced with the threat of eviction.

The village is not only a labour reserve but also a "rural slum": it bears all of the costs of reproducing the labour force with minimal help from the state or the corporations who profit from their labour. Villagers have to cope on their own without basic services - water, medical facilities, sanitation, street lighting, etc. Whenever peasants make demands for these services, they are told to organize their own self-help effort "Harambee".

Starting KCECC, a people's organization

The only token service to this community of 10,000 people was a community centre - and even that had been built through

* The full paper (28pp. + bibliography) is available from author. The Dossier version has had to be reduced for reasons of space.
community effort. During the liberation war the colonial authorities set aside a four-acre plot of land for "social purposes". When no assistance from the colonial government materialized, the village youth built a shelter and used it to meet and talk and perform traditional dances.

After Independence, in 1963, the centre was converted into a vocational training centre for young people. With the help of the KTambu Area Council, the villagers built a three-roomed wooden building in which carpentry classes were held. This training programme was abandoned in 1973 when the Area Councils were abolished. Funds available for village-level social services dried up and the centre fell into disuse.

As bureaucratic neglect, unemployment and insecurity deepened, the villagers decided to revive the centre and use it to do something about their worsening situation. The initiative represented a convergence of interests. On one hand, there were the peasants and workers for whom life, in spite of Independence, remained the same - no land to cultivate or on which to build a house; insecurity of employment and exploitation in their workplaces; their own culture denigrated, tokenized, and supplanted by the new foreign consumer culture.

On the other hand, there were a number of intellectuals - teachers, university staff, civil servants, etc. - who lived in the Kamiti/ithu area and who shared the feeling of betrayal about the nationalist struggle. Foremost among them was novelist and playwright Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, the head of the University of Nairobi's literature department.

Another to emerge as a key organizer and supporter of the KCECC was Ngũgĩ wa Mĩrĩ, and adult educator and research worker employed by the University of Nairobi. He had become fed up with the subservient role played by adult education in the Kenyan social system and had developed a deep interest in the radical teaching methodology of Paulo Freire as a means of transforming Kenyan society.

At the initial community meeting to revive the centre, the response was enthusiastic and after a few more planning meetings a programme was agreed on and an organizing structure established. A sub-committee was formed for each activity of the centre (fund-raising, adult education, cultural activity, etc.) and a central committee to which all the sub-committees reported. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o was elected chairman of the cultural committee and Ngũgĩ wa Mĩrĩ, the chairman of the adult education committee.

1/ The initial driving force behind the revitalization of the centre was Njeri wa Amoni, the area's community development assistant, who encouraged everyone in the village to come to the initial planning meetings.
The KCECC started with what seemed like conventional aims - to provide a meeting place for the villagers and a programme of integrated rural development - adult education, study groups, cultural activity, economic production and health. What distinguished it, however, was its structure and process - the peasants and workers were in control (rather than government bureaucrats or the middle-class) and it was run in a highly collective fashion. The villagers made the decisions and each decision was taken on the basis of extensive discussions among the membership. As one member put it: "Nobody can make a decision without consulting the people because every decision affects the people" (Kahiga, 1977b). Even academic writing on the Kamfirithu experience (by the two Ngūgī's) had to be cleared first with the Executive Committee. As a result of this commitment to work collectively, agreements represented real commitments and the villagers regarded the centre as their own organization - they had ultimate control.

Learning to read the world

The first activity taken up was adult literacy. Many of the peasants felt humiliated by their lack of literacy and wanted to learn to read. They regarded this as a priority. Ngūgī wa Mūrū offered to teach one of the classes and to train others as teachers using the Freirean literacy approach.

This was no conventional literacy programme! Unlike traditional literacy work which conditions people to accept the structure of inequality, the Kamfirithu programme encouraged people to question what was happening to them. In Freire's terms they learned "to read the world". Instead of depending on the teachers to plan and run the programme, the illiterates themselves took charge of it. They took all the decisions, including the recruitment of teachers and deciding on the rate of pay. They went out, talked to people in the community, and identified a number of people who they felt could do the teaching. Where else in the world do the students recruit the teachers?

They also designed their own study programme. The literacy committee, which was made up of peasants and workers, met for four months before the literacy programme started in order to decide on the content for the course. They analyzed the situation in Kamfirithu - its problems and underlying causes - and examined the history of changes in Kenya. They decided to base their curriculum on the fundamental problems of the village - landlessness, unemployment, low wages, insecurity of tenure, lack of services, lack of access to firewood and water, high prices for food and transport, the effects of poverty - heavy drinking, prostitution, crime, etc. For each of these problems they prepared a "code" - a picture, a story, a song or a short skit which could be used to stimulate discussion on
the problem. The results of the programme were equally uncon-
tventional. Unlike most literacy programmes in which there is
heavy drop-out and minimal growth in literacy skill, the
Kamirithu programme had no drop-outs and by the end of the
six-month period, the 56 participants could all read and write.
Many of the students had even started to write their life his-
tories, in a few cases running to 10,000 words in length!

From peasant autobiography to community script-writing

With the interest created through the literacy programme, the
centre then wanted to continue with an adult education program-
me - but through a medium which would involve everyone in the
village. Drama suited the purpose: the new literates were
familiar with it, having used it in the form of role-playing
and short skits in the literacy classes and having seen plays
put on by the university travelling theatre group. Drama would
keep the new literates involved and the script, which would
focus on their lives and history, would be an excellent text
for follow-on reading.

The two Ngũgĩ's were commissioned to write a draft playscript,
drawing on the discussions of the two committees (literacy and
cultural) and the literacy classes plus the autobiographies
written by the new literates.

Once the draft was produced, it was reviewed and amended by
the literacy students and the KCECC Executive Committee. Then
it was presented and discussed at a number of public readings.
In these sessions which went on for two months, the script was
read out, discussed and critized. Where the analysis was felt
to be inadequate, the community suggested changes. In effect,
it became the community's play.

The play, Ngaahika Ndeenda (I Will Marry When I Want) talks
about the people of Kamirithu - their lives, history, strug-
gles, songs, experiences, hopes and concerns. It exposes
through satire the manipulation of religion, the greed and cor-
ruption of the ruling classes, the treachery of colonial col-
laborators ("loyalists" or "home guards"), and the exploitative
practices of the transnationals. The central character of the
play (Kigunda) is a poor farm labourer employed by a rich
farmer and former colonial collaborator (Kioi). Kigunda is
swindled out of his small plot of land by Kioi, aided and
abetted by the manipulations of religion. His daughter, im-
pregnated by Kioi's son, is forced to drop out of school and
to start working on a coffee plantation. She falls in love
with a worker from the Bata Shoe Company and resists the men
who come to seduce her, saying "I will marry when I want". At
the end of the play, the worker organizes a strike at the Bata
Shoe Factory and the daughter leads a struggle against the
transnational owner of the coffee plantation.
Once the script had been agreed on, a group of actors were selected - again the decision was taken by the whole community - and the rehearsals started. The interest was very high and everyone in the community pitched up for the rehearsals, which took place in the evenings and weekends. Some times as many as 300 people came to the open clearing in the village which served as the rehearsal space - to take part in the acting and singing, to join in the discussions, to suggest songs to reinforce the message, to direct the dance movements, to watch and enjoy. Working together on this ambitious production provided a powerful experience of collective effort.

More and more villagers joined the production as new aspects were added. A women's choir was formed lead by the 50-year old woman who had composed the opera sequence in the play. A group of young unemployed men and a few workers from the Bata Shoe Company, who had already shown an interest in instrumental music, were encouraged to form an orchestra - to provide songs for the play and music for the interval. Another group took on the job of preparing costumes and props. A further group was formed to make food for the participants. Each of these groups worked separately on their own aspect of the production and reported regularly to the Executive Committee. Sessions were also held in which the different parts of the performance were integrated. In the end about 200 villagers took part in the production.

The theatre production became the central experience of the community. Outside the rehearsals people took on the identities of their characters in the play and referred to situations in the play in arguments and conversations. Their self-confidence grew and there was a significant decline in drinking and crime:

By the time we came to perform it was generally understood and accepted that drunkenness was not allowed at the centre. For a village which was known for drunken brawls, it was a remarkable achievement of our collective self-discipline that we never had a single incident of fighting or a single drunken disruption for all the six months of public rehearsals and performances (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1981).

The whole effort unleashed a wealth of talent and demystified the creative process. Some of the examples of this burst of creativity and self-awareness were given by Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981b):

Before the play was over we received three scripts of plays in the Gikuyu language, two written by a worker, and one by a primary school teacher. One unemployed youth, who had tried to commit suicide four times because he thought his life was useless, now suddenly discovered that he had a tremendous voice which, when reised in song kept its listeners on dramatic tenterhooks.
Building the people's national theatre

Perhaps the biggest achievement of the community was the construction of a huge open-air theatre. During the initial public readings of the play the idea of a village theatre was raised and the community decided to go ahead with it. Although expensive to build, it was seen as important to the presentation of the play and a way of making money for the KCECC.

The question then was: how to pay for it? This started one of the most important discussions of the KCECC. People spoke vehemently against the idea of holding a "harambee" rally in which "big people" pledged contributions to the project. They proposed instead a "Harambee of Sweat": every villager would contribute ideas and labour and materials to the building of the theatre. The weekends were set aside for this community project and a team of young men was selected to take the lead in designing and building the theatre. Working from a model based on matchsticks and using local materials the community constructed a 2,000-seat theatre on the plot beside the community centre.

Repression and resistance

On 2nd October the play opened. It attracted immediate attention. People came from neighbouring villages and, once the word spread, from all over the country. Peasants and workers sat alongside Nairobi businessmen and civil servants - but, according to one correspondent, it was the peasants and workers who laughed and enjoyed themselves the most. It was their lives, their story being enacted on the stage, the first time in Kenya's history that "a play of the people/ was/ being acted for the people by the people" (Kahiga, 1977). It ran to audiences of up to 2,000 each Saturday and Sunday. After seven weeks of extremely popular performances, the inevitable happened - it was banned. The District Commissioner in the area announced that he was withdrawing the license for the play on grounds that it fomented strife between classes.

The KCECC fought back, through their supporters in the press and in the Kenyan middle class who turned it into a national issue. People flooded the newspapers with protest letters and widened the debate, bringing out the issue of foreign control of Kenyan cultural institutions.

When the government saw that the KCECC and its supporters were not backing down, they struck again. On the 31st of December 1977, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o was detained.

The resulting tension and fear did have an effect. For a number of weeks villagers stopped coming to the centre and waited to see what would happen. But the authorities underestimated the villagers' strength; they didn't understand the broad-based nature of the villagers' organization. They
thought that by detaining Ngũgĩ they would break the KCECC. But instead of falling apart, the centre increased its activities, showing that the centre was not dependent on any single individual.

Fresh literacy classes were started with new participants and the enrolment increased to 150 people. The orchestra and choir which had been created for Nqaahika Ndeenda continued to meet regularly and produced two records - Ndĩnguri na Murimi (the rich man and the poor peasant) and Mwikũ Mwikũ? (where are you people?).

The women's group became very active, developing ways of working together for purposes of improving family incomes and supporting each other. They formed a production group and took on contract work, distributing the wages among the members. This collective approach made the women stronger; earlier when each woman on her own had struggled to find work they had been more easily exploited. Now as a group they demanded a fair wage.

The real effect of the repression was external to Kamĩrĩthu. In Kamĩrĩthu the people and the KCECC were strong enough to continue despite the harassment. What the banning and detention did was to stop a groundswell of peasant-initiated cultural activity in other villages which had been inspired by the Kamĩrĩthu experience. As one committee member put it:

If our efforts had not been clubbed down so suddenly there is no telling how many other centres of its kind would now be in existence (Kahiga, 1979).

A year after Ngũgĩ's detention Kenyatta died. The new regime released Ngũgĩ along with other political prisoners. He returned home to Kamĩrĩthu where he received a hero's welcome from the villagers. During his detention he had been fired by the University at the urging of the Kenya government (Ngugi wa Mĩrũ had been similarly victimized).

After recovering from his rough treatment in detention, Ngũgĩ started to work with the villagers on a new play Maĩtu Njugira (Mother, say it for me). The play this time was historical, rather than contemporary, and it was assumed it would avoid provoking the authorities. The play focuses on the colonial system of control, including brutal suppression and apartheid-type legislation. It also shows the determined resistance by Kenyans against colonial rule and exploitation by the settlers. The play centres around the resistance songs of various Kenyan nationalists which are sung by the mother to the daughter - a history lesson about Kenya's struggle against foreign domination.
When the rehearsals started 400 people auditioned for the 50 parts! Ngũgĩ was thrilled by the turn-out:

After the problems we had over the first play I thought people might be scared off, but this time they came knowing exactly what the problems might be - very conscious. (Brittain, 1982).

This time the KCECC proposed to perform the play in the National Theatre in Nairobi - partly as a challenge to its neo-colonial practices. In the fall of 1981 they wrote to government asking for permission to perform the play. They never received a reply. Government used "ping pong tactics" to avoid responding, passing their letter from department to department. In February 1982, when they showed up at the National Theatre for final rehearsals, the doors were locked and they were prevented from entering. They switched their rehearsals to the University where they performed for ten nights to a packed theatre of over 1,000 people each night. Then the University closed them down, under pressure from government.

A few days later KCECC's license was withdrawn and the Executive Committee sacked. The theatre group was told they could no longer use the centre and government announced they were taking it over as an adult education study centre. To reinforce the message a squad of police invaded the centre and smashed the theatre - which had been built at great expense and labour by the community - to the ground.

Assessing the work to date

The struggle by the peasants and workers of Kami'rlithu will continue. They may have been silenced, their centre taken over and their theatre destroyed, but their awareness, commitment and organization will produce new struggles and new forms of protest. As one commentator put it:

Kenya remains the land of Dedan Kĩmathi and the Land Freedom Army (the Mau Mau). No constitutional engineers can wipe this fact from the consciousness of Kenyan workers and peasants. Their culture of resistance though "repressed, persecuted and betrayed..." will live on "in the villages, in the forests and in the spirit of generations of victims of colonialism". (Cabral, 1980).

What remains, in the interim, is to assess the work done so far at Kami'rlithu. Their breakthrough in developing a truly popular theatre linked to popular organizing and struggle represents a major advance over other experiences in 'popular' theatre in Africa - for example:

urban-based 'political' theatre which is often aimed at a small, privileged English-speaking minority;
university travelling theatre (e.g. Kenya and Zambia) which takes plays to rural villagers but rarely involves them in the creative process;

'populist' drama of West Africa (e.g. Yoruba opera, concert party, etc.) which involves working class performers and audiences but fails to advance working class interests;

'theatre for development' (e.g. Botswana, Zambia) which takes plays on development themes to the villages or develops these plays with villagers but keeps the control of the process outside the community;

the farmers' workshops in northern Nigeria organized by the ABU Popular Drama Collective which involve the farmers in a process of drama-making and critical analysis but lack an on-going organizational base.

The high level of participation in the KamTrTTthu experience has helped to demystify "theatre", to show that ordinary villagers can do it, can "rise to heights hitherto unknown and undreamt of in the area of modern-performing arts" (NgügI wa Thiong'o, 1981). This represents a reappropriation of culture by the people, of taking back what the ruling class has denigrated as "traditional", or converted into a tourist commodity, a means of glorifying the political leadership, or a tool of partisan politics.

But it is more than mere participation. As Williams (1972) has shown, participation can be a sham, people can "participate in their own domestication", i.e., being drawn into a process in which they take part but have no control, in which they are manipulated through their involvement to accept the status quo. The KamTrTTthu villagers are not just actors or participants or a cheap source of labour for a community project shaped by others.

Villager control over the KCECC accounts for the high level of participation in KCECC activity. People feel consulted, people feel they are working for a project which is theirs, a project which they have helped to shape. Through running the KCECC, people begin to feel more in control of their lives. As NgügI wa MTr I commented in analyzing the literacy work:

The poor will never change as long as the pivot upon which their cultural life is governed is not under their control.

People's organization

KamTrTTthu's second distinguishing feature is its organization. It is the organization which has been the vehicle for popular control over the organizing process. It is the organization
which gives the work continuity. Without it, the work would have stopped at the first sign of repression.

The creation of the KCECC has also made it possible to link drama with a community transformation process. Drama becomes one part of a larger and on-going experience rather than simply a one-off event.

In other popular theatre experiences in Africa the problem has always been: what happens next? An individual performance may spark a lot of discussion, participation and critical insight, but once it's over there is no organizational vehicle to take it further. People's consciousness may have been raised but without an organizational base for follow-up action all the interest and momentum stops at the end of the performance. In Kamirithu the creation of an organization has made it possible to make drama an organic part of an on-going movement. The drama is not simply a one-off event - it is part of a broader community effort, a struggle by the peasants and workers to transform Kamirithu. In this context drama is not the primary mobilizing agent for community action nor the main source of learning: it is "drama-within-a-process" - one of a number of interconnected activities which serve a broader aim of building a people's organization and struggling against oppression.

Of course, this kind of work doesn't go on without a reaction from the dominant class. They can ignore the one-off, outside-in theatre experiments or the theatre of political rhetoric for the middle class. But a theatre which is rooted in and organized by the peasantry is more threatening. It isn't just the play and the exposure of corruption which concerns them. What worries the ruling class is the organization and the organizational capacity which lies behind the play, the fact that peasants and workers have shown that they can organize for themselves, that they can develop things without bourgeois patronage or bureaucratic influence. What they fear most is the peasants' awareness that they can develop their own organization and that this kind of organization and this kind of independent organizing can spread to other areas. What if this organizational power begins to challenge the roots of the neo-colonial structure?

**Popular content**

As the outcome of a process which is both collective and critical, a process which is controlled by the people, the Kamirithu theatre is a genuine expression of popular interests, advancing the consciousness and organization of the peasants.

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1/ Kamirithu has shown that people come to a critical class consciousness, not in an abstract intellectual exercise but in the process of building an organization and struggling for their rights.
and workers. This popular content accounts for the extraordinarily high level of participation:

Landless peasants can easily participate in a programme which discusses issues related to land ... just as in the struggle for Independence peasants joined in with a will because it was also a struggle for land. (Ngũgĩ wa Mŭrũĩ, 1978).

But it is more than populist content dealing with the concerns and issues of the people. It is critical content. It not only starts with people's experience of poverty, but it shows how they have been made poor and challenges the proverbial, victim-blaming rationalizations. It shows that poverty is created by the political-economic system rather than people's habits, knowledge, attitudes, etc. Rather than "banking" people with modernizing information and techniques and reinforcing dependence on the outside expert, it encourages the growth of people's own analysis, self-confidence and fighting spirit. It makes people question the political-economic structures which shape their oppression and develop the will to transform these structures.

It is also critical in relation to tradition. While rooting itself in tradition and recognizing the vital role tradition has played in the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism, it does not accept tradition uncritically. It develops tradition in a progressive way, attempting to overcome the contradictions within traditional culture. It identifies and develops those aspects of traditional culture which strengthen their identity and resistance (e.g. the songs of struggle) while rooting out those elements which reinforce submission to domination.

Popular theatre as resistance

Another feature of the Kamĩrũthu experience is the use of drama as resistance. Having been humiliated, manipulated and victimized, the villagers have discovered drama to be a powerful tool for fighting back - rebuilding a sense of community, voicing people's concerns and aspirations, clarifying the nature of poverty, raising political consciousness, poking fun at their oppressors and protesting against the abuses of the dominant class. The resignation and alienation of the past has given way to a fighting spirit - of questioning, of combative restiveness, of challenge. One sign of this growing confidence and involvement has been the reduced dependence on drinking.

Peoples'drama as national culture

Kamĩrũthu has provided an alternative vision for developing national culture in Kenya - the notion of popular centres of
culture in every village rather than elitist and neo-colonial institutions of culture in the capital.

