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WHERE CHANGE BEGINS

Before May '68 blossomed in Paris, the 60s were the years of the 'Greening of America' as Charles Reich put it in a then No. 1 bestseller 1/. They were also the years during which the post-war baby-boom generation started to pass through college, a generation now approaching maturity, authority and power. This encourages Duane Elgin, in a recent book 2/, to make a rather bold assumption: the counter-culture of the 60s, the sub-culture of the 70s, 'offers, at least, the potential of becoming the dominant cultural orientation' of the 80s and beyond.

In spite of historical and cultural differences, this may also apply to Western Europe, where the 'movement' is gaining philosophical and political strength (see, for instance, in this issue of the Dossier, the text of Rudolf Bahro's speech in Stockholm, pp.51-64). There is however an obvious question: in which direction will the movement continue to grow? The risk is that it abandons itself to the old political games. It would then be co-opted by the existing order and we would end up with new masks on TV but, for what matters, just more of the same.

If there is hope, it is because what may have changed, in significant groups of the generation reaching 'responsibility', is the approach to life and the way to live. They seem to have chosen to be rather than to have. May they be numerous enough to become the salt of the earth... This is in fact what Elgin's book is about, as its title suggests: Voluntary simplicity - An ecological lifestyle that promotes personal and social renewal: His message - as that of other books mentioned in a new section of the Dossier's footnotes, Inner space - is about a simple and fundamental thing: we do not have to wait for change to change. We may start with what is within our reach: ourselves as individuals and as groups. And if, having changed, we manage to change society as well, then the old patterns may be broken for ever and the change be for good: the 'genetic code' of the new age is the same as that of the agents of change.

We can't lose: change in self is immediately gratifying, and it will help and shape societal future.

2/ See Footnotes, p. 94.
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THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE CHALLENGE FOR THE NONALIGNED

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Abstract: The seventh summit of Nonaligned nations at Delhi comes at a moment of world crisis - economic, social, political and security. The crisis in the economy, already at Great Depression levels in the Third World, the current level of integration (and transnationalisation) of the world economy and the asymmetric inter-dependence of countries and sectors, the East/West tensions and rising levels of armaments and nuclear armaments, and the inability and unwillingness of the rich industrial countries, prevent fashioning of new instruments to deal with the crisis and avert a repetition of the 1930s. The factors that pulled the world out of that crisis - the war and postwar instruments - are not viable now. War will destroy everything, and armaments divert resources from restructuring and harm the economy. The US hegemony that enforced a post-war order of sorts is no longer there. With the North determined to block restructuring, the Nonaligned and the Third World can either drift down helplessly or adopt alternative policies of collective self-reliance to meet the crisis and save their peoples and newly won independence.

LA CRISE MONDIALE ET LE DÉFI AUX NON-ALIGNÉS

Résumé: Le 7ème sommet des pays non-alignés se réunit à Delhi alors que la crise mondiale affecte tous les domaines: l'économie, la société, la politique, la sécurité. La crise économique, qui atteint déjà les niveaux de la dépression de 1929 dans le Tiers Monde, le niveau actuel d'intégration (et de transnationalisation) de l'économie mondiale et l'interdépendance asymétrique des pays et des secteurs, la tension Est-Ouest et l'armement, notamment nucléaire, de même que l'incapacité et l'absence de volonté des pays industrialisés, tout cela empêche la mise au point de nouveaux instruments pour faire face à la crise et éviter la répétition de ce qui s'est passé dans les années 30. Les facteurs qui ont alors tiré le monde hors de la crise - la guerre et la reconstruction qui l'a suivie - ne sont pas une réponse. La guerre détruirait tout tandis que les armements détournent les ressources de la restructuring et nuisent à l'économie. L'hégémonie des USA, garante de l'ordre d'après 1945, a disparu. Le Nord étant déterminé à éviter une restructuring, les Non-alignés et le Tiers Monde peuvent soit se laisser aller à la dérive soit adopter d'autres politiques tendant à leur autonomie collective de manière à faire face à la crise et sauver leurs peuples et leur indépendance.

(Resumen en Español pag. 16).
Chakravarthi Raghavan

THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE CHALLENGE FOR THE NONALIGNED

The seventh summit of the Nonaligned countries, at Delhi in March, comes at a time of profound world crisis - political, economic and social. Each of its elements, viewed in isolation, may lead to complacency: things have been worse before! But cumulatively - and each feed upon and interact with the others - the world has perhaps never been worse off before in recent history.

East/West political tensions show no abatement. The armaments race, and nuclear armaments more particularly, is on a new threshold of escalation, if this has not already begun, and the dangers of a nuclear war have increased. And if there be one, it will not be limited but total, and will destroy much of East and West, and the infrastructures of much of modern industrial civilisation. Only the poor in the countryside of the Third World, whom development has passed by and who are eking out subsistence living, may survive. But even that may be doubtful, as several of these countries, purportedly nonaligned, are themselves becoming nuclear targets because of the facilities they provide one side or another.

The world economy is in crisis. It has been in virtual stagnation since 1975, and under prolonged recession since 1980. Every group of country has been affected, and even the socialists who once boasted they were insulated from the crisis of capitalism, find themselves buffeted.

For two years now, world output and trade have stagnated and/or fallen, and no recovery is in sight. Inflation has been brought down, but only at high social costs, fall in output and soaring unemployment - now projected to reach 35 millions in the OECD area by 1984. It is not expected to move downward even if - and it is a big 'IF' - growth picks up in 1983. The counterpart of it in the socialist world is scarcity of consumer goods.

Unemployment and poverty is so endemic to the Third World that little attention is paid to it. But with the present fall in per capita incomes in real terms over the last two years in the Third World (with very few exceptions), there is every danger of political and social breakdowns.

The structural nature of the crisis is now accepted on all hands. It is such that no recovery is possible or feasible without concerted and simultaneous national and international actions to bring about structural reforms - within nations and in international economic relations. The stalemate and deadlock not only in the North/South dialogue, but even in North/North relations - as witnessed by the disarray at the GATT Ministerial meeting and the rising protectionism and recourse to pre-war bilateralism - is now so complete that there are no immediate prospects of concerted international actions.

During their golden years of prosperity, the industrial countries paid little attention to the needs of the Third World - a few crumbs in the shape of inadequate 'official development aid', generalized scheme of preferences and the like were scattered around, but nowhere nearing the massive needs
to support development. Industrialized countries are even less willing to do so now, and are calling for patience while they combat their own economic crisis and resume growth. Even if this be possible, and they resume growth, the trickle-down benefits would be no more effective in the future, as they were not in the past. Global negotiations and North-South dialogue for NIEO, envisaged in the 70s, appear to be waiting a decent burial, having been aborted from the start.

This leaves the Third World with no other option than self-reliance and mutual help. Their masses have been so long at or below subsistence levels that nothing worse could befall them. But their elitist leaders, clinging to their linkages with the North will be the ones who will lose most, unless they change course.

From the beginning the Nonaligned movement and the Group of 77 have functioned in tandem. All the nonaligned are members of the G-77. Many others in the G-77, especially from the Latin American region, are observers within the Nonaligned movement. Only a few of the G-77 are formally connected with the East/West alliances. At first the G-77 were concerned with details of international economic issues in the North/South area, and the Nonaligned provided the political thrust and support. But the Nonaligned, or at least the principal ones among them, also talked of self-reliance and mutual cooperation. Increasingly, since the mid 70s, they have provided the political thrust for Third World Collective Self-reliance through Economic Cooperation among Nonaligned and other Developing Countries. The G-77 have pursued this through Mexico, Arusha and Caracas decisions and programmes. While some among the Nonaligned, at least in theory, have looked upon self-reliance as an objective in itself, the movement as a whole, and the G-77 more so, have seen collective self-reliance mainly as a leverage for negotiations with the North to bring about desired changes in world economic relations. At Havana there was a qualitative change of sorts when the Nonaligned call for Global Negotiations became possible only in the context of decisions for ECDC and furtherance of collective self-reliance. Since Havana, the G-77 have been vainly trying at the UN to launch Global Negotiations. If ever these are launched, it would be on terms that leave intact the power and hold of the industrialized countries, and especially the United States, over the Bretton Woods system, if it still is one.

If the Delhi summit could result in more emphasis to and actions on ECDC and Collective Self-Reliance and less to 'pleas' to the North for Global Negotiations, it would be a step forward. This would not mean abandoning the idea of a restructured world, or fruitless sectoral negotiations of the 70s, or acquiescence with the view 'recovery first and restructuring later'. It would just be a resolve to restructure themselves through ECDC, however difficult, and make the North realise that changes would take place anyway and it is better to do so through North/South negotiations.

* * * *

When the Nonaligned countries met for the first time in 1961 at Belgrade to launch the movement, there were 25 countries present. Since then their ranks have swelled, and there are 98 full participants, including the two liberation movements - the PLO and SWAPO. But while geographically
broadening the area of nonalignment, the movement has also been diffused.

Nonalignment began as a political movement with the major criteria of not being aligned in Great Power alliances and East/West conflicts, and aimed at enlarging the area of non-conflict. While theoretically still so, today the movement reflects within itself the entire spectrum of East/West conflicts, with several members functioning inside as proxies of the Great Powers and Super-powers outside. The Nonaligned, originally intended to be an area of peace and non-conflict, in contrast to the NATO/Warsaw Pact area of cold war threatening to become hot, is itself now the arena of conflicts and wars, many instigated and furthered from outside.

At Havana in 1979, when the admission of a few members/observers was an issue, after the preparatory meeting of the Foreign Ministers, a participant was asked by newsmen about the outcome. "Oh, we admitted everyone", he replied. "We were in such a mood that if the United States had applied, we might have admitted them as well!"

The original five criteria laid down for membership were: (1) independent (foreign) policy based on co-existence of states with different political and social systems and on nonalignment, or showing a trend in favour of such a policy; (2) consistent support to movements for national independence; (3) non-membership in a multilateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts; (4) any bilateral military agreement with a Great Power or membership in a regional defence pact should not be in the context of Great Power conflicts; and, (5) any military base to a foreign power should not be in the context of Great Power conflicts.

These criteria have not changed, but their interpretation and application have, so that perhaps a quarter of the membership now have one kind or other of relationships with the Great Powers and provide military-related facilities of one sort or another to the Great Powers. Whether avowed or not, these are part of the East-West conflicts. The intentions of the country concerned may not be an arrangement 'in the context of Great Power conflicts', and more an attempt to fortify oneself in terms of regional conflicts or disputes (with other nonaligned members), or an even more mundane attempt to get economic aid for oneself. But the Great Powers involved - whether the two Superpowers or the minor western Great Powers, UK and France - are using the facilities no more and no less than in terms of the East/West conflict and their global strategies.

In the late 50s and early 60s, when NATO talked of extending its role to areas beyond Europe and the North Atlantic, via SEATO and CENTO, to other parts of the world, there was an outcry from the entire nonaligned world that put a stop to it. Over the last few years, extension of NATO and its alliance planning - whether to South Atlantic, West Asia and Mediterranean, or the Gulf and Indian Ocean/Pacific - have aroused no such outcry, but is proceeding with the acquiescence of several of the nonaligned.

The original concepts of nonalignment have been diluted to 'neutrality', and neutrality leaning to one side or another. This was perhaps in a sense inevitable. While some of the originators of the movement saw the nonalignment policy of their countries as part of attempts at autonomous
development for social and economic independence through use of instruments of political independence, others who joined over the 60s and 70s - several with a weak single commodity economy or, worse, dependent on service sectors like tourism or providing a haven for TNCs escaping rigours of their domestic laws - saw in nonalignment a way of playing East against West or vice versa to get aid and economic benefits.

There was nothing immoral or inherently wrong in such an approach. But with the change in East/West equations and in the world economic scene, the leeway that these countries saw has been gradually reduced, for themselves and for the movement as a whole. To be effective again in the present world situation, the movement and its friends should analyse the basic roots of nonalignment, and try to apply some of the concepts to the present.

* * * * *

The founding fathers of nonalignment are generally acknowledged to be: India's Nehru, Egypt's Nasser, Ghana's Nkrumah, Indonesia's Soekarno, and Yugoslavia's Tito. Each had chosen nonalignment in terms of their country's needs. Nkrumah and Soekarno had perhaps a more regional approach, while Nehru, Nasser and Tito had a more global approach, partly because of their perceptions of the strategic locations of their countries in terms of global geopolitics.

Chronologically, India under Nehru was the first to choose and proclaim an independent foreign policy. But the roots of the policy originated in the Indian Independence movement that began under Mahatma Gandhi from 1919. From inception it was a struggle that went far beyond one for national political independence and overthrow of foreign rule. It had a basic social and economic content. It was the grinding poverty of the Indian masses, and the cause seen to be British Imperial rule over India, that brought Gandhi to the leadership of the Indian National Congress and the freedom struggle. Gandhi and Nehru worked as a team, and the former, though the unquestioned leader, often bowed to the wisdom of the younger man in his perceptions of the outside world. Gandhi's Hind Swaraj was not merely a political manifesto for mass non-violent non-cooperation. His economic and social philosophy and idea of village autonomy and local resource-based development predated by several decades ideas now evoked in movements for development alternatives.

Nehru brought to bear into the content of Congress ideology both his Socialist (part-Marxian in analysis, but more leaning to Fabian socialism), and overall global perceptions. As early as 1927, Nehru had formulated the idea of 'Independent Foreign Policy' for free India, unencumbered by any alliance with Britain (then centre of world capitalism and imperialism). At that time itself, he foresaw the rise of US imperialism, the alliance between British and American imperialism to dominate the world (Note 4, p.281), the Chinese Communist revolution (but not wholly on lines laid down by Marx), the Danger of World War, and England becoming a satellite of the US and inciting US Imperialism and capitalism to fight by her side (pp.291-292). He saw British Imperial rule over India as part of and even necessitating British Imperialism over Africa and Asia, and the Indian freedom
struggle as part of freedom struggle of all colonial peoples (pp.271-275). While sympathetic to the Soviet Union and its socialist path, he also viewed bolshevism and fascism (Mussolini was already in power) as 'ways of the West today' and representing 'different ways of insensate violence and intolerance', with the choice for India being between 'Lenin and Mussolini on one side and Gandhi on the other' (p. 210). He saw the Russian threat to India as caused only by the presence of the British in India, and hence viewed non-alliance with Britain as in India's interest (p.360). While Nehru's post-independence policy was shaped by events too, the basic philosophical roots lay in pre-independence days, and his overall outlook influenced much of colonial peoples and their leadership as they emerged into independence and nonalignment in those early years.

Yugoslavia, under Tito, began as part of the Moscow-led Cominform, but broke away from Moscow on an independent path. Ironically, in the light of later close relationships between India and Yugoslavia, when the latter was still a member of the Cominform, it was a Yugoslav member of the Cominform secretariat 5/ who conveyed the interpretation and application to Indian conditions of the Zhdanov thesis that led (soon after independence) to the Communist Party of India (CPI) denouncing Nehru as an imperialist agent and launching an insurrectionist movement - leading Nehru perhaps to lean more towards the West in the early days of Indian Independence. 6/ It was only in 1951/52 before his death that Stalin changed his views about India, and the CPI policy line was changed. When Tito broke with Cominform, and alliance with the West was not viable, he saw merit in nonalignment and quickly embraced that concept and pushed it forward vigorously abroad.

Egypt's nonalignment under Nasser was a reaction to the feudal regime of King Faruq and the Arab-Israeli conflict and the US role in support of Israel. And, when in 1956 Dulles abruptly withdrew offer of aid to Aswan, and the Soviets came in with aid, Nasser looked with greater goodwill to Moscow.

Each of these leader's leanings in East/West issues of that day could be understood only in terms of compulsions of their country's national interests. But all three were intensely nationalist and steadfast in their desire for and determination to pursue policies that would ensure autonomy of action for their countries - and the imperatives of world peace in this regard united all of them.

Tito's Yugoslavia was a marxist state, but moving away from Stalinist rigidity to liberalisation and selective application of market philosophies. Nehru as a strong believer in socialism had started as early as 1937 (before independence) a National Planning Committee that led to planned development after independence, which essentially put the country on the path of bourgeois capitalist development, but autonomous capitalism. Egypt under Nasser moved a great deal more towards central planning. But in totality, all three countries followed what has now come to be known as 'mixed economics', with important state and public sector roles. The newly independent countries of the 50s and 60s chose nonalignment abroad, and domestic policies of mixed economies, dictated by their own individual circumstances...
and, sometimes predilections of their leaders. The philosophy of the movement as a whole was guided by these sentiments, and sought fast development of their peoples, catching up with industrial countries, and integration of their countries into the world economy.

The development models, whatever the extent and role of the state in their national economies, were the linear growth models of the West. While politically aloof from East/West alliances, they were all members of the Washington-led Bretton Woods/GATT systems.

They saw the external environment as constricting and affecting their national development efforts, and to that extent sought reforms in the international system. It was only at Algiers in 1973 that the nonaligned moved beyond this to formulate a broader approach: they viewed the Bretton Woods system (which had by then broken down anyway) itself as serving the interests of 'some developed countries', asserted sovereignty over their natural resources, denounced the activities of the Transnational corporations, and called for elaboration by the UN of the 'Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States'.

But what has been lacking perhaps in all the efforts is a fundamental analysis of the postwar factors in the world economy: the process of transnationalisation of the world economy that has led to the present state of world capital accumulation and the crisis of capitalism. For, the transnationalisation of capital, labour, consumption, and of culture and information to further these, has been the path through which the integration of the former colonial economies into the international capitalist system has been sought to be achieved, and is at the root of the current crisis. As a result of this process, governments, even of the very powerful countries, have virtually lost the power - and have themselves weakened the instruments forged in the wake of the experience of the 30s - to influence events. The TNCs and their conglomeration - interlinked in commerce, industry, technology, and banking and finance (especially after the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system in 1971 and the emergence of the predominant role of international private liquidity) - are able to thwart actions of national governments to protect their peoples and their economies. 7/

This is at the heart of the structural crisis in international economy and is spilling over and feeding on the political and security problems of the world.

On the face of it, the current recession in world economy appears to be less severe than that during the Great Depression. Unemployment now running at ten percent (though rising sharply) is less than in the 30s when it was about 30 percent. The fall in industrial output is about ten percent compared to the 30-40 percent in the 30s. Real interest rates however are about as high as in the early 30s, and business failures in recent months have risen to about the levels of the 30s, but are perhaps smaller as a proportion of total business population now.

But these indicators are deceptive, and based on superficial comparisons of the OECD economies alone.
There are no real estimations of the poor and unemployed in the Third World in the 30s, and no accurate figures or estimations even now. But the ILO puts the figure of persons without regular jobs or income in the Third World at 500 million, while the World Bank estimates of number in absolute poverty is put at 800 million and rising.

Other indicators suggest that the Third World is now in as bad a shape as during the Great Depression. In real terms (nominal prices corrected for unit value changes of manufactured imports of Third World from the industrialized countries), export commodity prices are at or close to the all-time lows of 1932, and the fall from peak to trough (1925 to 1932 and 1970 to 1980) are the same. The real interest burden of the Third World (real interest costs combined with falling prices for exports) at 33 percent in 1982 is about the same as in 1932. The sharp fall and then stop to capital flows in the 30s, coupled with rising debt service ratios, led to debt repudiations (in Latin America which was free and did so, as also in Europe) and the liquidity crisis. Capital flows now have not yet stopped, but there is a sharp fall now, and suspension of debt payments are increasing in frequency, though total debt repudiations of the 30s are yet to occur. In the 30s, much of Afroasia was under colonial rule, while Latin America was theoretically free. But all of them suffered. But their relative non-integration into the world economy spared them too perhaps, and its impact on the industrial countries was less, the industrialized countries feeling the effects more of their own inter-relations. But the Great Depression also enabled Latin America, and even colonial India and the Philippines, to embark on some amount of industrialization. Now the relatively greater, though highly asymmetric, integration of the Third World into the international economy through the trade negotiations system, has meant a quicker transmission of ills throughout the world economy. The present cutbacks in imports by the Third World due to liquidity crisis has a direct impact on the industrial output and employment in the industrialized countries, and the debt problems of the Third World and suspension of payments are sending shivers through the international (private) banking system.

An ideal solution to the current crisis would be a restructuring of the world economy, and international economic relations based on the NIEO - but with a clear understanding that an international new order is incompatible with old orders internally in all countries, and that democratisation and restructuring internationally require similar actions nationally. But the industrialized countries, after a somewhat lukewarm acquiescence of the NIEO declarations of the mid-70s, and specially the major economies among them, have been 'negotiating' with the Third World in bad faith, and since 1979 have blocked all such efforts and negotiations for restructuring.

The response of these countries, domestically and internationally, have been such that the world has been put on a deflationary path. During the recession of 1975/76, the Third World by and large borrowed abroad to maintain their levels of imports and growth, and thus offset somewhat the recessionary tendencies with the OECD. But with the advent of the Reagan administration and its Neanderthal economics, and the policies of the IMF under US pressures, has forced the Third World into a deflationary spiral. Their integration into the world economy is such that while they do not benefit from it, the US/IMF induced deflation of their economies is having its
impact on the industrialized countries, and international economy too is on a downward spiral.

There is now emerging a better understanding of this in the industrial world, and increasing talk of need to transfer resources to the Third World to reverse this process. But the responses of the powerful governments are nowhere near the minimum needs of the situation. Even a massive injection of resources - through issuance of SDRs of the order of 35 billions annually for two or three years, being advocated by Brandt Commission members - would not bring about a fundamental change, but would provide merely a respite. Mere resource transfers without restructuring will lead nowhere.

For the Third World to achieve the minimum growth of 7 percent of gross domestic product annually - the minimum set by the UN International Development Strategy for the 80s to ensure social and political needs - the present dependency development (of resumed growth in OECD and its pull or trickle-down effects on the Third World) would not be possible. The present international economic system can neither accommodate nor absorb the trade surpluses and exports of the Third World (for a seven percent growth) nor can it provide the necessary transfer of resources. 8/ If the OECD countries were farsighted, they could promote ECDC, and, through concerted actions and meaningful North/South dialogue, bring about a restructuring to accommodate this Third World growth and thus help themselves in the process. But there is a paralysis of thought and action in these countries, and in international organizations and structures controlled by them. In this situation, the Third World could either continue its present helpless drift to disaster or take some collective actions to help itself.

This is the challenge before the Nonaligned. It requires intensified and meaningful actions to further ECDC in a spirit of national and collective self-reliance - in all sectors, and especially in trade, technology, money and finance and information. The last is pre-requisite for self-reliant culture in all these countries.

Though essentially a political movement, at Belgrade itself the Nonaligned did make references to development and autonomous decision-making. The 1962 Cairo Conference on problems of economic development led to the formation of UNCTAD and the G-77. The nonaligned left the details of economic issues to the G-77, but provided an overall political thrust at the Cairo summit. At Lusaka, they moved beyond North/South issues and talked of the concept of self-reliance and mutual cooperation. This was further developed at Georgetown Foreign Ministers meeting into an Action Programme for Economic Cooperation. Based on this and follow-up reports on trade, industry and transport (by Guyana), on money and finance (India), and Science and Technology (Algeria and Yugoslavia), the Algiers summit adopted a Declaration on Economic issues and an Action Programme for Economic Cooperation. The Dakar Special Meeting on Raw Materials (not pursued through fully) and the Colombo summit call for Economic Cooperation, led to the formulation by the G-77 of the Mexico ECDC programme 9/, the Arusha Programme for Collective Self-reliance, and the Caracas Programme of Action. But while all these add up to a great deal of talk, and some conceptualisation, there has been little action. What is needed now is political leadership and commitment for collection actions in this crisis.
At the heart of the crisis in the Third World is the collapse of the commodity sectors. If the UNCTAD Integrated Programme for Commodities had been fully implemented, the present crisis could perhaps have been mitigated. But the OECD countries, and especially the USA, UK and FRG, aborted and sabotaged the programme, and the Common Fund Agreement, negotiated but yet to become operational, is such a pale shadow of the Dakar idea and the Nairobi decisions, that little can be expected of it. Only ECDC measures aimed at producer cooperation for supply management - and this should go beyond export quotas and controls, but involve organisation of Third World commodity markets and using these mechanisms to bolster minimum prices to thwart speculation and trade negotiation cartel activities - and furthering commodity consumption, and through increased processing (to increase domestic value added), in the Third World. These have to bypass the trade negotiation cartels. This alone could perhaps increase both the volume of exports and earnings and help stabilise prices at remunerative levels.

The new trade arrangements for this, and the money and finance, and technology (available within the Third World and/or capable of further development) have to be put together in imaginative and integrated ECDC programmes - concrete and not conceptual. Too much time has been lost since Mexico on conceptualisations and writing lengthy treatises.

The only forward move so far has been in the agreement of the G-77 to negotiate a GSTP. But it has to be pursued in such a way that it is not a replica of the GATT North/South or North/North trade models and rules. It has to go beyond the traditional element of reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers, leaving it to market forces to respond. In that event, only the TNCs already dominating the commodity sectors of the Third World will thrive and will continue to use their global decision-making power and systems, to siphon away through transfer-pricing the benefits of the capital accumulation to the North, leaving the South as impoverished as before. Positive measures to promote production and trade, through deliberate state actions of countries, and building equitable distribution of benefits into the productive system itself, have to be worked out.

These have to be buttressed by imaginative technology transfer arrangements within the Third World, and a new patents and trade marks system (outside the World Intellectual Property Organisation) within the Third World that would encourage a preferential system for Third World science and technology and research and development for appropriate technologies, and a capital goods sector that would further Third World capital accumulation and increase productivity.