At the same time, it is a clear demonstration of the validity of building a national theatre and a dynamic national culture out of the lives of peasants and workers, the languages they speak, the rhythms of their speech and gait and daily work and homely chores... (and) the conflicts in their lives... (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 1981).

The peasants and workers proved that out of their own internal resources and the passions born of their unique experience of history, they can outshine the best that can be produced by parroting foreigners and by following submissively the trodden paths of foreign education, foreign theatres, foreign cultures, foreign initiatives, foreign languages. (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1981).

For Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o the Kamiriithu experience has been a breakthrough. Before working with the KCECC his creative expression was an individual effort and was consumed by a very limited audience of people who could read English. Now his creative efforts are collective, couched in the people's language and accessible to and influenced by the peasants and workers.

(Viene de la pag. 17)

TEATRO POPULAR Y LUCHAS EN KENYA: EL CENTRO KAMIRIITHU DE EDUCACIÓN COMUNITARIA Y CULTURAL

Resumen: En 1977 las autoridades de Kenya prohibieron las representaciones de un teatro popular en el cual participaban 200 habitantes de Kamiriithu y tomaron preso a uno de sus organizadores, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. Puesto en libertad un año más tarde, permanece sin permiso para ejercer su cargo de profesor en la Universidad y volvió a trabajar con los campesinos. En Marzo de 1982, nuevamente las autoridades han obstaculizado las actividades del centro; se ha prohibido sus representaciones y el teatro al aire libre con 2000 plazas, construido por la comunidad, fue destruido. Este artículo describe las condiciones en que se creó este teatro participativo, el nivel de auto-organización alcanzado por los campesinos, la importancia de la experiencia para la vida social, económica y cultural de la comunidad y su contribución a la concientización de los campesinos. El autor examina igualmente las razones de las medidas represivas tomadas contra el centro.
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PROJECT ANSWER - AN ORGANISATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT *

by Felicia Ifeoma Ekejiuba
Dept. Sociology and Anthropology
University of Nsukka
Nsukka, Nigeria

Original language: English

Abstract: Many rural development programmes have failed because they were elitist and imposed from outside on those for whom they were intended. There was little or no dialogue with, or participation of, the rural population in order to identify local values, aspirations or needs, nor were they assimilated into the planning or the execution of the projects. In situations where women constitute the majority of rural populations due to the migration of male labour to urban centres, the projects have only succeeded in undercutting the women's traditional roles, thus marginalizing rather than integrating them. The paper describes a project for integrated rural development in Nigeria with specific reference to the role of women and the ways and means in which their situations could be improved through income-generating, agro-commercial cooperatives, promotion of formal and non-formal educational programmes and improvement of all areas of research pertaining to rural life.

(Resumen en Español pag. 43)

* Paper submitted to the seminar on women and rural development organized by the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWRD) in Algiers (Septembre 1982).
This paper outlines a framework for achieving a more even and lasting rural development which will ensure both increased visibility of women, increased productivity as well as improved living standards of lower income rural people. It is predicated on a number of truisms: that African women have been and are central to the development processes of their continent. That the present pattern of rural-urban migration of the male and able skewed the rural demographic pattern in favour of female making them predominate the rural labour force; that the effective participation of African women in all phases of modern versions of development processes is only possible with the restructuring of the existing male dominated institutional framework (e.g. cooperatives, local government, banks, ministries of rural development, etc.) at local, regional and national levels. That long lasting, effective rural transformation can only result from well-informed, committed rural population with well-developed local organization which facilitates the introduction and propagation of innovation. That women's perceptions and perspectives need to be incorporated into development plans; hence there must be information on them as well as actual involvement and participation of women at all levels of decision making and implementation.

Consequently, a comprehensive rural development project is outlined, which combines income-generating activities with research, educational, social and economic policies and strategies: a framework for mobilizing women and actively involving them in all phases of planning and executing a modern development project for societal transformation. The project incorporates modern programmes into existing social, cultural and economic organization, phasing the programme in a careful realistic manner. It stresses the importance of enlightened leadership, unquestioned commitment to rural development, adequate information, enlightened and dedicated cooperative followership that ensures mass participation in long-lasting rural transformation. Cooperative organization is seen only as a first stage in the transformation and modernisation of rural areas where more than 70% of Nigeria's population live, over 60% of which are women. A growing number of private and public - national and international - organizations are reaching a consensus that uneven development, with its attendant evil of hunger, malnutrition, inequality, degradation and human misery is undesirable. It is neither capable of producing the ideal of development nor a just and human society. In particular, the international development communities are currently searching for
solutions to two related aspects of uneven development: rural development as well as the visibility and effective participation of women in development processes. The growing political awareness and consensus however are not matched by scientific and technical consensus. There are many theories, often conflicting, about how rural areas can be developed and how women can be "integrated" in national or rural development processes. Hence those who are ready to act to ameliorate the problems do not have access to any clear statement about how the increased and permanent visibility of women in development processes might be achieved. The analytical community has thus failed to give scientific support to those working to bring about even development of regions (rural) and people, especially women, the under-utilized resource in development. Several national and international agencies - academic, voluntary and governmental are currently intensifying efforts in identifying the components of the most effective theoretical and organizational framework for rural development. Strategies that have variously been tried include Farm Settlements, Kibutz, New Deal, Operation Feed the Nation, Green Revolution and several versions of integrated rural development schemes. The impressive, often annotated bibliographical material on rural development of the past two decades however, shows that a plethora of field and research projects have to-date been established: only a couple of these can claim to have been modestly successful (e.g. the China experiment of rural development or Commilla Rural Development Projects in Bangladesh). Why have many of these projects failed? Why have they at best increased inequality temporarily increasing material artefacts without transforming rural people? Why are women and men affected differently by technological transformation of the social and economic environment? In particular, why have many socio-economic development projects, especially those involving advanced technologies, by-passed women or marginalized them in development processes as many studies have rightly noted?

Obviously, each project should be evaluated within its own context but there are certain common pitfalls which future programmes should guard against. Many of the programmes have been elitist, politically inspired and externally imposed changes on the target audience in the nations to which development programmes were directed. There was little or no dialogue with or participation of the target audience in the processes of identifying local values, aspirations, or needs, nor in planning or executing projects. No social organization had been created to replace the traditional systems which were rapidly collapsing due to new patterns of economic change.

The farm settlements of Nigeria in the 60s for instance, sought to increase agricultural production of food and cash crops by providing relocated young school leavers with various production inputs - land, fertilizers, improved seeds, technological information capital and credit. Operation Feed the Nation
aimed at increasing food available to the nation by encouraging all Nigerian citizens, rural and urban, to grow food crops. The failure of all these and other worthwhile but lofty schemes have variously been attributed to several factors: emphasis on developing material artefacts to the neglect of people who should be the goal of development; non-recognition of the need for democratic participation of the target audience; the unattractiveness of farming and rural environment which still relies on such manual primitive tools as opposed to the machine operated economy of the urban centres; the hostility of the landowners to the landless and consequently the difficulties of procuring land for development.

Above all, the failure of these schemes must be attributed to the vicissitudes of rapid political change which results in lack of commitment to and continuity in the physical, financial, and institutional support for the programmes. The absence of well development leads to ad hoc programmes, which are usually the first casualties of change in the personnel or systems of government. The literature on Green Revolution outside Nigeria indicates that its fate is not very different from the New Deal or farm settlements. Even where they have succeeded in temporarily increasing productivity while they lasted, the rural environment and people have remained untouched by their results while unreplenishable natural resources have been depleted. In particular since these projects did not give any serious consideration to the specific situation and roles of women, they succeeded in undercutting women's traditional roles, thus whittling down their pre-existing functions and marginalizing rather than integrating them in modern development processes.

There is considerable evidence to show that there has been limited communication between academic research, political community, development planners and the target population.

Formulation of research on rural Africa has generally been criticized as foreign and imposed from above, with very limited attention to the historical perspective of rural development processes and therefore little reflection on the aspirations and development practices of African people. Many research and development projects focus on large-scale export-oriented farm/mines on wholesale imported theories and technologies. This leads to an extension of production for export, the stagnation of food and the limited local enthusiasm for and mass participation in development projects.

Moreover, planners anticipate change in economic behaviour, for example shifting emphasis from group (kin-based) to individual in decision-making. But they incorporate these at the initial phases of the development project, not allowing for the time lag in the dialectical relationship between infrastructure and superstructure. They also ignore the fact that change in the behaviour patterns of individuals will ultimately affect the
social organization of the society. In other words the need for phased change which incorporates changes and therefore an institution building approach to rural development which ensures continuity and thus lasting effects has so far not been fully appreciated. It has been convincingly argued that improved performance in implementing agricultural and rural development programmes will depend on further penetration of informed thinking into grass-roots level of development. It has also been widely recognized that rural development research and planning must be based on knowledge of the physical, historical, economic and social conditions of the area where the plan will be implemented.

For the elimination of the two related problems of rural development and the integration of women in development processes to be effectively tackled, bold and radical efforts should be directed at restructuring the existing organization, value, power, distribution and consumption patterns through effective social, legal, economic and educational policies. This calls for concerted action by the education, analytical, planning and political communities.

A shift in emphasis from factor-oriented to people-oriented approaches to development is, without doubt, a sine-qua-non for the transformation. In this approach, the goal of development is the optimum mobilization of the creative energy and skills of real concrete, critically conscious individuals for natural resources.

A structurally flexible and democratic system that assures the provision for maximal development (not debasement, exploitation, dehumanisation or alienation) of the individual will facilitate the mobilization of these creative individuals. This approach makes human beings an end, not the means of development.

From this perspective, the integration of women in development processes as well as rural development becomes a crucial part of total human resource development and this, the end of all development programmes. A theoretical framework that facilitates this approach should direct particular attention to special problem areas that in the past had been neglected. These include the formal incorporation of women's concerns in planning processes in the early stages of national comprehensive programmes of action for development. Such a framework should stress that women are equal partners with men in the concern for human growth and optimal development: that women are central, not peripheral to any development process that seeks to improve the quality of life of people, by alleviating hunger, malnutrition and human misery. It should also recognize that women are not a social problem nor a welfare problem but an economic asset which so far has been inadequately utilized. Such a framework specifically requires planning policies at the
national level which are responsive to the specific roles of women and are willing to monitor their changing positions from benchmarks on which the impact on women's status and roles is judged. Recognition of the vital role of women in socio-economic life in both agricultural and non-agricultural activities is a pre-requisite for successful rural development based on growth with equity as well as an optimum development of people will obviously require full integration of women in the planning and implementation states. Full "integration" includes equal access to land, inputs, services, information, production techniques and equal opportunity to develop and employ their skills.

It is also obvious that the problem of continuing invisibility and marginalisation of women in development processes stems in part from the execution of projects through rigidly structured, male-dominated institutions (e.g. ministries, banks, local governments, etc.). These are too far removed from the concrete situation of women and their channels of communication to be effective for the solution of the problem. Neglect of women's concerns in planning and execution processes is also a result of women's invisibility in tools of policy planning: economic statistics, data collection methods with its sex-based stereotypes, its emphasis on urban or such male-headed units as the "family"; emphasis on the range of socio-economic factors that best describe men's more visible activity. There is thus need to re-think methods of research and data collection procedures. A step towards improved policy recommendation lies in improving the concepts and tools of planning especially of formal data collection which have often resulted in the under-reporting and thus in the neglect or misinterpretation of women's situation. There is an urgent need to expand knowledge and statistical data on all aspects of women's roles in rural activities and to disseminate this information in order to promote greater awareness of women's role in society. The rest of the paper describes a programme, Project Answer, which addresses itself to the above problems.

While aware that no single factor is solely responsible for uneven development, the proposal rests on perceived contemporary demographic trends in rural areas, in particular with regard to the status of women. Essentially, the rural demographic structure reflects the fact that migration of the male and able to urban centres is so great that about 85% of those left behind consist of women, old men and very young children of primary school age. The small number of able-bodied males in the rural areas are those involved in the service (teaching and manning such government institutions like local government or post offices) or re-distribution sectors of the economy. Rural development is thus faced with the paradox that the production-oriented rural economy relies heavily on those who are ill-equipped with out-dated tools, technical information, scientific cultural training and whose traditional roles and
access to resources pose problems for their effective incorporation into modern economic systems. On the other hand, the consumption-oriented urban economy (that is parasitic on rural economy as well as on the more industrially developed sectors of the world economy) is flooded with the male and able whose training, skills and access to resources better equip them for more effective incorporation into modern scientific culture and economy.

**Project Answer** believes that effective and long lasting rural development is contingent on the perception and resolution of the paradox. Consequently, it outlines a programme of rural social engineering with active collaboration and democratic participation of the rural population which aims at resolving the paradox. It aims at developing those left behind in the rural environment by improving their skills and increasing their access to technical information and resources - material and non-material - essential for more effective participation in development and decisions (especially on nutrition) affecting the future of society. Consequently, **Project Answer** links its participatory action research design with the implementation of educational projects and income-generating activities aimed at achieving self-sustained development.

It seeks to bridge the technological and cultural gap between the rural and urban, especially between the sexes (since most of the able rural population is predominantly women). The focus of **Project Answer** is on achieving total lasting rural transformation by addressing itself to causes of rural poverty or non-development rather than alleviating some of the effects of rural poverty. **Project Answer** will also provide a base for developing indicators, statistics and improving data collection methods. This should result in improved tools for incorporating women's concerns in planning.

**Programmes**

A basic assumption of **Project Answer** is that women's associations in rural Nigeria provide effective and cheap channels for formal and non-formal education essential for rural transformation. Given the central role women play in reproducing, socializing and producing to nurture rural and urban families; in the light of their proven active interest in all phases of rural transformation even in spite of their limited sources of income; any project that taps this under-utilized source of labour, develops modern skills and income generating activities while disseminating knowledge about modern production will achieve results that will last through time and space.

**Project Answer** combines three schemes: co-operatively run income-generating and profit oriented commercial scheme that focuses on the production of poultry, leafy vegetables,
rabbits and goats. Other possible commercial projects, which will be considered at a later stage, include pig production, bee keeping schemes for the production of honey, as well as maize and cassava mills. In all these production and marketing will be done co-operatively: members of the co-operative will be actively involved at all levels - planning, decision-making and execution.

The other schemes are educational and research. Through the former both basic (reading, writing) and specialized education, (nutrition, family planning, cancer information) will be disseminated to rural families. The last scheme aims at documenting experiences, processes and problems of transforming rural families. Research will also be carried out into voluntary associations as adaptive mechanism of non-formal education and rural transformation.

Additionally, research will be geared towards basic and change studies.

At the practical level, Project Answer is geared towards production and increase in food supplies. Its focus on protein sources is particularly significant since this is always expensive, in short supply and therefore not within reach of low income and rural families. Hence it is not geared to solving nutritional problems but also reducing the dependence of Nigerian consumers on external and imported sources of protein with its attendant drain on foreign exchange. Thus through research, education and action oriented programmes that ensures maximum participation by the local community, Project Answer seeks to: integrate nutrition into rural agricultural development; by creating and using grass-root organizations and institutions to provide nutrition information and facilitate full effective participation in action-oriented programmes; and by raising food production especially protein sources - eggs, vegetables and livestock; thus increasing access of rural population to the means of production and ensuring that they maximally utilize the resources which will increasingly be made available to them. In these ways Project Answer will design strategies that will increase the real options of people; ultimately it will emphasize and encourage higher protein intake in the family and thus improve the nutrition status of children and women. Project Answer will achieve the above by introducing income generating activities which will be run and managed by the local community, especially women. This will raise the income of women, income that is essential for increased availability of food and improved levels of existence. At all stages of the programme, the local community will actively participate in the definition of research programmes, in the collection of data, in planning, implementation and evaluation of practical programmes.
Project Answer will particularly focus research attention on two fundamental problems, hitherto not sufficiently researched into, which are obstacles to effective food systems and nutritional status of rural families.

Although all sectors of world, especially rural, food system - from production, through processing to distribution and preparation - depend mainly on the labour of women; even though over 60% of the population of the production-oriented rural families are women; women have very limited, unstable or no access to the means of production, land. Project Answer will therefore study as a matter of priority the impact of land tenure and land use on women throughout their developmental cycle - from adolescence through marriage, motherhood, widowhood and head of household. The salutary effects on nutritional status of the family will be fully documented. Since women are fully engaged in feeding their households, they have to be borne in mind when considering the nutrition of any population. Women's associations and rural families constituted into a co-operative will provide cheap, informal, effective and long-lasting forum for increasing the level of village basic education, free access to vocational and technological knowhow, and improving their knowledge and effective use of local food staples. They will also serve as a forum for nutrition education, family-life education including maternity, child care, breast feeding, child spacing and other aspects of family planning.

**Educational projects**

The new ideas will be disseminated through discussion groups, workshops, demonstrations, films (e.g. into mainstream), lectures, and direct instructions. Pertinent areas of instruction will include: basic education on nutrition, reading, writing, arithmetic and clinics. Nutrition: new and improved method of food preparations; importance of nutrition, balanced diet. Improved and modern methods of farming - food, vegetable and livestock techniques. Use of new fertilizers, efficient storage methods to minimize contamination. Small-scale commercial enterprises and marketing organization and management. Handcraft, leadership training programmes for women's group leaders.

**Family education such as:**

Maternity, child care and socialization. Health care (sex education) and family planning. Training programmes designed to help girls and women integrate themselves into the urban setting. Training course for women leaders. Home economics and household management. Youth activities - workshops, visits. Civic awareness and duties.
Instructions take place locally and during hours when women can get away from agricultural trading and domestic duties.

Research projects

Project Answer programmes A and B provide a field laboratory for knowledge accumulation through implementation of the projects. These should provide field experience and facilitate research by social anthropologists, agricultural economists, extension workers, nutritionists and rural sociologists about phenomena that are of critical interest to researchers and planners. Project Answer offers these various groups opportunity for co-operation. The research activities can be on basic or change studies. Basic studies will include: Women's Group and associations; role in development and as pressure groups; work and household pattern of rural women according to their ages and family responsibilities; structure and function of rural households; careers of rural women. Study and evaluation of past approaches to nutrition and health education; wastage points in micro-level food systems impact on nutritional status of the family. Profiles of, (a) leading women, (b) socially deprived women in the community with particular emphasis on factors enhancing or inhibiting women's social visibility. Change studies will include: processes and problems of transforming traditional associations for modern educational and economic activities; impact of innovations on sex roles; income effects of innovations and its effects on factor prices; consequences of alternative rural development strategies over time; voluntary associations as an instrument of rural transformation.

Conclusion

Project Answer is a total, integrated process of social change which involves technical as well as social and economic dimensions. These ultimately seek to integrate new techniques, organization and knowledge into an on-going socio-cultural process.

It seeks to increase, rather than constrict, alternative paths to rural economic transformation. It orients planning process so that local people play a greater role in selecting alternatives in the perspective of information essential for choosing between these different alternatives. The orientation stems from its belief that the ultimate goal of rural transformation should be optimum self-development as well as self-sufficiency in regard to food for the local population combined with production of surplus to generate income and feed the non-producing, consumption-oriented urban population. It also includes the diversification of rural activities especially income-generating opportunities.
Ultimately, these will make rural areas desirable and thus help stem the tide of the youth and brain to urban centres.

Project Answer also aims at evolving modernised structures that are as closely adapted as possible to the local environment and are based on production of essential needs. It recognizes that rural families, especially rural women are part of the national and world economic system that are linked through several levels of economic and commercial activities.

Consequently, it allows for the urban segments of rural families to be at least financial members of the co-operative. Project Answer is predicated on the conviction that the promotion of co-operatives which actively encourage women membership is a promising area for creating concrete conditions for mobilizing and organizing women and fostering their participation in development processes. It offers unique opportunities for improving women's performance of their intra and extra-familial roles in a modern context especially for the development of women's decision-making and entrepreneurial skills. Such co-operative will additionally offer a forum for monitoring the changing role of women, for creating awareness and for adding on a range of projects, activities, workshops and extension programmes designed to develop rural areas and improve the quality of life of the people. Improved quality of life implies increased access to production outputs, access to information, production technology, markets, improved nutritional standards and rural services.

Project Answer does not require greatly increased labour inputs especially during peak labour periods. Low income and limited managerial capacity means that profitable dependable and cheap innovations are most likely to be adopted. Income-generating approach of Project Answer ensures that farmers will be able to purchase inputs that bring about further change. The complex integrated approach also ensures that inputs are delivered in sufficient quantities at the right time and in the right place.

Project Answer is structured to provide new knowledge and new techniques at grass-root level: it will also record and analyse its past experience to planners, other researchers and other community-based co-operatives which will enable them assess and evaluate different ways of introducing change. Thus it will provide field experience and facilitate microeconomic research about a phenomenon largely unknown to researchers. This will enable them identify and specify appropriate variables and define relevant concepts on the basis of prior knowledge of similar situations.

The promise and prospect of Project Answer for theory and practice of even development are many and varied. It aims at creating self-generating employment opportunities in collec-
tive income-generating activities but allows for ultimate individual initiative and involvement in development processes. The co-operative is thus seen as a stage in the development of individual skills and access to channels of communication essential for effective participation in national development processes. **Project Answer** requires little per capita investment but supplements family and individual income through the sale of produce.

Additionally, it improves family diet through home production of foods which the family at present cannot afford.

**Project Answer** also aims at developing a methodology for data collection and massive training at the grassroots level. This is in recognition of the urgent need to expand knowledge and statistical data on all aspects of women's role in national growth and development as well as to disseminate the information in order to promote better awareness of women's role and its incorporation at the early stages of national development plans.

**Project Answer** realizes that the vital role of women in socio-economic life in both agricultural and non-agricultural activities is a pre-requisite for successful rural development based on optimum development of human potentials in the ongoing dialectic between human beings and their environment definitely requires full integration of all individuals, irrespective of gender and age at theoretical, planning, execution and regard distribution levels. Although such a radical view of development does not imply an egalitarian society - which is utopian - it definitely implies a more equitable and just distribution of resources, inputs and services as well as equal opportunities at developing and employing skills. Economic enfranchisement of the whole adult population (from 18 onwards irrespective of gender, age, class or religion), should lead to more even development. Obviously this entails changes in the existing relations of production especially in sex and class relations. It entails a conscious policy effort aimed at elucidating and eliminating all man-made obstacles to optimumactualization and development of man's creative energies for effective and efficient production. It also implies that social reform, legislative action and preferential economic policy should be directed at removing all obstacles to developing self-reliance, self confidence and self-emancipation, strong work ethics and improving the relationship between self and otherselves in society at national and international levels.

Finally, it is necessary to end this paper by restating that **Project Answer**'s philosophy is that even development must be people-oriented and must involve all critically conscious adult members of the population irrespective of gender and age. In examining the methods of integrating science and technology in economic and social development, an UN agent identified the inadequate use of human resources as one of the main obstacles
to the application of science and technology to development. In particular, it noted that the potential of women - over half the world's population - is hardly involved in the scientific and technological enterprises. It advises that national development planners should ensure that those areas (rural) and specific groups (women) so far by-passed by technological advance and national planning be given higher priority through social reform, legislative action at early stages of planning (especially of mechanization and transfer of technology).

Priority should also involve funding remedial projects. In this way, the processes of marginalization set in motion by development processes as presently conceptualized (especially in technologically-oriented jobs) will be stemmed. According to Economic Commission for Africa, agricultural, rural and national development processes will be a slow and difficult process if women, who form half of the population and in some countries represent up to 80% of agricultural labour force, continue to be denied access to technological and scientific knowledge, credit, consumer/producer co-operatives, labour-saving devices and income-generating activities.

(Viene de la pag. 31)

EL PROYECTO "RESPUESTA" - UN CUADRA INSTITUCIONAL PARA EL DESARROLLO RURAL INTEGRADO

Resumen: Numerosos proyectos de desarrollo rural han fracasado debido a su carácter elitista y porque se intentó imponerlos desde el exterior a quienes estaban destinados. No ha habido sino poco o nada de diálogo con la población rural, y ésta no ha participado en la identificación de sus valores, de sus aspiraciones o de sus necesidades. Aún más, la población no ha participado en la planificación y la ejecución de los proyectos. No se trata de que las mujeres constituyan la mayoría de la población rural a causa de la emigración de los hombres hacia las ciudades; estos proyectos no han logrado sino debilitar el papel tradicional de la mujeres, marginalizándolas todavía más, en lugar de integrarlas. Este artículo describe un proyecto de una nueva experiencia de desarrollo rural integrado en Nigeria. Se dirige expresamente a las mujeres con el propósito de mejorar su situación mediante el aumento de su renta, la organización de cooperativas agrícolas de comercialización, la educación escolar y extra-escolar, y la investigación en todos los aspectos de la vida rural.
ou au sens large. Dans le premier cas, sans viser l'exercice du pouvoir gouvernemental, ces associations se prononcent sur telle ou telle politique d'Etat, la critiquent ou l'appuient. Dans le second cas, elles s'efforcent de résoudre les problèmes de leurs membres (par ex., une communauté paysanne) ou s'attachent à demander des comptes, au nom de la société, à ceux qui exercent un pouvoir gouvernemental et/ou économique. Elles revendiquent concrètement l'application du principe de responsabilité.

On observe, dans l'espace mondial, une floraison d'associations de ce dernier type. Amnesty International en est peut-être l'exemple le plus célèbre dans le domaine des droits de l'homme; le Minority Rights Group en est un autre. L'organisation internationale des associations de consommateurs (International Organization of Consumers Unions), Health Action International, IBFAN (International Baby Food Action Network) en sont des exemples dans le domaine de la satisfaction des besoins essentiels comme l'ICDA (International Coalition for Development Action) dans celui des rapports Nord-Sud.

Des structures d'appui aux activités autonomes dans l'espace local se forment aussi dans de nombreux pays. Pour ne prendre que quelques exemples, Lokayan en Inde, IBASE au Brésil, ASRADEC au Sénégal, FONDA en France ... Le mouvement pour la paix et le mouvement anti-nucléaire s'affirment de plus en plus.

Dans l'espace mondial, les gouvernements, démocratiques ou non, se retrouvent dans le système des Nations Unies. Les transnationales, par définition, agissent globalement. Le tiers système demeure compartimenté. Les associations mondiales sont sectorielles, les associations nationales n'ont entre elles que des liens occasionnels.

La crise dans laquelle est plongé le monde industriel comme la crise que connaît le Tiers Monde à la fois comme séquelle de la colonisation et comme résultat de la nouvelle division internationale du travail, et le danger de guerre(s) que la crise aggrave, établissent que les solutions conventionnelles n'opèrent plus, si jamais elles ont opéré dans l'intérêt de la société. Jamais le besoin d'alternatives n'a été aussi évident. Et seuls des acteurs neufs sont en mesure de définir et de mettre en chantier ces alternatives.

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2/ Cf. Dossier FIPAD 17
3/ Cf. Dossier 31
4/ Cf. Dossier 27 et 32
5/ Cf. Dossier 25
6/ Cf. Dossier 28
7/ Cf. Dossier 30
8/ Cf. Dossier 32

(Suite à la page 52)
CHILE: COMO SALIR DE LA CRISIS

Propuestas democrata cristianas

El Grupo de Estudios Políticos y Sociales Demócrata Cristiano ha preparado un informe sobre la realidad nacional que contiene entre otras materias, un análisis de la situación económica, social, política y moral que vive el país, conjuntamente con la formulación de soluciones de orden general y de programas sectoriales proyectados para superar la grave crisis que afecta prácticamente a todas las actividades de nuestra patria. Sus principales conclusiones son las siguientes:

Naturaleza de la crisis

1. Chile atraviesa por una crisis cuya profundidad y alcances, son ya imposibles de ocultar. Ella ha sido reconocida por todos los sectores sociales, productivos, gremiales, sindicales y profesionales del país.

2. Esta crisis se debe a una conducción política que ha dividido a los chilenos y a errores cada vez más claros y determinantes en lo económico y social, a los que se ha agregado la recesión mundial, cuyos efectos no se previeron ni se adoptaron las medidas adecuadas.

3. En estas circunstancias, los distintos sectores de la vida nacional tienen la obligación de expresar su pensamiento. Es un imperativo moral que rebasa la pretensión de que solo algunos tienen ese derecho y que todo aquel que manifieste sus críticas o proponga caminos diferentes de los oficiales debe ser considerado un antipatriota, no obstante que las advertencias de quienes sostuvieron opiniones distintas a las oficiales han quedado confirmadas de una manera categórica.

4. La situación actual es el resultado de la implantación de un Gobierno que por nueve años ha impedido la participación ciudadana, que ha suspendido las libertades esenciales y que ha desarrollado una política represiva permanente. Todo ello ha conducido inevitablemente a una agudización del conflicto social y a una progresiva marginación de la ciudadanía, la que ha debido limitarse pasivamente a esperar los resultados de las órdenes y soluciones de la autoridad.

5. El modelo económico, proyectado como el milagro chileno, ha terminado en el más completo fracaso, traducido en una tasa de crecimiento negativo de la producción per capita, miles de quiebras, cesantía alarmante, baja de salarios, insolvencia del sistema financiero, destrucción del aparato productivo industrial, agrícola y minero y de la infraestructura física del país.
6. No se puede argumentar que todo este desalentador cuadro deriva del alza del precio del petróleo y de la baja del precio del cobre, porque nunca antes el país dispuso de más dólares provenientes de préstamos que han llegado a constituir una deuda externa que es de las más altas del mundo por habitante. La razón principal está en que esos dólares, se destinaron a estimular un consumo desenfrenado, descuidando de una manera irresponsable la inversión que es la base de sustentación de un crecimiento económico persistente. Esta grave situación económica se originó a pesar de que en todo este período no ha habido huelgas ni oposición alguna dado el régimen autoritario implantado.

**Dependencia y Justicia**

7. Todo lo anteriormente descrito pone en riesgo, de un modo nunca antes conocido, la seguridad y autonomía nacional y, además coloca al país en el marco de enormes sacrificios ciudadanos para afrontar los efectos de la crisis.

8. En lo cultural, se ha exaltado el individualismo, el egoísmo y el materialismo, superponiendo hábitos foráneos extraños a nuestra realidad y contrarios a los valores que siempre inspiraron la vida nacional.

9. Por otra parte, en estos años, las actuaciones del Poder Judicial han provocado una penosa sensación de ineficacia, falta de independencia y denegación de justicia. Numerosos crímenes, hechos delictuales y actos de violencia, con manifestaciones connotaciones políticas, no han sido esclarecidos. Conjuntamente, los Derechos Humanos han sido permanentemente transgredidos, tal como lo han dejado establecido los informes periódicos emanados de los organismos internacionales correspondientes, incluyendo los exilios que han puesto fuera de la patria a miles de ciudadanos sin posibilidades de éxito en los innumerables recursos de amparo presentados ante las Cortes de Justicia.

**Promesas desvanecidas**

10. Frente a la realidad descrita, se organizó el sistema de propaganda más amplio y de más alto costo que hayas conocido el país en toda su vida republicana, para crear una imagen de triunfalismo apoyado en exposiciones y declaraciones del mayor optimismo de parte de las más altas autoridades del régimen. Así se fue fomentando, entre empresarios y consumidores, en general, la sensación de que había que adquirir, consumir y usar del crédito sin limitaciones.

11. Más aún, cuando ya la recesión mundial estaba en pleno desarrollo, se habló de construir 900.000 viviendas, junto a las promesas de que uno de cada 8 chilenos tendría un automóvil y que el ingreso aumentaría en más del doble, y todo esto
antes del término de la presente década. Fueron tales las seguridades y reiteraciones que se dieron de que estos programas se cumplirían, que empresarios y consumidores, no habituados a esta clase de euforia, entraron en gastos y compromisos amparados por abundantes y fáciles créditos bancarios pero con intereses altísimos de hasta 50% anual.

12. Ningún chileno puede olvidar esta euforia dirigida, que en pocos meses quedó deshecha por la más dramática de las realidades. Nada de lo prometido y publicitado tenía base alguna de sustentación. Comprobado el fracaso ahora se pretende convencer al país que "todos son culpables". De esta manera se intenta ocultar la responsabilidad principal de quienes han tenido en estos años la suma del poder imponiendo su propia voluntad sin contrapeso alguno en la conducción del país.

Desánimo y angustia

13. Como resultado del amargo cuadro descrito, algo muy hondo y dramático se está proyectando al interior de nuestra sociedad. El desánimo, el temor, la desconfianza, el miedo al futuro, la inseguridad y la desesperanza empiezan a corroer el alma nacional. Para muchos, es el resultado de ilusiones fatalmente desvanecidas; para otros, la agudización sin límites de la pobreza y el desamparo; para no pocos, la angustia de comprobar como se persiste ciegamente en los errores.

14. Lo cierto es que todos los chilenos, sin excepción, están de algún modo tocados por la crisis generalizada que presentan cada vez más grave y amenazante, pero no se atreven a expresar su opinión por temor a represalias o a precipitarla de un modo incontrolable y con consecuencias inciertas. Esta es la verdad que invade, aplasta y paraliza toda la vida nacional.

15. El país contempla atónito como, para hacer frente a la situación actual se persiste en imponer un modelo económico y político que, lejos de despertar esperanzas de salida, constituye un reiterado factor de creciente fracaso y frustración. En la práctica, la resultante sería que el país debería continuar por años acumulando sacrificios y cumpliendo requisitos previos para alcanzar una salida democrática. Así se ha planteado nuevamente en estos días de un modo que causa asombro por su obstinación y falta de visión de la realidad que abruma a todos los chilenos.

Imperativo Democrático

16. Dada la profunda crisis económica a que nos ha llevado el modelo, es un espejismo carente de toda racionalidad la afirmación de que soló después de haber obtenido el éxito económico los chilenos podrán decidir su destino como sociedad.
El proceso debe ser precisamente el inverso. Es necesario empezar de inmediato el camino de la democratización a través de la cual todos los ciudadanos sepan que tienen derechos y obligaciones y se sientan parte de la tarea de recuperación nacional. Mientras no se cumpla esa condición elemental, el egoísmo primará sobre la solidaridad, el país como un todo se pequeñecerá y a la postre al rencor de unos y el temor de otros, harán más difícil la convivencia y la salida pacífica que la gran mayoría quisiera.

17. La transición a la democracia debe ser establecida a través de un calendario definido y preciso, iniciándose con la eliminación inmediata del estado de emergencia; la rehabilitación de los Derechos Humanos; el fin del exilio y de las expulsiones; el restablecimiento de la legislación normal y la autonomía de los Tribunales de Justicia; el término de la censura para emitir opiniones, escribir y publicar; la restauración del derecho de reunión; la legislación sobre partidos políticos; la elección de los rectores y la restauración de la excelencia académica en las universidades; la libertad de asociación sindical y la modificación de la legislación actual, que permita restituir a los trabajadores sus derechos esenciales; y la derogación del artículo 24 transitorio de la Constitución por ser la negación expresa del Estado de Derecho.

Recuperación Democrática y Pacto Social

18. El pueblo es capaz de superar la situación que hoy lo tiene sometido y sin esperanzas, aunque la salida será difícil y tomará tiempo. Quienes pretenden presentar caminos fáciles y mostrar que mediante ellos "vamos mejor" estarán engañándose a sí mismos y, lo que es más grave, estarán engañando a quienes le piden su confianza.

19. La superación de la crisis que vivimos no depende de una persona ni de la acción de un grupo cerrado más o menos capacitado. Los que creen en ese tipo de solución no han comprendido la globalidad y profundidad de la crisis nacional.

20. La gran misión de recuperación requiere de la participación activa de un Gobierno con clara vocación democrática y de los agentes sociales y económicos en una empresa común que debe concretarse en un Pacto Social, con normas precisas que determine las formas de convivencia, respetando la realidad plural y fijando las responsabilidades que cada uno de los sectores debe comprometerse a cumplir.

21. El Pacto Social sólo puede ser comprendido por quienes comparten la idea democrática porque constituye esencialmente un acto de confianza en las organizaciones sociales, económicas y políticas, que deben participar en el esfuerzo de todos para la superación de la crisis.
22. La historia demuestra de un modo abrumador que los pueblos que han progresado son aquellos que, junto con tener una clara visión nacional, han asumido en forma colectiva las tareas del desarrollo, en un esfuerzo concertado, libre y responsable.

23. Convivencia democrática, eficiencia social y económica, y justicia en la distribución, son las bases del Pacto Social.

24. El ejercicio de la democracia no se agota en la elección de las autoridades, sino que debe extenderse a las diversas formas de convivencia. La democracia se ejerce participando informadamente en los diferentes ámbitos en que se desenvuelven las personas. La participación en sus distintos niveles, no es sinónimo de asamblea permanente ni de anarquía y no reemplaza la responsabilidad ejecutiva de las autoridades, ni entorpece la agilidad de sus decisiones. La democracia no es desorden. Por el contrario, es la única forma legítima de organizar racionalmente el orden social.

25. La democracia rechaza tajantemente la violencia y el terrorismo, pero se advierte una vez más que su irrupción es provocada muchas veces como una reacción ante la abolición de los Derechos Humanos, la persecución a quienes disienten, la cesantía, la miseria y la falta de esperanza.

Recuperación Económica

26. En lo económico, se propicia un sistema en que coexistan la propiedad privada y estatal. En consecuencia, se rechaza tanto la posición dogmática que ve en el Estado todas las versiones y en la iniciativa privada sólo virtudes, como aquella que ve en la existencia de la empresa privada la razón del subdesarrollo y de las desigualdades. La experiencia de los últimos doce años ha probado en forma concluyente que los dogmatismos destruyen no sólo la convivencia sino también la eficiencia económica. Tanto el Estado como el empresario privado deben ser agentes con un propósito común, cual es dar un mayor bienestar a la comunidad nacional. Esta ha sido la experiencia de todos los países económica y socialmente sólidos, y también la de Chile en sus etapas de mayor estabilidad y progreso.

Empleo

27. En la actualidad, un objetivo social y económico prioritario debe ser dar ocupación a quienes desean y están en condiciones de trabajar. No existe base moral para que rija un Pacto Social si uno de cada cuatro chilenos no tiene posibilidad de tener una ocupación. Por eso, en la definición de las políticas de empleo, deben participar también las organizaciones de trabajadores porque ellas están involucradas en las decisiones.
28. Una condición fundamental para superar el desempleo masivo es provocar una reactivación de la economía nacional. El Estado debe usar todos sus instrumentos para provocar un cambio sustancial de esta situación en el más corto plazo posible. El Estado "subsidiario" que se cruza de brazos esperando que la "mano invisible" del mercado provoque un "ajuste automático" que conlleve al desarrollo económico y social sólo se da, en la época actual, en algunos textos de estudios académicos y en la imaginación de algunos iluminados.