Such efforts need money and finance - a sector where there has been minimal progress - partly because of over-reliance on the capital surpluses of some of the OPEC members, and partly too because of dependency linkages with the North and reliance on external support against possible revolutionary upsurges in some of these countries. The current hydrocarbon market outlook - with oil now having similar characteristics to other commodities - and drastic reductions in overall OPEC surpluses, poses a situation where monetary and financial cooperation may be more difficult, but at the same time could be genuine and based on real mutual interests. If oil consumption is to pick up, the major growth markets for oil (as for other commodities) and its
downstream products lie in the Third World, and the producers must foster these markets and the economies (at least as much as they now do through investments and official loans to industrial countries).

At the time of the negotiations for the first sugar agreement, it was Raúl Prebisch who suggested a two tier-price system for sugar (and prices were not high), to foster consumption of sugar in the Third World, and thus absorb excess supplies overhanging world markets and pushing prices down. It was not taken up but is still a good idea. During the 1979/80 price hike period, the OPEC scorned such ideas - partly because it would negate its objective of OPEC-fixed price and partly because leakages and diversions would weaken OPEC overall control over the market. Now OPEC has lost control, and several of them are forced to 'discount' to export. A scheme to foster additional consumption of oil in the Third World - till turn of century, it would have to be major commercial energy source for development in Third World - through a two-tier system operating on the additional imports and use of these funds to foster overall ECDC schemes - food security, technology, trade etc. - would tighten oil markets, help diversification of economies of the OPEC members, and of the non-OPEC. Other measures, whether OPEC and its capital surplus members come forward or not, could be undertaken - like Payments Unions, a Third World Monetary Fund to supplement and build up a Third World monetary system, use of non-convertible currencies for expansion of additional trade (as was successfully done by India with the Soviet Union) perhaps with limited convertibility within the Third World.

Such an overall approach will provide the less industrialized Third World countries new markets for their commodities and their processed products, and a pathway to non-dependency technological and industrial development. The more industrialized, in return for technology transfer arrangements and opening their own markets (not only through reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers, but positive long-term purchase commitments and cooperation through state trading and production enterprises) would have preferential entry into other Third World markets for capital and producer goods. The capital surplus OPEC members too will benefit - both in better financial returns than they get now for their capital surplus investments, diversification of their economies to a non-oil resource base, and wider political and security benefits (that no Gulf deployment force could ever provide).

Information is a key area to build up this spirit of cooperation and confidence in collective self-reliance. The nonaligned have recognized this for long, and have attempted cooperation efforts (since Algiers) in the areas of mass media - the nonaligned news pool, radio and TV, and film exchange etc. But all these remain at official and bureaucratic levels and at best have created infrastructures. The idea of Alternative Information for Development Alternatives is yet to permeate their mass media structures, and the intellectual and academic interchanges. The Development Communication Network idea, and the project submitted by CODEV, though endorsed by the G-77, are languishing in the UNDP, and everyone knows it is because of US objections to safeguard the interests of its transnational information industry and the power that goes with it. Genuine information exchanges to promote cooperation and self-reliance - encompassing and inter-
facing with commerce, industry, Science & Technology and Research & Development centres, government and non-government planning and development personnel - has to be liberated from stifling bureaucratic and official structures. The Nonaligned can move forward, and it does not cost (in official terms) much.

The North would undoubtedly resist and try to thwart all this. The US and USSR - the two who have the least to lose in economic terms - will resist it for power reasons (as they do even now within the UN system to block any ECDC that does not give them decisive decision-making voice). For the two cannot envisage a world, even at turn of century perhaps, that would involve dilution of their present dominance and share of power with others. Their reactions to ECDC and Collective Self-reliance will be the same as their responses to non-alignment in the 50s.

Europe and Japan too would resist it - because of the immediate trade diversion effects on their exports at a time of recession. But they are also dependent on the Third World - for commodities and raw materials, and for markets. They could be 'persuaded' (and pressured) to see that the trade diversion would be a short-term disadvantage. Renewed growth in Third World would increase its capacity to buy more from the North in the medium to long term and this would benefit Europe and Japan - provided they undergo domestic structural changes, and are willing to restructure their relations with the Third World on some of the NIEO concepts.

Just as nonalignment became irresistible as more and more countries opted for it, so will ECDC and Third World Collective Self-reliance be irresistible, and the North (East and West) will ultimately accommodate itself to it, provided the Third World goes forward in a determined way. It does not require unanimity. Nonalignment became a force before it formalised itself into a movement in 1961. ECDC has to follow a similar path. None of the ideas for ECDC are new, and the Nonaligned summit cannot be expected to decide on details either.

Not all the measures can be global either - many will be subregional, regional and inter-regional involving limited numbers of countries.

But two things must come out of the Nonaligned Summit.

Firstly, the present dependence and over-reliance on the UN system and its bureaucracy to work out and plan details of ECDC and implementation should end. Even the most progressive Third World personalities in such institutions are constricted by their institutional needs. The present nonaligned structures - summit country providing secretariat services till next conference, and of coordinating countries and special groups - have been useful, but must evolve further. At the same time, a full fledged secretariat, à la OECD, will also kill ECDC before it starts. A group of not more than five or six persons dedicated and committed to principles of self-reliance, and practising it in their personal lives - to serve as a technical core group that could draw upon the vast reservoir of knowledge and ability within the Third World, is needed. As head of the nonaligned movement for next three or four years, India has enough leeway to set this up informally.
Secondly, an overall political commitment and determination of the Seventh Conference, backed by a key group of 10 or 12 major countries among them to pursue ECDC, with their Heads of Governments/States determined to propagate and practice this philosophy inside and outside their countries. Gandhi's words, some decades ago, about Socialism are of relevance. Gandhi did not believe that one had to wait for State Power to practice policies and principles. He said "socialism begins with the first convert. If there is one such you can add zeroes to the one, and the first zero will account for ten, and every addition will account for ten times that of the previous number. If, however, the beginner is a zero, in other words no one makes the beginning, multiplicity of zeroes will also produce zero value. Time and paper occupied in writing zeroes will be so much waste".10/

Nonalignment began in 1946 with India but every new adherent provided a multiplier effect in geometric proportion to make it a major force, despite many weaknesses. Self-reliance and collective self-reliance too waits for those pioneers.


3/ India, Gandhi's and Janata's, Mainstream (New Delhi 18.06.1977).


5/ Based on talks with the Indian CP leaders and Yugoslav sources.


10/ Mainstream (New Delhi 18.06.1977).
MISSING ISSUES OF THE IFDA DOSSIER?

To judge from the number of letters we receive daily, it would appear that quite a few people and associations on our mailing list may not have received all issues of the IFDA Dossier from No. 29, that is since mailing began in Rome. There is not much we can do but replace missing copies. So please write us and, until they are out of print, we will mail the issues you have not received.
Popular Song, the Recording Industry and their Alternative Facets

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Abstract: Since the end of the 60s, a wave of committed and innovative song has emerged in Latin America as a result of a growing awareness of the contradictions and conflicts of underdevelopment and economic and cultural dependency. Capitalist expansionism, particularly that embodied by the transnationals, is characterized by the tendency to make music an exclusively commercial product and the radio a part of the system that makes culture an industry and the public a market. Against this, the young Latin American songsters and poets compose their political awareness and their rejection of consumerism, and explore alternative ways of producing and marketing their music. In response to the mass importation of the Western artificial and alienating 'disco' music, alternative fora include solidarity festivals, student, church-organized and workers' meetings or cultural happenings, which create the framework in which popular song finds its ratification and orientation.

La Chanson Populaire, L'Industrie de L'Enregistrement et Quelques Alternatives

Depuis la fin des années 60, une vague de chansons engagées et novatrices a surgi en Amérique latine, à la suite d'une prise de conscience croissante des contradictions du sous-développement et de la dépendance économique et culturelle. Le capitalisme, notamment celui des transnationales, se caractérise par la tendance à faire de la musique un produit exclusivement commercial et de la radio un élément d'un système qui fait de la culture une industrie et des gens un marché. À l'opposé, les jeunes chanteurs et poètes d'Amérique latine non seulement chantent leur conscience politique et leur refus du 'consommationisme', mais exploitent également des moyens différents de produire et de diffuser leur musique. En réponse à l'importation massive de musique occidentale disco, artificielle et aliénante, ils se produisent dans des festivals de solidarité, les réunions organisées par les étudiants, les travailleurs, les églises etc. et saisissent chaque occasion de se manifester là où leur art trouve sa justification et puise son inspiration.
There is a song that the Cuban, Pablo Milanés, often sings in his country. The song is a synthesis of realism, of understanding the world as it is, and of the challenge to move ahead constructively: I don't live in a perfect society / Nor do I ask that it be given that name / If I have learned anything about that / It is that women and men create it.

This frankness might surprise some politicians or diplomats; it might also surprise those who have wanted to see in the Cuban revolution the height of perfection. Milanés places things in their correct place: that society, his own, for which he would give his life, as the song also says, is not perfect: this comprises the challenge of constant creation.

This is the transcendent contribution song can make. Guitar and verse can create mobilising symbols, clarities of a moment. For the same reason, song can become a dangerous enemy of those who defend the established order. In times of repression, an important politician or functionary is allowed to live but a Victor Jara is not.

Since the end of the sixties, a wave of committed and renovative song has grown in Latin America. Groups of young people and new solo voices have taken the road opened by the pioneers Violeta Parra and Atahualpa Yupanqui, in different circumstances and with different styles. The reality of the continent challenges and creates obligations. The imagination of the song composers was shaken by internal social conflicts; by the progressive and overflowing migration from country to city; by youth, born at the end of the Second World War, which was searching for its own values; by the Church which could not avoid committing itself more and more deeply to the necessities of the "people of God"; by the dramatic emergence of the guerrilla army which left to history the witness and symbol of Che Guevara. All this involves a generation, which made of song more than an object of transitory entertainment or of massive trade.

In Chile, this process came together in the movement that took the name "Nueva Canción Chilena". The movement's members broke with so-called "neo folksong", which misrepresents the conflicts in the countryside in descriptions of landscapes and of the aboriginal world viewed through the eyes of the landowners. The songs of Victor Jara, Angel and Isabel Parra, Rolando Alarcón, Patricio Manns, along with those of groups Intillimani, Quilapayún and others, all form part of the
current Nueva Canción. They redeem forms and words to create a song that comes from the people and flows back towards them. They interweave musical instruments, thereby fulfilling the dream of Latin American integration that neither political nor economic decisions achieve. The charango (a kind of flute) and the cuarto (small four-string Mexican guitar) are united to the Andean quena (a sort of Indian flute), to the bombo legüero; maracas open a space for the güiro (gourd used as an instrument in Cuba) and the claves. The guitars maintain their presence, but in a music world that is more and more Latin American. This is a new kind of song and lyrics. It is because of this difference that the Nueva Canción Chilena was very influential in the rest of Latin America.

But though the Chilean song became a pole of cultural radiation which increased in strength during the three years of Popular Unity government, there was, at the same time, movement in other places, especially with the emergence of a new kind of song in the very expressive Cuban context, called the Nueva Trova (trova has the same root as troubadour). Its most famous proponents - Silvio Rodríguez, Pablo Milanés and Noel Nicola - made their first tour outside the country in 1978, in Chile. Three years before, in the Festival of Varadero, it became evident that their music was breaking new and fertile ground. At the beginning, it was not always understood or accepted in all of the sectors of Cuban society. By its richness it survived, and came to constitute a current of influence at the beginning of the 80s as it began to be echoed in various parts of the world, especially among Latin American youth.

The period in which the Nueva Canción Chilena and the Nueva Trova were first becoming known was also an epoch in which people took consciousness of the contradictions and conflicts inherent in their national situations and to recognize them as features of a larger phenomenon; underdevelopment and economic and cultural dependency are pressing realities in all of Latin America.

This continent has been one of the primary zones of expansion for capitalism in its transnational phase. The phenomenon cuts across the whole of society, affects its political, social, economic and cultural dimensions. It invades the manner in which societies conceive of their development and define their history.

The sensibilities of the singers are not alien to this reality. "Yes, we are Americans", sings Rolando Alarcón; "Song for Latin American Unity" is the contribution of Pablo Milanés; the Uruguayan, Daniel Viglietti, creates "A Song to My America"; from repressed Brazil emerges Milton Nascimiento with "American Heart", while the Argentine César Isella invites the American brother to sing, from all of his geographical diversity, in his "Song with Everyone".
Exile and Roots

That wave of creativity, uniting names of pioneers and new voices, reshaped and renovated Latin American song. What Yupanqui began in Argentina is followed by the expressive force of Mercedes Sosa, Isella and many more. In Uruguay, Viglietti is joined by the Olimareños and Alfredo Zitarrosa. In Peru, there is a Nicomedes Santa Cruz rediscovering the roots, while Tania Libertad begins to follow her own path, as does Amparo Ochoa of Mexico. Soledad Bravo, in Venezuela, erupts with the purity of her voice, which brings the songs of her fellow Latin Americans to levels of extraordinary beauty. Meanwhile, in Cuba, Silvio and Pablo, along with Noel Nicola and Vicente Feliú go back to the hundred year old trova and bring it to a rebirth in the context of revolutionary history. In Brazil, Chico Buarque, Milton Nascimento and Gerardo Vandré insist that creativity does not die even amidst the repression and authoritarianism that surrounds them.

All of them and others too, in one way or another, sowed the seeds of an era that became an expression of the struggle for social transformation that was taking place in diverse parts of the continent. For this reason, for being synthesis and symbol, these people suffered the consequences of persecution and exile when the popular movements for social change from which the song was nourished were drowned or repressed. Now is the time for ruptures, of silence and exile. From it is created a Latin American song that continues to live, especially in Europe, as a continuation of the current that made its way in the midst of the struggles of the 70s. Its voices clamour for full democracy and for the right to return to sing with their people. This is the case of Mercedes Sosa, the Quilapayún, Viglietti and the Parras, to name a few. New languages, new geographies, trips and planes, distances and emotions, make a new chapter to the sense of living that song has to have in order to be itself.

Some doubt that the song of Latin American exile is the real expression of what it is to be Latin American now. Others, for their part, think they see in the emergence of new currents - what has been called in Chile "Canto Nuevo" - the characteristics of a fertile time, in which the Latin American heterogeneity searches for convergence in direction. Neither one nor the other viewpoint is a synthesis: these are currents that interweave in a creative continuity, whose meeting creates a collective memory and a basic instinct for the people's sensibility.

As the young Chilean essayist, Alvaro Godoy, has said, "The Nueva Canción, and now the Canto Nuevo, are two moments in one movement, with a present and a past, which we would call popular song, differentiating it from the song of the people
which has always existed and which is, without a doubt, its root and its countenance. This inward and outward-looking song searches for the moment of relevance, within different daily realities and a common national direction, creating more than once a dialogue of singer-composers. Some of them advanced with the people in the effort to construct new democratic realities. They lived in a time of open spaces, in which they could proclaim their commitments, their demands and their convictions. Others have had to learn to live in semi-silence, to use words calculatedly, and at the same time, paradoxically, to give poetry a greater force and suggestiveness. But some are victims of a greater phenomenon. Exile, free song far from the people, as much as creation from the inside, which is close but has a guarded voice, have the same cause: the capitalist development model, which in its most acute expressions in Latin America postulates the democracy of consumerism, individualism, atomisation and everything that tears the social fabric in which this song is nourished and defines itself. It is the same capitalism which, joined to groups of defenders of private interests, is moving now against Nicaragua and El Salvador, obstructing a process that is all to the good of the great deprived majorities. This reality does not escape the new song. The contributions of Carlos Mejía Godoy and of the Palacuagüina, like that of the Banda Tepeuani, come from this perception. The former sang the feat of the Sandinists against the dictatorship of Somoza; the latter invoked the will to aid the struggle of the Salvadoran people. Song and action. Song, struggle and poetry. As always. But today the centres of domination have the world communications media structure in their favour; they have philosophers like Friedman to announce that it is the time of "freedom to choose" with money in hand, and they have too their industrially produced symbols, like Travolta, who sing in their fibreglass environment under alienating lights, to a youth which has surrendered to an uncommitted wandering in the city, understood as the place where personality dissolves.

The development of popular song has suffered directly from the transnational expansion. As this has its cultural aims too, radio, television and the recording industry have been practically closed to the expression of commitment to structural change. Obviously, such an attitude is understandable. It is defined by the conflict of interest. And within the boundaries of that confrontation - consciously or not - radio and television stations become instruments of a kind of "transnational culture" which encourages cultural synchronisation and moves towards a model of domination of the world. Advertising, records, imported programmes, transnational agencies, all interweave to create a communications framework which subscribes to order and coherence. Within this coherence, popular song is dysfunctional, or else it is only permitted the degree of presence which does not change the dominant model.
"Radio is an auditory medium of communication and its forte is music. It depends, therefore, on recorded materials available to it. The national recording companies publish almost exclusively foreign recordings and there are even some companies which only sell imported material. On the other hand, the public, as it only has that one range of possibilities, obviously only asks for those songs that are already being delivered to it", says the radio/TV announcer Miguel Davagnino in a recent publication about Canto Nuevo.

In one way, the Mexican Gabino Palomares was saying the same thing when he announced the publication of his second album in five years. He recognized that that was not much, but called attention to the difficulties that big industry places before singers like him:

"Our music is dismissed by the transnational companies. This phenomenon is understandable, as our themes are in direct conflict with their interests. Fortunately, there are recording companies that, though small, allow us to record. Our work recalls that which the minstrels did in their time. There is a lack of truthfulness in the communications media, and we fill the gap. It is arduous work, above all because we do not have the materials necessary, but the people's acceptance of our work is what leads us to go forward". (El Dia, 21.12.80)

Records, pressures and crises

In turn, another element which has determining influence on the non-distribution of national music, of popular song, folk song and folk music, is the relationship between the recording companies which are linked to the transnational capitalist model of trade of songs and singers, and of disc jockeys and radio programmers on the other.

"Making records independently", says Chico Mario de Souza, the promoter of a musicians' cooperative in Brazil, "we discovered that the recording companies pay the radio stations to play their records. Radio becomes a loudspeaker for the recording companies, by means of bribery. Every month some programmers receive money to play certain records. They are told: play this piece twenty times a day, this other one ten times, and so on. They play Brazilian music very little. Thus the radio stations keep on playing and making surveys of popularity. They put the music on the telemovelas - because there is bribery there too - and everyone begins to buy the record, which gives a lot of money to the recording companies."

The situation seems to be similar in the majority of Latin American countries. Mexico, the other giant music market, is
the scene of the same corruption. But in this case the most
eloquent testimony, because it comes from someone who saw the
murky business from the inside, comes from Jorge Alvarez, ex-
artistic director of the Capitol brand.

"The big record companies have a budget, of course an overly high
one, to run their public relations, their promotion campaigns.
There are cases, for example, in which payola is not used, that is
a cheque is not given so that a certain melody will be programmed
by a station. But this is made up for by sending the broadcaster
on a trip to Europe, or giving him a new car, or sending him to
Acapulco... It has been known to happen that artistic directors
ask fifty thousand pesos (US$2,000) per month from new, small
companies, in exchange for promoting their product on a given radio
station. The big companies have specialized personnel, known in
the radio world, who manage these things... Or else, the record
company sends a programmer to a concert in Los Angeles or New York,
all expenses paid. In other cases, he or she is invited to Europe
on a pleasure trip, on the company's account, of course... Another
way to promote records is the one CBS uses: it doesn't give a cent
to the artistic directors, but from time to time it gives them a
special promotion deal of records to give the public; it may be a
thousand, two thousand, three thousand, five thousand records by
the strongest artists: Chicago, or Earth, Wind and Fire." (Uno
más uno, 29.06.80)

At this point in the story, the amazement may already be enough.
When music is seen exclusively as a commercial product and when
radio becomes part of a whole system that makes culture an in-
dustry and the public a market, all this happens. But there
is even more: misrepresentation of the public's taste.

"It is said that the radio programming is done according to telephone
calls... But this too is fixed. I don't know if all of the companies
have them but Capitol does: a few boys, girls, contracted to call in
by phone and inflate the ratings. Until 1976 when I left Capitol, I
never agreed with the method, but it was instituted in 1975".

Pressure, money, fixed programming. All that brings the local
system to follow along with the interests of the transnational
consortia of the record business. If one looks at the heart
of the system, the statistics are eloquent. Five companies
share 80% of the North American market. Warner has 25%
CBS 20%, Polydor 15%, RCA 12%, Capitol (EMI) has 8%.2/ From
there, the business expands into the rest of the world, and its
growth affects not only small local brands, open to the dif-
fusion of popular song or so-called committed song, but the
whole national recording system in countries like Argentina,
Venezuela and Mexico.

The open market policy has directly affected the local sub-
sidiaries and independent business. "Records imported from the
United States and Europe, which are sold in the supermarkets,
are hurting the national market in general; it is because of this that we music publishers have brought a protest to the corresponding authorities in order that they restrict imports", declared, in November 1980, Enrique Márquez, a well-known Mexican music publisher, affected by the great opening of the market permitted by the government when the oil revenues increased. In another oil-producing country, the complaints were similar two months previously.

"A sharp blow has been received by the Venezuelan recording industry with the decree that permits the free importation of records from this month onwards (September 1980), as one of the hundred products approved by the Venezuelan government. Before, the only records that could be freely imported were of classical music; the new regulations establish that any individual or company can import records, paying only five percent of the value of the product. This is fatal for the national industry", stated a memorandum coming from Caracas, published by the Mexican press.

In Argentina, the crisis is even more acute, as a consequence of the general economic crisis in the country, but also because of the application of Friedman's free market economic model. According to information in the Variety of September 16, 1981, the statistics showed a catastrophic situation: "The president of the Chamber of the Argentinian Sound Recording and Reproduction Industry stated that in the first half of 1981, 1,290,000 LPs had been sold, in comparison to the 5,970,000 sold in 1980; in turn, the sale of cassettes declined from 12,460,000 to 4,630,000". In such a situation, naturally, this association of producers said that its situation was "chaotic" and the spokesperson for the industry added: "Many of the companies have been showing a loss for a long time, and if the situation continues the same, we will all disappear in a short time".

These different examples demonstrate the contradictions generated by the application in the peripheral countries of strategic policies of transnational capitalism in expansion. At the same time, there is another factor which determines the conditions for the diffusion of music: the overflowing abundance of cassettes and radio-cassette recorders. A concrete example is given by the Chilean statistics.

"The size of national production and its stagnation may be compared to the absolute quantity and the rate of growth of imports. In 1978, the sales figure (of records and cassettes) of $4.5 million is somewhat higher than the $3.6 million worth of records and cassettes, both blank and prerecorded, sold during that year. The tendency observed in 1979 - a growth of 55% - reveals that already in that year the national market for recordings is supplied principally from the exterior."
"The competition is mostly from amateur recordings. The $4 million in blank cassettes imported during 1979 indicate that there is a substitute for the consumption of recorded material by the simple home-made copy of that material". 3/ 

In Chile, a country of 11 million inhabitants, it is estimated that there exist between 14 and 15 million radio-cassette recorders. It is one of the tools of transnational electronic manufacture that has succeeded in penetrating even the sectors of the population with the least income. Is this good or bad, from the perspective of popular song? Ricardo García, radio announcer and producer of records, recognized as the initial driving force behind the Canto Nuevo in Chile, as he was too for the Nueva Canción Chilena, sees the problem in its two facets: industrial and social. He does so from the perspective of the brand Alerce, the company which has made known the new voices of Chilean popular song, as well as the creations of Víctor Jara, Violeta Parra, Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milánés. Moreover, his case testifies to the possibility of action even in restricted spaces, when there is the will and tenacity to do so.

"The world record market is in crisis, especially in Chile, where the masses' small power to consume is directed towards imported articles. To this problem is added the phenomenon of the radio-cassette, which allows private recording of music. The case of Alerce is more critical, as its public is in general of scarce resources. However, the real public is much wider. Each Alerce record is heard by more or less large groups, which are particularly interested in folk music or Chilean music, and they re-record on a cassette, which is heard by still more people. This is good for the diffusion of the music, but bad for us." 4/ 

Alternatives, force and poetry

From this situation, from a work in which song must try to move in the ambit created by the culture industry as well as in its own spaces, emerges the possibility of alternative distribution for popular songs. The record brands which try to create independent distribution systems multiply: names like Pueblo, NCL (Nueva Canción Latinoamericana), Fotón, Alerce and various others. Behind them is the will to redeem those products of big electronics industry - the record and the cassette - in order to place them at the service of a cultural view of the world that inaugurates new times. Some do not make it, and some only barely do. But they open new vistas to exploration different from those offered by the transnational capitalist model. An eloquent example was seen in Brazil, where the Musicians' Cooperative of Rio de Janeiro created a department for "Alternative records".

"The initiator of this was Antonio Adolfo", says Chico Mario de Souza. "He had made several successful recordings and had
participated in festivals. But afterwards he began to feel mutilated, unable to produce what he liked. No one wanted to record his music. Then he did it on his own, and then he went out to sell his records from place to place all over Brazil. That way he sold more than 15 thousand records and created the consciousness that it was possible to break the boycott of the multinationals. Others followed him: Danilo Cañi, Luli and Lucinha. And the secrets of the work were passed to other composers: how to make the cover and credits, what studio to record in, how many records to print, where and how to sell. Thus the movement went on growing.