29. La tareas de reactivación económica significa:

a) **Habitação**

   Iniciar un amplio programa acelerado de construcción habitacional que tome en cuenta la descentralización hacia las regiones, a fin de satisfacer la necesidad imperiosa de viviendas; dar empleo a una altísima cantidad de cesantes en este sector; utilizar la capacidad ociosa de arquitectos, ingenieros, constructores; activar las industrias relacionadas con materiales de construcción, y de los sectores del transporte y del comercio conectados con estas actividades.

b) **Industria**

   Establecer con las organizaciones correspondientes una estrategia de desarrollo industrial involucrado en un plan concertado. Debe existir un definido apoyo y confianza en los empresarios responsables a fin de estimular el empleo, aumentar la producción, y, además incorporar la tecnología más moderna, pero afectando lo menos posible la utilización de mano de obra hasta tanto no se resuelva el problema de cesantía. Sin industria dinámica, apoyada fuertemente con créditos adecuados y promoción de los mercados internos y externos, no es posible hacer crecer la producción real ni crear nuevos empleos en el área. Tanto empresarios como trabajadores deben ser los pilares de la recuperación económica del país.

c) **Agricultura**

   Diseñar, con la participación de quienes trabajan en la agricultura, sean estos propietarios campesinos un plan inmediato de fomento agropecuario que asegure condiciones de plena utilización de la tierra, garantice precios para estimular las inversiones indispensables, y tributos que las incentiven, junto con políticas salariales y de acceso a la propiedad de la tierra que coloquen a esta actividad en la vanguardia de la eficiencia productiva y de la justicia en la participación de los beneficios. El agricultor debe ser un productor responsable ante la comunidad, pero, para ello, debe recibir con decisión todo el apoyo crediticio y de seguridades de mercado que requiere una actividad que demanda esfuerzo y tiempo y que a su vez es fundamental para el desarrollo del país.
d) Minería

La minería, que está sujeta a una estrecha dependencia de los precios externos, debe ser racionalizada a fin de protegerla y aumentar su capacidad de empleo. La gran minería actual debe permanecer en manos del Estado. En la mediana y pequeña, las inversiones extranjeras deben ser atraídas en condiciones de participación nacional.

e) Transporte y Comercio

Como consecuencia de la reactivación, y sin perjuicio de medidas de pronto apoyo financiero, el transporte, que es un sector deprimido seriamente, así como el comercio que en proporción alarmante está quebrado, tendrán actividad inmediata dentro de sistemas que permitan cuidar el interés de los consumidores.

f) Solución al endeudamiento

Para hacer frente a la aguda crisis que afecta a todas las actividades antes mencionadas, requieren de fórmulas que les permitan adecuar el pago de sus deudas, en términos de plazos y tasas de interés, de acuerdo a sus posibilidades reales. De nada sirve postergar la solución de este problema acumulando obligaciones que incrementan el saldo insoluto a niveles, a la vez que expropiatorios, paralizantes.

Protección a la economía real

30. Por otra parte, es preciso revisar los aranceles, teniendo en consideración el tipo de cambio real y la protección necesaria para colocar a las actividades productivas en un nivel de competitividad al igual que lo hacen todos los países para defender sus intereses nacionales. No se trata de volver a los excesos proteccionistas del pasado, pero tampoco parece razonable a la luz de la experiencia mantener la situación actual, en que las actividades productivas nacionales se ven expuestas tanto a una competencia desleal como a las fluctuaciones bruscas de los precios internacionales.

31. En cuanto a la presión sobre los recursos de moneda extranjera, parece ineludible plantear una reprogramación del servicio de la deuda externa, ya que sólo el pago de intereses representa una suma cercana al valor total de las exportaciones de cobre. Desgraciadamente para el país, la pérdida de credibilidad internacional en la conducción de la economía chilena y la persistencia de un sistema autoritario que se resiste a dar pasos claros de democratización, hacen extremadamente difícil tener una acogida favorable para una renegociación del servicio de la deuda.
Financiamiento

32. El financiamiento para cumplir el programa de reactivación económica propuesto exige una revisión integral de la política financiera vigente en cuanto a materias monetarias, tributarias, arancelarias, crediticias, salariales, y de gasto público. La determinación de tales medidas a aplicar, en cuanto al conjunto en relación a dada una de las áreas mencionadas, depende fundamentalmente de la amplitud y detalles con que se aplique el programa de reactivación propuesto.

Conclusion

Esta conclusiones de carácter general están amparadas no sólo por la experiencia y la observación de la realidad, sino también por la atenta consideración política y técnica de los graves problemas actuales.

Estamos ciertos que la síntesis del informe del Grupo de Estudios interpreta el pensamiento de la gran mayoría de los que comparten los ideales democráticos. Hemos querido hacer públicas estas ideas porque creemos que es indispensable iniciar un diálogo que lleve a la recuperación nacional en una alternativa en que los distintos sectores sociales asuman sus responsabilidades. Este esfuerzo compartido es la base de sustentación que Chile requiere para construir su futuro.

(Suite de la page 44)

EDITORIAL

D'où, croyons-nous, le besoin pour le tiers système de se connaître mieux, le besoin de mécanismes d'information mutuelle et de coopération qui faciliteraient la synergie des luttes et des militants. Un effort dans ce sens permettrait d'explorer mieux les voies d'un autre développement et de renforcer le tiers système comme élément de pouvoir au service de la société. Certains gouvernements, reconnaissant le rôle du tiers système et sans porter atteinte à son autonomie, pourraient apporter une aide à une telle entreprise.

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Des idées à cet égard sont en discussion ici et là, et nous aurons l'occasion d'en repérer dans ce Dossier qui se veut, à la mesure de nos modestes moyens, un pas dans cette direction. En attendant, la FIPAD aimerait recevoir suggestions et informations, destinées ou non à la publication, qui nourriraient la réflexion et esquisseraient les contours d'une initiative possible.
I am aware of the fact that I am talking as a sort of wanderer between two worlds. The world of the alternative movement and the world of party committees, parliaments and government. The theme is: alternatives, non-alternatives, and politics - political alternatives. In other words: can a sensible relationship between the alternative movement and politics help to find political alternatives? I would like to explain this in a few theses. There are fourteen of them.

1

In politics, at least in the Federal Republic of Germany, there is a strong feeling that a dead end has been reached. While in 1974/75 the fundamental political feeling was still "everything can be done", in 1981 the feeling is: almost nothing can be done anymore. There is an awareness that the crises we are dealing with are too profound to be handled. Therefore a feeling of insecurity and helplessness prevails almost as strong among politicians as in the alternative movement. This is new.

2

In this situation there are two attitudes among the politicians. On the one hand, a hardening, a desperate attempt to do more of the same, to go through the crises with closed eyes and rubber boots. On the other hand, a search for alternatives. Not so much for an alternative image of society as a whole than for alternatives in specific fields, such as armaments, health or agriculture. This second attitude is slowly progressing also among people in leading positions. Among the eleven members of the Presidium of the Socialist Party (SPD) with whom I meet almost every Monday, there are now three more than three years ago who are open to such ideas.

*Erhard Eppler is a leading member of the German Socialist Party and a member of the IFDA Council. The paper reproduced here has been translated and adapted from his remarks, in German, at a seminar on "Another Work" organized by the Institute Synopsis at Lœdève (France) in 1981. A French version was published in Autogestions (No 8/9 1982, pp.103-112) together with other interventions at the seminar.
Political conflicts take place almost exclusively between those hardening and those opening up, rarely between the big parties. Between the big parties, there is a fundamental consensus in almost everything. The phenomenon of hardening can also be observed among the population itself, particularly among the industrial workers, and every alternative experience must be sure not to push this hardening to the border of fascism. There are tendencies towards fascism appearing as a reaction to alternative experiences.

3

Among the two groups, the objections to the alternatives are different. While the hardening group objects that all this is not desirable, that we are dealing with fools, the second group objects that all this is desirable but not realisable because all kinds of objective constraints will not allow it. This is why one should not be paralyzed by these so called objective constraints; there is a strong relationship between alternative life styles and work, on the one hand, and the political alternatives, on the other. This in a double way: first, politics depend on the conscience of a majority, and changing of conscience is stimulated, even if not induced, by alternative experiences. So, those who want to change politics must take into account how small local groups are changing the fundamental conscience. On the other hand, I am convinced that experiences of alternative life style and work are bound to die if there is no planning at a political level at one stage or another.

4

In the same way as political change depends on alternative experiences in the local space, the latter can only be effective if they also have a political impact. Whatever the proposals and suggestions to save energy, if politically the way leads to the fast breeder by the lightwater reactors, then all proposals will be thrown over sooner or later, because one will have to get rid of the energy produced and reach the consumers. On the other hand, these experiences may develop among the people the consciousness that we do not need the fast breeder, and may help politically to avoid it.

5

Thus alternative experiences are always temporarily confined. But here there is a decisive difference between two attitudes. One would be the pure no, the fight and the refusal, without taking into account the effect on the total society; for me these experiences are hopeless and not desirable. The second possibility would be a yes in the no, to set pilot projects which could be multiplied. If the politician can recognize in these markings a contribution to the solution to his problems, then it gets interesting. Then begins what I would call a
A track is no wide road leading into the future. There exists no wide road into the future except into catastrophe. A blueprint for the world in 2010 does not exist neither does utopia. Actually there exist only these tracks, and for the moment they are leading through thorny bushes. Now, one takes a tool, maybe a little axe and a pair of scissors and begins to work one's way through the bushes in a certain direction, to tear up one's trousers and to make one's fingers bloody. But there is a thread and needle for repairing, adhesive plaster to put round the finger. For my part, I have used a lot of adhesive plaster, and it does no harm at all. One may improve a track, and the more it is used the sooner it will become a path. Alternative experiences must be such tracks.

Alternative experiences must not be alternative to culture, like a "retour à la nature", but experiences in alternative cultures. There is a difference between alternative to culture and cultural alternative. In the search for an alternative culture there is a yes, it is a no in which there is a yes, while in trying to create alternatives to culture, there is only a no.

Yona Friedmann has put up the question whether there is an esthetics of the industrial society. He has spoken about the ugliness of modern industrial society. This is surely true. But then the alternative may not be as ugly, or it may be ugly in a different way. On the contrary, it must have its style, and a contagious one, which in one way or another should be perceived as interesting and beautiful.

Working differently, in a more human, more beautiful way means also establishing an immediate relationship with the product of work. The one who builds his own house, with the help of his neighbours, naturally finds a different relationship to this product than if he had had it built by others. This is also true with industrial products. The one who plants his own vegetables in his garden naturally finds another relationship to these vegetables than had they been bought, apart from the fact that he knows what is in them. If one makes a lamp for one's house, the relationship is different to that of a bought lamp and also different to the one of the workman in a lamp factory to his lamp; most probably he will only participate in a small part of the production of this lamp himself. Thus, working differently finds its true meaning when a different, more intensive relationship to the product of work arises. For example this might also happen with very simple things: I feel much better in a wooden sauna heated
manually rather than by electricity. I prefer to perspire there. If it is heated by wood collected from the garden or the surroundings I feel better and if I can fertilize the garden with the ashes so that there is no waste, I feel even better. In such spheres also, what matters is the immediate relationship to the work and its consequences, its products. The second thing I find important in so far as another work is concerned, is that a better relationship develops between mental and physical work, between planning and executing the work. The one who plans his own house and then executes the plan, or the one who plans his own garden and then transforms the plan with his own hands into reality, will find a different relationship to the one who only draws or executes the plans. Thus the coming together of planning, mental work and execution, possibly with physical work, is an important sign of another work, of autonomous work.

One should also pay more attention to the social meaning of work. Partly, reflecting on it is purely individualistic. The remark that independent work produces more than needed is a terribly individualistic objection. Independent work is only interesting if it leads to a new relationship with other human beings. In fact, I do produce more than I need in my garden and am happy to offer it to someone, thus establishing new relationships. By the way, my neighbour is heating with wood and gives me his ashes for the garden. Of course he has more ashes than he needs. Working differently would also mean creating a different relationship with people. Work which is only perceived as an individual fulfillment of oneself is already alienating. Work is always done with other people, towards other people and for other people. When this is not the case, it is alienated work.

Politically another work becomes interesting and also attractive to the politician if it offers a track out of unemployment. Unemployment is by no means only a financial problem for the unemployed, in the FRG at least where it is very often a small financial problem the unemployment compensation being relatively high. More important is the loss of self-respect. The unemployed feel superfluous; they feel excluded and rejected from society. They are not needed or wanted, marginalised. This is the decisive problem of unemployment, far more important than the financial aspect.

Now if it were possible to find two kinds of work, institutionalized – wagework or work of a manager within an institution on the one hand, or independent work on the other hand, then the balance between the two could change the life of a person. What is called unemployment could then just mean a changing of focus. The part of Germany I am from,
Württemberg, has overcome the crises of the last seventy years much better than the Ruhr, because a large proportion of the workers still owned a little piece of agricultural land. Unemployment just meant repairing the stable, weeding the land, greasing and repairing the tractor, painting the fence, etc. This has lasted a long time and has softened the effect of unemployment in this part of Germany. This is a model which, when autonomous work is promoted, can take away part of the fright of unemployment. When this succeeds the politicians are interested because they are mainly afraid of the psychological effect of unemployment.

This would mean that shortened working hours would increase the chance of autonomous work and not increase the danger of alcoholism, drug addiction, etc., considered as an unavoidable result of unemployment. Shortened working hours would then just mean a shift of focus between institutionalized and autonomous work, which would be acceptable to many.

There are many barriers against autonomous work. The finance ministry, for instance, considers it as moonlighting. In fact autonomous work does not usually bring any taxes to the state. But when the politician realizes that autonomous work also takes over a lot of duties borne by the state up to now, state expenditure can decrease and this becomes politically interesting; even more interesting than the question of moonlighting.

I do not know about France, but here in Germany house building has reached a dead end. Nobody knows how it can continue. It has become so expensive, whether state aided or not, that a specialized worker of the car industry is no longer able to pay the rent, even with only three children. For the moment there is no reasonable project for house builders in FRG. The Minister for Housing is probably the most perplexed of all ministers. If there are forms of autonomous work which have their importance in repairing flats, the point could be reached where these perplexed housing politicians would consider changing the rent legislation in order to repair with autonomous work and make house building and rents reasonable. Again this means it becomes politically interesting if autonomous work can bring house building and rents into a reasonable and affordable relationship.
It could be that autonomous work leads to more agricultural work. Less chemical traces in food means more work on the soil. The traces result mainly from the fact that nowadays a farmer who cultivates 125-220 acres can rarely do it without a great many chemicals. It is conceivable that alternative products could find a market even if they are expensive. This is naturally a factor which permits people to remain in agriculture and make their living there. This could mean that the exodus from agriculture we have been living for the past sixty years could now be reversed and more people find a living there.

Finally, my fourteenth thesis departs from the idea that it is impossible to reform the system. Over many years I have encountered the boundaries of the reformability of development aid. For six years I have tried to explore these boundaries and have often felt like a cow, locked in by an electric fence, trying again and again to pass under the wire, to eat the grass outside and then comes the electric shock. In spite of this our system is not rigid, it is constantly changing. One typical example: do we want to follow the track which leads unavoidably from the light water reactor to the fast breeder (there would not be enough uranium without) or do we want to try another track of energy supply? In France one gets the impression that the decision has been taken a long time ago, this is less so in Germany. But a decision taken within this system for one track or the other will change the system in one way or another. The thesis of the impossibility to reform the system seems to rest on the fact that it is not only the capitalist system which is in crisis – the different forms of industrialism are also in crisis. When looking at capitalist industrialism against that of existing socialism, possibly the crisis of the latter is even stronger. This is why I believe that alternatives to industrialism, even if they only take place within small units, become effective, change consciences and, in the end, change the system. This is why these units, in which alternative experiences are carried out, are extremely important. It is important to know whether the experiences are contagious or frightful. Just as a movement for peace will only succeed if it has a contagious and not a frightful effect.

I would therefore like to give courage to those in favour of alternatives. In Europe the change of consciousness tends towards this direction anyway. They do not need to create this but to encourage the process and lead it towards a certain direction and make it politically effective. I imagine that those who work with alternatives could succeed but must constantly be aware of the fact that those who hold power often experience the same feelings of helplessness.
Les Rencontres du temps présent ressemblent beaucoup au confluent de fleuves qui se rejoignent mais dont un seul poursuit sa route avec le nom qu'il portait depuis sa source et qu'il conservera jusqu'à l'estuaire. Toutes les autres rivières qu'il rencontrera ne sont que des affluents. C'est une question de statut. Le paysage culturel du monde présente de vastes bassins hydrographiques (peut-être 6 ou 7, peut-être 2 ou 3, peut-être même un seul) où les ruisseaux du Sud ne sont que des tributaires.

Les civilisations qui ont pris leur source dans les terres et les mers du Sud convergent depuis des siècles maintenant vers quelques pôles nordiques, en un immense chenal dont on ne sait s'il sera un fleuve orgueilleux ou un gigantesque égout-collecteur; cloaca maxima. En effet, le prix du progrès éblouissant réalisé depuis quatre siècles sous l'égide de l'Occident, devenu le maître d'œuvre de la planète, a été trop lourd pour l'homme. Aujourd'hui encore, après les génocides qui ont touché successivement les Indiens, les Noirs, et combien d'autres, après les holocaustes planétaires de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, 40% des dépenses consacrées à la recherche vont aux armes de destruction massive. L'humanité a tout ce qu'il faut pour créer sinon les cieux nouveaux, du moins les nouvelles terres dont nous rêvons en tant qu'espèce depuis la pénombre des cavernes. Et pour cause! L'homme nouveau reste inaccessible. Le train fou de la méga-culture des transnationales, le bateau ivre des aliénations amères ou sacrées, poursuivent leur progression contre le progrès. D'où l'interrogation qui a abouti aux présentes Rencontres dont il faut saluer les initiateurs. Cette question est la suivante: l'humanité peut-elle ramasser ses membres épars grâce au dialogue culturel ne serait-ce qu'à l'échelle de ces trois régions: Afrique, Europe et Monde Arabe?

*/ Directeur du CEDA - Centre d'Etudes pour le Développement Africain - Boîte Postale 606 - Ouagadougou - Haute-Volta
Ma modeste contribution, faite surtout de questions, portera sur trois points:

- Des questions de méthode
- Du mal africain au bien planétaire
- Aube ou crépuscule?

I - Questions de méthode

L'hypothèse de travail des Rencontres semble construite sur trois postulats.

1. Le premier c'est que nous avons en présence des cultures homogènes et individualisées. Or, à moins de confondre culture et civilisation, l'on est d'abord frappé par les antinomies qui séparent l'Europe "démocratique" et l'Europe "populaire", contradictions matérialisées entre autres dans un mur célèbre. Entre les nations d'Europe occidentale même, des disparités culturelles majeures existent et ont été projetées sur l'espace africain et arabe par les découpages coloniaux et néo-coloniaux.

Par ailleurs, l'Europe occidentale bénéficie d'une alliance, voire d'une parenté puissante avec le partenaire nord-américain que dans une rencontre culturelle il est difficile de passer sous silence; car ce grand acteur ne saurait rester dans les coulisses, même si par un artifice d'école, nous en faisions abstraction. Alors, n'est-il pas aussi bien d'en parler?

Enfin dans un monde en proie à des mutations torrentielles, quelles cultures voulons-nous rapprocher - ou illustrer par des échanges? Celles des régions ou celles des catégories ou classes sociales? L'on sait que les clivages de superpositions sociales ne coïncident pas avec la juxtaposition géographique. Le second postulat, c'est la communicabilité des cultures.

L'histoire en montre la possibilité par exemple dans l'Egypte des pharaons et des Ptolémées; mais elle en démontre aussi les limites. Par sa spécificité même, chaque culture est comme une fée dans l'immense océan de l'esprit. La culture est un ensemble de biens et de liens, un réseau de fonctions de production et reproduction sociale, un code de lecture et d'action un tissu de connivences, un chiffre presque ineffable d'une collectivité, sa façon à elle d'interpréter et de transformer le monde, mais aussi d'interpeller l'au-delà.

Troisième postulat, c'est le caractère exemplaire de cette rencontre culturelle tripartite. Or, la position relative des partenaires a privilégié jusqu'ici les flux bilatéraux Nord-Sud au profit de l'Europe qui est un partenaire dominant. Le triangle est plutôt rectangle qu'équilatéral. Ne faudrait-il pas alors développer l'axe arabo-africain afin de mieux
rééquilibrer l'ensemble?

Enfin, il y a le postulat selon lequel la culture est un levier pour instaurer une nouvelle donne, un nouvel ordre mondial dans tous les domaines.

Je veux bien qu'il soit plus facile de traiter de la culture que de toucher aux coffres-forts. Mais il faut toujours souligner avec force que sans être un simple reflet de je ne sais quelle base techno-économique, la culture est partie intégrante d'un système qui constitue un bloc dialectique où la sphère économique ne saurait être traitée par prétention.

Les cultures ne sont pas des êtres de raison suspendus dans l'apesanteur de l'intellect.

Elles sont en grande partie déterminées par le socle des structures de base. C'est ainsi que le système colonial a entraîné des conséquences culturelles en vigueur jusqu'aujourd'hui. D'ailleurs, les recommandations de Bujumbura préconisent un effort vigoureux de rééquilibrage dans les relations économiques, condition indispensable à un véritable dialogue culturel. Peut-être pourrons-nous cependant, dans notre stratégie pour changer le monde par la culture, nous appuyer sur l'idée qu'une nouvelle polarisation culturelle peut permettre de déclencher le processus des ébranlements sociaux puis économiques qui pourront fonder définitivement un nouveau système global.

Mais étant "donné" l'importance du support économique, lequel est sans commune mesure dans les différentes cultures, y a-t-il possibilité de dialogue entre le pot de terre et le pot de fer; entre le rat des champs et le diplodocus? D'où l'impératif qu'il y a à infrastructures solides chaque culture afin d'en revigorer le tonus pour une rencontre positive avec les autres.

II - Du mal africain au bien planétaire

A) Première thèse: l'Afrique est atteinte dans ses œuvres vives sur le plan culturel et cela à trois niveaux fondamentaux;

1. L'éducation qui au lieu de reproduire la société africaine en mieux, reproduit les caricatures des pays industriels.

2. L'échange inégal entre le bled en friche et les villes, vitrines et courroie de transmission de la subversion culturelle bien qu'elles soient parfois aussi des creusets d'une humanité nouvelle à travers les affres d'une terrible épreuve de force. La ville africaine est cependant le siège de classes
lies et alliées culturellement aux forces destructrices des cultures; elle provoque souvent un exode massif qui cloche-
dise les civilisations de notre continent.

3. La consommation béate et béante des biens achetés aux pays
du Nord qui néantissent les identités singulières, et sculp-
tent touche après touche le profil de nos âmes. En effet, la
technologie n'est pas neutre. Tout objet technologique est un
précipité de valeurs. Une fois ingéré par une société, et s'il
ne déclenche pas un phénomène de rejet, il développe dans cet
organisme le système même de valeurs qui a présidé à sa créa-
tion, c'est le cas pour l'habitat, les meubles, les voitures,
les ordinateurs et, enfin, c'est l'immense domaine des mass
media et de la communication qui ravage quotidiennement les
édifices culturels africains livrés sans défense à cette agres-
sion, sans compter le tourisme et certaines formes d'assistan-
ce technique.

B) Mais l'Afrique reste utile aux autres

Chaque fois qu'on évoque la contribution africaine l'on semble
généré par la place apparentem dérisoire de ce continent dans
l'aventure humaine du progrès. Or, et c'est l'une des tâches
auxquelles s'attelle la restauration de l'Histoire africaine
par l'UNESCO, au commencement était l'Afrique. C'est là qu'a
lieu le saut qualitatif du règne de la nécessité dans celui
de la liberté, de l'histoire naturelle dans l'histoire tout
court avant Memphis et avant Thèbes; avant Zimbabwe, dans les
milliers de siècles de la préhistoire.

C'est parce que ces racines noueuses de la création africaine
sont enfouies trop profondément que les fleurs et les fruits
d'aujourd'hui les font oublier\1. En vérité, nul ne devrait
évoquer sans tendresse le nom de la mère Afrique, mère des
premiers hommes et des premières techniques jusque dans l'An-
tiquité. Il est vrai que depuis le XVIe siècle sa contribu-
tion a plutôt été de l'ordre de l'ustensile. Ce sont des siè-
cles d'agressions majeures uniques et iniques qui ont marqué
au fer rouge la culture africaine. Elle a été longue, ce que
le poète appelle "la nuit - maronne du sel amer, la nuit des
nègres essouflés et du chien".

Et pourtant cette nuit a encore donné, entre autres choses au
monde, les rythmes aujourd'hui planétaires du jazz, du blues,
du reggae, et avant eux, les sanglots sublimes du spiritual
jaillis de l'enfer des plantations,

\1 Même si la prodigieuse richesse des pharmacopées en cons-
titue des reliefs témoins.
La civilisation orale si fragile par ailleurs a sculpté une société africaine bourrée de sèves, où la danse par exemple a encore un sens de véhicule extatique où le corps, au lieu d'être ce moignon raide et aboli, tel une part maudite de la personne qui tourne autour de la colonne vertébrale rigide comme un obélisque, le corps, dis-je, demeure, grâce à la maîtrise consommée sur toutes ses parties, un merveilleux vecteur de messages. Et surtout les techniques d'organisation sociale africaine au niveau des communautés restreintes ont traversé les millénaires, démontrant jusqu'aujourd'hui leur pertinence dans les formules de coopératives rurales qu'elles sont capables d'engendrer. La convivialité a été et demeure vraiment l'axe majeur de l'être dans le monde africain.

III - Que faire ?

A) Positions

1. Pour changer le monde il ne faut pas compter sur le passé. Il faut savoir rompre mais en comptant toujours sur le passé.

2. C'est pourquoi si l'on veut établir un dialogue circulaire ou un débat fécond entre ces trois partenaires, il faut dire hautement que pour dialoguer il faut être deux. Pour triloguer, il faut être trois. Être et non paraître. Dialoguer avec l'écho à peine tropicalisé de sa propre voix, c'est faire un faux dialogue et un vrai monologue.

3. Dialoguer c'est sortir de soi-même. En l'occurrence, c'est l'Europe qui doit le plus changer, car c'est elle qui pèse sur le statu quo conforme à ses intérêts. La domination culturelle fait que nous sommes presque tous (du moins les intellectuels) en train de devenir peu ou prou l'Occident même si c'est in partibus infidelium. Le repli sur soi et l'attitude défensive de ses partenaires ne doit pas provoquer la réprobation des Européens. En fait, c'est la phase initiale de la repersonnalisation. Personne ne souhaite des rencontres meurtrières. Le repli sur soi est dans ce cas une attitude positive car "la personnalité se pose en s'opposant".

C'est après avoir tué le père colonial et la mère néo-coloniale que les cultures africaines pourront accéder à la maturité.

Or, et c'est le gigantesque défi qui reste posé: l'Europe est figée et presque sclérosée dans une base matérielle colossal qui l'immobilise et limite ses mutations, alors que du côté arabe et africain, la culture est une sphère écrasante par rapport à l'infrastructure, c'est une "tête apoplectique sur un corps anémique" qui manque de la vigueur nécessaire pour dialoguer valablement.
B) Propositions

1. Engager une lutte acharnée et systématique contre les concepts déléteres comme "sous-développement", modernisation opposée à culture traditionnelle, etc. Retenons aujourd'hui seulement le dernier avatar de cette série de vocables-masques qui occultent des réalités pourtant claires.

"Les pays les moins avancés" (PMA). Avancés vers quoi? Par rapport à qui? Evidemment par rapport à ceux qui sont en avancé. Mais si ces peuples traînent derrière les autres comme des wagons derrière la locomotive, a-t-on jamais vu un wagon rattraper la locomotive?

Et pourtant ce nouveau sigle semble satisfaire les intéressés puisqu'on se bat pour être classé parmi les PMA...

Qualifiés seulement par leur relation à ceux qui sont "devant", ces pays perdent leur relation par rapport à eux-mêmes. Ils sont définis par le regard d'autrui, et donc aliénés par la "science" comme ils le sont dans la pratique de l'action. Il y a ainsi un immense travail de déblayage préalable à opérer.

2. Lâcher l'autre avant de dialoguer avec lui, sinon ce n'est plus un dialogue mais un interrogatoire. Il faut lâcher sa créativité, sa langue et ses langues. Il ne faut pas jeter devant lui comme des rails d'airain le schéma réductionniste linéaire, qu'il soit marxiste-stalinien, ou positiviste-capitaliste; il faut "libérer l'avenir".

3. Par ailleurs, il faut accepter, allant plus loin encore, de se reconstruire mutuellement en tant que partenaires. A quoi servirait le fameux rendez-vous du donner et du recevoir, si certains s'amènent avec pour tout apport une écuelle vide tendue pour la soupe populaire?

A quoi sert la fiction des accords de coopération sur une base d'égalité si l'un des deux n'opère qu'en recevant éternellement le biberon?

En fait tous sont mal développés culturellement.

a) L'Europe occidentale qui se vante d'avoir érigé en système le culte de l'esprit a engendré les deux plus grands matérialismes de l'histoire: le capitalisme et son rival ou son fils-ennemi le communisme, cependant qu'on réduit ce qu'on appelle l'animisme à un polythéisme des primitifs. Le culte de l'homme et de ses droits n'y a pourtant pas empêché les calvaires humains les plus épouvantables qui sont évacués aujourd'hui vers les marges de l'oekoumène. Les cultures européennes ont beaucoup à apprendre des afro-arabes pour dépasser les dichotomies et dénombrements analytiques puissants sur la nature mais déléteres sur l'homme qui est moins programmable. Par exemple, la distinction entre Nature et Culture doit être surmontée, et l'univers humain
doit de nouveau embrasser le royaume sans rivage du ludique, du symbolique, de l'éthique non hypocrite i.e. autonome par rapport à la volonté de puissance; sinon nous aurons des monstruosités historiques du genre de l'apartheid.

b) L'Arique, elle, a bien des choses à ajouter à sa culture par la propagation de l'écriture, par l'approfondissement puis le dépassement de la constellation de ses langues, par l'isolation d'un concept nouveau de l'Etat et de la Nation, ciment de communautés autonomes, par une rationalité technique à assumer, et le sens de l'accumulation économique.

c) Le Monde arabe n'a-t-il pas à apprendre encore en matière de tolérance religieuse, de laïcité et de conception nouvelle du rôle des femmes dans la cité? Il faut recenser en toute honnêteté intellectuelle les ombres et les lumières, les déviances et les plus hautes performances de chacune de ces cultures afin d'offrir de nouvelles chances à toutes.

4. Quelques actions concrètes

a) Entreprendre à la base et ensemble, des études et des recherches-actions. Les thèmes ne manquent pas mais plutôt les structures d'investigation. Il faudrait constituer deux bourses complémentaires de projets d'une part et de travailleurs intellectuels de l'autre afin de provoquer un dynamisme permanent de la recherche coopérative.

b) Les Européens doivent avant tout aider à construire au Sud des centres vigoureux de recherche en Afrique et dans le Monde arabe. Comme vous le savez sans doute, l'Institut panafrique de prospective est en voie de constitution.

c) Les grandes voies de vulgarisation des idées seront à mon sens:

- l'autostructuration et conscientisation des paysans et des ouvriers,
- l'école reconstruite pour préparer les hommes du XXIe siècle,
- les moyens massifs de communication pour abattre la détérioration des termes de l'échange culturel par la radio, le cinéma et la télévision.

d) Étudier les mécanismes de liaison entre les trouvailles des intellectuels et l'appareil de décision et d'exécution pour que le courant passe.

Un proverbe africain dit: "Quand quelqu'un a fait un saut dans le feu, il lui reste un autre saut à faire".

Aujourd'hui, c'est un bond énorme que doivent faire ensemble,
les hommes de toutes les régions et singulièrement les intellectuels d'Afrique, d'Europe et du Monde arabe.

Les cultures conservent toujours un pouvoir séminal de refus et de renaissance comme l'ont montré tragiquement les événements de l'Iran et d'ailleurs.

Ils nous montrent que le développement réduit à son squelette infrastructurel est une grimace macabre. Si tous sont semblables ce qui nous attend c'est l'entropie d'une humanité arrachée et pénéplanée où seront banalisées et profanées les intimités majeures.

Chaque culture a le droit d'échapper au regard homicide et cannibale des cultures de proie; mais elle a aussi le devoir de jeter des ponts qui la délivrent du ghetto et du froid de la mort.

Il ne s'agit pas d'une course aveugle, ni d'un retour vers nos hypothétiques paradis perdus, mais de l'accouchement d'un projet global qui marie les acquis de la science patrimoine de l'humanité toute entière avec la convivialité vis-à-vis de la nature, préhistoire de l'homme et vis-à-vis des autres humains, dépassement et accomplissement de l'homme.

Entre la pesanteur de l'Histoire et la grâce du projet commun pour un autre développement, il faut choisir l'utopie motrice qui assigne à l'homme un avenir où, à partir de ses mille racines, il engendrera des fruits aux succulences inédites. Demain sera meilleur si nous nous délivrons de la ra- pacité des économies et de l'opacité des cultures.
"Somos 45 millones de indios en sudamérica. En algunos países, desgraciadamente, ya hemos sido reducidos a una minoría. En Bolivia, Ecuador y Perú, somos la mayoría, pero estamos sometidos a opresión, colonialismo interno y exterminio", dice Julio Tumiri Apaza.

Tumiri es delegado boliviano y coordinador del "Consejo Indio de Sudamérica" (CISA) entidad creada el 3 de marzo de 1980, en El Cuzco, Perú.

El movimiento indio boliviano participa actualmente en la política de su país, planteándose como una alternativa de poder, nos refiere Tumiri.

Como consecuencia del desarrollo organizativo y político del movimiento indio boliviano, la sede del "CISA" recayó en La Paz pero el golpe militar del general García Meza, en julio de ese mismo año, obligó al CISA a mudarse a Lima.

"Los pueblos indios estamos sometidos a una intensa política de aniquilación cultural. Quieren borrar nuestras esencias y raíces como pueblo - dice Tumiri - pero somos herederos de culturas que alcanzaron alto grado de civilización y desarrollo, de sociedades en donde no había hambre, desnutrición, represión ni propiedad privada".

Para Tumiri, así como para Salvador Palomino Flores, delegado "quechua" (peruano) y coordinador alterno del CISA, la lucha de los indígenas sudamericanos para liberarse de la colonización, que comenzó en el mismo momento en que llegaron los españoles al continente, en 1492, todavía prosigue.

"Aún en los países en donde somos mayoría, estamos sometidos al gobierno de minorías racistas, que nos marginan y nos dan el peor trato posible. Los dirigentes indios son ultrajados, encarcelados sin justificación ni proceso alguno. Comunidades enteras son masacradas por la policía, los militares o aún los esbirros de las empresas particulares que quieren nuestras tierras", senalo Tumiri. "Somos como una nación ocupada. Los gobernantes no consideran como crímenes muy graves los que se cometen contra nosotros. Por el contrario, reprimen cualquier esfuerzo que hacemos para organizarnos. Quieren seguir explotándonos con mayor comodidad y de modo cruel", expresa por su parte Palomino Flores. "En Al Amazonía y en toda la selva de sudamérica, los indios son cazados como animales salvajes y considerados como factores de atraso que obstaculizan el desarrollo de los países", dice un informe del 'hermano' Julio Tumiri.

En el CISA están presentadas 33 organizaciones federativas o grupos comunales indígenas de nueve países: mapuches de Chile, coyas de
Argentina y Bolivia, quechuas del Perú, Bolivia y Ecuador, chibchas de Colombia, las etnias (o naciones) selvícolas de las selvas amazónicas que comparten Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Brasil, Perú y Bolivia, así como los toba maskoy de Argentina y Paraguay, etc.

"La actual sede del CISA es Lima, para algunos considerada la ciudad de los virreyes, porque aquí se asentó el poder colonial español, pero para nosotros, Lima seguirá siendo siempre el lugar en donde estuvo uno de los santuarios más importantes, Pachacamac, cuyos templos están hoy protanados y abiertos a la curiosidad irrespetuosa de los turistas", expresa Palomino Flores.

El objetivo de nuestro movimiento es "propiciar el diálogo entre todos los pueblos indígenas, iniciar la ruptura del muro o ghetto de incomunicación cultural impuesto por las estructuras ideológicas racistas, explotadoras y etnocidas, formar una intelectualidad auténticamente indígena, e iniciar la lucha en los medios de comunicación masiva para frenar la transculturización, que es hoy la principal arma del etnocidio", dice un documento difundido por el consejo entre sus miembros.

La existencia del "CISA" ha permitido comenzar un vertebramiento de las luchas que antes hacían aisladamente los grupos indígenas en el continente.

El año pasado, en diciembre, una delegación del CISA estuvo presente en las alturas del cerro Conunhueno, en Chile, en donde los dirigentes de los pueblos mapuches celebraban el primer centenario de sus últimos combates armados contra el gobierno republicano de ese país. No se trataba solamente de una ceremonia de recordación, sino también de un planteamiento de protesta contra un reciente decreto promulgado en Chile, que aspira a convertirles en simple comunidades de vecinos. Desde días antes de la ceremonia central, los mapuches hacían oír en el cerro Conunhueno los sonidos de sus instrumentos musicales autóctonos: cultrún, trutuca, pfillka, mientras los danzaires hacían vibrar los cascabeles atados a sus tobillos, en sus ritos de homenaje a nguinechen, el dios de los mapuches. Cuando se juntaron los delegados mapuches, y sus invitados frente al "rehue" (altar mapuche), ofrendaron a la madre tierra unas gotas del "munday", bebida tradicional. Luego, Melillan Painemal, el "hermano mayor" de los mapuches, pronunció un discurso en su lengua, para tomar el juramento a todos sus hermanos de raza, exhortándolos a no abandonar nunca sus tradiciones y valores culturales.

Entre los invitados, además de los delegados de los grupos indígenas del Perú, Bolivia, Argentina, Ecuador, Brasil y Colombia, estaba también Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, ganador del premio Nobel de la paz de 1981.

(Inter Press Service Third World News Agency)
COLOMBIA: NO MORE 'MRS. SO-AND-SO'

Under a new Council of State ruling, Colombian women may now keep their maiden names when they marry, rather than take their husband's name preceded by "de" ("of"). And a number of Colombian women are already taking advantage of the ruling to change their names. In fact, the law passed last summer means that a woman who wishes to take her husband's name when she marries must make a special request before a judge. Women who are already married and whose citizenship papers are under their husbands' names can also now recover their maiden names if they want.

The National Registry, which issues citizenship certificates, has already seen a response to the new measure. Many women have brought in their old civil or baptismal documents to have their original name accredited. "I have been hoping for this for years", said one young woman who had found the old law inconvenient. "I got married before I was 18 years old and could only get citizenship papers after that, so I was registered under my husband's name. Now I am separated and I have two children and the burden of a name which is not mine."

Most Colombian women are against using a husband's name preceded by "of", according to a recent nationwide radio poll. Men's opinions are divided. The men who said they were in favour of the traditional custom cited reasons of social convenience and the woman's respectability. One lawyer, however, said "the legal elimination of the 'of' is justified now, as the equality of the sexes has notably advanced". "The 'of' is nothing but an expression of the man's ownership of the woman", said one person, "made more concrete by marriage and accredited in citizenship certificates that are like car ownership papers".

"In Colombia there are more free marriages than legally constituted ones", wrote one woman journalist. "The 'of' is a symbol of social prestige, stability and all that is traditionally identified with marriage." This is not the case, however, in rural Colombian society, where the indigenous culture is matriarchal. In the Guajira area, for example, surnames and prestige come from the maternal side of the family. In the Boyaca and Narino regions, couples follow a custom of premarital relations called "the getting-acustomed year", in which they live together one year before deciding on a more prolonged and stable relationship. If they do then decide to marry, that marriage is often registered neither civilly nor religiously. In these "free marriages" the mother's or the father's surname is given to the children indiscriminately. Court rulings in the last decade have made the rights of "natural" children and "legitimate" children more equal (Women's Information Service).
JAMAICA IN SEARCH OF A THIRD PATH TO DEVELOPMENT

by Claude Robinson*

For most of the decade of the 1970's Jamaica pursued what former Prime Minister Michael Manley calls the "third path" to development - a course somewhere between the Cuban state socialist model and Puerto Rico's dependent capitalism. But in October 1980, the movement came to an abrupt halt as Manley's democratic socialist government was massively defeated by the free-enterprise campaign of Edward Seaga.