Though the beginnings of the experiment were modest, they already constitute an important trend today. Groups like Barca do Sol and Boca Livre have managed to sell more than 40,000 copies in five months. De Souza's own record, "Raizes", also sold well. For that reason, the press agency EFE transmitted the following from Rio de Janeiro on 4 January 1981:

"The Brazilian record market for popular music had in 1980, as a great novelty, the explosion of independent producers and the "discovery" of regional markets... 'That's enough now' was the rebellious cry of the independent musicians, who triumphed justly. If the list of the 20 best long-playing records of 1980 is analysed, it is apparent that not less than six were produced independently... The success of the independents is not only due to their intrinsic value, but also to the discovery of the existence of an urban market that likes regional themes... Some dedicated musicians like Dori Gampi embraced, or collaborated courageously with this renovation of musical taste, which, in sum, wishes to escape from the dictates of international fashion in order to submerge itself in the rich sounds, rhythms and melodies that are closest to the earth and to what is Brazilian".

What can be the force inherent in a popular song that has a mass audience? On the one hand, the vitality and support granted to it by its links to social organizations.

Even in very authoritarian situations, as in the Southern Cone, the relationship between song and the social fabric is made. Festivals of solidarity, meetings of students, meetings organized by churches, unions and other workers' meetings, festivals organized by cultural organizations, create the framework in which popular song finds its ratification and orientation. On the other hand, the inherent force of popular song emerges from its call for commitment to the history of which it is a part, and to the destiny of the great deprived majorities.

"Today my song is in solidarity with El Salvador and the struggle of its people", said the Mexican, Gabino Palomares, on presenting his second LP. Eduardo Peralta, a young Chilean musician, 21 years old, when he returned from Europe and met his friends of the Nueva Canción again, commented: "I
think about the liberty that clearly shows the human inwardness, that always goes beyond systems and schemes. In my songs I want to emphasize the creative potential of the human being". In Uruguay, while talking about the task of almost a hundred artists who perform in theatres and on stages of sports facilities, the magazine La Democracia, said last September: "We cannot push aside this cultural manifestation of the historical moment in which we live... Our people need to participate, to find paths, and to do so saying that it is the people who are searching. That is what has given our people the Canto Popular: this is the path of their search". Litto Nebbia appears from Argentina with her LP "Creer" saying: "I believe that in spite of so much melancholy, so much grief and so many wounds, it's only a question of trying to live".

That mix of new words, new poetry, of another spirit which brings song closer to the people, is present too among the exiles. In the last analysis, distance does not seem enormous when one is speaking of song. Eduardo Carrasco, director of the Quilapayún and constant creator of songs, summarises it as follows: "We never left Chile. What has happened is that we no longer tread the Chilean earth because we are not allowed to. But for that evil we have found a provisional solution: when we can, we construct a Chilean earth in exile and when we can't we stop living with our feet on the ground". 4/ Perhaps it is in those moments that song takes other directions and dares to say, living in the northern hemisphere, that it is necessary "to slam the window on the autumn, so that summer is prolonged into December".

Maybe the Quilapayún would not have sung thus in 1970. All of us have learned. Commitment and subtle poetry are not, nor can they be, opposites. Maybe a sign of these new times is the enormous popularity of the latest works of Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés among Chilean youth. Maybe there is no Nueva Canción nor a Canto Nuevo, but only an attitude, a kind of courage to face life with a view to renewal. The destiny of popular song among its present challenges appears to be synthesised in what Silvio Rodríguez said to Channel 11 in Mexico last November: "The person who sees in life pamphlets will only sing pamphlets. But the person who sees poetry in life will make and sing poetry".

FOOTNOTES

4/ Desiderio Arenas, "Entrevista a Quilapayún", mimeo.
I don't want your money or your food!

I want fair treatment

There is enough food for everyone. But not everyone has enough food. Too much food produced by the poor feeds the animals eaten by the rich. Too much land in developing countries produces cash crops for the industrialised world. When some people go hungry, it is not food that's in short supply — it's justice.
IRAN: MYTHES ET REALITES D'UNE REVOLUTION

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Résumé: Le puissant mouvement qui ébranla l'Iran en 1978 suscita beaucoup d'espoirs, non seulement en Iran même mais également dans un certain nombre de pays du Tiers Monde, dont les peuples luttent pour les libertés démocratiques et la justice sociale. C'est pourquoi la déception et la désillusion provoquées par la prise du pouvoir par des religieux réactionnaires furent ressenties avec autant d'amplitude par les populations du Tiers Monde. C'est aussi pour cette raison que l'expérience iranienne peut servir de leçon à d'autres peuples et mouvements dans le Tiers Monde.

Pour répondre à la question 'qu'est-ce-qui a changé en Iran?', l'auteur procède à une comparaison systématique des mécanismes de fonctionnement des systèmes pré- et post-révolutionnaires; il examine le pouvoir étatique, les droits de l'homme, les structures économiques et conclut que les deux systèmes, se voulant opposés mais ayant également échoué, relèvent de la même logique despotique. Une troisième voie reste à trouver.

IRAN: MYTHS AND REALITIES OF A REVOLUTION

Abstract: The powerful movement which rocked Iran in 1978 aroused a lot of hope, not only in Iran itself but also in a number of Third World countries where the people struggle for democratic liberties and social justice. This is why the deception and disillusionment provoked by the take-over of power by religious reactionaries has been so widely resented within the Third World. It is also for this reason that the Iranian experience constitutes a lesson for other peoples and movements in the Third World.

To answer the question 'what has really changed in Iran?', the author compares systematically the mechanisms of the functioning of the pre- and post-revolutionary systems: power of the state, democracy, economic structures. He concludes that both systems, apparently antagonistic, have equally failed, based as they are on the same logic of despotism. A third way remains to be explored.
Chahrokh Vaziri

IRAN: MYTHES ET REALITES D'UNE REVOLUTION

Le puissant mouvement qui ébranla l'Iran en 1978 suscita beaucoup d'espoirs, non seulement en Iran même, mais également dans un certain nombre de pays du Tiers Monde, dont les peuples luttent pour les libertés démocratiques et la justice sociale. C'est pourquoi la déception et la désillusion provoquées par la prise du pouvoir par des religieux réactionnaires furent ressenties avec autant d'ampleur par les populations du Tiers Monde. C'est aussi pour cette raison que l'expérience iranienne peut servir de leçon à d'autres peuples et mouvements dans le Tiers Monde.

Qu'est-ce qui a véritablement changé en Iran? Et en quoi l'Iran d'aujourd'hui peut-il représenter un exemple à suivre pour d'autres pays du Tiers Monde? Afin de répondre à ces questions et à bien d'autres, il serait utile de procéder à une comparaison des mécanismes de fonctionnement des systèmes pré- et post-révolutionnaires. Bien entendu, les deux systèmes ne sont pas identiques. Toutefois, le système clérical étant en partie le produit du système impérial, il y a des similitudes frappantes entre les fondements des deux systèmes. Certes, les aspects négatifs du système impérial ont été accentués par le système clérical, et ont été aggravés par la terreur noire.

On pourrait donc presque dire que le système de pouvoir mis en place par Khomeyni est un despotisme impérial authentique, tandis que celui du Chah n'en était qu'une pâle imitation.

Avant de procéder à l'analyse comparative des fondements des deux systèmes, il convient de fixer quelques points de repère:

1. Contrairement à beaucoup de pays du Tiers Monde, l'Iran est depuis le début du siècle un pays très riche en expériences politiques de tous ordres. Ces expériences débutèrent par la Grande Révolution Constitutionnelle de 1906-1911, dont l'ampleur et les répercussions pour son époque ne furent pas moindres que celles de 1978. Par cette révolution, la nation iranienne tenta pour la première fois de mettre un terme au despotisme impérial millénaire en Iran. La loi constitutionnelle obtenue à la suite de la révolution de 1906-1911 fut inspirée de celle de la Belgique, mais ne fut que très rarement appliquée. Avec la fondation de la dynastie Pahlavi en 1925, et le retour au despotisme d'avant 1906, toute la vie politique de l'Iran fut dominée par la lutte entre les constitutionnalistes partisans de l'application de la Constitution, et l'Etat despotique représenté par le Roi. Parmi les anti-constitutionnalistes d'avant la révolution de 1978 se trouvaient entre autres l'ayatollah Khomeyni et ses adeptes, se réclamant d'une tendance religieuse minoritaire qui s'était
opposée à la révolution de 1906-1911 et à sa Constitution. Ainsi, avant les événements de 1978, la tendance dirigée par le Chah et celle dirigée par Khomeyni étaient d'accord sur un point: le refus de la Constitution de 1906-1911 et de ses libertés démocratiques. Tandis que le Chah rejetait l'application de la Constitution au nom de la tradition despotique impériale, Khomeyni la rejetait au nom du despotisme clérical.


3. Le coup de force khomeyniste dans la révolution de 1978 fut un moyen de mettre un terme à l'expérience d'un État fondé sur le principe de la souveraineté populaire. En effet, dans la république islamique instaurée par Khomeyni, le pouvoir de légiférer n'appartient pas aux élus de la nation, mais à Dieu. Et ce sont les "tuteurs" de la nation, c'est-à-dire les autorités religieuses, qui déterminent quelles sont les lois divines. Comme l'a écrit Khomeyni dans son ouvrage sur le gouvernement islamique: "la différence essentielle entre un gouvernement islamique et une monarchie ou une république consiste dans le fait que dans ces dernières, c'est le monarque ou le peuple qui établit les lois, tandis que dans le régime islamique, le pouvoir législatif n'appartient qu'à Dieu... Nul n'a le droit de légiférer, et aucune loi, à l'exception des lois divines, ne peut être appliquée". Ainsi, pour Khomeyni, la raison du rejet du despotisme du Chah n'est pas l'absence de légitimité populaire, mais l'absence de légitimité divine.

Ces quelques points précisés, nous pouvons revenir à la comparaison des deux systèmes de pouvoir.

1. Le pouvoir étatique

A. Avant la Révolution

1. L'État impérial fut l'expression du despotisme des classes dominantes, dont la création, ou au moins le développement, avait été largement encouragée, sinon impulsée, par cet État lui-même (le Roi étant le représentant symbolique de ce dernier). L'État-classe dominait le pays et en contrôlait directement ou indirectement tous les secteurs politico-économiques. Le Roi-despote avait un rôle bonapartiste d'arbitrage entre les différentes fractions du pouvoir despotique. Il prenait personnellement toutes les décisions fondamentales concernant la vie du pays. C'est ainsi que l'État devint de plus en plus un État-manager, s'occupant de toute la vie socio-économique de l'Iran.
2. Sur le plan politique, non seulement l'État impérial ne tolérait aucune opposition, mais encore aucune organisation politique ou syndicale indépendante de son autorité. Le parti unique et obligatoire, créé par le Chah, était destiné à encadrer la population afin de faciliter le fonctionnement de l'État. Les syndicats ouvriers et patronaux, ainsi que les différentes corporations, étaient des émanations de l'appareil étatique. Les différentes institutions sociales (armée du savoir, de l'hygiène, de la construction, de la religion, etc...) furent également créées par l'État despotique lui-même.

B. Après la Révolution

1. L'État clérical a conservé les caractéristiques principales du régime précédent. Tout d'abord, cet État est un appareil répressif opposé à la Nation. Il est au service d'une classe-État, avec toutefois cette différence que les privilégiés qui constituent la couche dominante ont changé. Cet État-classe est incarné par le "guide de la Révolution", qui joue le même rôle bonapartiste que le Chah. De la même façon qu'au-paravant le Chah, le guide prend personnellement les décisions importantes à tous les niveaux.

Le nouvel État-classe monopolise le pouvoir au moyen d'un parti unique (Parti de la République islamique) et prétend assurer la gestion économique et politique du pays. Certes, les fonctionnaires et employés de cet État ne sont pas tous les mêmes qu'au-paravant; toutefois, le nombre de personnes servant directement ou indirectement l'État est resté à peu près identique, ou à même augmenté.

Les différentes institutions sociales créées par le nouveau régime (gardiens de la Révolution, comités, croisade de la reconstruction, fondation des déshérités, etc...) sont directement contrôlées et payées par l'État clérical.

Sur le plan économique également, l'État contrôle les richesses du pays et les distribue à son gré. Car non seulement les revenus du pétrole constituent toujours la base financière du pouvoir despotique clérical, mais encore la dépendance vis-à-vis des ressources pétrolières ne cesse d'augmenter.

2. Sur le plan politique, l'État clérical reprend à son compte la tradition précédente, tout en l'amplifiant. Si, au début de la Révolution, quelques organisations politiques étaient tolérées, très tôt les dirigeants religieux ont pris l'initiative de supprimer toutes les organisations qui n'étaient pas soumises à leur autorité. Des partis politiques et des organisations syndicales sont dissous, et leurs dirigeants sont emprisonnés ou exécutés. Des organisations et des mouvements à base ethnique, régionaliste (Kurdes, Turkmènes, etc...) ou religieuse sont également dissoutes, et leurs dirigeants sont poursuivis. En effet, à la différence de l'État despotique impérial, qui reconnaissait implicitement les différentes composan-
tes ethniques, religieuses et culturelles de la Nation iranienne, l'État clérical ne reconnaît au sein de "l'Ommat" (communauté islamique des croyants) aucun droit à la différence, ni au pluralisme. Son idéologie "Towhidi" (unicitaire) ne tolère aucune contradiction ni différence. Et puisque cette différence et ce pluralisme existent de fait, il s'efforce de les supprimer par la force.

II. L'anti-intellectualisme
A. Avant
1. Le régime impérial était opposé aux classes moyennes et recrutait l'essentiel de ses activistes et partisans au sein des couches privilégiées d'une part, et parmi les "deshérédés" d'autre part. L'opposition au régime provenait essentiellement des intellectuels, des cadres et fonctionnaires, des membres des professions libérales et des commerçants, appartenant tous aux classes moyennes.

2. La société impériale était anti-intellectuelle, populiste et anti-nationaliste. Le Chah considérait les intellectuels comme ses ennemis. L'exode des cerveaux, la fuite des cadres, constituaient également l'un des problèmes importants de la société impériale. Sur le plan de l'alphabetisation, l'échec du système était patent, avec quelque 60% d'analphabètes après 30 années de pouvoir absolu.

B. Après

2. La société clérical pratique le même anti-intellectualisme que le régime précédent. Les intellectuels sont considérés comme les alliés du "Grand Satan" et de l'Occident en général. Des centaines de milliers de cadres et d'intellectuels ont fui le pays, et se trouvent à l'étranger, dans des conditions pour le moins précaires. Des poètes, des écrivains et des cinéastes sont poursuivis, persécutés, emprisonnés ou exécutés.

III. Démocratie et libertés
A. Avant
1. Sur le plan des libertés démocratiques, le régime impérial combattait d'une part l'idée même de la démocratie, et d'autre part les partisans du mouvement national et démocratique à
l'intérieur du pays. Le Chah était opposé à la tradition du Front National du Dr. Mossadegh (qui nationalisa le pétrole iranien en 1951 et fut renversé par la CIA et la Cour en 1953). Il était prêt à composer avec tout le monde, sauf avec ceux qui se réclamaient de Mossadegh et du Front National. Car la voie de Mossadegh était celle d'une démocratie parlementaire populaire. Quand le Chah créa son parti unique et obligatoire en 1975, il déclara: "Tous seront pareils, tous auront la même organisation... tous avec la même philosophie...". Et au sujet de la démocratie, le Chah répondait à Oriana Fallaci, qui lui parlait du pluralisme: "Mais cette démocratie-là, je n'en veux pas... Je n'ai que faire d'une telle démocratie. Je vous la donne, vous pouvez la garder toute entière, vous comprenez, votre belle démocratie".

B. Après

1. Pour le régime clérical, la démocratie et les libertés démocratiques ne constituent que des produits de la corruption occidentale, et des méthodes anti-islamiques. Pour Khomeyni, le pouvoir législatif n'appartient pas au peuple, mais à Dieu, et les notions de majorité et de minorité électorales n'ont aucun sens. Ce n'est pas le peuple qui peut savoir ce qui est bon ou mauvais pour lui, mais leur "tuteur", qui est le chef religieux. Khomeyni exprimait sa pensée le 17 août 1979 en ces termes: "Si nous avions brisé les plumes empoisonnées de la presse corrompue, fermé toutes les publications conspiratrices et pourries, traduit devant la justice islamique leurs responsables; si nous avions encore interdit dès le début tous les partis politiques qui complotent contre la Révolution, pendu leurs dirigeants à des potences dressées sur les places publiques, nous n'aurions pas connu les difficultés auxquelles nous faisons face aujourd'hui". On sait que ces idées furent largement mises en pratique depuis lors.

IV Les structures économiques

A. Avant

1. Du point de vue financier, la société impériale dépendait des revenus du pétrole (qui constituaient plus de 80% des rentées de devises). Toute l'économie iranienne "moderne" était depuis ces 20 dernières années basée sur l'exploitation et l'exportation du pétrole. L'accumulation des revenus du pétrole permit la formation d'une masse imposante de capital financier.

2. La désarticulation entre la capacité financière et l'in- capacité de l'appareil productif à répondre à l'accroissement de la demande populaire, provoqua en partie la crise qui précé- da la Révolution. Toutefois, au lieu de satisfaire la demande de biens d'équipement destinés à rendre autonomes des indus- tries de substitution à l'importation (produisant certains
biens de première nécessité, et des équipements industriels légers), le régime impérial eut recours à une politique d'importation massive de biens et d'articles de consommation courante (et de luxe). Ces importations sont passées en 4 ans (1973-1977) de 3 à 15 milliards de dollars, et à 18 milliards en 1978, atteignant près de 30% du PNB. Ainsi, la dépendance de l'Iran par rapport à l'étranger s'accrut considérablement.

D'autre part, le capital financier accumulé ne trouvait pas suffisamment de possibilités d'investissement dans les branches productives et s'orientait de plus en plus vers la spéculation forcée. La conséquence en fut une augmentation vertigineuse du loyer des logements populaires.

3. La politique de montage a profité aussi bien aux sociétés transnationales qu'à ceux qui étaient en rapport étroit avec la famille des Pahlévis. Il s'agissait, au début, de rendre ces industries de montage autonomes. C'est pourquoi l'Etat en a favorisé la création par l'octroi de prêts à faibles taux d'intérêt et par un protectionnisme douanier. Mais la dépendance vis-à-vis de l'étranger ne fut pas diminuée pour autant.

4. Le Bazar, en tant qu'unité économique traditionnelle, regroupant les activités bancaires, commerciales et industrielles, permettait à une bourgeoisie dite "nationale" de contrôler l'accumulation d'un capital "national", lié avec les secteurs chargés de satisfaire les besoins internes du pays. Par ses réseaux, le Bazar reliait les villes aux zones rurales, les puissants hommes d'affaires aux petits commerçants et marchands sans oublier les petits artisans. Ce Bazar, qui constituait une puissance financière et socio-culturelle permettant aux idées nationales et démocratiques de s'affirmer face à l'Etat, assurait 60 à 70% de l'import-export du pays. D'où sa force économique. Or, l'Etat impérial, qui ne pouvait supporter l'existence d'une telle puissance autonome face à lui, avait entrepris une politique visant à saper les fondements socio-économiques du Bazar, et à diminuer et à restreindre par là-même son influence politique et culturelle.

5. Le secteur agricole fut le plus durement touché sous le régime impérial. La réforme agraire de l'Ancien Régime non seulement n'avait pas résolu les problèmes des paysans, mais elle avait de plus détruit toute l'agriculture traditionnelle et vivrière du pays, provoquant d'une part l'exode des paysans vers les centres urbains, et d'autre part une pénurie alimentaire. Des unités agro-industrielles (dominées par les capitaux étrangers) ayant remplacé les communautés paysannes, le type de cultures pratiquées par ces unités ne correspondait plus aux besoins de la population. Tous ces problèmes étaient aggravés par une difficulté "classique" de l'agriculture iranienne, à savoir la sécheresse naturelle et la nécessité de l'irrigation artificielle au moyen de canaux souterrains d'irrigation (les ghanats). Tout cela conduisait à une dépendance
alimentaire de plus en plus marquée de l'Iran envers l'étranger. L'Ancien Régime était obligé de recourir à l'importation de plus en plus massive de produits alimentaires étrangers. En 1975-1976, l'Etat impérial importa l'équivalent de 1,4 milliard de dollars de produits alimentaires, tandis que la part du secteur agricole dans le PNB tombait à 10%, contre 19,9% en 1970-1971.


Sous l'Ancien Régime, les secteurs suivants étaient déjà étatisés (c'est-à-dire qu'ils ressortaient du monopole de l'Etat):

- le pétrole, le gaz, la pétrochimie;
- les aciéries, fonderies, usines produisant des tuyaux, construisant des machines et des tracteurs à Tabriz et Arar, produisant de l'aluminium, etc...;
- toutes les mines (cuivre, charbon, ...);
- la construction des routes, les chemins de fer, les installations portuaires et les équipements maritimes, les installations et le matériel aériens;
- les transports publics;
- la production d'électricité et les équipements correspondants (barrages, centrales, etc...);
- les postes et télécommunications (y compris la Radio et la Télévision);
- les installations fournissant l'eau potable;
- les pêcheries du Nord et du Sud;
- la Régie des Tabacs;
- les compagnies agro-industrielles;
- la Société nationale des viandes, tous les abattoirs (achats de viande et bétail);
- le commerce extérieur (par le moyen de la compagnie des transactions avec l'étranger);
- le Centre de développement des exportations;
- toutes les compagnies d'assurance;
- les plus importantes banques (Banque Centrale, Banque
nationale, Banque du Crédit industriel, Banque du Crédit agricole, etc...).

B. Après

1. Les dirigeants religieux ont à maintes occasions affirmé qu'ils n'attachaient pas une grande importance au développement économique, la Révolution ayant comme but de réaliser la société islamique et non le bien-être économique. Cette conception a contribué à justifier l'incapacité du régime à procéder à des réformes économiques urgentes. Au lendemain de la Révolution, la situation économique était catastrophique, notamment en raison des grèves et des sabotages qui avaient précédé le renversement de la monarchie.

Le premier gouvernement Bazargan s'efforça de maintenir, dans la mesure du possible, les structures économiques existantes et les faire fonctionner tant bien que mal, pour satisfaire les besoins fondamentaux et immédiats de la population. Toutefois, l'absence de toute sécurité et des garanties matérielles nécessaires incita les cadres, dont beaucoup avaient regagné le pays après la Révolution pour participer à la reconstruction nationale, à choisir l'exil et à quitter de nouveau l'Iran. Par la suite, les campagnes menées contre les "libéraux", les "déviationnistes", les "occidentalisés", les "hypocrites", les "socio-démocrates" et les "nationalistes", frappèrent tout les cadres, les intellectuels et les petits industriels qui avaient eu la témérité de rester au pays malgré tout.

La situation économique empira, ce qui apparaît clairement à travers l'évolution du taux de croissance du PNB. Ce taux est tombé de 13,75% en 1976-1977 à 2,8% pour 1977-1978, puis a chuté à -9% pour 1978, -3% pour 1979 et -10% pour 1980.

Cette situation obligea le gouvernement des mollahs à importer toute une série de biens que l'industrie du pays produisait pour le marché intérieur avant la Révolution. Ainsi, la dépendance par rapport aux produits étrangers fut encore accen-tuée.

2. Le budget pour 1981-1982 constitue un autre signe de la situation catastrophique de l'économie post-révolutionnaire. Ce budget est caractérisé par un déficit sans précédent. Le montant total du budget 81-82 équivaut à 39 milliards de dollars, avec un déficit de près de 10 milliards de dollars! Ce déficit s'élevait, pour les exercices 78-79 et 79-80 respectivement à environ 5 - 6 milliards de dollars. Il est clair que les revenus du pétrole ne peuvent plus couvrir les dépenses qu'il a été prévu de consacrer au développement. Par ailleurs, les dépenses courantes constituent plus de 60% des dépenses budgétaires (à cause notamment des étatisations).
3. Quelques mois après la Révolution, le Bazar, qui avait joué un rôle décisif dans le renversement de l'Ancien Régime, commença à être contrôlé de plus en plus près par le pouvoir clérical. Au cours d'une première phase, il s'agissait pour les religieux de contrôler les activités économiques et politiques du Bazar. Dans une seconde phase, commencée depuis environ une année, les religieux ont décidé de tout faire pour supprimer le Bazar en tant qu'unité économique, sociale et culturelle, qui risquerait de redevenir le fer de lance d'un nouveau mouvement de contestation. Ce projet est actuellement en cours d'exécution, et la reprise en mains des activités commerciales traditionnelles du Bazar par l'État en est une illustration. La suppression, ou tout au moins la relégation au second plan du Bazar, si elle se réalisait, constituerait un pas important vers la collectivisation et la bureaucratisation complètes de la vie économique, sociale et culturelle du pays par l'État clérical.

4. Après la Révolution, l'accent fut officiellement mis sur la nécessité de l'indépendance alimentaire et du développement de l'agriculture traditionnelle. Le discours officiel insistait sur le caractère religieux et sacré du devoir des paysans de cultiver toutes les terres cultivables. C'est ainsi que la production agricole enregistra en 1978-79 une hausse de 6% par rapport à l'année précédente. Cependant, la détérioration de la situation se fit sentir à partir de 1979-80 avec une baisse de 3,5%. Cette baisse se poursuivit en 1981 et en 1982, obligeant le gouvernement à recourir à l'importation des denrées alimentaires de première nécessité. La dépendance alimentaire envers l'Europe et les États-Unis ne cesse donc pas d'augmenter depuis la Révolution. Avant la Révolution, l'État achetait en moyenne quelque 1.150.000 tonnes de produits aux paysans. Après la Révolution (plus précisément en 1981), l'État n'a pu acquérir que 804.000 tonnes. Et le prix d'un kilo de riz, qui était d'environ $1 avant la Révolution, est passé aujourd'hui à au moins $5.