"Jamaica: Struggle in the Periphery" (London: Third World Media, 1982, 259 pp.) is Manley's account of that struggle, why it was halted and why he has to resume it.

To those familiar with developments in the Caribbean island during the period, the outlines of the story are familiar enough: broad social legislation and new economic structures were introduced to alter traditional class relationships and, internationally, a vigorous policy of anti-imperialism resulted in a close friendship with Fidel Castro and Cuba but with rather prickly relations with the United States. Manley's book fleshes out those lines, frankly discusses vital divisions within his own party over many of the issues and offers some insight into the Third World dilemma: rapid transformation within a myriad of obstacles.

Why the defeat? The economic crisis and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) programme created the conditions in which the credibility of the government began to erode. The opposition accelerated the process by collaborating in the tactics of destabilisation. In the end the communist bogey wearing Cuban robes became the focus of a hysteria in which the original issue on which the election was held, the IMF itself, was increasingly obscure.

The relation between Manley's government and the IMF is dealt with at some length as it now only illustrates some harsh economic choices as well as the political dilemma faced by the then ruling People's National Party.

Against a background of domestic capital flight, world recession and poor handling of sections of the economy, Manley points out that at the end of 1976 - after his first five years in office - the Island's economy was in very bad shape. The IMF signalled some tough conditions, but the Right of the party felt there was no choice. The left-wing, in the meantime, was preparing an alternative production plan which Manley said had some "unrealistic targets", "underestimated" some foreign exchange requirements

* Claude Robinson, now director of the UN office of IPS Third World News Agency (Room 485, United Nations, New York, NY 10017) was press secretary to Prime Minister Michael Manley (1973-79). The review reproduced here was transmitted by IPS.
and miscalculated how much foreign exchange would actually be forthcoming. In an underestimation of the upset of sections of the party at the time, Manley now concedes that the explanation of the IMF decision "could have been better handled". Manley reports that the IMF's conditions were a little better than originally signalled partly because he had secured some political muscle from former British Prime Minister Jim Callaghan. But the agreement failed, as Jamaica did not pass a test, and when there was a second one in May 1978 Manley said it was "...one of the most savage packages ever imposed on any client government", and he reveals he considered resigning.

The experience with the IMF no doubt explains why President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has resisted an agreement for so long and President Samora Machel is trying his socialist experiment in Mozambique without even membership, let alone agreement, in the IMF. Destabilisation, along the lines of what the US Central Intelligence Agency undertook in Chile, was "beyond question".

After listing some actions and attitudes by the opposition 'Daily Gleaner', the political opposition, sections of the US press, patterns of crime and violence in the society: Manley asserts that in 1976 "I have no doubt that the CIA was active in Jamaica that year and was working through its agents to destabilise us". The low level relationship between the United States and Jamaica around that time was also illustrated by Manley's recounting of a conversation he had with the then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in Jamaica in 1976. At the time, Jamaica was negotiating about 100 million dollars in trade credits with Washington. For its part, the United States was seeking to isolate Cuba for sending troops to Angola to help repel South Africa's invasion.

Manley said that in the context of the discussion over Cuba, Kissinger mentioned that he was aware of the trade credit. "He said they were looking at it and let the comment hang in the room for a moment. I had the feeling he was sending me a message". Manley says, five days later he told Kissinger that Jamaica would not denounce the Cuban action. "I never heard another word about the 100 million dollar trade credit".

"Jamaica: Struggle in the Periphery" is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the efforts of a small Third World country to decolonise its society and own its economy. The book is not in the category of 'memoirs' as Manley is still a practising politician as leader of the parliamentary opposition. While the book carefully analyses the major events of the period, one gets the sense that Manley is hanging back on some sensitive details about relationships both with domestic and international politicians.

This shortcoming aside, the book is eminently readable and credible, and it sustains Manley's central conclusion: "If any Third World country is to be free of dependence on any external source of power, democratic in the complete sense of pluralism and participation, and seek to provide both a material basis for prosperity ... it can only pursue this third path which we attempted in Jamaica. We will continue to pursue it".
ASILAH: THE CULTURAL ROAD TO DEVELOPMENT

by Asma Ben Hamida

Asilah, a small Moroccan town on the atlantic coast, is white hot in the summer and European tourists swarm the nearby beaches in search of the ocean's blue cool. But for five years now, tourism has taken second place among the village's 20,000 people to Asilah's cultural festival, or Moussem. The idea of holding a Moussem in Asilah was born in 1978 when Mohamed Ben Aissa, a former UN expert on communications, and artist/painter Mohamed Melehi decided to join the city council.

"We wanted to establish Asilah as a symbol of defence against an invasion of imposed tourism and the frivolousness of the cheap market, as a stronghold for the protection of human dignity, the values of civilisation, its moral character and its milieu", Ben Aissa and Melehi wrote five years ago in a booklet for the first Asilah Moussem.

"After my long stay in the UN system", Ben Aissa says, "I was worried by the prevailing concept of development for the Third World. It was always development for the others, but never with the others. It was a dehumanised development, and when I came back to my hometown, Asilah, I was faced with the same dilemma". "What the government says are measures to spur Asilah's development often do not take the people's well being into account. Electricity is available on the national road between Tangiers and Rabat, but not where it should be for the people living on both sides of the road", Ben Aissa adds.

A group of Morocco's most famous artists and painters and residents of Asilah, especially school kids, set out in April 1978 to clean, then paint the town. Waves of colourful murals began to flower on the city's white walls, and Asilah's children were doing most of the painting and choosing the colours. "It wasn't something to embellish the city, to hide its miseries", says Ferid Belkahia, one of the initiators of the project. "We wanted to motivate people and get them to protect their city and their environment. But soon people other than kids were fast becoming painters". "The participation of women was astonishing, quite different from the traditional beliefs about female passivity", Belkahia says. "Most everyone pitched in at some point".

"I myself designed the graphic on the wall of an old furnace with a form rising toward the chimney and the sky. It was a sort of cry that invites a respect and self-restraint to protect the environment", he explains. Despite the free-for-all aspect of the painting job, Asilah's streets are clean and its walls explode with colour.

Etching and painting workshops and art studios were set up for the city's artists and its children, the luxurious Raissouni Palace was restored and renamed Palais de la Culture and an open theatre was created in the old section of the town. Then, "we felt we needed to do something with this infrastructure" Ben Aissa says, remembering.
The first cultural Moussem attracted artists from all over the world, and gave Morocco's intellectuals, workers, students and children the opportunity to sit down together and enjoy the Arab-Islamic world's best artists. The Asilah Moussem was necessary to fill the cultural vacuum that characterises many Third World nations, Ben Aissa and Melihi explain.

If you examine the Third World, and in particular the Arab and Islamic countries, "you find a vacuum, alienation and indifference together with the cult of official manifestations and their improvisations of topical events", the two wrote in the booklet.

Because of the repression and lack of freedom of expression prevailing in many Third World countries, Third World, and especially Arab-Muslim artists, often emigrate to Cannes, Avignon, Venice or other festivals in the Western world. There an artist hopes to be compensated with a 'merit award' or 'certificate of appreciation' proving that his work is authentic and worthy of the present criteria of talent and good taste", Ben Aissa says.

Despite its 3,600 years, Assilah also suffered from a cultural gap, a vacuum empty of culture, art, music, poems, from the Islamic world. But Ben Aissa and Melihi believe the Asilah Moussem could provide a starting point. "Recent history", Ben Aissa says, "has seen many Third World artists move north, but artists in the Western countries never have had the curiosity to go to the Third World and look closely at its culture without colonial prejudice", Ben Aissa argues. But he adds, "We don't want a breaking off with the North". "The world's artists", he says, "should set up means to communicate among themselves, because culture is universal".

Despite scarce resources, few communication facilities and little accommodation, an estimated 100,000 people from around the country, the region and the world, visited Asilah's fifth Moussem this year. The most common feeling the visitors expressed was of belonging to an Afro-Arab civilisation, and the artists and visitors in Asilah set out to show that their civilisation had a rich art heritage. "It seemed vital that human endeavour establish its authenticity and inherited values so cultural pursuits become a spontaneous tradition and the medium of progressive civilisation for our children and grandchildren", Melehi and Ben Aissa say.

A permanent plastic art exhibition, lectures and debates about religion, art, poetry, literature, music, theatre and dance, throughout August, drew crowds of fishermen, peasants, workers and young men and women, even those breast-feeding their children. At the open air theatre, the African guitar of Francis Bebey, the Arab luth of Salmane Chakr, the popular songs of the Moroccan group 'Jil Jilala', the Berbere dancers 'El Gnaoui' and the piano of American Peter Lemer, just to name a few, formed a perfect symbiosis between the North and the South, the past and the present. The stage is open for anyone who wants to perform, and even the young Moroccan groups with their 'punk' outfits drew applause.

"The lesson many have learned from the Asilah Moussem is that culture is not a luxury, but a most basic need, especially for those who do not have a sufficient calorie intake, whose health is often deficient, who are badly
housed and illiterate", wrote Dr. Mahdi El Mandjara, a Moroccan university professor and President of the Association for Prospective Studies and senior UN expert in communications and development.

Asilah's Moussem was not run so the international tourist companies could turn a profit. But the festivities have helped business for local merchants and provided employment opportunities. Abdelmalek Cherkaoui, Morocco's Under Secretary for Planning and Regional Development and a specialist in development studies, says that besides jobs, the Moussem provides an income increase equivalent to 40 per cent per person, an important inflow of money and a spur to rural integration. "The Moussem can be regarded as the beginning of a pole of temporary development within the framework of community action coming from the people ... in this case the population was not subject to development but, on the contrary, actually initiated it", says Cherkaoui.

"Development", Ben Aissa says, "is much more than measurements of gross national product, per capita income or productivity. The Moussem showed that quality counts more than quantity". Asilah's Moussem was also geared to show that development does not have to remain in the big cities. "We wanted to establish Asilah as a symbol of the transition of culture from capital cities to small towns and social sectors which otherwise, under bureaucratic and economic centralisation, would remain marginal, underdeveloped and eventually decline". There is a common belief in the Third World that the state is responsible for taking care of the needs of the people. But "the Asilah experience wants to express the people's desire to be responsible to participate themselves in their own development", Ben Aissa says.

"The small cities in our countries need to be self-reliant and not rely forever on the government", Belkahia says. He hopes the experience at Asilah will be multiplied in other Third World countries. But he warns against any 'politicisation' or 'formalisation' of the Moussem. "It is my big concern. I have always felt that the Moussem should belong to the people themselves. If they don't want it anymore, they stop it. The government might provide financial assistance to the festival, but it should not suffocate it", he adds.

Will tourism dominate life in Asilah despite the Moussem? "It is always a latent danger", says Bonaissa. "Wherever you have beautiful and sunny beaches, a Ministry of Tourism, and profit-making companies, you cannot escape it". "The more local people participate in the festival", he argues, "the better are the chances that the Moussem will remain free of the cheap development that has destroyed several neighbouring countries".

Two years after the first Moussem was held, a group of Arab-African intellectuals thought of launching an Afro-Arab forum to promote cultural cooperation between African and Arab people and strengthen mutual understanding of their civilisations. Four-fifths of all Arabs are Africans, and Arabs inhabit 30 per cent of the African continent. The Arab language is spoken by at least 60 per cent of all Africans. But there is still no evident cooperation among the two peoples. Ben Aissa notes, "our politicians started in fact a cooperation, but following Western models,
creating Arab and African banks and funds for development, and other organizations which are experiencing fundamental problems, such as the organization of African unity, the Arab League, etc". Leopold Sedar Senghor, the former President of Senegal, poet, writer and Co-President of the Afro-Arab Forum, admitted that African politicians have begun co-operation, but have failed.

"One of Asilah's objectives is to create this dialogue among people and strengthen the understanding", Ben Aissa says. "It was around culture that we launched this cooperation, because culture exists already, we don't have to invent it".

The group at Asilah believes their initiative will contribute to the strengthening of ties among Third World countries and a starting point of a new international humanistic and cultural order. "What the Moussem has accomplished is not to be repeated per se", Ben Aissa argues, "but it should be seen as an attempt to mobilise the existing resources of the city". Asilah has a tradition of producing plastic arts and handicrafts. "Then we sow on a fertile soil", Ben Aissa says. He believes Moussems can be launched in the different cities of the Arab and African world, possibly specific festivals for handicrafts, cinema, theatre and music.

"Why not a winter Moussem in the Arab Gulf countries", he asks. "We might succeed where the politicians have failed and set up cooperation from the ocean to the gulf". But there are risks that the Moussem will become extinct, Ben Aissa admits. Activities might stop for a while to allow the participants to have a chance to rethink the experience, review it and improve it to avoid the grave errors of repetition. Asilah is a labora-tory carrying on a new experiment in development through culture and art. "But we must be careful", Ben Aissa warns.

"There is the people's dignity, their city and their cultural heritage, and we must respect that. This community is a real force. If it is well mobilised, we will succeed in fostering a genuine and sincere protection of the city, the culture, the heritage".

Ben Aissa believes the work at Asilah will be judged in its cultural and artistic framework, through its impact on the next generation, its daily life and how it approaches the taboos of today.

Asma Ben Hamida, a Tunisian journalist, is the IFDA correspondent in Rome.
WHATEVER HAPPENED AT LUCAS?

The fightback against the 1,050 redundancies at Lucas Aerospace Burnley has put the Lucas "Alternative Corporate Plan" firmly back on the agenda. In fact, the main aim of the "Alternative Corporate Plan" launched by the Combine in 1976 was to safeguard Lucas workers' jobs—and in that, Mike Cooley apart—it has been very successful. There have been few involuntary redundancies so far, despite strenuous efforts by the company to reduce the workforce. Now, in the post-détente defence boom, Lucas is actually taking on new workers. It made a profit of £21 million last year.

So the combines plan could be seen as having been just a very successful exercise in "holding the fort" until a new arms race emerged. Nothing could be further from the truth however. For the Plan, and the subsequent campaign on it has put the whole issue of socially-useful production on the trade union agenda both at Lucas and elsewhere.

The Combines initiative in setting up the Centre for Alternative and Industrial Technological Systems (CAITS) to develop some of the ideas in the Plan independently has also been copied elsewhere—with the Unit for the Development of Alternative Products (UDAP) at Coventry (Lanchester) Poly and the Alternative Technology and Employment Centre (ATEC) in Bradford. And beyond that the Plan has had enormous impact on the thinking and campaigning of the Alternative Technology movement, the pacifist movement, the radical left and just about every progressive tendency in the UK—and worldwide.

In general most of the technical ideas in the 1976 Lucas workers plan have proved to be viable—and are being taken up by commercial firms, including Lucas though in other parts of the Company. Every week in the technical press you can see an example—gas fuelled heat pumps, variable speed windmills, hybrid petrol-electric engines and so on, although the way in which these ideas are being developed often differs significantly from the pattern envisaged in the Plan—where the emphasis was on community scale and community needs, rather than on profits.

So we can't claim that the Workers Plan succeeded in converting Lucas or any other firm to socially useful production—much less that workers control over production choices and methods has been extended. But at least the idea of socially useful production and workers plans now exists—and is spreading. Similar Workers Plans have emerged from dozens of other groups of workers—in shipyards, car plants, distilleries, power plant firms as well as in the defence and aerospace industry.

The Lucas campaign helped put some flesh on the nuclear disarmament slogan "Jobs not Bombs". More generally, grass roots trade unionists are now much more confident in their attempts to influence corporate decisions on production—even given the fact that trade union power has never been at such a low ebb. In many ways the Lucas experience prepared the union movement so that it could respond somewhat more effectively to the challenge of "new technology". It also paved the way for a more progressive response to the nuclear power issue—as witness the ten national unions that now oppose nuclear in favour of job creating socially useful alternatives.

Alright, you may be saying, these are good but only marginal gains. Is that all that has been achieved. Well it depends on your strategic view. Certainly there are as yet no windmills rolling out of worker's controlled democratically managed factories, or even any sign of collective bargaining being extended to include the issue of "what is to be produced".

(Peace News for Nonviolent Revolution, May 1982)
REAL GAINS

But real organisational gains have been made within the trade union, labour and community movements. The Lucas plan was itself drawn up by a cross-union body, bringing together blue and white collar workers from seventeen plants around the country. Links were also built with local community and political groups. This same pattern has emerged in most of the other Workers Plans—with, for example, a joint campaign on Combined Heat and Power being waged by the Parsons Corporate Union Committee, local residents groups, the right to fuel campaign, SERA, and so on. Community plans have also begun to emerge—both in industrial cities (often developed by local Trades Councils) and in rural areas, as witness the dozen or so Local Energy Groups that have now emerged around the country. Taken together, what is now emerging is the beginning of a decentralised grass roots planning system—bringing together workers and community activists. And it’s not just manufacturing/industrial workers who are involved—white collar, local government workers and other public employees are increasingly linking up with radical community groups to defend and develop the public services—health care, transport, education. The stimulus of course has been the massive Tory cuts—but the idea of autonomous planning owes much to Lucas.

SOCIALIST NETWORK

Obviously piecemeal planning on a plant by plant, or even firm by firm, or community by community basis, is not enough. It can lead to duplication, overlap and conflict. Already there has emerged a Joint Forum of Combine Committees to try to ensure that the various workers plans and campaigns are integrated and co-ordinated rationally. SERA’s Local Socialism network is amongst those trying to do the same thing at the community level, while NATTA is acting as a network for the various local energy groups.

The Left in Britain is currently debating the desirability/content of what they call the Alternative Economic Strategy (AES). Much of this is a rehash of old left ideas (planning agreements, import controls, “industrial democracy” and the like) which were weak to start with and were ineffective or untried in practice during the reign of the last Labour Government. But the debate on the AES does at least open the door to more radical ideas. Various left groups—eg BSSRS, SERA, and the Beyond the Fragments network—are trying to ensure that some of the more radical ideas concerning socially useful production, alternative technology, and decentralised control, are fed into the AES.

Whether they will succeed is unclear. But the two halves of the radical movement in the UK—those concerned with grass roots community and industrial issues, and those concerned with state power and national planning—are at least communicating with each other. The result could be a planning structure which provides a way of speeding grass roots initiatives into an overall political programme, rather than a “top-down” planning procedure with minimal popular participation. Of course all this will need a fertile and confident grass roots base, active on every issue-energy, transport, housing, production, and so on. That will test out just to what extent the syndicalist-Utopian view of direct democracy is realistic. If it proves to be so, then it will have been the Lucas workers who led the way.

DAVE ELLIOTT

Dave Elliott and Hilary Wainwright are currently writing a book The Lucas Plan: a new Trade Unionism in the making, published by Allison and Busby which develops the themes of this article, with the emphasis on the growth of new forms of workers organisations and workers plans.

Many new ideas about industrial and economic strategy are emerging as a result of the “Popular Planning for Social Need” initiative being mounted by a number of Trades Councils and Combine Committees. For more details, contact: CAITS, North East London Polytechnic, Longbridge Road, Dagenham, Essex. SERA and BSSRS can be contacted at 9 Poland Street, London, W1.
TDR/2 is the second of the annual Trade and Development Reports that UNCTAD has published since 1981. Like last year's, the Trade and Development Report 1982 seeks to provide an integrated review of world development and its impact on the trade and development of the Third World. TDR/1 struck out of the traditional path of analysis in such documents - as in those put out by the IMF, IBRD, OECD, GATT, etc. - and tried to bring a new dimension to the development debate. The present report will be judged inevitably by the promises and standards in these matters set in the earlier one.