5. Non seulement les secteurs les plus importants de l'économie restent, comme jadis, sous le contrôle de l'État, mais encore l'étatisation de l'économie a été renforcée après la Révolution, de sorte qu'actuellement plus de 80% de l'économie iranienne est contrôlée par l'appareil étatique, c'est-à-dire en fait par la minorité cléricale au pouvoir. Cette étatisation, qui pourrait être positive (s'il s'agissait de défendre les intérêts de l'ensemble de la population au moyen de vraies nationalisations) constitue en l'occurrence un frein au développement économique dès lors qu'elle est mise en œuvre par un État opposé à la Nation et non par l'exercice de la volonté d'une majorité démocratique. Dans ce dernier cas, il ne s'agirait pas tant d'étatiser que de "nationaliser", dans le sens de "rendre à la Nation" (c'est-à-dire aux personnes privées aussi bien qu'aux collectivités) les secteurs qui servaient traditionnellement au renforcement du despotisme de l'État sur la
nation. La "nationalisation-étatisation" du commerce extérieur est à cet égard révélatrice et fort instructive. En effet, le monopole du commerce extérieur ayant toujours été un instrument de domination de l'État despotique sur la Nation, la véritable "nationalisation" ne serait-elle pas de rendre le contrôle (sous une forme démocratique) de ce secteur à la Nation, c'est-à-dire à l'ensemble des citoyens, en brisant précisément le monopole de l'État despotique (il ne faut pas oublier ce point essentiel qu'il s'agit là d'un État despotique existant et d'un État démocratique qui reste à construire à travers un processus politique complexe)?

Pour en revenir au processus d'Étatisation, on peut rappeler que la valeur brute totale des grandes unités de production industrielles "étatisées" en 1979 fut estimée à quelque 600 milliards de rials. Ainsi, plus de 70% du capital du secteur industriel passèrent aux mains de l'État, contre environ 50% avant la Révolution. Depuis, des centaines d'autres usines, grandes, moyennes et petites entreprises sont devenues propriété de l'État par l'intermédiaire notamment de la "Fondation des deshérités".

Le 22 novembre 1980, le journal gouvernemental Keyhan annonça l'arrêt des activités de plus de 1000 des plus grandes unités industrielles. Ce chiffre doit être probablement doublé. Quant aux autres grandes unités de production, elles ne fonctionnaient semble-t-il qu'à 10% de leur capacité de production.

Par ailleurs, l'État iranien s'est placé juridiquement dans la position d'un débiteur vis-à-vis des banques étrangères. En effet, quelque temps après cette vague d'Étatisation, toutes les autres industries importantes furent également "nationalisées" (en fait, acquises par expropriation). L'État a donc dû également prendre en charge les industries débitrices et déficitaires. Ces "nationalisations" ont été essentiellement réalisées au moyen d'expropriations et par le canal de la "Foundation des deshérités", institution créée dans ce but. Mais la suite des cadres, l'expropriation des patrons, dont tous n'étaient pas incompétents, loin de là, la prise en mains hâtie de les usines et des banques, empêchaient la remise en route efficace de ces industries. Le gouvernement était dans l'impossibilité de gérer ces industries et en a donc octroyé la gestion à des "comités islamiques d'entreprises". Avant toute autre chose, ces "conseils", composés d'ouvriers et de quelques cadres "islamiques" se sont octroyés les salaires et les avantages dont bénéficiaient naguère leurs directeurs. Toutefois, manquant d'expérience, ne disposant d'aucun programme économique d'ensemble ni des cadres indispensables, ces "conseils" n'ont pas été en mesure de faire fonctionner les usines; le résultat ne se fit pas attendre: ce fut la faillite pure et simple de la plupart de ces entreprises.
J'ai déjà parlé du problème du commerce extérieur. C'est un secteur qui est en rapport étroit avec les banques et les industries et qui a subi le même sort que ces dernières. En 1980, le commerce extérieur a été également "nationalisé", c'est-à-dire étatisé. Ainsi, les importateurs sont-ils obligés de s'adresser à l'Etat, ou à des religieux jouant le rôle d'intermédiaires, afin de pouvoir importer les produits que l'Etat juge "utiles" ou "indispensables" pour le pays. Cette politique a eu les résultats suivants (parmi d'autres):

- la disparition de la concurrence (d'où baisse de la qualité et hausse des prix);
- le développement d'une couche dépendante de l'Etat, touchant des "commissions" importantes de tous les côtés;
- l'augmentation des prix des produits importés, à cause de la méconnaissance des mécanismes du commerce international, et du fait que les transnationales fixent le plus souvent des prix égaux aux prix de détail lorsqu'elles traitent avec des États.

6. La Fondation Pahlévi fut l'une des institutions les plus riches et les plus puissantes de ce genre, et pas seulement pour l'Iran. Son but était de donner au Chah, à sa famille et à ses proches, un contrôle et des possibilités de prélèvement sur les différentes activités économiques. Elle était à la fois le lieu d'un enrichissement spectaculaire et d'un pouvoir tentaculaire sur les activités économiques et commerciales. La "Fondation des déshérités" (comme on l'a déjà vu) joue le même rôle et remplit les mêmes fonctions, servant de couverture aux prélèvements, pillages et dilapidations par les religieux de la caste cléricale au pouvoir.

V Conclusion

Pour conclure, on pourrait dire qu'en l'espace d'une dizaine d'années, les Iraniens ont pu comparer deux systèmes se présentant comme farouchement opposés: le système moderne et occidentalisé voulant intégrer l'Iran au marché mondial, et le système "révolutionnaire", anti-occidental voulant rompre avec ce même marché mondial.

Sur le plan des valeurs fondamentales, le régime impérial se réclamait de la défense de l'Occident et de ses valeurs, mais en réalité (on l'a vu) il n'acceptait ces valeurs que d'une manière superficielle, ou pas du tout. Le régime impérial, tout comme le régime clérical aujourd'hui, rejetait tous les acquis positifs, matériels et spirituels de la civilisation occidentale. Le régime clérical se réclame de l'Islam, mais en réalité, tout comme son prédécesseur, il n'utilise l'Islam que comme une idéologie au service du pouvoir despotique. En ce qui concerne les vraies valeurs de la civilisation islamique (tolérance, pardon, humanité, bonté, humilité, justice
et paix), elles sont absentes du régime clérical comme elles l'étaient du régime impérial.

L'échec de ces deux voies, antagoniques seulement en apparence mais relevant fondamentalement de la même logique despotique, constitue une leçon historique non seulement pour les Iraniens, mais également pour d'autres peuples du Tiers Monde.

Entre un développement dans la dépendance directe et sans liberté politique et le mythe "révolutionnaire" débouchant sur la dictature et la dépendance indirecte, il doit exister une troisième voie: celle qui combine les réformes économiques et sociales radicales avec la démocratie politique.

CONTRIBUTIONS

to the cost of the Dossier are welcome. May we suggest a minimum of US$30 (or Swiss francs 48) a year for those in the North, and half that amount for those in the Third World and students? Those who can afford it are of course invited to contribute more (there is no upper limit).

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STUDIES IN RURAL PARTICIPATION

EDITED BY AMIT BHADURI AND
MD. ANISUR RAHMAN

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(Delhi: Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 1982)
Abstract: It seems to be the time to take development alternatives to their next logical conclusion: the impossibility of moving in creative directions under the current nation-state/United Nations system of World Governance. But more than that: to look for the steps we can take today in our own lives to move toward a more humanistic world governance controlled by transnational people-to-people networks.

L'AGE NOUVEAU ET LE GOUVERNEMENT DU MONDE

Résumé: Le moment semble venu de tirer 'la conclusion logique de la quête d'un autre développement: l'impossibilité d'avancer créativement sous le système actuel de gouvernement mondial des nations-Etats. Plus: le moment est aussi venu de considérer les pas que nous pouvons faire dans nos propres vies pour avancer vers un système de gouvernement mondial plus humain sous la direction de réseaux populaires transnationaux.

LA NUEVA ERA Y EL GOBIERNO DEL MUNDO

Resumen: El momento parece haver elegido de sacar la conclusión logica de la busqueda de otro desarrollo: la imposibilidad de avanzar creativamente en el actual sistema de gobierno mundial de Estados-naciones. Más aún, el momento ha tambien elegido para plantearnos, cuales son los pasos que nosotros podemos dar en relación a nuestras propías vidas para avanzar hacia un sistema de gobierno mundial más humano y en la dirección de la red popular transnacional.
NEW AGE WORLD GOVERNANCE

We are, today, in the midst of an era of radical reformulation of the role of humans in the universe. It is a transition which spans all aspects of human life from the inner soul of the individual to the political organization of the planet. It involves transformations in our religions, our technologies, our education, our family relationships, our industries and our communities. The transformation we are going through is a fact of history, not a utopian dream, not an academic study, not a plan of government, not a promise of politicians. The transformation is not fully, if at all, under our control. We may be recognizing only portions of it. It may be the result of man's heedless destruction of the planet's resources. Or, it may be the next step in the universe's creation.

This paper will not explore in-depth the indicators which point to the conclusion that the world is on the threshold of a bright new age. The paper will only explore some of the implications this New Age will have for World Government. It is, however, necessary to set the framework and the context into which the discussion of government must fit.

The renewal happening around us has many roots and many names. The "Environmental Movement" in the USA was initiated by books such as Rachel Carson's "Silent Spring" in 1957. The common ownership movement in Britain was given impetus with the transfer of ownership of the Bader works to the workers; in France Jacques Ellul's "The Technological Society" brought on a re-evaluation of technology; Eric Daman's "The Future in our Hands", in Norway, initiated a major reexamination of North/South relationships. The Consumer Association of Penang in Malaysia, Co-cop in Bolivia, the Gandhi Peace Foundation in India, the Tasor Women's Group in Ghana and the Eco-development Centre in Paris are only a few of the independent actions which indicate a deep-seated and global desire for change.

The theories of quantum mechanics and relativity have laid a philosophical base for this global transformation. As physicist David Bohm demonstrates in "Wholeness and the Implicate Order" the shift from Newtonian to modern physics necessitates a change in our mode of thought from one of atomism and fragmentation to one of wholeness and continuum. The notion that individuals and parts of the universe have separate existences is an illusion. It is to some extent necessary for humans to divide things up, and to separate them, so as to reduce certain problems to manageable size. But, Bohm argues, we have let fragmentation become our dominant approach to life. We separate our thinking into disparate disciplines. Religion, art,
science, work, leisure are all put into separate unrelated categories. This proclivity to divide and subdivide leads ultimately to negative, destructive and unreal results. In modern physics it is recognized that the Newtonian, mechanistic and fragmentary view of the universe is valid only within certain limited domains. Once we go beyond those domains closer to reality each particle or individual becomes part of a continuum reaching to infinity. It is Bohm's belief that the new view of the unity of the universe is affecting world culture just as it is affecting modern science and our general mode of thought.

The search for wholeness and rejection of fragmented lives was marked in the 1960's by billows of smoke rising from the riot rocked cities of Amsterdam, Newark, London, Washington, Tokyo, San Francisco and Paris. During the 1970's the concerns of the counter-culture moved into the mainstream of acceptable society. Studies such as the Club of Rome's "Limits to Growth" made even the most academic scholars look out of the windows of their ivory towers; stagflation sent shivers of fear through all ruling capitols of the world; the energy crunch forced every household to recognize the need to reappraise our social forms. Now, in the 1980's, the many small beginnings and the many independent actions in all parts of the world are beginning to coalesce into a single network for transformation.

The current situation is well described in a recent best selling book, "The Aquarian Conspiracy" by Marilyn Ferguson. The Aquarian Conspiracy, according to Ferguson, is a conspiracy among people who seldom know one another. They are nonetheless conspiring in that each recognizes the turnabout in consciousness which is bringing about the radical change in our culture. She notes that the unspoken beliefs of people change long before they publicly concede the transformation. We are, thus, still mouthing conviction in bygone mores and paradigms while we already live by different principles.

James Robertson in "The Sane Alternative", delineates some of the paradigm shifts needed and taking place. "Wealth", for example, can no longer be counted in stocks and bonds, mansions and limousines. The wealthy person is coming to be the one least dependent on the fragile economic-social system for his livelihood and welfare. "Work" can no longer be defined only in terms of hours away from home and financial income. More and more people are mixing recreation with employment to combine self-sufficiency with self-realization. Dogmatic "Religion" is giving way to personal spiritual transformation. "Professional" services are being replaced by personal relationships and established "government" is being bypassed as communities and individuals dominate social innovation.

Chilean, Gustavo Lagos, ties this age of transition and wholeness to World Government in "The Revolution of Being", one of a number of articles with decentralist themes from the World Order.
Models Project. He contends that "the revolution of having" has failed to bring either justice or happiness. The future world system must be based on a cultural and spiritual transition from "having" to "being". It is his belief that the world culture based on fragmentation and accumulation is being replaced by one of unity and faith in human beings.

It would be illusory and hypocritical to talk of a major cultural and spiritual revolution without recognizing that it will be neither sustained nor effective without a major structural change in the formal social, economic and political system by which we are governed and by which we govern. It would be equally illusory to speak of a future world government without recognizing the unalterable transformation in human thought and in human being now in progress. To speak sensibly of World Government we must recognize that formal "government" is merely one part of a complex of informal and formal "governance".

Each of us is governed and governs by many forces. Physical forces hold us to the earth; biological forces dictate what we need to physically survive; inner spiritual forces determine our requirements for meaningful life; and, social forces govern our associations with other people. Families, churches, employers, schools and technologies are all parts of the system of governance. Each influences what we can do and how we can influence the behavior of others. Government is only one element in this system of governance. Government is only necessary, and only effective, when some other element of governance is ineffective.

Current discussions of world order are premised on the omnipotence of the nation-state. They seldom recognize the full range of forces that are part of the system of governance. In fact, the nation-state system of World Governance is an invention of a few European rulers made within the last 200 years. It was spread from a small sector of the earth to the rest of the world by the force of arms, the dogma of a religion shaped to do its bidding, and an economic-industrial system which relied on it for control and protection.

World order based on the nation-state assumes that the resources and the people within a political boundary are the inalienable property of that nation-state. Leaders within each nation-state gain control through some competition that eliminates opposition. Once in power, and in order to maintain power, they must strive to maximize their nation's share of the world's resources. They are entrapped in a competitive world system. Though recognizing a degree of economic interdependence, no nation dares recognize its political interdependence. The fact that all persons have a stake in programs and policies which distribute the world's resources is given no voice.
Nor is the selection of national/world leaders open to all those affected by the choice. Each nation-state is accepted to be politically supreme, autonomous and independent regardless of the effect its government's actions have on people outside, or even within, its borders.

There is nothing inalienable or permanent in this European invented form of government. The study of history, even European history, reveals many alternative political systems. In fact, history shows that the societies with the least bureaucratic and hierarchical structures have had the greatest stability over time. Many of these societies are based on precepts that are much more in line with the emerging new age than the precepts of the nation-states. Consider, for example, the native American system of governance.

For native Americans the whole culture—religious, economic, social, technological and political—was based on the concept of a community of beings, or more correctly a community of Being. Each individual—human, animal, plant and even the forces of nature—were parts of a single living cosmos. Each has its purpose and its proper niche as part of the whole. The individual, the person, was not bent on mastering nature, controlling others or competing to win respect or property. Each strove to perfect his being in harmony with and as part of the whole. Human rights were not a matter of law bestowed by government. They were parts of one's duty, and his obligation to Being. Each being, human and non-human, was responsible for developing not only his own creative powers but those of all others of the universe of which he was part.

The native American economic-political system designed itself from this metaphysical understanding. One could not own property, for property had its own being. Even tools, clothes and utensils had a being and purpose to be fulfilled. One's future and the welfare of his family were not assured by an accumulation of material wealth but by one's service to Being. Elaborate ceremonies were developed to provide for the broad distribution of food, shelter and the other necessities of life, particularly to the aged and weak. The dignity of the individual was gained not by what he owned but by what he was able to give away—his contribution to society. The great hunter, or craftsman had no concept of selling the product of his work. His duty to being was to create for the benefit of the community. The natural political system was one of cooperation, consensus and confederation rather than one of competition, confrontation and struggle for power.

Variations on this theme were well known in Africa and Asia as well as the Americas. They were the rule rather than the exception before the advent of European expansion. They are perhaps too idyllic to be copied without change in the over populated, under resourced and stressful world we know today. But
by envisioning ourselves in the framework of alternative governmental systems we may be able to break the bonds which tie us to the dying paradigms of the passing age.

Governance for the New Age cannot be based on the narrow concepts of government through bureaucratic nation-state hierarchies. The current transformation is wholistic and multidimensional. In keeping with this transformation, world government should be wholistic and multidimensional. We must recognize the many forces of human governance and construct a world order which reflects, promotes and takes advantage of the emerging spiritual and ethical affirmation of human rights and human dignity. A future world government can be pictured as a multidimensional network or networks which provides each individual with many optional paths through with he can provide for his own well-being and can participate in controlling world affairs.

A multidimensional system of world governance is, in fact, nothing new. World religions have never completely surrendered their power of governance to the nation-states. New systems of supranational control have been created by multinational corporations which have not only been able to avoid the meddlesome interferences of national governments but have probably been a positive force in avoiding destructive wars between nations in which their financial interests were involved. The oil producing countries, through OPEC, added another dimension to world governance which goes well beyond the boundaries of nation-states. And, increased travel and communications have helped other sectors of the global society to ameliorate the power of nation-state governments to sow dissensions. Such examples prove the world order has many dimensions; they also show that grass-roots participation has not yet been provided for in global decision making.

These beginnings must be extended to provide a system of optional ways in which each planetary citizen can express his preferences for the world of the future. A World Council of Ethnic Groups could provide a channel for each individual to reach up from his local village to the highest echelons of World government. A World Council of craftsmen could be another. A World Council of Communities; a World Council of Laborers; a World Council of Homeowners; a World Council of Religions; a World Council of Nations; a World Council of Businesses and other world councils would provide other equal voices for expressing the needs of the grass roots. A Council of World Councils could assure coordination, guarantee balanced representation, and provide over-all direction in world affairs.

Such a world government representing more than the territorial rights of nation-states could reduce the tensions which lead to wars and could give people new agents to which to declare
their loyalties and allegiances. But, merely substituting many parallel hierarchies for one would not necessarily assure human rights, equity, democracy, peace or self realization. Each vertical hierarchy might still remain open to dominance and elitism. New Age governance calls for a more fundamental reordering of our channels of communication and governance. It calls for horizontal linking at the level of the individual and their communities as well as multiple vertical linking to the seats of world direction.

It is not even necessary to destroy or replace the current world government system in order to put into effect a system of governance which gives more voice and more power to the people. As has been stressed throughout this article formal government is only one element of world order. Non-formal, informal, non-governmental and voluntary agencies already play significant roles even within the very hazardous and faulty U.N./nation-state system. The existing, or any, governmental form could provide a more stable, humane and equitable future for all if the people's values replaced those of the competitive ruling elites.

The primary need is for transnational people-to-people networks in which the grass roots can build solidarity based on an understanding of one another's desires. The strategy for this is to build horizontal networks as complementary alternatives to the existing order. This "second level of world governance" could grow to take over many, if not all, of the functions now performed by the association of nation-states.

The embryos for such a New Age governance are slowly taking shape. Sister Cities International is a transnational twinning of cities which provide technical assistance to one another to solve urban problems. Action Aid from London has helped small communities and small industries provide mutual assistance. The Experiment in International Living helps students learn about one another's culture by living in one another's homes; TRANET promotes bilateral links between groups developing appropriate technologies; the International Communities Exchange provides information for groups wishing to exchange experiences in new lifestyles; and, many other transnational networks are helping to promote a non-governmental world system of cooperative self-reliance.

To date, few of these non-governmental networks have given serious attention to their potential participation in world governance. Those which have, the official NGOs associated with the U.N. agencies, have spent many fruitless days reacting to empty proposals and hackneyed propositions advanced by U.N. committees and bureaucracies. They have spent little effort in creating their own initiatives to bring peace and understanding among people or among nations.
Notable exceptions to this general rule have been the Pugwash Conferences. Initiated by Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russel and other leading scientists at the height of the Cold War, the Pugwash Conferences bring together leading scientists from all parts of the world, irrespective of the relationships of their respective nations, to discuss world problems without the hindrance of official national positions. Although elitist and confined to the problems of science and society, Pugwash provides a model on which other people-to-people networks might be built as the harbingers for a New Age world governance.

As transnational networks mature and converge there is a growing realization that self renewal, local community action, alternative technology, human rights, ecological concern and other transformational activities must be linked with developing concepts for a just world order. It is not enough to "rearrange the chairs on the Titanic". A just world order can only be built by recognizing the radical reformation of human thought now taking place throughout the planet.

There are many New Age networks. Some have their heads in the esoteric clouds. Others keep their hands and feet mired in the too real land of development aid. Others have locked themselves in their academic ivory towers. The 1980s is a time of coming out and coming together. New Age governance must have many elements; the spiritual, the technical, the social, the economic and the political. They must be harmonious and unified, and they must be rooted in the minds, hearts and souls of all people. As stronger transnational people-to-people networks are built, and as bridges between the many new age movements grow stronger, a New Age Governance will emerge for the fuller development of the human potential.
WHO CAN STOP THE APOCALYPSE?

OR THE TASK, SUBSTANCE AND STRATEGY OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

By Rudolf Bahro*

So as not to cause any misunderstanding, I must confess right away that this cannot be, and is not supposed to be, a talk by an objective observer. It is more of an appeal than an analysis, and in its form it is more of an outline sketch than a scientific lecture.

The first reason for this is a practical one - both trivial and welcome. In the last two years I have not been able to undertake scientific work in the strict sense, as too much has been going on outside the libraries. This already bears on the subject of my talk. A movement is under way in various countries of Protestant central and northern Europe, a movement which I like to call the ecology and peace movement, but which by virtue of its inherent dynamic is a movement for conversion in the metropolises, for a transformation that goes right through to the material and mental foundations of our culture. This movement is at a formative stage, and naturally corresponds with similar tendencies in all other parts of the world. My interest in this subject is not academic, but existential, so I shall deal with it in a quite one-sided and absolutist manner. In this case, too, the universities are not the major source from which the movement proceeds. The present time is one of applied theory, or to be more accurate, applied ideology.

Basically, the question at issue is still more elementary. For many people the exterminist and self-destructive tendency that seems to have taken hold of our entire social body presents itself in so fundamental and necessary a way that the evidence for it is as great as was the evidence for the compelling myths of archaic times. Even though the outlines of the goal are quite unclear, nothing needs to be demonstrated or proved. For the plagues of ancient Egypt are upon us, the horsemen of the apocalypse can be heard, the seven deadly sins are visible all around us in the cities of today, where Babel is multiplied a thousand fold.

In 1968 the promised Canaan of general emancipation appeared on the horizon, and this time at last for women as well. But almost all of those who believe in this have tacitly come to realise that first of all will come the years in the wilderness. All that is lacking now is the pillar of fire to show us the route of our exodus. This is all to say that a mood is spreading which is more to be grasped in the language of these old parables than by scientific analysis of behaviour, and which is gradually

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making its way across all the differentiations that political economy, sociology, political science and social psychology like to maintain. And this mood has more reason than ever before to be apocalyptic, this time not just for one particular tribe, one or other particular state or even one particular civilisation, but rather for the one civilisation that is finally decisive. This I assume is self-evident. I don't intend to prove anything, to present the evidence for those who don't want to read the writing on the wall, as I believe that facts and arguments are not what such people lack.

This will make clear my basic attitude towards the subject of this congress, and the counterposing of 'governments' and 'movements' - something that I find very appropriate, as by this complementarity both concepts attain a very global and comprehensive character. So that it is experience rather than logically presented arguments that lead me to ask what is meant by the 'future of politics'. Shouldn't futurologists assume that politics has to be put in cold storage? You can of course say that movements are also political. What I want to stress though is that professional politics is not going to save anything, but can only make everything worse. Hopeful initiatives cannot come from this direction, unless they are spurious. It wasn't really the German chancellor who brought the USA and the Soviet Union to the conference table in Geneva. And besides, what are we to expect of this? On any question of survival, it always comes down to forcing the politicians to react by irresistible pressure. Thus everything depends on convoking 'non-political' or 'extra-political' forces, precisely on an overwhelming movement of conversion, which disrupts the normal activity of the official institutions, for example the activity of the defence ministries in 'securing peace'.

Let us assume that a peace research team was to observe the present scene in Western Europe, Japan and the USA in order to make a prognosis. They would naturally recognise a dialectic, an interaction, between the grassroots movements and the forces that speak for these in the institutions. And if they were optimistic, they would conclude that what ultimately matters is that parliaments and governments should make new decisions, given that a new security policy is a matter for the state, it has the state as its subject. I would not challenge any of this. This is at least one aspect of the process. It is clear theoretically that movements and institutions do somehow or other interact, that if a movement is successful it will transform the institutions, and in some way or other will be itself institutionalised, etc. This is just common sense.

Yet for reasons that have nothing to do with any general theory, as is sometimes put forward to relate movements and institutions, I would say that only the peace movement can save our civilisation. And by the peace movement here I am putting the part for the whole. Given this very particular extreme situation in which we find ourselves, I mean that against all the institutions that have been programmed for whole epochs to pursue everything in the accustomed direction, or at least to maintain everything as it is, only the most basic social movements can bring about that break in cultural continuity without which we shall be unable to save our very existence. The more this movement proceeds from the grass roots, the more
decisely it raises the question of power. Not in the sense of preparing to storm the Winter Palace. Its main subversive potential is that of destroying the traditional consensus that supports the state and constructing a new consensus and in that connection the front line generally runs right through the individuals concerned. But as this movement criticises the old world order in its totality, it naturally negates for a start its whole institutional heaven. Here it polarises against all those instances that make up this old heaven, and thus also against the traditional position.

We already fall back into the system if we act as if politics could be challenged by politics (of the same type). What can we achieve by immersing ourselves in the study of how the dominant politics function, even with a view to bringing about improvements? The time always comes when the thinkers of a new era refuse to get drawn into the distinctions of scholasticism. We still run the danger of getting absorbed by the 'compulsion of things' which is administered and reproduced on an expanded scale, just like a certain Green parliamentarian in the Federal Republic. This person used to radically oppose nuclear power stations. Then he got elected to the Landtag. He soon realised that a nuclear power station could be built even against his opposition. So he transformed himself into a realist and began discussing whether an underground power station - if such could be build! - wouldn't be better than an above-ground one. As if there weren't already enough reformists to take on that role. So the system easily gobbled him up.

This strikes me as an example of the problem of the relationship between science and the system on the one hand, science and the movement on the other. Should we not say goodbye to this contemplative analysis of the decisive objects? You can either be a servant and adviser of various governments and other system-maintaining institutions, or be militantly for the movement and in the movement. I am not advocating fanaticism, or even a break in communication. Yet debate will be more honest if it is conducted between intelligent people on either side, and not through so-called 'intermediaries' who express themselves in non-partisan translation. The point is to see the praxis that alone can save us as running completely across the traditional business of politics and science, also across the political advisers of the left, who generally produce only a few initiatives that do not contribute to the prolonging of existing conditions.

We cannot expect any escape from the vicious circle in which our civilisation is terminally trapped from the kind of science, aiming to master its object, that we have had since Euclid, Socrates, Aristotle and Archimedes, simply because this is fundamentally bound up with this civilisation's motive forces. As far as the social process is concerned, its objectivity stands for the subjugation to laws which can only wreck our evolution if we do not manage to overcome them.

Let us assume we were living at the time when one of the many Central American civilisations that produced growing pyramids was in its death-throes. Would it be sensible to expect help from those very priests who represented the law by which that culture was born and grew up, then
blossommed, declined and died? The science business is largely the priestly
corporation of our present civilisation. Most likely, every means it hits
upon, every advice it gives, will only mean adding a further stone to our
tower of Babel, for example in the shape of a new industry for environmental
protection. Of course I am speaking of those scientists who play their role
and uphold the rules that have to be thrown over if anything is to be left of
our civilisation except - in the best of cases - pyramids of reinforced con-
crete, which don't even keep their shape as long as stone ones do.

Even that supposedly progressive economic analysis which uses Marxist
categories functions today in conformity with the system. It goes on
feeling the pulse of a still continuing accumulation of capital, calculates
profit rates and forecasts short-term - and recently also long-term -
cyclical crises. But it has nothing more to say on the question of how
this pulse is to be stopped, how the accumulation of capital can be not
just measured but actually brought to an end. All that is left is the
latest economistic reformism, which already assumes the next long wave, the
breakthrough into eco- and bio-industries, total cable communication, etc.,
as an inadverible given which we have to surrender and adapt ourselves to.
They don't even ask whether there is a chance of halting accumulation in
its present trough.

In practice as well as in theory, the old left forms part of the institu-
tional order that has to be overcome, and for this reason the movement of
conversion is also directed against its mental structure.

Though Marxist theory did not originally raise the task of stopping
accumulation, it suggests that capitalist accumulation will come to a halt
for intrinsic reasons, as a consequence of the internal contradictions of
the bourgeois mode of production, whereas it is becoming even more pro-
bable that the avalanche of accumulation is catastrophically reaching
external limits - and without encountering fundamental resistance from the
specific interests of the subordinate classes. Quite the contrary. Yet
for the traditional analysis the new social movements serve only as a pre-
liminary substitute, behind whose action the real protagonists will again
reappear.

This is failing to see the wood for the trees. Today the provocation pro-
ceeds from the reproduction process as a whole, or rather from its ever
less controllable dysfunctions. It is the all-pervasive output, harmful
in the most varied ways, against which resistance is developing. The ex-
terminist consequence that is inherent in the entire mode of production
acts against human nature on the whole scale of values from the highest
ideals of self-realisation down to mere self-preservation. It is not
abstract causes, but concrete sufferings, that produce the counter-
mobilisation. No matter which way the individual experiences this injury,
the psyche reacts as a whole, and the movement provides a synthesis for
the impression that no treatment for the symptom is any longer of use.

This leads to a new, or rather a very old, answer to the question of the
mode of association. Should the opposition forces base their unity on a
compromise between their differing social interests, or should they locate
this unity above or below the level of differences of economic interest,
i.e. at the level of fundamental and long-term interests? If we believe the latter, however, we depart from what in the traditional view is the most important thing: class interests in the stricter sense. We completely cease to consider the analysis of the social structure as the main key to a transforming practice. We give primary status to other differentiations (in particular social-psychological ones) within the social continuum of interests.

The distinction between fundamental and long-term interests on the one hand, and immediate and short-term interests on the other, becomes more important than the distinction of different class interests. Within the metropolitan countries, which have as a whole an exploiting position, the class contradiction has only a relative importance, and is always based on immediate and short-term interests; as a general rule it fuels the characteristic dynamic of material expansion. In the movement, on the other hand, those forces come together which want to abolish the overall system of regulation by which all phenomena of crisis are mediated. It goes without saying that we expect these forces to develop a plan that takes into account, among other things, the continuing class differentiation, and prevents redistribution against the interests of the wage earners from raising still further the threshold for the leap into a different logic. It is simply a question here of a change in the key position given to the traditional social question.

This has all been preliminary - perhaps in too great detail - so as to make my premises clear. I admit that I am using an extremely global construction. I started - in the title - by speaking of a number of social movements (and I don't deny their plurality). Then I went on to speak of the ecology and peace movement as a single movement. And this phenomenon does exist, or is beginning to exist, in Holland and Germany for example (even a little in the GDR), with signs appearing also in Scandinavia. In actual fact, however, even in these countries we find a diversity of movements, and the women's movement or the squatters' movement - just to take two examples - would in many cases politely decline inclusion in this general concept. This is why I took refuge in a yet wider field, and spoke of a movement for conversion in the metropolises.

This naturally contains right away a whole number of implicit and venturesome assumptions. Let us take two of the metropolitan countries, France and Germany. It would be hard to find two European countries with more different political cultures. But I would maintain that in the German resistance to the nuclear power station at Wyl and the resistance in France to the new military training ground at Larzac, the two peoples are closer in spirit than in their political structures, as close in fact as the French jacquerie was to the German peasant war, even though the two were separated by 200 years. I believe there is a subterranean current at work here.

To give another example, why has this peace movement risen up within one year, first in Europe then in Japan, then in North America? And the uprising in Poland, which didn't talk especially about peace, but like every popular revolution dealt with everything, did even more than our West European demonstrations towards the cause of peace, by forcing one of the
two military blocs into a political impasse. Real movements are converging in this way, even though their origin and their specific goals lie wide apart - so that in the final analysis it is perhaps not so arbitrary for me to consider them together.

As far as my construction goes, it is global not only in the figurative sense but also literally - just like the challenge. Conversion in the metropolises: where are these metropolises? Firstly, of course, the European countries, as well as those from North America to Australia where the Europeans wiped out the indigenous inhabitants. And then of course Japan, which was so strikingly well disposed to assimilate the aggressive spirit of European industrialism. But where in the Third World today are there not big cities that are bridgeheads of the capital accumulation that proceeds from the centre? Industrialisation in the East also obeys the same imperatives, not only since it's got in debt to finance capital. The global metropolis has no geographical limits, it is this so far unstoppable process of industrial expansion driven and guided by capital, which is driving us over the edge of the abyss at a hundred points simultaneously.

It is this challenge - Edward Thompson has termed it exterminism, referring initially to its military side, but this can easily be generalised - which gives the diversity of movements a tendency to unite in a single movement of conversion. In the final analysis - but I don't mean this in the abstract sense, it will show itself in practice! - the marginalised masses in the countries of the Third World who plug into the electric power supply without paying will prove to be convergent with the movement against nuclear power stations even though in functional terms they seem totally in contradiction. The question is simply that the capitalist industrial system can only be driven back and destroyed by an ungrasppable and manifold movement of humanity, without formal coordination, not by an industrial working class that is defined in purely economic terms and centrally organised.

As human beings we are all marginalised, it is just that many of us are not yet aware of it. Many people still say, in pacifying terms, that the megamachine is ultimately made up of human beings. Sure! But here the reversal of the relation of master and slave has been achieved on the grandest scale. Does anyone still seriously imagine that the old actor Ronald Reagan is only the master of the Doomsday machine which he's been transported into? But the marginalised and excluded, those with their backs against the wall, now have an unbeatable ally in this very wall that they have their backs against. This wall is formed by the limits of the earth itself, against which we really shall be crushed to death if we do not manage to slow down and bring to a halt the great machine that we have created before this finally bumps against it. Every action that somehow or other obstructs its progress forms part of the movement, a progress which is above all the progress of its investments and the acquisition of capital for these. In the rich countries in particular, we are all in the situation of the building worker who lives next to the planned new airport runway and is offered work on it. He has to make a new decision!

How can we bring to an end the industrial era, an era that cannot endure in the long run as it is consuming its own foundations, before such time as it
dies from its own activity and takes us with it? This is the question that demands an answer. This answer must lie in concrete actions, not only political ones. Its tendency - at first a symbolic one - will be to tear down the tower of Babel before this collapses upon us. And the resolution for this must be defended against any demand to say first of all what better system we want to replace it with.

We are not yet in a position to tear down the tower. Investments now in progress are not only reinforcing the floors already built, they are massively at work building the next storey. And our efforts to halt this growth are only fragmented: we demonstrate against a particular weapons system, we prevent a nuclear power station here, an airport runway there. In most cases we only delay things. We reduce the speed limit on the motorways a little. But we have to persist. We need at least to consider a great moratorium, a kind of general strike against expansion, the blocking of everything embraced by the word 'development', a pull on the emergency brake. This is the task that the conversion movement has to fulfil above all else, in a whole variety of forms. It must actually achieve the stopping of investment that hostile propaganda already attributes to it, by directing itself even more against sales expectations than against the bulldozers and concrete mixers.

Liberation from deadly, injurious and superfluous labour is the other side of this anti-investment strategy. Even though emancipation is not the immediate slogan here, it is exactly at this point that the possible gain in freedom is to be found. The industrial system and its implications oppress freedom, and not only at the centre. Almost all peoples who have submitted themselves to a force industrialization in the hope of finding freedom at the end of the tunnel have remained stuck at its darkest point. Contrary to a once current idea, freedom is not obtainable through industrialization, but in fact only through the rejection of industrialization. It is pertinent here, of course, that there is in fact no other industrial system than the capitalist one, and that we certainly deceived ourselves in seeing the ultimate cause of its alienation in the capitalist form of industrial progress. Industrialization has since already shown that it can no longer offer any perspective of emancipation simply because it is impossible for all people to achieve. And it has to be halted here in Europe above all, where the industrial system had its start, and where we are particularly susceptible, as also is Japan, to its unforeseen backlash. Unilateral industrial 'disarmament', or at least the transition to a quite different kind of equipment, is the motto here.

Now it is one thing to recognise something like this as a task, even to welcome it. But is it at all possible for human beings to halt a historical dynamic in which they are themselves so deeply enmeshed? Isn't a conversion movement of this kind not simply a mere postulate, corresponding in reality to nothing more than an incommensurable sum of isolated fears and hopes? Won't we all continue to be hurled along on the roundabout? After all, I myself travelled here by plane.

In my view, the problem is more specific. For there have already been several movements of conversion in history, precisely in times of crisis
which were not completely dissimilar to our own. These have always worked with free energies, i.e. energies not tied down in the given institutional context, and in this connection it is not just a matter of counting heads and working out from people's occupations where energies are free and where they are tied. Many people divide their forces. There really are such free energies; the substance is there. That 'one-dimensionality' which Marcuse warned against is even now incomplete. Alternative movements of this kind, for this is what they always were, have succeeded and failed in different ways and to different degrees, i.e. it is impossible to definitively conclude from studying them whether the present effort will be victorious or not. And yet previous crises were always local in character, and the concrete barriers that such movements sought to overcome were not of so absolute a kind as today. These movements didn't run up against factors that are bound up with the very existence of society.

Considered superficially, what is now rapidly crumbling in the Federal Republic is simply the post-war consensus. Generalising a bit beyond the edge of the national stage, it is the fourth Kondratiev wave that is particularly reaching its end in our part of the world, where the population enjoyed a rise in welfare as a substitute for their lost identity. But beneath this lies the end of the perspective of industrial progress in general; even if a new wave of industrialisation is possible, it no longer promises anything, but is simply more threatening (for example, it is even more essential to ban genetic technology than nuclear). The industrial revolution, however, presupposed the Renaissance, and the Renaissance even in name presupposed Graeco-Roman civilisation. The oldest stratum of civilisation involved in the present crisis is that of patriarchy, with ten millenia behind it.

The very complexity and relative indirectness of the answer already shows that all these superimposed formations are forms that overlay a relatively constant substance, the species-nature of the human being, which is not a product of history, but of natural history. Something that has gradually proceeded from this is now reacting upon it, striking through all the superimposed historical strata down to the original basis. All those human energies involved in the evolution of civilisation find themselves more or less implicated in the overall exterminist tendency.

Since this cannot be an accidental result, the correction must also get to the roots. The movement of conversion today must precisely bring about a mutation in the 'genotype' of society. The theologian Johann Baptist Metz called this an anthropological revolution. What does this relate to? European civilisation has certainly discovered the non plus ultra of efficiency (as its admirers call it) in expanded reproduction. But very probably this realises only in an excessive measure something that is present already in our species endowment.

Doesn't the whole progress that led into civilisation have above all the character of material expansion (more heads, more consumption per head)? Even in the earliest religions, aren't the intelligible, the mental forces ultimately deployed for the sake of mastering the external world? And isn't the centre of gravity of all human culture to be found in these 'exosomatic organs' from the stone flint to the computer? People nowadays
speak of the 'exo-centredness' of human nature, quite analogously to the understanding that the ant has its essence not in itself, but in the ant colony as a whole. Whatever previous movements of conversion may have changed, they have not affected this basic text. The next prophet in line has had to begin again by preaching against the normal social life of his time.

In my opinion, we can make clear what the problem is by reference to the ants. If human nature was so involved with the social edifice right from the start as is the case with the ants, there would be no possibility of escape from the blind alley of evolution. As ants, we could not even raise the question of putting our cultural evolution into reverse or correcting it, after it had led us into the Babylonian captivity of our technostructure. As human beings, we are far too ready to agree that we are only ants and as little capable as other species of escaping from an evolutionary impasse, withdrawing from a specialisation that has prospects only in the short term.

Is this really impossible? With our genotype it should be possible. Our cultural specialisation is precisely not biologically inscribed. The ten thousand years of civilisation have not made us incapable, at least not yet, of living without our artificial environment. As opposed to the ant, human individuals are in a position, in certain circumstances which at times are present on a massive scale, of withdrawing the most significant portion of their natural powers from the social edifice and engaging them in new purposes. And there are historic examples for the reconstruction or demolition of enchanting structures, for their disintegration, even for an exodus from them.

If the exosomatic evolution is to be corrected, this is only conceivable with a force not yet disposed of, or at least not yet decisively disposed of, by the civilisation stamped by the last ten thousand years of history. Our genotype is such a force, and it does not doom us to carry round this technostructure like a tortoise its shell. This is a force, and the only force, that stands outside the given historical universe, and yet is a real social force that can be summoned up within society. Human beings are indeed already social beings when they enter into this history, which presents itself, or is recorded as, a history of class struggles. At this point in time they have all the essential capacities and desires that drive them through to today. And as it appears, they have since this point in time become alienated in many respects from their definition, by following the principle that in the Bible is referred to as Mammon.

Before going on, I want to mention one thing; though I only have an intimation here. As I see it, the genotype is that social power present in every human being which the old prophets always evoked under the name of God. God is the alter ego, the 'thou' of our genotype that is always aimed at. The place of God is where the developmental needs of our original nature converge, above all of course an inward place. This is why we can be called from and to this place.

I see in this completely this-sided and inner-worldly connection the reasons why the religious dimension is now making its return, and the fundamental
role it has to play. What religions invariably and timelessly say about God and his/her 'actions' and 'attitudes', the way he/she 'proceeds', seems to me to be directly a pattern containing all those models by which the task, substance and strategy of the conversion movement can be described. Here there are readily translatable categories in order to grasp what I have in mind as the extra-or supra-historical saving power, the substance which bears the concrete and then of course completely historical action. The decisive thing will be the amount of energy that we bring together. This is on the one hand the problem of associating the unbound energies, their bundling together, for which the old political forms are inadequate. More precisely, the question is really that these energies should be at work on all sides, or decentrally, and in the same direction, so that the system they are confronting cannot deploy its forces now here, now there, but is simply overburdened. Coordination is above all else communication, knowledge of one another and also feeling the connecting stream. On the other hand, there is the problem of releasing as many as possible of those energies still tied into the system. The genotype is certainly there, but its best forces may be expropriated and alienated. The energy it can supply in its own interest is quite other than constant. Here it is above all the association also experienced in actions, the social-psychological support, that gives endurance to the new distribution of mental resources.

As far as strategy goes, the strategy that will result from this in the historic context, I will confine myself here to the narrower field of the conversion movement in the metropolises, where the securing of human dignity generally doesn't begin with the struggle for a minimal existence. I am aware that we are working here in conditions of luxury, that a social network covers our uprising which would have difficulty in existing without colonialism. What I have to say is also much abbreviated and incomplete. The basis, as already mentioned, is the progressive disintegration of the social body, as expressed in a decay of the system of values and thus of all institutional authorities. More and more people are either excluded, marginalised, dismissed, or directly motivated to drop out, with either all or part of their energies. This gives rise by necessity to a strategy (by which I don't mean anything like a secretly elaborated and planned plot) that combines two elements: a gradually spreading refusal and a deliberate obstruction. This is not meant as a kind of new discovery, I simply want to draw attention to what is necessary and deliberate in it.

Refusal, above all, means protecting one's own energies from being absorbed, and on top of this it means active withdrawal of energies from the ruling structures, very often backed by an accusation. Refusal of military service through to total non-cooperation is the most striking example of it. I believe that non-political withdrawal is only a temporary moment in this context. One may say that the productive apparatus itself rejects people's energies - unemployment - and that the hippies, alternative people, job-sharers, etc., only help to relieve its burden. But a far more comprehensive trend is involved, also with those who for the time being still remain 'inside'. It is already affecting work motivation as such.
At the political level refusal means the withdrawal of legitimation. The Frankfurter Rundschau of 12 May 1982 quoted a study according to which 66 per cent of young people in North-Rhine Westphalia, and 43 per cent of adults in the Federal Republic as a whole, denied that politicians took decisions in the interest of the people. Still more people are convinced that the big enterprises think only of their profits and not of the well-being of society. 74 per cent of young people in North-Rhine Westphalia and 46 per cent of adult citizens in the whole country recognize naturally enough - given their assessment of the causes - the increasing tendency to resolve conflicts by violence. This means that the system is already near to defeat ideologically.

The crisis of legitimation naturally finds expression also in elections, as the preferred ritual of legitimation. The counter-movement will either boycott elections and/or gain a political foothold in parliament that is conceived right from the start as being there simply to disrupt the normal execution of the 'compulsion of things', to tear away the curtain of justification and expand the space for extra-parliamentary forces to put pressure on the institutions.

Obstruction means restricting the operation of the system by active resistance, starting with the most dangerous of its normal directions of development. The motto for this is selective ungovernability. Specific measure such as the installation of new weapons systems, the construction of nuclear power stations, more and more airports, motorways, new industrial plants, etc., should be made impossible. Actions can stretch from blockades and demonstrations via refusal of taxes to legal obstructions, making each new investment a wearying obstacle course. The most important thing, however, is the relativising of the norms of an achievement society, the undermining of the consensus for expansion.

The administrators of the great machine and their advisers stress the fact that our super-complex society cannot tolerate the shock of disorganisation. Chaos and anarchy must be avoided. What purpose these slogans have, and how relative their truth-content is, has been shown by the political struggles in Poland. Those who demand that the movement should provide detailed recipes for reconstruction in advance can be answered with the words of Goeth's earth spirit: 'You're like the spirit that you grasp/You're not like me'.

Enough people of talent with a reformist orientation are to be found in the institutions and on their margins, for example in the scientific establishments, who are ready to accept compelling impulses from outside and then propose to the establishment a feasible programme of energy conservation or measures for the humanising of work etc. But this is not an affair for the movement itself. This need only supply the impulse, which need not necessarily be refined and adequate to the problem. The main thing is to produce the pressure: then it is always possible to discuss how progress can be made most effectively and avoiding as far possible counter-productive diversions.

The movement must not be seduced into becoming 'constructive' and obeying pre-existing patterns, as long as it still has no influence on the basic
direction. Solidarity in Poland has given us a good example of this, in as much as it refused to take responsibility as long as the hostile apparatus still had its hand on the wheel. The movement in the West must stick still more forcefully to a position of fundamental opposition, as here seduction by the pliability of the institutions is far greater than in the East or South.

What the movement offers that is positive and alternative is not something to be attained within the system, but in opposition to it. Even though the eventual outcome will certainly not be a purist one, the movement must strive to completely cast off the ruling structure. In its actual practice, therefore, its own ideal can be present only as the measure by which actions of obstruction are assessed. It must take shape in forms of behaviour, in methods and means, both inwardly and outwardly. Militancy is not the same as violence. Here in the metropolitan countries, at any rate, everything indicates a strategy of non-violence in the sense of not injuring life on the other side. If we force them to use tanks, then we ourselves make the ideological break-through impossible.

For those involved, the conversion movement itself becomes an adventure, a field for enjoyment of life and self-realisation and identification. The different society, the new state of the world as a goal, is not the ultimate motive of commitment, even though the utopia is very important for the direction as well as for the choice of means. In view of the provocation that the social structure represents for the genotype, the natural human constitution, the goal is as if newly founded by natural right. The human being has a claim to the satisfaction of the basic social needs that our natural history, our pre-historic biological evolution brought with us into civilisation when this began. In the utopias, whose number is legion, a situation is outlined that precisely promises fulfilment to this.

It is of course impossible, in strictly epistemological terms, to really abstract from the present historical existence of the civilised human being, but this does not prohibit the completely necessary concern to distinguish between things that we can dispense with by our nature and things which we cannot dispense with. Graspable units that are to a large degree autonomous and even autarchic with respect to everyday needs, are the ever recurring ideal - an ideal, moreover, that at least in this generalisation is not exclusively designed for industrialised countries. The opposite image is one of large-scale technology and organisation, which are recognised as hostile to individuality, initiative and communication, and where the source of material waste is also to be found. I believe that the resistance of these constants to any critical scathing bears witness to an irrefutable content.

To conclude, and to summarise once again: in East and West and South we are dealing with the different consequences of one and the same challenge, with the formerly unstoppable character of capital accumulation, which however bears with it more than just the dominant social formation of the last two hundred years. In this connection, the economic component that is stressed in the description proves to be only the spearhead of an
overall development proceeding from European civilisation, which must unquestionably be corrected if we are to have a future as a species.

The industrialisation-to-death of the world is pursued by an institutional complex of competing camps and states, firms and corporations, which can do nothing else but drive forward the criminal process in its direction. There is an international priesthood, including the so-called elites of the Third World, which directly serves the Moloch.

The employers' associations and trade unions in the metropolises also pursue one and the same goal externally, for all their antagonistic cooperation. If a shipyard in my own city of Bremen is threatened with the loss of an order to a Danish shipyard, then all the political and corporate forces unite in demanding state subsidies so that it will be the German shipbuilding industry that increases surplus capacity for sea transport. Let people in other countries go without work! Outside the European borders no consequences of export strategies are foreseen - there things can take their own course. No one wants the starving millions who are the natural result of the logic of the world market.

The official structures occupy themselves incessantly with military and industrial competition, with the spread of scientific progress and the stereotyped commercial culture across the whole world, and anyone who is forced to live on this only dies from it a bit more each day.

There are various seemingly irrational responses in vogue: the New Age Movement or the Acquarian Conspiracy. One thing about them is correct: what is required really is a world-embracing counter-movement, and there is no Archimedean point within the existing institutions which could be used to bring about even the smallest change of course. Without forces that attack from outside, the atomic holocaust is not to be staved off. It is not a question of the fate of governments on the one hand, movements on the other, not a question of impartial prognoses of their respective chances. What is at stake is the fate of the world, including the fate of these impartial umpires.

I would like to return finally to the point that we must direct ourselves to the real and in no way ethereal function that the prophetic invocation of God always had in apocalyptic situations: as the authoritative and visionary appeal to a radical change of consciousness, to a break with the death-dealing habits that compel us to play along with everything so that tomorrow there will still be power for the electric shaver. The question is to give this appeal a content, character and style that is in keeping with the times. If we have come to view a certain kind of enlightenment and science as contemptible, I still believe that we should act in a manner that in no way rejects the legacy of reason.


FROM THE OUTSIDE LOOKING IN
EXPERIENCES IN BAREFOOT ECONOMIES

by Manfred Max-Neef 1/

Manfred A Max-Neef is a Chilean economist, founder and Managing Director of the Centre for Study and Promotion of Urban, Rural and Development Alternatives—CEPAUR. This institution was created in December 1981, and is largely dedicated to the re-orientation of development in terms of stimulating forms of local self-reliance and satisfying fundamental human needs, and, more generally, to advocating a return to the human scale.