Two things stand out in this regard. As some Third World spokesman noted at the 25th session of the Trade and Development Board, the TDR/2 seems to lack a political thrust, and does not provide, except in an odd place or so, conclusions arising from its technical analysis presented, even if 'recommendations' for policy actions are to be outside the scope of the Report. The second thing about TDR/2 is perhaps its failure to carry forward the basic issue posed in the earlier report, namely that the minimum development needed for the Third World on social, economic and political stability considerations cannot be accommodated within the present international system and that alternative development strategies could. If it had, it should have followed through the assessment in TDR/1 of the Third World's approach to the external environment, namely that it had given up its 'reformist' approach (based on commodity agreements, generalised system of preference schemes, codes of conduct, compensatory balance of payments financing and official development assistance targets that did not challenge existing economic order), and had come out firmly in favour of changing 'the structural of external environment'. But, perhaps this too was felt to be falling within the realm of policy recommendations outside the scope of the report.

There are perhaps some reasons for these gaps. The UNCTAD secretariat in a sense is still trying to find its feet in organising such an annual exercise, and if one looks at the professional man-months spent on these exercises elsewhere, the UNCTAD effort is a shoe-string operation. Also, with UNCTAD VI (June 1983) looming large in the secretariat horizon, there is perhaps greater reluctance to go beyond technical analysis and present conclusions and thus begin controversies in advance of the conference documentation. To some extent these have been sought to be remedied through the introduction and overview.

The message of TDR/2 is however clear. "The developing world is facing its gravest economic crisis since the Great Depression. As in that earlier period, the crisis is the product of the malfunctioning of the economies of the Developed Market Economy countries, and has been intensified by the growing disarray of the trade and financing system".

In effect, the technical analysis brings out that the Third World, whose development did not really benefit from the trickle-down and development models of the North, is nevertheless suffering from the 'trickle down effects' of the crisis in the North - the malfunctioning of the international economic system, and the often contradictory and selfish response of the powerful economies of the North to the crisis. Integration into international economy and interdependence has not brought benefits but woes.

This about sums up the 'trickle down' effects of the crisis: "The economic problems of the developed countries are being transmitted to the developing countries through a variety of channels. Slower growth in the Developed Market Economy countries is curtailing directly their import demand and is also associated with structural changes in those countries which have a further negative impact on demand. Policies to deal with inflation have increased borrowing costs, and trade policies are evolving in a way that calls into doubt the future dynamism of international trade, particularly for products of special importance to the developing countries. Inflation in the world economy and the deterioration in the terms of trade of the non-oil exporting developing countries have enlarged their current account deficits and reduced for many developing countries the benefits derived from participating in the international trading system. The international financial system appears to have lost a good deal of flexibility which it had formerly provided to developing countries to offset the negative influences of the external environment and to mobilise resources required for the transformation of their economies. The spirit of international cooperation is on the wane".

In 1981, when UNCTAD warned of the serious development crisis, and sought to project the likely scenario if things continued without basic structural reforms - inside countries and in the international economic system - the Northern media ignored it, and the institutions and spokesmen of the North found fault with UNCTAD for being 'too pessimistic'. At that time all of them had been predicting and talking of 'recovery' early in 1982 if not late in 1981. Like the mirage in the desert that disappears on coming closer, or like the horizon that is ever in the distance, recovery is eluding the world.

The development crisis in the world, and more so for the Third World, is stark enough now that no amount of rosy spectacles can hide or alter. Collapse of commodity prices and earnings, continuing adverse terms of trade, reduction in external demand and thus consequent reduction in purchasing power of the Third World forcing a cutback in domestic investments and imports of essentials and investment goods, increasing debt burdens, and the tottering international financial and monetary system and the banking system, are all feeding and accentuating each other's failure, and increasingly bringing near the Great Depression, with the added danger history cannot be repeated - the massive armament and Second World War and its aftermath that provided the impulse for post-depression recovery and growth, are not available. There will be no one living to recover after nuclear war. Those in 1981 who so glibly talked of the manageability of the Third World debt burdens (OECD, World Bank, IMF et al), and blamed the virtual defaults of some through rescheduling as due to failure of domestic policies, are no longer so sanguine. But they have not stopped preaching
'adjustment' - by the poor within nations and the poor countries of the world tightening their already tightened belts. The policy-making staff of these institutions that go around with 'adjustment policy recommendations' and 'letters of intent' to be signed, have not been known to put a little bit of their medicine into practice in their own lives. No one has heard of international civil servants of these institutions 'adjusting' their own systems of indexing earnings.

TDR/2 does not raise these issues openly, though it does complain of the adjustment burdens being shifted to the shoulders of the weak.

In most Third World countries, TDR/2 says, the poor growth performance in 1981 (1.5 per cent GDP growth of the oil-importing countries in 1981 compared to the 4.9 per cent in 1980 and the minimum desirable target of 7 per cent set by the international development strategy for the eighties was the result of intensified pressures on their external payments, due to the collapse of commodity prices and higher outflows on account of interest payments and profit remittances. The sharp deceleration is despite their good performance in the exports sector, a better than average performance in the agricultural sector, and increase in their savings, despite unfavourable impact of terms of trade, by a sharp contraction of public and private consumption expenditures. The favourable results of the adjustment policies applied since the mid-1970s to improve external accounts while fostering growth have been negated by the adverse impact of external events. But the costs of the policies remain and will greatly constrain the range of policy options open to the Third World in the 80s. Developments even in 1982 have intensified the concern over the capacity of the international financial system to cushion the effects of the unfavourable economic environment and underpin adjustment. A large number of uncertainties have emerged with respect to financing via international capital markets, including the greater vulnerability of financial institutions, owing to growth of 'assets', both domestic and foreign, whose liquidity and future earnings are in doubt. Adding to it is the hesitation on the part of lenders due to their 'over-exposure' to individual borrowing countries. The blocking of assets in connection with the South Atlantic hostilities, like the earlier blocking of the Iranian assets, have created uncertainties about the way in which financial markets may function in the future.

"There is increasing incompatibility of the broad direction of change in the trading system on the one hand, and the international financial and monetary system on the other. The trading system is being increasingly used to allow the pace of structural adjustment in the Developed Market Economy countries to be slowed, or limits to that adjustment enforced. The monetary and financial system, on the other hand, are evolving in ways that imply more rapid adjustment of developing countries".

"The development crisis is thus not simply a set of poor growth figures for one or two years, however disquieting these may be. It is also the progressive alteration of the international environment in ways that narrow the range of feasible policies open to the developing countries to promote their own development, and that reduce the effectiveness of those that are available".
At a time when the North is 'happy' over the soft-oil market and prices, UNCTAD gives a warning over its medium to long-term effects both on oil supply/demand issues and the transition to non-oil based energy economy. The uncertainties created by blocking of assets (first by the USA during the Iranian crisis, and in 1981 by the UK in the South Atlantic hostilities) and the need for the capital-surplus countries diversifying their assets is also brought out. In underlining the deployment of these surpluses, and the 'distinguishing feature' of increased concessional assistance by these countries to other Third World countries, TDR/2 has brought out a well-known fact that the bulk of the assets are invested in the North. One-fifth or 69.2 billion of the cumulative identified investible surpluses of OPEC members during 1974-81 has been invested in the USA, 21 per cent or 75 billion in the UK, and 38 per cent or 139 billion in other OECD countries. In all, this accounts for 79 per cent. The balance of 21 per cent has been channeled to the Third World, the World Bank and the IMF. But it is questionable whether the 'investments' or channelling to the IMF can really be taken as for the Third World, as the TDR/2 does. Firstly, it is on market terms (as the Saudi arrangements with the IMF are), and secondly, it strengthens the IMF's 'policeman' role in the Third World in support of the transnational banking system.

The composition of assets is seen largely as being determined by security considerations and need for diversifications. The US freeze on the Iranian assets appears to have had some impact on new OPEC placements as between the US and other European based banks. Direct investments by OPEC members in other Third World countries continue to be small. The average annual return on money market investments in the major convertible currencies over 1974-79, is estimated by UNCTAD to have been about 7.7 per cent, while the UNCTAD price index of imports by these countries was about 10.3 per cent. Thus these assets suffered an annual erosion of 2.4 per cent in purchasing power. Investment in US bonds is seen as having suffered an average annual erosion of 3.4 per cent during 1974-79. Studies for the Group of 77 (done for the South Bank concept) show that direct investments in the North fetch a much lower return than in the Third World. According to the International Financial Corporation figures, IFC investments in Third World countries brought a discounted cash flow return of about 10.5 per cent between 1961-76 compared to the 7.75 per cent on the 425 stocks of Standards and Poors industrial average. Also according to IFC, the median rate of return in some 87 Third World countries' enterprises was 20.5 per cent compared to 13 per cent for the Standard and Poors industrial average.

The conclusion is obvious - both in terms of 'security' (against assets freezes for political purposes) and 'returns', OPEC Capital Surpluses have a better prospect in the Third World than in the North.

SOME LIMITATIONS OF NIC EXPORT LED GROWTH FROM A WORLD PERSPECTIVE

by Andre Gunder Frank*

Hong Kong, Singapore, Taïwan and South Korea (the "Gang of Four") and sometimes Mexico and Brazil are increasingly called Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs) whose growth and development "miracles" are often held up as a new "model" of "export led growth" and development strategy to be followed by the Third World. The argument is oft advanced in official governmental and international circles as well as in the business and popular press and therefore need not be repeated here. On the other hand, it may be useful to examine some of the limitations if not outright fallacies of this thesis in general and to suggest some reasons why the particularities especially of the Gang of Four are not readily generalizable to the Third World as a whole. To do so, we may usefully draw on a world system perspective.

To begin with, the miracle and model parts of the thesis are inconsistent, indeed contradict each other. If the experience of South Korea, Taïwan, Hong Kong, Singapore (and sometimes of Mexico's border region with the U.S. and Sao Paulo in Brazil) are really miraculous, that is extraordinary and almost inexplicable in normal terms, then they can hardly serve as a model for the remainder of the Third World, which would be hard put to duplicate the same circumstances and experience. This limitation is at least two-fold, general and particular.

The general limitation is that export led growth by a few small countries and the absorption of their exports as imports by the rest of the world is one thing; and the generalization of the same export led growth to that same rest of the world (which would export to/be imported by whom?) is another matter. Consider the prospects and problems of Hong Kong and Taïwan style exports on all Chinese or Indian, let alone Third World scale! The sheer impossibility of such a "model" is intuitively clear. World system analysis can offer the "scientific" reasons: particular growth experiences, such as those of the NICs, that of post-war Europe and Japan, or indeed of the industrial revolution itself, can and could not be generalized to the rest of the world, precisely because they took place where and when they did and thereby exclude(d) and prevent(ed) the rest of the world from doing the same. Erich Hobsbawm already pointed out, without the benefit of "world system analysis", that in 1800 there was room in the world for no more than the industrial revolution in Britain. He had in mind, apparently, demand side limitations to British, let alone other, export led growth. Similar demand side limitations obtain with regard to the NICs, and today we can see that there are resource supply-side limitations as well (one month, one fourth of the world's population uses three fourths of the world resources). But as the analysis of imperialism, dependance, and the world system has emphasized, the very growth pattern of the "leaders" has been based on, indeed has generated, the inability of much of the world to follow. The underlying reason, as world system analysis would have it, is that this development or ascent has been misperceived as taking place in
particular countries, when it has really been one of the processes of the world system itself (to cite the appropriate title of a previous volume in this series). The recent export-led-growth of the NICs also is part and parcel of the process of capital accumulation on a world scale (to cite the appropriate title of Samir Amin): to reduce costs of production and to make room for more technologically advanced development elsewhere, a part of the labor (and some capital) intensive production is relocated in the NICs and the "socialist" countries. However, this process is far from trouble free, as it generates protectionist pressures in the "traditional" producing countries, exacerbates trade and financial imbalances, and is threatened by the possible breakdown of the world trade and financial system, to whose instability this process itself contributes. More NICs would only do more of the same.

But there are also many particular limitations to the generalization of NIC export led growth on the "Gang of Four" NICs model that are particular to these countries and to others that may seek to follow in their footsteps. All four of the Asian NICs are fundamentally characterized by very particular political reasons for their establishment and survival, and two of them additionally are city-states for the same reason. South Korea and Taiwan clearly were created as "independent" entities as a result of the Cold War against China and the Soviet Union and have been politically supported and economically subsidized as strategic pawns against them. Hong Kong emerged from history to a similarly peculiar position, and Singapore became a state because of the preponderance of overseas Chinese population on the Malay Peninsula (and behind them also the perceived threat of China). These world political circumstances, let alone the advantages of city-states that draw on their respective hinterlands without economic and political responsibility for them, may be politically miraculous - and go some ways toward accounting for their economic miracles - but hardly offer a model to be duplicated ad infinitum elsewhere in the Third World.

Beyond the impossibility of following the Gang of Four NICs as a model, the desirability of their "miracles" as models of development is also questionable, to say the least. The supposed merits of export led growth are that it generates foreign exchange to improve the balance of payments, that it provides employment to eliminate or reduce unemployment, that it imports technology and improves skills to advance technological development, and that it furthers integral national development generally. But export led growth scores very badly in the test of experience on each of these four counts of its supposed merits, and for very good reasons.

Far from improving the balance of payments, export led growth deteriorates it to the point of generating serious balance of payments crises, as the three largest NIC exporters, South Korea, Brazil and Mexico have found to their and the banking community's alarm. To export, the NICs have to import raw materials, components, technology and high priced businessmen, that are frequently overpriced through transfer pricing within the transnationals who in turn underprice the resulting exports, thus reducing or eliminating the foreign exchange earning and tax paying value added in the NIC. But since the principal attraction of the NICs are their low wages, and secondarily the state subsidies that often involve imported components
for local infrastructure as well, the national valued added and export minus import foreign exchange earning was low to begin with and is only lowered through transfer pricing and other tricks. The result is that the NICs have to borrow increasingly to pay for their import requirements, which grow additionally as export production interferes with domestic production and therefore increases import requirements especially for agricultural products, and then the NICs have to finance and roll over their debts at increasingly onerous interest costs and other conditions.

Export led growth undoubtedly generates employment, but apart from being unsteady due to ups and downs in the world market and/or the market penetration of the particular NIC industry, this employment itself generates unemployment as it interferes with domestically oriented industry and agriculture and draws more labor into the cities than the jobs that it creates. In Hong Kong and Singapore this process is invisible within the "country", but in Mexico and Brazil, as well as Malaysia, Philippines and elsewhere and now in China itself, this structurally generated unemployment is increasingly evident. The technological development is also uncertain. To the extent that NIC export production is of a component or process that is produced through labor-intensive routine operations on an assembly line that is no more than a part of a world wide industrial process, in which other places specialize in the more advanced technological processes and in advancing the technological development itself, the NIC and its labor force experience only questionable technological development and skilling of the labor force. Even where the NICs produce entire end-products such as shirts, radios or even automobiles they are simply increasing their dependent integration into a world wide division of labor and technological development in which they are allocated the least remunerative and technologically obsolete contributions and the correspondingly meager benefits. Far from contributing to or even laying the basis for relatively autonomous and self-propelling technological development based on national resources and capacities as North Korea has pioneered, dependent export led growth on the South Korean model renders integrated national development increasingly impossible. At the same time it still maintains the economy low on the totem pole of world technological development.

It should not be forgotten that "export led growth" is nothing new in the history of world development. Beyond British growth on its own terms and U.S., Canadian and Australian export led growth in exceptionally favourable times and circumstances within the process of world capital accumulation, much of the Third World went in for or was pushed or pulled into raw materials export led growth on unfavourable terms dictated by the requirements of accumulation on a world scale, but elsewhere in the world, without themselves becoming developed beneficiaries of this process. The new dependent export led growth of manufacturing and agribusiness production for the world market are in no wise significantly different from the old raw materials export led growth that underdeveloped the Third World in the first place.

Finally, we should consider the political costs of export-led growth, which have found echoes even in the halls of the US Congress. Testimony there established how "at the heart of South Korea's human rights problems is the economic growth strategy of the country, a strategy which requires the
repression and manipulation of labor... and the tight control of free political expression... The absence of full human rights is neither arbitrary nor coincidental; it is the product of the choice to have an export-oriented economy which leaves internal needs unmet." (Congressional Record 5 April 1978: H 2517). The US Senate itself prepared a document in which "as we have shown, in many countries there seems to be a direct correlation between economic difficulties and political repression... The problem with these measures /to create a favourable climate for foreign investment and for the private sector in general/ is that ... they can also lead to greater unemployment, to the reduction of social welfare, and to a lower standard of living for the people ... Creditor demands to implant drastic economic austerity programs... could only be imposed at the expense of civil liberties in the countries that adopt them." (US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Foreign Debts, the Banks and US Foreign Policy", August 1977).

*School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ, United Kingdom.

STATE TRADING ORGANIZATIONS AND PRODUCERS' ASSOCIATIONS AS INSTRUMENTS TO EXPAND SOUTH-SOUTH CO-OPERATION

by R. Coster *

During the past decade Third World governments have committed themselves to the ideas of collective self-reliance, South-South co-operation and economic co-operation among Developing Countries (ECDC).

In the trade sector, three principal areas with assumed potential to improve the position of the Third World countries in a structural way have been earmarked. Structural changes could be realized through the creation of new and expanded trade flows among Third World countries, by establishing joint import procurement arrangements between Third World countries and by initiating joint export schemes. Fortunately, the instruments to play a leading role in the implementation of these goals have existed for some time. For many years, two types of institutions have been participating in the economic process of the Third World, namely Producers' Associations and State Trading Organizations (STOs).

Producers' Associations could play a major role in stimulating trade co-operation among Third World countries which produce and export the same commodity. Besides the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, many other producers' associations were created during the 1960's and 1970's.

*c/o UNDP Bangkok, GPO Box 618, Bangkok, Thailand
The formation of producers' associations was the result of an important change in the thinking about development which in turn accelerated this process. Essentially, it aims to increase the bargaining power of the Third World, so as to guarantee better prices to producers and to improve the terms of trade of raw materials vis-à-vis the imported manufactures.

Another aspect of this new approach is the promotion of co-operation among State Trading Organizations of Third World countries. Thus far, producers' associations have made headlines more often, undoubtedly because of the success of the OPEC but notwithstanding the limited publicity attached to STOs, close co-operation between these organizations might become a crucial factor in the expansion in South-South co-operation.

State Trading Organizations are partly or wholly owned or at least controlled by the State. In the initial stages they were established to trade with centrally-planned economies, an exchange of commodities sometimes took place through barter agreements. A second objective was to control the import of essential commodities such as food products, fertilizers, pharmaceuticals, energy products, etc. Governments had to guarantee adequate supplies of these commodities as well as provide a fair distribution throughout the country. Moreover, governments were eager to be able to intervene in the price level of these commodities. Also in the case of the export of key commodities, the governments wanted to increase their control, which resulted in the establishment of State-Owned Corporations. As pointed out earlier, the STOs were used locally to implement certain government priorities, such as fair and guaranteed supply and distribution of essential commodities, as well as price control. Being successful in the implementation of objectives confined within the national boundaries, there is no reason why STOs should not carry out government policies in the international arena.

Co-operation among State Trading Organizations could actually be complementary to the activities of producers' associations. In addition to joint export oriented programmes, STO co-operation could be extended to other areas such as activities related to joint imports; also, it could provide a mechanism to foster the expansion of trade between Third World countries. Two examples will illustrate the potential force of joint action by STOs. A study in the Caribbean area has revealed an interesting phenomenon. The region, as a whole, imports about 9 million cubic feet of softwood from North American suppliers, whereas several Caribbean countries produce a first class quality wood which is largely exported through State-owned Corporations. However, this timber belongs to a lesser known species, but it would seem that a joint export promotion effort of these species in the major markets of the Caribbean could result in the expansion of South-South trade. The opportunities for trade expansion are there, because many Caribbean governments are actively engaged in the construction sector and softwood could be used as a major construction material. The State is involved in both fields of activities; at one end as producer/exporter, and at the other as purchaser. With respect to a joint import scheme, another example from the Caribbean region deserves to be mentioned. In the area of bulk purchase of drugs and pharmaceuticals and other related fields of cooperation such as joint shipping, storage, quality control, tendering etc.,
the basic research has been completed, and the technical constraints were identified during a workshop held on trade and technology policies in the pharmaceuticals sector in the Caribbean region.