Max-Neef taught at the University of California (Berkeley) in the early sixties, and later served as a Visiting Professor in a number of American and Latin American universities. He has worked in projects in Latin America, as an expert in social development with the Pan American Union, as a general economist with FAO and as a Project Manager with ILO, and has written extensively on development alternatives. Although he has devoted most of the last 15 years to the promotion of development alternatives in urban and rural poverty-stricken areas, including Indian communities, he dedicates part of his time to music and to the study of medieval thought and history.

In this volume, Max-Neef relates two of his experiences in 'barefoot economics'. In his own words: 'The first is about the miseries of Indian and black peasants in the Sierra and coastal jungle of Ecuador. The second is about the miseries of craftsmen and artisans in a small region of Brazil. The former is, in a way, the story of a success that failed. The latter is, in a way, the story of a failure that succeeded. Both refer to a peoples' quest for self-reliance. Both are lessons in economics as practised at the human scale'. He points out that the purpose of his book 'is neither to propose a general theory nor to make an academic contribution. It is simply a book about life, where human facts and feelings have replaced abstract statistics'. He has included, however, some theoretical interludes that allow for a better understanding of his guiding philosophy.

The book was written in Uppsala, where Max-Neef stayed during the spring and summer of 1981 as a guest author of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.

1/ (Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1982) - 2, Ovreslottsgatan 575220 Uppsala, Sweden.
I

1. Quand les forces de gauche, il y a des décennies, menaient en Europe occidentale le combat contre l'ordre politique et économique établi, elles refusaient évidemment, en attendant la victoire, de se soumettre à cet ordre. Tout s'opposait au compromis et à la soumission: l'idéologie ou les programmes, le discours, la continuité et la diversité des batailles, les réponses aux aspirations des forces laborieuses. Tout, y compris les structures des mouvements eux-mêmes, notamment les mouvements socialistes et syndicaux, préfigurait l'ordre voulu qui devait être l'alternative à l'ordre établi.

Là où ces forces de gauche accédèrent au pouvoir, elles réussirent à mettre en place les composantes de l'ordre nouveau: suffrage universel, généralisation de l'enseignement, organisation nouvelle du travail, de ses conditions, de la production, des rapports sociaux, de la distribution, de la protection sanitaire et sociale, développement des sciences et des techniques, renaissance culturelle, réaménagements progressifs et parfois profonds des clivages sociaux, promotion de la femme - toutes composantes de l'ordre nouveau, ordre de justice, de sécurité, d'enthousiasme, d'espérance.

Des rapports nouveaux s'établirent progressivement au sein des sociétés concernées engendrant des forces nouvelles, plus larges, moins elitistes, nourrissant de vigueur et de continuité la dynamique de progrès et de justice. L'irréversibilité de cette dynamique n'était plus une illusion malgré l'agressivité des forces conservatrices, malgré les possibilités que la démocratie nouvelle offrait à ces dernières de reprendre le pouvoir - ce qui arriva souvent et parfois pour de longues périodes durant lesquelles les progrès furent freinés, mais les grandes réalisations des forces de gauches exploitées à outrance. Dans de nombreux cas, ce fut le début de l'émiétement de ces dernières, leur affaiblissement, et parfois aussi leur effacement devant des dictatures impitoyables au service d'un capitalisme sans mesure ou d'oligarchies sans vision et sans conscience des périls.

2. Et, comme on dit, ce furent de multiples 'traversées du désert' pour les forces de gauche, incarnées par des partis socialistes et des syndicats, qui semblaient ambitionner d'engendrer un modèle politique et socio-économique à égal degré d'antinomie ou de différence du modèle conservateur et du modèle soviétique. L'irréversibilité de la dynamique se figea; les traversées du désert inspirèrent trop souvent aux socialistes non pas une vision nouvelle pour un renouveau, mais des révisions sans remords, des compromis et, le rapport des forces aidant, des coalitions gouvernementales avec les forces adverses.

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Autant d'attitudes qui aggravèrent l'impuissance des socialistes, notamment à relever les défis de leurs propres politiques, de leurs immenses réalisations, de la grande espérance dont ils avaient réussi à irriguer de larges et profondes couches des sociétés, non seulement en Europe occidentale mais aussi dans le monde des luttes de libération.

De plus, et ce n'est pas l'élément le moins décisif, ils se sont laissé piéger par le complexe des "impératifs stratégiques", agrémenté de l'illusion de participer à un rééquilibrage planétaire qui serait le catalyseur ou même le prolongement d'un fallacieux rééquilibrage des forces ou des conceptions politiques à l'intérieur de leurs frontières...

3. Et on les voit aujourd'hui, ici et là, quand ils se réaccèdent au gouvernement après de longues ou moyennes périodes d'opposition, on les voit tituber, pris qu'ils sont dans les pesanteurs dont le pouvoir précédent a farci les structures politiques, sociales, économiques, éducatives, culturelles, financières et de gestion.

Et c'est encore une traversée du désert, non plus des dirigeants mais des grandes idées du socialisme, de ses dynamiques bouillonnant des ferments d'un ordre nouveau, bien nouveau cette fois parce que, inévitablement, universel; un ordre de justice, de sécurité, d'enthousiasme, d'espérance et de coopération.

Les traversées du désert et leurs conséquences, au-delà de certaines apparences, ont contribué à engendrer le concept et la réalité des superpuissances au niveau planétaire, ce qui, au plan intérieur, a consolidé les forces qui se nourrissent de cette situation pour barrer la route à toute velléité de construction d'un ordre nouveau. De même que furent engendrées de multiples forces dites marginales où s'entrechoquent des convictions lumineuses ou des idéologies "compensatoires": écologie, pacifisme ou violence, terrorisme organisé, parfois se nourrissant de services secrets et peut-être alimentant les marchands d'armes et d'illusions.

II

4. De "l'autre côté des mers", dans ce qu'on appelle le Tiers Monde, et notamment dans les pays qui subirent longtemps les férules coloniales, souvent la démarche des forces nationalistes, de résistance et de lutte de libération recèle des similitudes avec la démarche des socialistes en Europe, étant entendu que ces forces nationalistes étaient en théorie porteuses de l'alternative à l'ordre établi.

Mais l'idéal de libération, porté par les masses populaires, a souvent été récupéré en fin de course par des "élites" politiques auxquelles se sont ralliées à point nommé les catégories sociales privilégiées tout au long des périodes coloniales. C'est qu'entretemps, ces élites étaient à leur tour récupérées, sournoisement ou non, par les tenants du colonialisme qui, paternellement, les couvraient de flatteries spécifiques: elles étaient réalistes, modérées, sages, compétentes même ... Préparant ainsi leurs propres opinions publiques, les tenants du colonialisme voulaient, par cette récupération, prévenir toute rupture autre que formelle avec les pays qu'ils exploitaient et dominaient. Pour eux, il fallait réussir un développement
historique arrogant et bien lourd de conséquences: la naissance du néocolonialisme au sein des mouvements de libération.

Cependant la vitalité des masses populaires, la vigueur de leurs luttes, imposèrent les indépendances quand ce ne fut pas, pour les pouvoirs coloniaux, l'acceptation de l'évolution du monde et le choix du moindre mal... Et quand la roue de l'histoire commença effectivement à tourner, et que s'engagea formellement le processus de décolonisation, les heures des choix sonnèrent vite pour les nouvelles directions politiques des pays qui venaient de retrouver l'indépendance. Celles-ci ne tardèrent pas à démontrer qu'elles préféraient le "réalisme" de leurs oppresseurs aux aspirations de leurs peuples. Tout comme les forces de gauche en Europe, ces directions politiques furent, le plus souvent, prises par le vertige de l'héritage, par la peur des ruptures pourtant si vitales pour le long terme. Et quand, ici et là, des redressements s'imposèrent par diverses formes de luttes populaires, des combats de la jeunesse, ou parfois seulement au "hasard" d'un court changement de rapports de force à l'intérieur des nouveaux pouvoirs, quand ces redressements s'imposèrent, les renversements ne tardèrent pas à être opérés souvent dans la violence, la répression, les reniements.

Des renversements voulus et réalisés par les pouvoirs nouveaux pris dans les filets des nouvelles classes, des classes privilégiées anciennes, par tous ceux qui n'imaginaient plus leur identité que dans les alliances avec telle ou telle grande puissance, en tout cas avec telle ou telle ancienne métropole. Des renversements voulus aussi et soutenus par ces mêmes puissances, ces mêmes métropoles qui, allergiques à toute alternative à l'ordre établi chez elles, acceptaient encore moins tout nouvel ordre dans les pays redevenus indépendants. Ces deux refus n'étaient qu'un seul, celui de la construction d'un nouvel ordre international fondé sur la coopération pour la justice, le progrès et la paix pour tous.

5. Là aussi, dans nombre de pays du Tiers Monde, ce fut, c'est la traversée du désert de la grande ambition née durant les luttes de libération, la grande ambition d'établir un ordre fondé sur de nouveaux rapports sociaux, la grande ambition de contribuer avec persévérance et sérieusement à un changement des rapports de forces dans le monde, c'est-à-dire à l'établissement d'un ordre international répondant aux exigentes évolutions des hommes, des sociétés, des cultures, des prises de conscience.

Les tenants du pouvoir dans ces pays trouvèrent plus commode d'échanger cette ambition contre l'adhésion des privilégiés et des candidats aux privilèges contre aussi leur propre soumission aux stratégies des grandes puissances et de celles encore considérées comme telles. Les conséquences en furent, en sont, la croissance extravertie, la répression ou les ruses aussi impitoyables que grotesques. C'est ainsi que surgirent aussi des forces dites marginales où se mêlent convictions religieuses, attachements ethniques ou idéologies aussi émiettées qu'exacerbées.

Ces émergences ou ces réveils donnent encore aux pouvoirs établis le prétexte de pratiquer l'amalgame au détriment des forces réelles, expressions authentiques de la culture et des aspirations populaires.
Le spectacle n'est pas gai. L'Europe est plus ou moins en panne; toujours et encore prise dans ses pesanteurs, sa crise, ses terrorismes et ceux des autres. Les pouvoirs socialistes titubent ou bien ont recours à des thérapeutiques fatiguées. Le Tiers Monde ne compte pas moins de six guerres ou guerrias, des récupérations, des agressions sans fin; dans de nombreux cas, les pouvoirs établis semblent avoir trouvé refuge dans le répression, dans la dépendance.

Les superpuissances, par delà leurs escarmouches verbales ou non, interviennent partout, apprécient, jugent, condamnent, alimentent les guérillas ou les contre-guérillas, se promènent dans les mers et l'espace, accumulent les armements. Partout d'ailleurs, le seul indicateur de "développement" demeuré positif est celui relatif à la fabrication, à la commercialisation et à la consommation des armements.

Le système des Nations Unies dans son ensemble, qui a joué un rôle si important dans la prise de conscience universelle de l'impératif d'un nouvel ordre international, ce système accumule les impuissances comme il accumule les résolutions, les chartes, les déclarations tellement dédaignées qu'il semble transformer la prise de conscience en angoisse et même, la démesure des superpuissances et de leurs satellites aidant, en désespoir.

7. Ceux qui, un peu partout dans le monde, voulaient et veulent encore croire que les ordres intérieurs et l'ordre international devaient changer dans la convergence et sous les pressions morales, économiques, culturelles des pouvoirs nouveaux dans le Tiers Monde, des luttes et des pouvoirs socialistes en Europe; du système des Nations Unies, ceux-là subissent toutes les tentations du pessimisme et de l'abandon. Et ni la survie de l'Internationale socialiste, ni celle du mouvement des non-alignés ne réussissent à alléger le poids de cette tentation.

L'Internationale socialiste incarne les velléités, les compromis, les pesanteurs, les pièges stratégiques, tous éléments qui nourrissent la paralysie des mouvements socialistes; pour plus de confort, elle proclame qu'elle n'est, après tout, qu'un club... concept noble... qui inhibe l'exigence si vitale d'une réflexion révolutionnaire sur des fondements nouveaux à trouver au socialisme, à la démocratie, aux moyens d'action. Le mouvement des non-alignés compte nombre d'états plus marqués par leurs alliances que par leur indépendance; pour certains même, le non-alignement devient le refus de s'aligner sur les aspirations de leurs peuples. On dirait que le mouvement se contente de survivre, impuissant qu'il semble demeurer de devenir un instrument politique de première grandeur dans la lutte pour un nouvel ordre politique et économique, une force vitale pour la défense et la consolidation du développement, de la coopération et de la paix.

Ainsi s'évapore lentement mais plutôt sûrement le rêve de ceux qui voyaient dans la conjugaison progressive jusqu'à l'unité des actions du mouvement socialiste international et du mouvement des non-alignés, tous deux rénovés et revitalisés, la naissance du processus d'un ordre nouveau pour le développement, pour la paix.
8. Que faire? Oui, une fois de plus, que faire sinon, en premier lieu, tout faire justement pour universaliser le refus actif de la guerre qui s'impose comme l'éventualité la plus menaçante dans l'évolution actuelle du monde. Tout faire pour ne pas renoncer à ce rêve d'unir dans la course à la paix le mouvement socialiste international et le mouvement de non-alignés, la course à la paix dont l'audace serait d'engager de vastes programmes de coopération pour le développement du Tiers Monde et pour la libération des peuples du monde industriel de la crise et des forces qui l'attirent et l'exploitent.

La course à la paix, c'est aussi l'obligation stricte du respect total de tous les droits politiques, économiques, culturels des peuples et des citoyens partout. C'est l'ouverture sur tous les mouvements nouveaux suscités et par les évolutions du monde et par les aveuglements des pouvoirs actuels; l'ouverture sur les réflexions, les actions de tous ceux, si nombreux heureusement aujourd'hui, qui se situent et militent à leur façon en dehors de tout système officiel, national ou international. Tout faire pour enrichir, diversifier et maintenir à un haut degré de vitalité tous les moyens et les potentialités engagés dans la course à la paix, au développement, à la vie.

Tout faire enfin pour assurer une relève vivante, capable de réparer les manquements des forces en principe porteuses d'idéal, de progrès et de paix, et de se dresser dans l'assurance de la victoire face aux volontés de puissance et de guerre.

Les mouvements existent, divers, riches en énergie et en force de réflexion et d'action: les jeunes, les femmes, les croyants, les écologistes authentiques, les pacifistes, les associations, les peuples du Tiers Monde, toutes les forces de gauche en Europe et ailleurs, les bases populaires en tous cas.

Pour le développement, pour la coopération libératrice, pour la paix, l'alternative est là. Elle vit, elle s'organise, elle avance.
POUR UNE SORTIE A GAUCHE DE LA CRISE

par Samir Amin *

1. La crise constitue un défi global pour les forces de la gauche, tant dans les pays industriels que dans les pays du Tiers Monde. Celles-ci seront-elles capables de développer un programme crédible et articulé, susceptible d'une mise en œuvre efficace, offrant une alternative aux politiques d'offensive du capital dont l'objectif est d'exploiter l'affaiblissement des forces ouvrières et populaires pour imposer une Restructuration globale, nationale et mondiale, commandée par le seul critère que connaisse le capital: la rentabilité financière de l'investissement?

1.1 Dans les pays capitalistes industriels, l'offensive du capital est construite sur trois principes: (i) le rétablissement d'un volant de chômage permettant la Restructuration industrielle aux frais de la classe ouvrière, affaiblie et divisée (emplois stables et main d'œuvre déqualifiée, femmes, jeunes et immigrés etc...); (ii) la priorité aux choix renforçant la compétitivité internationale, aiguisée par la crise; et (iii) la priorité à la lutte contre l'inflation, elle-même moyen d'éviter la détérioration des positions dans la compétitivité internationale.

1.2 Dans le Tiers Monde, cette même offensive du capital s'assigne l'objectif de soumettre les choix nationaux à la logique de la transnationalisation du capital. Les efforts accomplis au cours des décennies 50 et 60 pour construire ici des économies nationales sont démantelés au profit de la priorité rétablie à la soumission à la logique des "avantages comparatifs immédiats" dans une division internationale du travail maximant le profit du capital mondial. La Banque Mondiale, le FMI et le consortium des banques prêteuses aux pays du Tiers Monde constituent l'instrument de cette politique de "recompradorisation" des pays qui ont tenté de compléter leur libération politique par une "libération économique".

1.3 Avec des nuances spécifiques, l'offensive du capital tente d'intégrer l'Est (URSS, Europe Orientale, Chine) dans ce schéma global de réorganisation. Force lui est, cependant, de respecter ici l'autonomie du facteur politique, en dépit de la crise profonde de certaines économies du monde communiste (difficulté de passer de l'accumulation extensive à l'accumulation intensive dans le respect des modalités étatistes du système, endettement extérieur etc...).

1.4 Cette offensive globale du capital, loin d'atténuer les conflits entre les États (Superpuissances, Europe - Japon - États-Unis, conflits avec les pays du Tiers Monde ...), en aiguise la violence et la tentative de rétablissement de l'hégémonie US sur le système engendre de nombreuses résistances.

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L'offensive du capital traduit la force inexorable que constitue pour celui-ci l'inscription de ses stratégies dans la logique de la "mondialisation", l'interdépendance et l'interpénétration des économies ayant atteint un niveau considérablement plus élevé qu'à la veille de la guerre de 1939-1945. Cette soumission à la loi de la mondialisation dépouille les peuples et les classes travailleuses de toute autonomie possible et réduit leur marge de choix à néant. Aussi est-elle accompagnée d'une offensive idéologique sans pareille: l'objectif du socialisme est proclamé défunt, les rêves de 1968 absurdes, etc...

2. Les forces politiques traditionnelles de la gauche sont-elles démunies de moyens de réagir à cette offensive?

2.1 Dans les pays capitalistes industriels, la réponse à la crise précédente avait été celle du keynesianisme (redistribution du revenu et augmentation de la demande globale par la dépense publique dans le respect des règles de la rentabilité financière). On peut discuter la question de savoir si cette réponse avait été réellement efficace dans les années 30 ou si elle avait été seulement un trompe l'oeil, comme celle de savoir si les "replis impériaux" qui l'ont accompagnée n'ont pas été un élément de la cristallisation des blocs conduisant à la guerre, etc... Toujours est-il que cette réponse paraît aujourd'hui, en tout état de cause, impossible.

La tentative du Gouvernement Mitterand s'est ici soldée par un échec: la relance n'a pas eu lieu mais, par contre, la détérioration de la balance extérieure est devenue inquiétante. Le repliement sur des politiques restrictives plus proches de celles des autres gouvernements de l'Occident (y compris de gouvernements socialistes comme cela fut le cas avec Schmidt en Allemagne) sonne-t-il le glas de "l'alternative de gauche"?

On aurait tort de s'en tenir là. Les politiques de droite, monétaristes entre autres, condamment les classes travailleuses à supporter tout le poids de la crise; et les promesses que "demain cela ira mieux" s'avèrent creuses. Le corps électoral a déjà répondu à cet échec par les victoires de la gauche en France, en Suède, en Autriche, en Grèce, en Espagne. S'agira-t-il de victoires sans lendemain, la gauche du Gouvernement étant amenée à faire, avec mollesse, ce que la droite propose?

Il est donc urgent de réexaminer les propositions d'une sortie à gauche de la crise. N'est-il donc pas possible d'envisager une réponse plus radicale aux problèmes de la société: l'expansion de la sphère des activités non marchandes (services sociaux), la déconcentration de certaines activités productrices etc..., autrement dit l'expansion de la sphère sociale au détriment de celle régie exclusivement par la valeur? Bien entendu, cela exige d'aller "au-delà du keynésianisme".

Il existe déjà des éléments de réponses qui vont dans ce sens, par exemple: (i) le programme de la Social Démocratie suédoise de transfert de la propriété du capital à la société, qui pourrait servir de base à une "autre politique" industrielle et sociale, davantage détachée de la rentabilité financière; (ii) certains éléments de la vision des Verts en Allemagne, préconisant la décentralisation d'activités économiques et sociales;
(iii) le programme du Pasok en Grèce, et la perspective qu'il propose d'un autre type de relations avec le Sud (point sur lequel on reviendra) etc... Bien entendu, aucun de ces éléments de réponse n'est par lui-même sans ambiguïté. Le débat étatisation/socialisation non étatiste restera central et complexe, comme le débat autour de l'autogestion. Une extension du secteur public n'est pas une garantie automatique de non soumission aux exigences de la rentabilité financière dans l'esprit d'une compétitivité stricte; l'industrialisme étatiste peut être mis au service d'une politique agressive à l'égard des partenaires du système mondial, etc...

2. Dans les pays du Tiers Monde, la gauche, c'est-à-dire l'aile radicale du mouvement de libération nationale, avait développé au cours des années 50 et 60 un ensemble de politiques destinées à asseoir l'autonomie économique nationale: réformes agraires et coopératives, nationalisations et industrialisation. Ces politiques avaient souvent atteint leurs limites historiques avant même que la crise n'en rende la poursuite impossible. L'insuffisance de la dimension populaire de cette politique (marquée par l'exploitation du monde rural, le modèle d'industrialisation couteux, le parasitisme bureaucratique etc...) est sans doute à l'origine de ces limites historiques: la crise alimentaire et financière, l'urbanisation incontrôlée et le chômage massif étaient là avant même que, sous la pression de la crise, la poursuite du modèle ne soit devenue impossible.

Le contre-modèle de l'inscription du développement dans la transnationalisation, proposé inlassablement par la Banque Mondiale, paraissait plus prometteur, en dépit souvent de ses aspects sociaux et politiques négatifs. Mais il est lui-même entré en crise lorsqu'il s'est avéré que sa poursuite exigeait un endettement extérieur illimité, comme la faillite financière du Mexique, et celle qui menace d'une manière générale les NICs l'illustre.

Pourtant, en dépit de cet échec, le capital dominant n'a rien à proposer d'autre que la soumission sans restriction à la priorité absolue de la rentabilité financière dans l'interdépendance, au bénéfice des maîtres du système.

Si, en Occident, la réponse à l'échec de l'offensive du capital se marque parfois par le retour électorale de la gauche au pouvoir, ici ce sont des explosions populaires qui signalent la faillite sociale du projet. Les limites historiques de la gauche sont ici à l'origine des renouveaux populistes à contenu ambigu, souvent sous les drapeaux de l'intégrisme religieux...

3. La crise révèle donc au Nord comme au Sud la contradiction flagrante qui oppose la soumission à la seule logique de la réorganisation au profit du capital dominant et l'intérêt des nations, des peuples et des classes travailleuses.

3.1 Il est urgent de reconnaître que la soumission aux exigences de la transnationalisation économique est incompatible avec une politique de sortie progressiste de la crise. Cela est vrai au Nord comme au Sud.

Au Nord, l'expansion du secteur social au détriment de celui régul par la seule valeur est en contradiction avec la recherche à tout prix de la
compétitivité extérieure maximale. Elle implique donc, sélectivement, une protection sans laquelle les programmes mentionnés plus haut seraient vidés de tout contenu.

Au Sud, la construction d'un État national et populaire reste la seule voie alternative à la compradorisation.

3.2 Cette double reconnaissance, qui peut être le substrat d'un renouveau de l'internationalisme, signale la maturité à l'échelle mondiale d'un dépassement du capitalisme.

Au Nord, la société n'est plus celle des années 30. Les classes moyennes de type ancien (petits producteurs etc...) pouvaient alors être alliées de la classe ouvrière dans des fronts populaires, à condition que ceux-ci, sans s'assigner l'objectif de transformations sociales profondes, puissent les unifier, par exemple pour la défense de la démocratie (contre le fascisme qui faisait appel aux mêmes classes moyennes victimes de la crise). Aujourd'hui, les nouvelles classes moyennes, salariées, peuvent partager avec la classe ouvrière, des aspirations qui dépassent le capitalisme (les mouvements de femmes, l'écologie, etc... n'en témoignent-ils pas?).

Au Sud, l'alliance populaire "ouvrière et paysanne" s'était forgée contre le vieux colonialisme direct et éventuellement contre les anciennes classes dominantes agraires. Dans cette alliance nationale, la composante bourgeoise se trouvait renforcée par les aspirations "anti-féodales" de la paysannerie. Aujourd'hui, l'alliance populaire entre directement en conflit avec les forces qui tentent d'imposer la mondialisation. Il est évident, par exemple, qu'une stratégie de développement agricole destinée à assurer l'autonomie alimentaire nationale, fondée sur la petite exploitation paysanne, soutenue par une industrialisation appropriée et des termes de l'échange internes villes-campagnes favorables, n'est pas le choix du capital dominant, qui ne peut envisager ici que la koulakisation et l'intervention massive de l'agribusiness contre les paysans.

3.3 La mise en oeuvre des programmes de sortie à gauche de la crise, au Nord et au Sud, implique aussi d'autres relations Nord-Sud que celles qui prévalent.

L'échec du NOEI et des négociations globales n'est pas surprenant. S'inscrivant dans la stricte logique de la mondialisation ("l'interdépendance"), ces négociations ne pouvaient que cristalliser les positions nationales contradictoires des partenaires inégaux et masquer les options sociales alternatives internes. La poursuite de ce type de "solution" risque de décevoir de plus en plus, et de faire tomber dans les voeux pieux, par exemple d'un keynésianisme à l'échelle mondiale.

Les gouvernements de gauche du Nord ne peuvent pas ignorer le Sud et s'aligner de fait sur les stratégies du complexe USA-Banque Mondiale-FMI-Consor-tium des Banques qui représente le capital financier à l'échelle mondiale, quitte à nuancer leur alignement par une réthorique "tiers mondiste" comme on le voit parfois. Les gouvernements populaires du Sud peuvent difficilement envisager de se retirer dans une quasi-autarcie nationale, et ne
peuvent plus compter, comme ils ont pu le croire (à tort ou à raison), sur l'alternative de l'alliance soviétique.

Il y a donc un intérêt commun à envisager, sur une base sélective, une nouvelle coopération Nord-Sud qui, si elle est en conflit avec la mondialisation sous la houlette du capital financier, pourrait renforcer les dépassements du capitalisme et les constructions populaires ici et là. Le contenu, les objectifs et les modalités de cette nouvelle coopération doivent être discutés et envisagés dans un esprit créatif.

4. La sortie à gauche de la crise appelle aussi à une discussion des rapports à l'Est.

L'offensive du capital se fonde sur un chantage plaçant les rapports Est-Ouest (en fait USA - URSS) au centre de la stratégie et soumettant les rapports intra-Ouest et Ouest-Sud à cette logique militaire.

Le ralliement atlantiste, que l'on pourrait discuter sur d'autres terrains (l'équilibre militaire URSS-USA...), laisse peu d'espace à une politique européenne autonome, vis-à-vis du Sud (comme les conflits du Moyen Orient, d'Afrique et d'ailleurs l'illustrent). Il envisage les rapports Nord-Sud comme complément de ceux de la confrontation Est-Ouest et contribue, par là-même, à faire du Sud le champ de cette confrontation. Il annule aussi tout espoir d'ouverture d'un espace de réforme dans l'Europe de l'Est et accule ainsi davantage à la confrontation apocalyptique.

Ce sont là aussi des questions à débattre plus sérieusement qu'on ne l'a peut-être fait jusqu'ici dans la gauche, au Nord, au Sud et à l'Est.

5. En conclusion, il importe d'examiner l'ensemble de ces questions dans un esprit d'ouverture, sans renoncer aux positions des uns et des autres, à leurs arguments et à leurs fondements théoriques et idéologiques, mais sans polémiques inutiles.

On part de l'hypothèse qu'il est possible d'aller "contre les lois spontanées" du capitalisme. Certains ne manqueront pas de penser qu'il est impossible d'agir contre les exigences de la mondialisation par laquelle cette contrainte absolue se manifeste aujourd'hui. Mais n'est-ce pas là renoncer à la liberté qui constitue peut-être le commun dénominateur par lequel la gauche, se posant en force de transformation, se distingue de la droite, force de conservation?

Une solution à gauche de la crise, qui n'est pas facile, même à imaginer, encore moins gagnée d'avance, n'ouvrirait-elle pas : (i) un espace d'autonomie populaire pour l'amorce d'un dépassement du capitalisme au Nord; (ii) un espace d'autonomie permettant d'avancer la construction nationale et populaire au Sud; (iii) et peut-être un espace facilitant les avancées réformistes à l'Est (et à partir de là, doit-on espérer voir progressivement gommé le grand schisme qui, à partir de 1917, a brisé le mouvement ouvrier et socialiste mondial)?

Peut-on espérer davantage? Y a-t-il plus urgent à l'ordre du jour d'un renouveau internationaliste?
UNDER CONDITIONS OF HUMANQUAKE

An interview with Robert Jungk*

Your current work is centred on the new peace movement as a movement for social transformation. Would you talk about that?

Want I want to point out is that it is not a one-goal movement, but actually part of a movement that not only aims at peace, but that also tries to change society and shows that in this kind of society peace is impossible. It will more and more have to make links with the ecological movement - ecology being one of the causes of war - and with the women's movement, male domination also being one of the causes of war because our world is run by men and male values. It is linked to a high degree with the movement against all social and economic injustices.

This movement has many facets, for instance the music movement amongst young people. The movement for eating different kinds of food and not the poisoned food most people have to eat. The people who are fighting against the stress of modern life. There are many women and children, and men too, who just can't take it any longer. It is not only a peace movement, it is a longing for community, for a new language because the old language has been corrupted and doesn't express anything any more. I feel one of the great sicknesses of our time is that of isolation and loneliness. These movements give occasion for people to find each other.

More and more these movements will be nourished by people out of work. I feel the unemployed could have a special function, they shouldn't just be used as fuel for the fire. That is the communist point of view; the more unemployment the more restlessness there will be. I think that is a poor using of people.

People out of work are, in a certain way - and this will sound shocking to some - in a privileged position because they are no longer chained to the capitalist production machine. They have more time, they can think and act in ways which may be beneficial for society, if they have enough motivation. One of the tasks of the peace movement is to provide that motivation. To show them for instance that they could set up alternative lifestyles and communities where they could live in a more modest way. There is a beginning of this in Denmark. People who are unemployed can join solar communities and work on the development of collectors etc. They could also get more information and education because people who are out of work have the time to read, listen and discuss. They should be able to get a little extra money by doing these things. I feel this is so important - that the victims of the systems will be the first ones to lay foundations for a world where such victimisation will not exist any more.

* Peace News for Nonviolent Revolution, No 2177, September 1982
I call these movements "Humanquake", because I think the word "revolution" is too weak. It's like you have an earthquake.

From the point of view of the people who are running our world, if you live in conditions of humanquake you can't any longer site your very vulnerable technologies in quake regions. They know this about earthquakes but they still site nuclear plants, for instance, in regions where you have a humanquake. You saw it in Iran. One can easily imagine in regions with nuclear power plants, if you have a humanquake the station will no longer be running properly because some of the people will run away, or the power lines may be cut.

This whole high technology is a very vulnerable technology. I think it is inevitable that you will have sabotage of the industrial complexes, be it military or civil technology. The vulnerability of these apparatuses lies in the fact that in order for them to function at all they have to be under conditions of extreme quiet. The smallest disturbance makes it difficult for them to function, be it the communications systems or the power and water lines that are disturbed.

It is also probable that people working inside these military and civil complexes will begin to revolt. The people who are running the system cannot be sure of the people working in it. They try to screen them but this doesn't make much difference. I've talked to people who worked at the Three Mile Island plant at Harrisburg, and there was a raging conflict inside the plant, which had partly to do with who would have greater influence. They have two different security and safety set-ups, and they fought each other. When a technological enterprise comes more under conditions of siege, people inside these fortresses get very nervous, very exitable. There are two possible outcomes: either people just defect, or they run amok and say "Well, let's do something". I'm afraid of the hardliners there who may say "Let's fire a nuke", to do something.

The whole of military and civil big technology forgets the psychological determinants. After all, it is still human beings that are running all this, and how much stress they can take is limited, which is never considered. They try to automate, but you still have to have human beings.

I feel that what I call humanquake - which is actually a quake of the nerves and soul, not only a political quake - goes beyond the limits of what people can take. And this is what we have to look at as the crisis deepens. Peace and disarmament aren't just questions of morality or of strategy, but a question of: will people go back from a direction where events are uncontrollable because of human weakness - the human factor?

There is also the opposite disastrous direction, which you have just touched on and wrote about in The Nuclear State. Forces within the governments and ruling cliques are cutting down on labour to produce a labour elite with white coats running the system - but can they be bought off?

This is true, and it is increasingly true, even in the Third World where small elites are surrounded by millions of people out of work and hungry. You
have this development towards a fortress society, with the elites getting smaller. But the big question mark is - and I know the people inside the fortress are afraid of this - how reliable and unaffected will people remain if everyone around is contesting them? After all, they have to go home, they have a family and children, they live in a community. For instance, I've been told that some of the Windscale workers asked for a special five per cent increase in wages because of their unpopularity in the community.

I know that the highest proportion of protestors in our movement come from the families of managers, and are just appalled at what their fathers are doing. They bring opposition into the home. I think that the real revolution will start from the top under pressure from below. The dissentions within the ruling clique will become larger and become very violent. This kind of in-fighting will ruin any kind of control. This happened at the end of the Third Reich with the story of Hitler in the bunker. They were still trying to run the Third Reich but in the end couldn't, with all the internal dissentions - the fights for succession and over policy. This is inevitable. If you have small elite groups under pressure you will see that they can never hold.

You have been talking about the system being very complex and technologically vulnerable and saying that any attempt to hit that vulnerability puts the whole system in crisis. This sort of attack will produce fear and hence in-fighting within the stressful system. Couldn't we all get blown up with it?

How can we deal with this problem?

I've only talked about the inevitable fall-down and destruction of the system. Now it is very important for the peace movement not only to work on the negative, critical and agressive aspects, but also to prepare contingency plans, other models of what could be done, so that if you survive the turmoil you are not left with empty hands. What has usually happened in revolutions, and it happened in the Russian revolution, is that people take power but the old structures are still there, and the people move into the old structures and repeat in a different style what had gone before.

I have advocated for a long time that we, as a movement towards the transformation of society, have a groundswell of people sitting together and thinking about a different kind of world. Not people who write about it, but people who do it themselves. For twenty years I have run "Future Workshops". I sit down with people and address a certain problem, say schools, urban problems, the peace movement, economic problems or family problems. There are four phases and it's a dialectical process.

First, everybody says critical things about the subject under discussion, then there is a weighting process where you say what problems seems the most important. Second, you have a brainstorming session where you invent new solutions and zero in on a number of proposals that have been made, and work them out into projects. In the third phase you talk about the possibilities of making it happen: What are the existing structures? What could you do to get around them? Fourth, you put it into practice. There will be conditions where you cannot do it now, you have to wait for the breakdown of the system, but you have your plan. It is a plan that has not been
formulated by some leader, guru or academic, but by people from below.

One of the worst things we, including the Left, have done is make people passive. We are part of that, and another elite. I have found in running the workshops that when people themselves formulate ideas they do not necessarily come up with new ones, but the difference is that they have found them, not me. They are much more in the game and it changes the whole psychology of decision making.

I have done it with unemployed miners in Austria. What could they do instead? What kind of economy could we have instead? They were in a wooded area and they said: "We could have furniture factories instead of selling our wood for export. We could build solar collectors instead, because we are in the energy business." They wanted to know how you start a firm and they began to learn.

It is a very important tool for beginning to learn, because if you have a project, you want to learn. This is a very powerful incentive for getting information together. I feel we in the peace movement should do much more thinking about what will happen afterwards. We have to.

It will also help in gaining adherence from those who are not interested, yet who say: "Well, you are always against everything, what are you for? What are your ideas?". This is not utopia, but one can build believable projects by working together.

I have found a fantastic response for another reason: most people have never been asked their ideas, especially people from the working class. They don't consider themselves up to it. "We are not informed, educated enough". By doing a Future Workshop they are more sure of themselves than before, so it also changes their personalities. I call it the Walesa effect. Lech Walesa came out of nothing and just by doing something you saw what was in this man. I feel we should not neglect our duty to have alternative ideas and projects. I don't say visions or utopias because I only talk about things that might be feasible in other social conditions, or even in our own society by using loopholes in the system.

What kind of loopholes?

Out of one of our future workshops in Berlin came Netzwerk Selbsthilfe (lit. Self-Help Network) which is a network of people who contribute, for as long as they have a job, to a fund. This fund is used to help all kinds of critical alternative institutions - for all kinds of communal workshops, bakeries, bicycle repair shops. I heard only recently that there is a critical science institution which gets money from Netzwerk Selbsthilfe. We have a council that decided to whom to give. It also gives advice to enterprises who do not know about book-keeping, etc. It's a very practical step because we felt something had to be done.
"To find ways of simultaneously creating jobs and saving energy". Such in 1974 was the aim of the research which led to this book. Seven years later, with steadily rising unemployment and with increased dependencies as a result of soaring energy prices, interest in this aim (and in the study which attempts to show how it can be achieved) has redoubled.

In an analysis of the automobile, construction and construction-materials industries of France, the authors show that roughly three quarters of all industrial energy consumption is associated with the extraction or production of basic materials like steel, cement, bricks and so on, while only about one quarter is used in the transformation of materials into finished goods such as machines or buildings. The converse is true for labour, about three times as much being used in the conversion of materials to finished products as is required in the production of materials. An increase in transformation-type industrial activities would thus correspond to a substitution of labour for energy.

The book shows that since most reconditioning procedures are even more labour intensive than the corresponding manufacturing processes, the substitution of reconditioning for manufacturing greatly favours an increase in skilled labour and reduces energy and raw-material consumption: high labour intensity for dismantling, quality control, repair or exchange, and reassembly; considerable savings in energy through the re-use of components (wear modules excepted); a greatly reduced environmental load through a substantial reduction in the volume of raw materials required and ultimately in the volume of waste.

LIFE-CYCLES OF INDUSTRIALLY PRODUCED GOODS


2/ These industries were chosen as indicative for the countries of the European Communities. The Commission of the EC financed a first preliminary study on this subject as part of its Programme of Research & Actions on the Development of the Labour Market. This report was submitted in 1977 and is today out of print.
Working conditions are another important aspect of repair and reconditioning activities. As a general rule, skilled and experienced craftsmen - mechanics, electricians, draftsmen, etc. - are needed which can operate in comparatively small workshops scattered widely throughout the country wherever there are items in need of renovation and customers who need them, as is still the case with car-repair workshops. These enterprises can be located in rural or urban areas with high unemployment, making reconditioning with its element of geographical mobility a doubly attractive proposition to those responsible for job creation.

The NASA space-shuttle programme has finally put to rest the erroneous notion that reconditioning activities and re-usable goods are associated with second-class technology or less-than-best solutions. It has on the contrary shown that such procedures can provide fresh technological impetus and lead to financially advantageous solutions. Where vital goods are concerned, reconditioning as a cheaper alternative can be of considerable social importance. Modernisation of technically obsolete housing, for example, is not merely a question of preserving the national heritage. Surveys and studies have shown that many tenants in the lower income groups could not afford to rent a newly-built flat (even where subsidised), whereas rent increases resulting from modernisation are tolerable:

- 25% of newbuilding cost in the case of minimal modernisation,
- 42% of newbuilding cost in the case of average modernisation.

Regular repair and reconditioning programmes have existed for many years in many fields:

- railway administrations which are known for their refined husbandry have not only well defined reconditioning programmes for track, rail and rolling stock, but try to further prolong the useful life of these elements by applying a "cascading" principle; a technically superceeded passenger-train engine continues in service with goods-trains, then as a stand-by and finally as a shunting engine;

- certain mass-produced goods such as technologically mature goods e.g. electric motors and typewriters, and goods submitted to high wear and tear such as aircraft tyres and diesel engines in construction and plant equipment are frequently reconditioned in situ, or in a factory and offered as standard exchange components as a cheaper alternative to original (i.e. new) spares.

Reconditioning can also be favoured by external factors. In remote areas of Europe for example, transport problems have often pushed local populations to seek highly innovative solutions. For instance, a 125 year old steamer in Northern Sweden which has several times been severely damaged and even sunk. Each time, she has been recovered and brought back into service by local craftsmen, despite the lack of shipyard facilities.

Most of these examples have one thing in common: they concern capital goods such as aircrafts, railways, buildings and equipment, seldom durable consumer goods like cars, refrigerators or those other products which each of us would expect to purchase from time to time. The authors analysed the automobile as typical of this latter category:
Since 1960, employment in the motor manufacturing industry itself has not increased despite a huge increase in the total number of vehicles produced. It is in this stock of vehicles rather than in the big car production plants that the best job prospects - in both numbers and quality - lie in the future. This historic change in the motor industry employment pattern would be enhanced by the manufacture of more durable cars - with a longer life expectancy - combined with a thorough periodic sensitive-parts replacement and reconditioning. It would also produce very big energy and material savings and could create a substantial increase in employment in reconditioning workshops.

Taking the example described in this book, by doubling the useful life of a car from 10 to 20 years, the energy and material consumption would be nearly halved as also would the labour in the production plants. But the extra labour required in service stations, garages and reconditioning workshops would be likely substantially to exceed the number of jobs lost in the manufacturing industry.

Bearing in mind that about two thirds of the cost of a mass-produced modern car is required to pay for the materials, components and energy used in its manufacture and only about one fifth is absorbed in labour costs, it is obvious that substantial financial savings would accrue for a long-life car which, providing the amount of maintenance and reconditioning work is not excessive, should pay for the extra labour involved, thereby ensuring that the cost of motoring would not be increased. This thesis will soon be tested since the first long-life car, the DeLorean, has gone into production (in Europe) and sells (in the USA).

An interesting aspect of the book is the universality of its authors' approach in their search for a solution:

- whereas at the moment our total preoccupation seems to be with manufacturing plants and production problems, the authors commend the **total life-span** of a product to our attention;

- whereas numerous experts have tried to solve individual problems related to energy production, job creation, environmental costs, the authors have come up with a solution built on the confrontation of two dominant problems, energy and unemployment. A solution, moreover, which is favourable towards helping many of the other problems of our time.

In the final section of the book, the authors touch upon some of the broader implications of their recommended approach: the fact, for example, that a change-over from a "consumer" to a "conserver or user-oriented" society would create new distribution structures and usage patterns in the fields concerned. The challenge of many of the new ideas and approaches would apply, beyond the manufacturing industries, to those responsible, for example, for education or vocational training, since relatively few of the skilled workers needed for the reconditioning venture could be recruited from the ranks of today's unemployed. In the case of finance and insurance for long-life products, serious considerations will have to be given to replacing the now all-too-accepted depreciation value with a use-value concept - the "rebuilding" value which is already commonly used in the case of many capital goods in industry.
Il peut paraître surprenant que lors d'un colloque sur le thème: "Barrages: développement ou sous-développement?", on traite de l'information en Afrique. Cependant, ce problème illustre bien la "mal-information" courante en Afrique, car sur ce sujet si grave, qui concerne un nombre si important de populations, il n'y a jamais eu à ma connaissance de véritables débats dans la presse ni d'exposés de positions contradictoires.

Il semble aller de soi, sauf peut-être au sein de groupes de spécialistes, que les barrages sont utiles au développement et ils ne sont pas présentés comme un objet de contestation au grand public. On apprend que, depuis des années déjà, les habitants de la Vallée du Fleuve s'opposent au projet gouvernemental au Sénégal. Pourtant, leurs revendications ont trouvé bien peu d'écho au-delà de cercles restreints, et c'est à de telles situations qu'il importe de remédier.

On conviendra qu'au-delà des clivages idéologiques, le peuple africain se divise en deux blocs. D'une part, ceux qui savent lire et écrire une langue de domination coloniale ou, à la rigueur, une des langues nationales. D'autre part, les analphabètes. Les chiffres sont là: 67% d'analphabètes parmi les hommes et 85% parmi les femmes toujours défavorisées. Pour le premier bloc, l'information est fournie par la presse écrite, la radio, la télévision. Le second bloc doit se contenter de l'information par radio.

1. Voyons d'abord le domaine de la presse écrite.

En 1975, un journaliste du Nigeria, Peter Enahoro, se demandait si la situation de la presse écrite ne s'était pas considérablement dégradée en Afrique depuis les indépendances. Un tel cri d'alarme est d'autant plus angoissant qu'il est poussé par un anglophone. Sans verser dans l'historique, il convient de rappeler la vivacité et le dynamisme de la presse anglophone, jusqu'à une époque récente. Les premiers journaux, tant en anglais qu'en langues nationales, paraissent en Gold Coast et au Nigéria, respectivement en 1822 et 1863, même si ce ne sont encore que de timides moyens d'expression généralement aux mains des missionnaires. On sait le rôle considérable joué par la presse dans la lutte pour les indépendances, ou plus simplement la prise de conscience nationaliste.

Enfin, n'oublie que le premier président de la république du Nigéria, "Zik" Azikiwe, fut un patron de presse et un journaliste. À sa naissance donc, la presse en Afrique paraît promise à un bel avenir.

Or, que constatons-nous de nos jours? Faiblesse et médiocrité de la presse locale qui est largement réduite à la narration sans talent des faits et gestes des personnalités au pouvoir, à des nouvelles des grandes agences de

La presse (AFP en particulier...) ou à la propagande pour tel ou tel organisme international. En ce qui concerne la presse africaine située à l'étranger, sa situation n'est pas plus brillante : faillites à répétition. On peut se demander ce qui s'est passé et la réponse est simple. La presse en Afrique est totalement sous contrôle du pouvoir et du parti, c'est-à-dire du parti unique. Il faut, dans ce domaine, refuser la distinction facile et commode entre Afrique progressiste et Afrique libérale.

Sekou Touré pèse autant sur "Horoya" que Nyérévé sur les deux quotidiens de la Tanzanie "Uhuru" (quotidien en swahili) et "Daily News" (quotidien anglais) et qu'Houphouët-Boigny sur "Fraternité-Matin" dont le PDCI assure l'orientation politique.

Quelques exceptions: "L'observateur" en Haute-Volta, relativement indépendant et contestataire, qui s'est prudemment tu lors des grands conflits sociaux de 1980, et au Sénégal "Le politicien" et les journaux de l'opposition.

Lors d'un séminaire tenu au CESTI à Dakar, en mars 1982, l'équipe du mensuel malien "Sunjata" nous contait ses difficultés rédactionnelles. Il s'agit en effet de journalistes fonctionnaires, travaillant dans un organe appartenant à l'État. Si une certaine liberté leur est laissée pour la rédaction de dossiers, d'enquêtes généralement excellentes sur la délinquance juvénile qui, on le sait, connaît une ampleur sans commune mesure au Mali, sur la drogue et ses ravages parmi les lycéens, voire sur la prostitution, il leur est impossible de pousser plus loin l'analyse et de mettre en cause le pouvoir lui-même.

Ce serait une erreur de généraliser et d'affirmer que tous les journalistes africains sont victimes de la double censure du pouvoir et de leur peur de déplaire. Il existe, surtout au sein des nouvelles générations, des journalistes désireux de faire honnêtement leur travail et qui n'y parviennent pas. Techniquement bien formés, soit à l'Ecole Supérieure de Journalisme de Yaoundé, soit au CESTI, nombreux - puisque l'effectif sortant de ces deux centres s'élève à près de 500 personnes - les nouveaux spécialistes de l'information voudraient améliorer leur image de marque et sincèrement oeuvrer au développement de leur continent.

Hélas, le pouvoir ne tolère que des griots !!

Dans le domaine de la presse rurale, la situation est encore plus critique. Il faut manier avec précaution les informations dans ce domaine, fournies par l'UNESCO, et qui ne correspondent pas toujours avec ce qui se trouve sur le terrain. Par exemple, les publications officielles font grand cas du journal bambara "Kibaru", fondé en 1972, et qui tirerait à 12'000 exemplaires. Un périple de plus d'un mois au Mali, de Bamako à Gao, sans oublier de petits centres (Diré, Rarous...) ne m'a pas permis d'en voir un seul numéro. Il paraît que je ne me trouvais pas dans la "bonne région" et que j'aurais dû aller plutôt vers Sikasso. Une telle explication illustre bien les limites de l'entreprise. C'est au Niger (du moins en ce qui concerne les pays francophones) que la presse rurale est la plus efficace et la plus florissante. On compte dix publications - la plupart en hausa - dont le tirage varie entre 12'500 et ... 100 exemplaires.
Ces publications satisfont aux besoins d'une population d'environ 20'000 nouveaux alphabètes et sont d'un prix modique, imprimés dans les régions grâce à des dons (suisses, en particulier...).

La Côte d'Ivoire présente la particularité de posséder deux journaux ruraux en français ! Le Sénégal ne possède pas de presse rurale alors qu'on se serait attendu à plus de clairvoyance de la part des partis d'opposition, à présent légaux.

Les problèmes de la presse rurale sont énormes. D'abord, comme la presse urbaine, elle souffre de la tutelle trop lourde de l'Etat. Elle dépend des Ministères de l'Education ou de l'Information ou de la Communication. D'autre part, ceux qui l'animent ne sont pas toujours des techniciens compétents.

Le Conseil africain de l'Education, réuni à Dakar en 1978, le constatait mais n'était pas en mesure de fournir des remèdes à cette situation. Donc, la presse rurale fait appel à des bénévoles, à des instituteurs et n'atteint guère son but déclaré qui est:

- promotion des langues nationales
- fourniture de matériel de lecture aux nouveaux alphabètes
- fourniture de matériel de distraction, d'ouverture sur le monde, de réflexion.

2. Qu'en est-il de la radio, seul moyen d'information des non alphabétisés, la majorité, faut-il le rappeler?

Exemple-type d'une grille de programme en langue nationale (Mali):

- 9.00 heures - bulletin d'information
- 9.20 heures - musique traditionnelle
- 16.00 heures - bulletin d'information
- 16.15 heures - chants traditionnels ou poésie traditionnelle.

Sans oublier, le vendredi, la lecture du Coran.

Il n'y a aucune politique d'information, d'éducation. Les bulletins de nouvelles sont des traductions de celles qui sont données en français, sans être centrées sur la vie régionale, la vie rurale, les problèmes ruraux. Parfois cinq minutes par semaine, un commentateur parle d'hygiène sans même que cela soit lié à une politique de la santé.

Quand un effort est fait, il porte sur les programmes en français, ou des émissions calquées sur celles de la France sont lancées à grand fracas (au Sénégal, la dernière de ces trouvailles "confidences autour d'un micro": une heure de narcissisme). On fait généralement la part trop belle à des interviews d'écrivains ou de notables qui présentent des modèles de réussite au reste de la population. L'information technique ou scientifique est négligée.

Je ne parlerais pas le la télévision, qui reste un gadget de luxe pour élites urbaines. Ses méfaits sont donc limités.
Que faut-il faire?