The example of a proposed joint import scheme of pharmaceuticals has been mentioned here because the health sector is in every country identified as a priority area, which goes hand in hand with a high level of State involvement. Even if the government's philosophy is geared towards a free enterprise system, it will retain in most cases the responsibility for certain areas of public health care. This implies that the State is involved in supplying drugs to government-owned hospitals and/or to public pharmacies.

Timber and pharmaceuticals are not the only commodities which show potential for co-operation among State Trading Organizations. Another essential commodity is chemical fertilizer which is imported in large quantities by Third World countries and where STOs obtain a large market share. Scope for co-operation among STOs in the area of import procurement also exists for products such as wheat, sugar, cotton, petroleum and petroleum products and cement. STOs are already actively engaged in international trade in these commodities and the quantities traded and the amounts of foreign exchange involved are considerable, representing an important share in the total import bill of many Third World countries.

Several actions could be undertaken by STOs engaged in importation to improve the effectiveness. By centralising the imports within one country, or by co-operation with foreign STOs it is possible to increase bargaining power (e.g. through bulk purchases) and save considerable amounts of foreign exchange. Successful joint procurement requires additional measures like the creation of joint storage facilities, and the initiation of a trade intelligence unit to provide the STOs with reliable trade information on sources of supply, trade channels, trade practices, up-to-date market prices and transport systems.

The evidence shows that Third World countries have committed themselves to the cause of collective self-reliance and to ECDC, especially within such entities as the Group of 77 and the Non-Aligned Movement. A large number of Third World countries have established STOs as instruments for implementing policy objectives which could include a commitment to ECDC. This puts STOs in an excellent position to become the key instrument in the government's (and Third World's) strategy to implement objectives of co-operation among Third World countries and ultimately to change the prevailing trade system.
SEVEN YEARS OF IFDA ACTIVITIES

The mailing list of the IFDA Dossier has grown manifold since we sent Dossier 1 in 1978, and most of its present readers may not be fully briefed on IFDA's objectives and activities. We are reproducing below, for their information a brief report on IFDA activities between 1978 and 1982.

PRESENTATION

Goals. The International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA) was established to contribute to another development and to genuine international cooperation. By another development - need-oriented, self-reliant, endogenous, ecologically sustainable, and based on structural transformations - we mean a comprehensive, people-centred, social, cultural, political and economic process. By genuine international cooperation we mean moving from an imposed asymmetry to a new international order supportive of another development through a fundamental restructuring of international relations, including Third World collective self-reliance.

Means. IFDA endeavours to pursue these goals through meetings, publications and the channeling of support to others, always with a view to:

- facilitating innovative research, experimentation, communication and action;
- organizing mutually educating dialogues between policy-makers, action-oriented researchers, social actors and communicators;
- providing for direct links between citizens and associations of the third system, i.e., outside the intergovernmental and/or business structures.

Status. IFDA was established in 1976 as an international, non-governmental, non-profit making foundation under art. 80 et ff. of the Swiss Civil Code which provides, inter alia, for the Federal Government to ensure that the resources of the Foundation are used in accordance with its purpose. It is registered at the 'Registre du Commerce' of Nyon, Switzerland. Its legal seat and its headquarters are at Nyon. In 1981, it opened a registered office in Rome, Italy. IFDA is in consultative status with UNCTAD.

Organization. The responsibility for the policies and activities of IFDA are vested in an Executive Committee of 5 to 15 members (currently 11) advised by a Council of 44 members. The president of the Foundation acts as its chief executive officer.

Funding. The initial capital of IFDA amounts to Swiss francs 50,000. Its budget - some Swiss francs 1.2 million in 1982 - is financed by the proceeds of its publications, gifts, fees from contractual activities and grants from governments or public agencies (currently: Algeria, Italy, Kuwait, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Venezuela).
Method of work. The backbone of IFDA's activities currently consists of its two regular publications (see below). Other activities, as illustrated below, reflect its "capacity for the unexpected" and its flexibility. IFDA relies principally on members of the network - individuals and associations. Continuity is ensured by a small core staff (currently the equivalent of 4 persons/year).

Network. IFDA maintains cooperative relations with a number of associations and institutions, notably with the

- Third World Forum, Cairo, Egypt, with offices in Colombo, Dakar, Mexico
- Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden
- Instituto latinoamericano de estudios transnacionales (ILET), Mexico
- Centro de estudios economicos y sociales del Tercer Mundo (CEESTM), Mexico
- Centro de estudios del desarrollo, Santiago, Chile
- ENDA, Environment and Development in Africa, Dakar, Senegal
- Association of African Women for Research and Development, Dakar, Senegal
- Centre d'etudes du développement africain, Ouagadougou, Upper Volta
- Marga Institute, Colombo, Sri Lanka
- Centre for the study of developing societies, New Delhi, India
- Centre international de recherche sur l'environnement et le développement, Maison des Sciences de l'homme, Paris, France
- World Future Studies Federation, Stockholm, Sweden
- Inter Press Service, Third World News Agency, Panama/Rome
- CODEV, Communications for Development Foundation, Valletta, Malta

Activities, 1976-1982. IFDA's activities (other than publications) undertaken between 1976 and 1982 include:

- Sweden in the world society, seminar organized with the Swedish Secretariat for Future Studies, 1976*
- Technical cooperation among developing countries, support to a UNDP seminar in Kuwait, 1977
- Sri Lanka: An experience in a need-oriented development, seminar with the Marga Institute, Colombo 1977*
- The Common Fund for primary commodities, private meeting organized for the Secretary General of UNCTAD, Nyon, 1977
- Participation of the third system in the elaboration of the UN international development strategy for the 80s. This project (1978-1980)

  * Cf. section on publications.
involved the participation of some 60 institutions and 600 individuals from all regions and included 119 specific activities. It was undertaken at the request of the Dutch and Norwegian governments and its cost (above US$3 million) was financed by them as well as CIDA. Its report - including a list of participants, activities and supporting papers - was published in IFDA Dossier 17*.

- The Future of Western societies, seminar, Nyon, 1978
- Development alternatives for Venezuela, seminar with CONICIT, Caracas, 1978*
- The international dimension of the UN international development strategy, brainstorming session, Le Betex, France, 1978
- Science and technology for development, seminar with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, 1978*
- The new international development strategy, symposium for the UN Director General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, Scheveningen, The Netherlands, 1978*
- South-North conference on the international monetary system, with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, ILET, the Third World Forum, the Institute for Policy Studies, the Tanzanian Institute for Development Studies and the National Planning Agency of Jamaica, Arusha, Tanzania, 1980*
- The political environment of the New Round of Global Negotiations, brainstorming session, Nyon, 1981
- The automatic mobilization of resources for development, with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (1980-81)*
- Contribution to the establishment of CODEV - Communications for Development Foundation, Valetta, Malta, 1981
- Participation in the elaboration of a Development Communication Network with UNDP, IPS Third World News Agency, CODEV, the Group of 77 and the Italian General Directorate for Development Cooperation (1979 to date)
- Chile in the 80s, an examination of the prospect for another development in Chile, with the Centro de estudios del desarrollo, Santiago, Chile (1981 to date)
- The need for alternative development cooperation policies and practices, private seminar with Italian MPs and officials, Rome, 1982
- The fight against world hunger and international cooperation, private seminar organised for the Department for Development Cooperation of the Italian Foreign Ministry, Castel Gandolfo, Italy, 1982

Publications
- The IFDA Dossier is published bi-monthly, currently in 11,500 copies distributed in virtually all countries (55% in the Third World). The audience of the IFDA Dossier is amplified by its policy of 'no copyright'. Its papers are often translated and reproduced by publications in all regions. The Dossier is not a journal in the conventional sense, but
rather a vehicle at the service of its readers, especially those usually unheard elsewhere. It reproduces some of the papers it receives, and the editorial function of IFDA is limited to maintaining a certain balance between themes, regions and languages (the Dossier includes papers in English, French and Spanish). Dossiers 17 and 26 include indices. Thirty two issues have been published to date. It is circulated at no cost on request, but financial contributions are welcome.

The Special United Nations Service is published daily in Nyon and Rome in cooperation with IPS Third World News Agency. It covers, from a Third World point of view, the development and New International Order debate in the UN system and the efforts towards Third World collective self reliance. It is circulated by subscription only.

Other publications resulting from IFDA activities include:

1. IFDA occasional papers:

2. Reports from some seminars are available from the co-sponsoring institutions, in particular:
   - Challenge to Sweden, from the Swedish Secretariat for Future Studies, P.O. Box 6710, Stockholm, Sweden
   - Participatory development and dependence, the case of Sri Lanka, Marga Quarterly Journal, Vol. 5 No. 3, 1978; P.O. Box 601, Colombo, Sri Lanka
   - Alternativas para el desarrollo de Venezuela, Centro de estudios de la realidad latinoamericana, Apartado 68639, Caracas 106, Venezuela

3. Available from the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (2 Ovre Slottsgatan, S-752 20 Uppsala, Sweden):
   - Towards another development in science and technology (Development Dialogue, 1979:1)
   - The Scheveningen Report (Development Dialogue, 1980:1)
   - The international monetary system and the new international order (Development Dialogue, 1980:2)
   - The automatic mobilization of resources for development (Development Dialogue, 1981:1)

4. The third system project papers: A 2 volume collection of 213 microfiches reproducing in 20,784 pages the IFDA Dossier (Nos. 1 to 20) and all the supporting papers prepared for the third system project. Available from Inter Documentation, Postrasse 14, 6300 Zug, Switzerland. Price: Swiss francs 950.-
Among the books resulting from the IFDA third system project:


Third World Forum publications:


- Ismail-Sabri Abdalla, *Basic services for the child in the Arab Region* (Occasional Paper No. 5, 1979, 30 pp.)

- Egyptian Institute of National Planning, *Third World countries in the international cotton economy* (Occasional Paper No. 6, 1979, 62 pp.)


- Ng Choong Sooi et al, *World trade in natural rubber* (Occasional Paper No. 8, 1979, 106 pp.)


- Kenneth Hall, *The Group of 77 - Strengthening its negotiating capacity* (Occasional Paper No. 11, 1979, 48 pp.)

- Gonzalo Martner, *Producers-exporters associations of developing countries* (1979, 188 pp.)

The above 10 publications could be obtained from one of the Third World Forum regional offices: Africa: c/Samir Amin, BP 3501, Dakar, Senegal. Arabia: PO Box 43, Orman, Cairo, Egypt. Asia: c/Marga Institute, PO Box 601, Colombo 5, Sri Lanka. Latin America: c/ILET, Apartado 85 025, Mexico 10200 DF, Mexico.
CARDINAL ARNS OF BRAZIL RECEIVES HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD

by Allan Ebert-Miner (Inter Press Service)

The church in Latin America must not remain 'neutral' while the people of the area suffer under repressive regimes, says Brazilian human rights activist Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns, a member of the IFDA Council.

"The church that has made a preferential option for the poor and oppressed is...a source of division, especially in the eyes of the governments of Latin America", Cardinal Arns told an audience Tuesday night at this year's Letelier-Moffit Human Rights Award banquet. The awards are given annually to commemorate the assassination of former Chilean Defence Minister Orlando Letelier and his research assistant, Ronni Karpin Moffit, on September 21, 1976 in Washington DC. Those murders have been linked directly to the Chilean Government of General Augusto Pinochet, which has refused to cooperate with the US Government in prosecuting Chilean security officials who are accused of the crime. Santiago's refusal is the single greatest obstacle to the Reagan's administration expressed desire to renew military aid to the Pinochet Government. Administration officials said privately this week that they will not ask Congress to repeal the ban this year.

Cardinal Arns told the banquet the "suffering of the peoples"of the Southern cone of South America and throughout the region has brought them together across national borders. "The only security guaranteed by the national security regimes", he declared,"is the security of those who rule - not the impoverished people."

Working out of his Ministry in Sao Paulo, Cardinal Arns has promoted the development of "comunidades de base" - grassroots christian communities - which provide an active vehicle for people to demand their economic and human rights. He was appointed Cardinal by Pope Paul VI in 1973, and at his insistence, the Brazilian catholic church has publicly condemned human rights violations in Brazil. In 1980 he gave refuge to striking metal workers who were being harassed by the Brazilian military government.

"If the workers cannot have their unions" he declared, "if they are beaten in the streets, if they cannot meet in the football stadium and are persecuted, they can meet in the churches of Sao Paulo."

Cardinal Arns has been attacked for his advocacy of an active social role for the church, but he said here "it is a church that really evangelises because it doesn't permit anyone to remain neutral".

A Letelier-Moffit award this year also went to the Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT), a grassroots organization that has fought against the unscrupulous distribution of infant formula in the Third World. INFACT's national chairperson, Douglas Johnson, received the award for the organization. INFACT was founded in 1977 and has since led a world-wide campaign to bring attention "to the unethical and dangerous promotion of artificial
formula in the Third World by transnational corporations", Johnson said. Use of the formula deprives the baby of the natural immunities provided by mothers' milk, INFACT notes, and the unclean water with which it is diluted introduces new and dangerous bacteria into the young, vulnerable body. Further, illiterate mothers, not properly informed about how to use it, are led by their poverty to overdilute it, depriving the child of the needed level of nourishment.

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), the combination of infant formula and the contaminated water, poverty and illiteracy of the Third World is responsible for more than one million infant deaths a year. But, Johnson added, there has been marked success against such transnational corporations as Nestlé, a leading manufacturer of infant formula. He pointed out that Ernest Lefever was turned down as the Reagan administration's senior human rights official last year after INFACT and others disclosed links between him and Nestlé's.

INFACT also launched the largest non-union boycott in US history when it launched a campaign against Nestlé in the United States and has since helped promote citizen boycott groups in over 40 developing countries. It also helped draft the World Health Organization/UNICEF code on marketing of breastmilk substitutes. The code was adopted in 1981 by the World Health Assembly by an 118 to one vote. The lone no vote was cast by the United States.

Source: Asian Action - Newsletter of the Asian Cultural Forum on Development
Activities in Italy related to peace research register a well known and preoccupying gap in scientific knowledge, and backwardness on the question dealing with the arms-race and disarmament.

Notwithstanding some progress during the past few years, even those who are in a position to take vital decisions in Parliament as far as defence is concerned, do not have a profound knowledge of the Italian military-structure.

IRDISP was established to provide qualified instruments of knowledge and analysis on the subject of disarmament, development and peace. During its early stages the Institute intends to orient its activities in one major direction: to carry out investigation on the Italian military-industrial sector which, in its development, will attempt to convert the Armed Forces and the weapon industry. In cooperation with other peace research centres such as CIRPES, Centre interdisciplinaire de recherches sur la paix et les études stratégiques of Paris, the Science Policy Research Unit and the Institute for Development Studies of Washington, and the Transnational Institute of Amsterdam, the Institute intends to concentrate its activities on two specific sectors: to attempt to modify the MRCA Tornado Project, and to organize a conference on alternative defence methods in Western Europe. At a second stage, with the creation of three departments (problems of arms-race and disarmament; North-South questions; peace education) the Institute will aim to achieve the scientific goals stipulated in article 2 of the association's constitution.

IRDISP will also publish, starting from 1982, an annual report on the Italian defence budget. During the first stage the Institute will build up its own library and information centre on subjects connected with research already being carried out on the Italian military-industrial sector. The association will also publish a periodical bulletin in English and a series of monographs in Italian. The Institute is self-financed with the aid of some of the most well known Italian artists who have contributed to setting up the Institute itself; among them: Dorazio, Castellani, Migneco, Rotella, Fiume, Pietro Cassella, Dova, Cavaliere, Vago, Pardi, Tadini, Del Pezzo.

The Research Institute for Disarmament, Development and Peace has been established by a promoting group which has been engaged for some time in the fight for peace and disarmament. It is equipped by a staff of highly qualified researchers and is run by a Council of Presidency representing important areas of the scientific, political, economical, juridical and cultural world.

* Via Tomacelli 103, 00186 Rome, Italy
MATERIALS RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION

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. Khor Kok Peng, Some principles for an alternative lifestyle and development (Research Director, Consumers’ Association of Penang, Malaysia), 13pp.

NATIONAL SPACE


. Chahrokh Vaziri, Iran: Mythes et réalités d’une révolution (2 ave. du Tribunal Fédéral, 1005 Lausanne, Suisse), 10pp.

. Gale R. Adkins and Zubli Zainordin, Communication can help with Malaysia’s greatest problem (c/o Adkins, Indiana State University, Department of Speech, Terre Haute, Indiana 47809, USA), 9pp.


GLOBAL SPACE

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. ----, I: La realidad colombiana - Debate sobre la mujer en America Latina y el Caribe (Bogotá: ACEP, 1982), 207pp.

. ----, II: Las trabajadoras del agro - Debate sobre la mujer en America Latina y el Caribe (Bogotá: ACEP, 1982), 320pp.


. CEPAL, Women and development: Guidelines for programme and project planning (UN Economic Commission for Latin America, Santiago), 123pp.


. J. Murphy and L. Sprey, Monitoring and evaluation of agricultural change (see also Introduction to farm surveys, the companion volume) (International Institute for Land Reclamation and Improvement, P.O.B. 45, 6700 AA Wageningen, The Netherlands), 1982, 360pp.


**NATIONAL SPACE**


. Edgardo Boenninger, "La salida verdadera es el pacto social", *Analysis* (n.50, Octubre 1982), pp.15-25


Mozambican Studies (Da Costastraat 88, 1053 ZR Amsterdam, Holland), the English edition of *Estudos Moçambicanos* - a biannual journal of social science published by the Centre of African Studies in Maputo, Mozambique. Publishing and distribution of the English edition is a joint project of the Holland Committee on Southern Africa and the Mondlane Foundation in Holland.


**THIRD WORLD SPACE**


Janos Pasztor (ed.), *Energía para mi projimo: Perspectivas de America Latina* (Ginebra: Consejo Mundial de Iglesias), 142pp.


**GLOBAL SPACE**


Exploding the myth of scarcity: Food first comics and Laurie Rubin, *Food first curriculum* (Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1885 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, USA).


Silvano Levrero, "Nord-Sud: Una sfida per il movimento sindacale", *Politica internazionale*, no.9, Settembre 1982, pp.149-162.
NO RECESSION FOR ARMS AND ARMS TRADE

- During the past four years, world military spending has been moving up at a rate of about 3 per cent a year (in volume). This is rather faster than in the previous four years, in spite of the fact that the performance of the world economy has got worse.

- A steady rise continues in Soviet military spending. The Soviet Union outproduces the United States in its annual deliveries of a number of standard conventional weapons; on the other hand, the technological gap in favour of the USA is still there, particularly in micro-electronics and computers.

- There has been a sharp change in trend in the United States. In real terms, military outlays rose 3.7 per cent in 1980 and an estimated 5.9 per cent in 1981. The forward plan calls for an 8 per cent volume increase on average over the next five years: however, this programme will probably be pared down to some extent.

- South American countries have expanded their military potential formidable in the past decade, with the revival of inter-state border conflicts, and with internal upheavals. Both Brazil and Argentina have developed significant arms industries.

- The arms trade continued to boom through the period of world recession. During the past decade, when world trade in general rose only 70 per cent, the volume of sales of major weapons to Third World countries went up by over 300 per cent.

- In the period 1979—81 the Soviet Union overtook the United States as the leading exporter of major weapons. This was partly because there was an actual decline in US exports, resulting from the policy of restraint initiated by President Carter.

- The new US directive on arms sales policy, issued in July 1981, reinstates arms sales as a major instrument of foreign policy.

- Both the United States and the Soviet Union are developing anti-satellite weapons.

- The US Department of Defense is now building a full-scale factory for making new binary nerve-gas munitions. It should be ready for operation during 1983. There has been no significant production of filled poison-gas munitions in the United States since 1969.


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