Il est facile, de Paris, de se mettre à dresser des réquisitoires. Il faut hélas tenir compte des conditions dans lesquelles vivent et travaillent nos frères en Afrique. Au niveau de la presse urbaine, dans certains pays, la situation s'améliore en liaison avec une évolution de la nature du pouvoir (Sénégal). Cependant, il serait irréaliste d'espérer des changements analogues dans un nombre important de pays. Les gouvernants africains finançant les organes de presse (ouvertement ou par le canal de sociétés d'État, ou par le canal du parti...) sont en quelque sorte en droit d'exiger "d'en avoir pour leur argent", c'est-à-dire de demander aux médias de fournir les images qu'ils entendent diffuser. Pourtant des associations de journalistes s'esquissent, des agences de presse non-gouvernementales sont ébauchées, qui laissent augurer favorablement du futur. Quant au rêve d'une presse indépendante financièrement, il paraît bien lointain. Les hommes d'affaires ou ceux qui possèdent des capitaux en Afrique se méfient des organes de presse, car ils ont la réputation d'engloutir de l'argent et d'être rarement rentables. La presse aura une plus large assise quand le nombre des lecteurs s'accroîtra.

Dans le domaine de la presse rurale, les travailleurs immigrés, du moins pour des pays comme le Sénégal, le Mali, la Haute-Volta... peuvent jouer un rôle important. Sally N'Dongo souligne déjà la solidarité existant entre migrants de retour pour des congés et communautés villageoises. Les actions entreprises pour sensibiliser ces dernières au problème des barrages (envois de cassettes, de matériel d'information...) peuvent être étendues. Puisque les travailleurs émigrés gèrent largement leur propre alphabétisation, ils peuvent étendre leurs efforts en direction de ceux qui sont restés au pays et qui s'organisent également. Les livrets peuvent circuler, être multipliés, rédigés en un plus large éventail de langues. Ils se feraient les véhicules d'une information non pas démobilisatrice qui traite les nouveaux alphabètes en enfants, mais en citoyens lucides, susceptibles de réfléchir sur leur destin et celui du monde.
SRI LANKA: THE YOUNG FEMALES CHEAPEST OF THE CHEAP THIRD WORLD LABOUR

by Feizal Samath

Is the young female the new industrial worker filling up the free trade zones of the Third World? This is the question posed by a research organization in Colombo (Sri Lanka), which has studied the social aspect of labour in Sri Lanka's free trade zone (FTZ) based at Katunayake, 25 miles east of Colombo.

The organization - the Research Division of the People's Bank, a state banking institution - says in a recent study that the economic logic seems to be that the young females are the cheapest of the cheap Third World labour.

The Katunayake FTZ was set up in 1978 to attract foreign investment using the country's cheap labour force as the bait. Since the zone began operations in 1978 and up to May 1982, 161 projects with foreign/local participation have been approved, and 47 are in commercial production providing employment to 22,000 persons. One of the salient features of the FTZ, the study says, is the predominance of women workers. More than 85 per cent of the work force at the Katunayake FTZ are women. "This is not unusual for all FTZs in the Third World, and particularly Asia, this characteristic of a substantial number of workers being women has emerged", it says. The study says a substantial number, "perhaps close upon 75 to 85 per cent are below 25 years of age. Equally significant is that nearly all are single or unmarried".

The researching team feels that the enormous number of young women available and wanting employment in Third World countries have made them a huge industrial reserve army, that could be called upon at any time. One reason, the researchers say, women are preferred to men in FTZs in Asia, is that social and cultural conditions of women in Asian countries had made them docile, and at the same time they had a capacity to do dull, monotonous and labour-intensive work without much protest.

The researchers observed that the age structure and civil status of the work force, particularly among the women, had marked characteristics. They were all single and below the age of 25. "The implication of this is that the labour recruited is that part of the female population of the country whose health conditions are best. Not only is the recruitment largely confined to the young and single, but the studies carried out both in Sri Lanka and elsewhere in Asia suggest that the management discourages marriage", the team adds.

The significance of the age and civil status for the work force is not merely that factories have recruited a healthy segment of the population, but that the system ensures that only the young, healthy and single are retained. The high turn-over rate makes the work force a kind of marching
column that passes through and is cast off at the end, the team say. For the factories, the workers are healthy and wages are low because the high turnover rate does away with pay rises due to seniority.

The research team says several studies have shown that a majority of the work force come from families with monthly incomes of less than 500 rupees (approximately ten dollars) which, given current cost of living, could fall into the poverty group. It appears that a fair number of workers are of the working class or of small trading or petty commodity producing background. A majority of the workers have had no formal education. While many workers had dropped out of school because of economic factors, quite a few had also given up schooling when the opportunity of a job at the FTZ arose. The large numbers of educated unemployed had led many not to look upon education as a means of social mobility. Often to the disappointment of their parents, their brighter children whom they wanted to be educated and seek middle class jobs were attracted to an immediate job in the FTZ. One parent pithily told a researcher: "when my young daughters see my neighbour's daughter leave for work at the FTZ with the employment symbol of a leather bag slung across her shoulders, it is difficult to prevent them following suit".  

(An Inter Press Service feature)

AID TO MARCOS' PHILIPPINES BACKFIRING, NEW STUDY CHARGES

"The Philippines, a strategic ally of the United States, is being touted as a 'success story' of Third World development", said Walden Bello, co-author of Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines. "But as a direct result of President Marcos' policies and the development strategies promoted by the United States, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, most Filipinos are far worse off today than when Marcos came to power over 16 years ago."

Development Debacle, based on more than 6,000 pages of confidential memos and reports leaked from the World Bank, including the politically explosive Ascher Memorandum, provides a detailed account of the devastating impact of massive initiatives on the lives of the Filipino poor and an unprecedented look into the workings of the World Bank.

Development Debacle traces the impact of the entire array of World Bank projects in the Philippines, ranging from rural credit and urban renewal schemes to export processing zones and financial restructuring. Each of these major initiatives, the study demonstrates, has contributed to a widening gap between a wealthy elite and an increasingly desperate Philippine majority.

"The World Bank's Philippine debacle demonstrates how aid channelled through an elite-oriented regime only reinforces the inequitable political and economic structures which lie at the root of hunger and poverty in the Third World", said David Kinley. "By setting the stage for widespread resistance among the impoverished peasantry and urban poor, US and World Bank aid to Marcos is actually undermining beneficial relations between people in the United States and the vast majority of Filipinos."
The Philippines, an agriculturally rich island nation and a former US colony, is home to some of the region's most extreme poverty. Fully 84 per cent of its 48 million people live below the government-set poverty level. In 1978, the Asian Development Bank reported that Filipinos were the worst fed in all of Asia, with the possible exception of war-torn Cambodia.

The Philippines served as a prime testing ground for the World Bank's highly publicized "basic needs" development formulas during the 1970s which included projects in "integrated rural development" and urban "upgrading".

"The bank promised that a major portion of its projects would serve the needs of impoverished Filipinos", Elaine Elinson noted. "But the harsh reality has been lowered urban wages, increased rural poverty and landlessness, economic instability for Philippine-based industry, and an uncontrollable foreign debt".

"The World Bank has not been content to simply provide money for development projects", Elinson continued. "In aiming to create a favourable climate for foreign investment, the Bank has virtually assumed control of Philippine national economic planning".

"Bank officials have insisted that the Marcos government keep wages low by banning strikes and devaluing the peso", explained Bello, "and tariffs designed to protect Philippine-based industries are being swept away. Last year, the Bank used its tremendous financial leverage to install a new 'World Bank Cabinet' composed of Western trained technocrats led by Prime Minister Cesar Virata".

During sixteen years of Marcos' rule, nine under martial law, over 60,000 dissidents have passed detained in the regime's jails; at least 300 have been "salvaged" at the hands of Philippine military authorities, according to international human rights organizations.

"Despite the acknowledged failure of its Philippine development strategies", Bello concluded, "the World Bank continues to laud the accomplishments of the Marcos regime while quietly funneling more aid - $1.2 billion last year alone - to bail out a government threatened with both fiscal and political bankruptcy. Development Debacle demonstrates the futility and irrationality of continued US and international agency support to the Marcos government".

* * *

(Walden Bello, David Kinley and Elaine Elinson, Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines. Available for $6.95 from the Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1885 Mission Street, San Francisco, California 94103, USA.)
IFDA: new officers: Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Director of the Centre d'études du développement africain in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, and Thorvald Stoltenberg, International Secretary of the Federation of Norwegian Trade Unions are the co-chairmen of the IFDA Council for 1983 and 1984. They succeed Fernando Henrique Cardoso, recently elected senator in Brasil, and Ernst Michanek, Chairman of the Board of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. At its Rome meeting in November, the Executive Committee also co-opted four new members: Anisur Rahman, a former member of the Bangladeshi Planning Commission, now working on rural development at ILO; Rodolfo Stavenhagen, the Mexican sociologist who recently resigned from UNESCO, where he was Assistant Director General, to go back to research and teaching at El Colegio de Mexico; Marie Angélique Savané of Senegal, President of the Association of African Women for Research on Development (AAWORD) and former chief editor of Famille et Développement, a West African quarterly magazine; and Bernard Wood Canada, Executive Director of the North South Institute.

Four of the founding members have been made permanent members of the Council: Gamani Corea of Sri Lanka, Secretary-General of UNCTAD; Mahbub ul Haq of Pakistan, currently Minister for Planning and Development; Enrique Iglesias of Uruguay, Executive Secretary of CEPAL and Maurice F. Strong of Canada, Chairman of the Board of the Canadian Development Corporation.

Four other persons have also been appointed to the Council of the Foundation: Anil Kumar Agarwal, Director of the Centre for Science and Environment in Delhi, Aldo Ajello, member of the Italian Parliament, Lim Teck Ghee of the Centre for Policy Research, Universiti Sains Malaysia and Ruth Dreifuss, Secretary of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions.

Alternative Nobel prize: The leader of the West German "Green" movement, a Malaysian consumers activist, a British educational pioneer and Asian grass roots development group share the 1982 $50,000 Right Livelihood Award. The new 'alternative Nobel' award is presented in Stockholm on the day before the official Nobel Prize ceremony. The winners of that award are:

- Petra Kelly, leader of the West German "GREENS", the rapidly growing environmental peace movement which has transformed the German political scene;
- Anwar Fazal, founder of Consumer Interpol, an investigative network to report on and take action against the export and sale of hazardous products;
- Sir George Trevelyan, a pioneer of adult education in Britain and founder of the Wrekin Trust, which brings together scientists and mystics, doctors and healers, etc., in order to bring about "an evolutionary leap in human consciousness";
- The Participatory Institute for Development Alternatives (PIDA), a group working to multiply grass root self-reliant development in rural Asia.

For the first time a special honorary citation was also awarded. It went to Erik Dammann, the Norwegian founder of the Future in our Hands network whose members work together to reduce their consumption habits in order to minimize the environmental impact. (Wybourn Drive, Onchan, Isle of Man, GB).
India: a citizen report on the environment:

. Ludhiana district in the heartland of the green revolution, records the highest yields of many crops. It also records the highest deficiencies of plant micronutrients in its soils. How long can the depleted soil support the present pattern of intensive agriculture?

. Though there is now some source of information available about rural energy consumption patterns, there is virtually no study of energy consumption patterns of the bottom 50 per cent of urban Indians. How exactly are they meeting their energy needs? Are they using millions of tons of firewood and becoming a major cause for the destruction of the nation's forests?

. Dead fish are the first signs of serious river pollution. Some statistics are available about the nature and extent of river pollution in India, e.g. 70 percent of all the available water in India is polluted. But what is the impact of this on the health of the nation? Or the lives of fisherfolk?

These and hundreds of other questions are posed in a report, The State of Environment 1982 published by the Centre for Science and Environment *. Many of us come to know about environmental changes and effects in a piecemeal manner. But this overview of a nation, covering its soil, rivers, forests, dams, habitat, air, health, energy, wildlife, etc., makes an overwhelming impact.

Intellectually, the report is extremely stimulating. For the first time in India there is a report which not only provides a detailed national picture, but also relates what the figures of water and air pollution, soil loss, reduction in pasture lands and depletion of firewood actually mean for the lives of the people. The report will be produced year after year and hopefully will become a major tool in raising public consciousness.

Canadian study on women and international development

The North-South Institute has launched a special policy research project on women and international development cooperation. The project is intended to provide a base for public discussion and policy review leading up to the conclusion in 1985 of the United Nations Decade for Women. The study will touch on a number of key issues affecting women in the North-South relationship, going beyond an examination of the impact on women of governmental and non-governmental aid programmes. The study will consider the special problems and opportunities for women of Third World countries (and of Canada) in relation to trade, migration, investment and overall political and social development, as well as economic development. Some assessment of the actual and potential impact of multilateral organizations will be made as well as that of Canadian governmental and private institutions.

The project will draw on a wide range of existing studies and experience (from Canada and abroad) in an attempt to produce policy guidance on some of the key questions now current in the field. (North-South Institute, Rideau Street 185, Ottawa, Canada K1N 5X8).

*The Centre for Science and Environment is a non-profit, non-governmental, quasi-academic research organisation that has been set up to increase public awareness of the role of science and technology in national development. Director: Anil Agarwal. (807 Vishal Bhawan, 95 Nehru Place, New Delhi, 110019 India).
Indigenous people challenge transnationals on resource development

On October 12, while most Americans were celebrating Columbus' "discovery" of the "new world", native Americans and other indigenous representatives from around the world were meeting in Washington DC for the first major conference on native resource rights to take place in the US. The conference, entitled "Native Resource Control and the Multi-national Corporate Challenge: Aboriginal Rights in International Perspective", was held Oct.12-15 and brought together more than 100 delegates from many nations.

The choice of time, place and topic was not accidental. October 12, the day many Americans celebrate as "Columbus Day", has been observed by native peoples since 1977 as an International Day of Solidarity with the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere. By holding the meeting in Washington, conference organizers felt they would have an opportunity to bring the message of indigenous peoples to the attention of international policy-makers and institutions and the world press.

Delegates heard from two dozen native witnesses - along with journalists, judges, priests and academic figures - from countries including Australia, Brazil, Canada, Ecuador, Fiji, Guatemala, Micronesia, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, the US and Venezuela. A striking event of the conference was the reaction by delegates when they heard that similar problems were being faced by them all. And they noted that the names of the same transnationals engaged in worldwide development of resources on indigenous lands kept coming up. AMAX (coal) in Canada, the US and Australia; Rio Tinto Zinc (copper, uranium) in Panama, Namibia, Australia and Papua New Guinea, Shell (oil) in Ecuador, Peru and the US - these were just a few of the names mentioned.

Although most delegates were from regions subjected to intensive exploitation, the struggle in Guatemala was highlighted as the most pressing and dangerous threat indigenous people face today. According to the delegates, the Guatemalan struggle has largely been overlooked by international agencies, and repression against Indian peoples there has been ignored. They pointed out that the recent massacres by the Guatemalan military have been described by the press as attacks on "peasants" and "subversives" when they were actually aimed against Indians fighting for their land. "These are Indian peoples, not peasants... slaughtered because they stood in the way of the plans of transnational corporations", said John Mohawk, a delegate and editor of Akwesasne Notes1, native American newspaper. The plans Mohawk refers to include the development of oil and gas in the mountains of Guatemala. Further development is planned by a variety of transnationals, including 190 US-based ones, representing a total of over $300 million and control of a large percentage of the Guatemalan countryside.


1/Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, NY 13683, US.

(Source: WISE, Czaar Peterstraat 1, 1018 NW Amsterdam, The Netherlands)
CONCENTRATION OF LAND
A U.N. study of 83 Third World countries found that only 3% of the landowners controlled 80% of the farmland.

In the U.S., less than 6% of all farms control more than 50% of the farmland. U.S. corporations control over 1/3 of California's best agricultural land.

INEFFICIENCY OF INEQUALITY
A study of six Latin American countries showed that small farms produce 3 to 14 times more per acre than large farms.

Studies show that moderate-sized family farms are most efficient; yet they are the ones now being pushed out of business. More than half of all U.S. production now comes from farms bigger than can be justified on grounds of efficiency.

COSTS TO ENVIRONMENT
In the Third World, big plantations often take the best land to grow cash crops for export, pushing peasant farmers onto poor soils and erosion-prone hillsides.

Large-scale, high technology agriculture uses more pesticides and more energy than traditional agriculture. It often destroys the top soil and mines irreplaceable ground water.
CONCENTRATION

**CONCENTRATION OF PROCESSING/MARKETING**
A mere 5 corporations control 90% of all international grain shipments. A single corporation controls 80% of the world trade in food oils.

**IN THE U.S.** 50 firms (1/4 of 1% of all food manufacturing companies) control 2/3 of the food industry's assets and 90% of its profits. Beatrice Foods markets 8000 different products.

**COSTS TO CONSUMERS**
Because food companies are in business to make money—not to feed people—they often ship food out of countries where there is much need but little money into countries where there is less need but more money. Hungry people in Ghana can't afford to spend as much for a tuna caught off their shore as Americans are willing to pay to feed that tuna to their pet cats.

American consumers pay an average of $55 a year each, close to $20 billion, because of food industry monopolies.

**RESULT: HUNGER**
At least 13% of the people in the world are undernourished.

29 million Americans live on or below the poverty line. 12% of the children who live in poverty in the U.S. are physically stunted because of malnutrition.

(Source: Exploding the myth of scarcity! Food First Comics, Institute for Food & Development Policy, 1885 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, US)
INNER SPACE

Bantam New Age Books: This new series includes books (original or reprinted) which deal with the search for meaning and change, tomorrow as well as here and now. Among them:

- Erich Fromm, To have or to be?
- Ernest Callenbach, Ecotopia and Ecotopia emerging
- Gregory Bateson, Mind and nature
- Duane Elgin, Voluntary simplicity, An ecological lifestyle that promotes personal and social renewal

(Bantam Books, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10103).


LOCAL SPACE


The December 1982 issue of Appropriate Technology, the quarterly journal of the Intermediate Technology Development Group, outlines the problems and pitfalls of past programmes and describes practical development projects for women in the areas of water supply, forestry, functional education and beekeeping. The up-to-date resource list on women and development gives the names and addresses of organizations and programmes offering general, technical and financial assistance to Third World women. (Appropriate Technology, 9 King Street, Covent Garden, London WC2E 8HN, UK.)


Gilda Farrell, Mercado de trabajo urbano y movimiento sindical (IIE.PUCE.ILDIS, Apartado 2184, Quito, Ecuador), 209pp.


Peter Waterman, Division and unity amongst Nigerian workers: Lagos Port unionism, 1940s-60s (Institute of Social Studies, P.O.B. 90733, 2509 LS The Hague, Netherlands), 234pp.

Alberto Melo, "Ecole et communauté au Portugal", International Review of


Josette Murphy and Leendert Sprey, *Monitoring and evaluation of agricultural change* (International Institute for Land Reclamation and Improvement, P.O.B. 45, 6700 AA Wageningen, The Netherlands, 1982), 314pp. This book, adapted to the agricultural practices of subsistence farmers in the semi-arid tropics, elaborates guidelines which would allow project managers to adjust their activities to the farmers needs and constraints, and provides planners and policy-makers with up-to-date information on agricultural change.

Guy Hunter (ed.), *Enlisting the small farmer: The range of requirements* (Agricultural Administration Unit Occasional Paper no. 4) (Overseas Development Institute, 10-11 Percy Street, London W1P OJB, UK, 1982), 63pp.


Gudrun Lachenmann, *Primary health care and basic-needs orientation in developing countries* (German Development Institute, Fraunhoferstrasse 33-36, D-1000 Berlin 10, 1982), 138pp.

Studien Baukästen, *Problemas Urbanos en el Tercer Mundo*:

1 *La producción de la vivienda popular* (no.80 361), 67pp.

2 *El estado y los poderes locales ante los problemas del habitat popular* (no.81 261), 50pp.

3 *Los movimientos populares urbanos* (no.82 201), 43pp.

(Centro de Investigaciones CIUDAD, Casilla 8311, Quito, Ecuador)

Florian Steinberg, *Die Städtische Wohnungsfrage in Sri Lanka*:
Perspektiven der Wohnungspolitik für die Armen (Saarbrücken, Ford Lauderdale: Breitenbach, 1982), 458pp.


Christopher Flavin, Electricity from sunlight: The future of photovoltaics (Worldwatch Paper 52, December 1982), 63pp. (Worldwatch Institute, 1776 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, USA).


Joseph Deken, The electronic cottage: Every day living with your personal computer in the 1980's (New York: Bantam New Age Books, 1983), 400pp. This jargon-free guide explains how computers work, their usefulness in the home, economic effects of increasing computerization, expanding overdependence, and the need for building in human fail-safe devices. Deken also provides a fundamental outline enabling you to evaluate any computer available.

NATIONAL SPACE

Michel Albert, Le pari français (Paris: Seuil, 1982). L'ancien Commis-saire général au Plan offre et documente solidement un chemin vers le plein emploi. Puisque \( P = p \times t \) (\( P \) étant la production, \( p \) la productivité et \( t \) le temps de travail), et que si \( P \) augmente, \( p \) augmente encore plus vite, on ne peut que diminuer le temps de travail, mais pas n'importe comment (c'est l'objet principal de l'ouvrage de montrer comment) et, plus généralement, 'libérer le temps'. Dommage cependant que, si \( p \) et \( t \) sont amplement discutés, \( P \) semble acceptée telle quelle. Pourtant, la libération du temps des hommes et des femmes ne va pas sans leur pouvoir de choisir et de maîtriser ce qu'ils produisent (et consommer).


Reginald Herbold Green, "Agricultural crises in sub-Saharan Africa: Capitalism and transitions to socialism", IDS Sussex Bulletin (vol.13, no.4, September 1982), pp.73-79. Issue devoted to agriculture, the peasantry and socialist development.

Agricultural Administration (vol.11, no.4, 1982). Special issue on providing services to small farmers. Topics covered include the management and administration of rural services, commodity systems and farming groups, with an emphasis on structure and coordination. Advice is given on crop production, processing and marketing systems, the maximisation of output and income, and community development.


**THIRD WORLD SPACE**


Rehman Sobhan, "Enhancing trade between OPEC and the developing countries of Asia", Third World Quarterly (vol.4, no.4, October 1982), pp.719-735.

Fehmy Saddy, OPEC capital-surplus funds and Third World indebtedness: The recycling strategy reconsidered", Third World Quarterly as above, pp. 736-757.

**GLOBAL SPACE**

South The Third World Magazine has started a quarterly section entitled "Decolonising the mind", to promote the achievement of a new world order whose prerequisite is the eradication of the colonial mentality in the Third World. The January 1983 issue focuses on literature, with issues and interviews reflecting the changing orientation of Third World perspectives as exemplified by such Third World literary figures as Amos Tutuola, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Chinua Achebe, Gabriel García Márquez, NIRAD Chaudhuri, Salman Rushdie and Chinweizu. Later sections will focus on economics, sport, political theory, history and institutions - education, the bureaucracy, the law and so on.


. Uwe Holtz, "Quelques remarques critiques sur l'aide allemande au développement", *Développement et Coopération* (No.5/6, 1982), pp.5-6.


PERIODICALS

. Co-Evolution (no.10, Automne 1982), observe qu'un visiteur de l'espace s'approchant de notre planète ne l'appellerait pas 'terre' mais 'eau', et se consacre à l'homme et l'eau en une série de courts articles, affluents d'un fleuve sur lequel il est plaisant (et instructif) de laisser aller sa pirogue. Co-Evolution, complice francophone de Co-Evolution Quarterly (Box 428, Sausalito, CA 94965, USA), avait publié L'hiver 1981-82 un excellent numéro sur le temps (B.P. 43, F-75661 Paris Cedex 14, France).

. Economie et Humanisme (no.268, Nov-Déc. 1982) offre un dossier sur 'rapports Nord-Sud et organisations non-gouvernementales' où se distingue surtout une interview avec Bernard Lecomte sur 'Les ONGs au Sahel'. A lire et méditer par tous ceux que séduit l'action (de 'développement') locale et directe.

. Third World Quarterly (vol.5, no.1, January 1983) includes "Petrodollars and the state: The failure of state capitalist development in Venezuela" by Petras and Morley; "The age of the Third World" by S.J. Patel, and "Things fall apart: The world economy in the 1980s" by R.H. Green.

. Science for Villages (no.63-64, Dec.1982-Jan.1983) is now in its 6th year. This special issue (on the occasion of the Indian Science Congress) draws the attention of the country's scientists to their responsibility towards rural India.

. Mozambican Studies is the English edition of a journal published since 1980 by the Centro de Estudos Africanos (Maputo, Mozambique), whose Rector, Aquino de Braganca, was injured and Research Director, Ruth First, murdered last August by the South African regime. No. 1 is devoted to "Underdevelopment and migrant labour".

. The sixth issue of The Arab Alternative Futures Dossier (October 1982) includes the description of a project to study "the impact of oil wealth on social values in the Arab society", the first phase (content analysis and expert opinion survey) of which has been carried out by the Centre for Social Science Research and Documentation for the Arab Region, Cairo. (Third World Forum, 39 Dokki St., P.O.Box 43 Orman, Cairo, Egypt).

. Multinational Monitor (vol.3, no.12, December 1982), "Native peoples indict companies".


. AGENOR, Options for the Left (No.87, May-June 1982): "Regions: The future" - report on an encounter between parties of the Left and regionalist movements around the theme of Regional Autonomy and Economic Alternatives. (Rue de Toulouse 22, 1040 Brussels, Belgium).
MATERIALS RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION

LOCAL SPACE

. Ross Kidd, Theatre by the people for the people and of the people: People's theatre and landless organizing in Bangladesh (35 Charles Street West, No 414, Toronto M4Y 1K6, Canada), 29pp.

NATIONAL SPACE

. Jussi Raumolin, The formation of autonomous scientific and technological capacity in a resources-based peripheral economy, Finland (University of Helsinki, Institute of Development Studies, Helsinki, Finland), 5pp. and Le rôle du secteur forestier dans le développement économique et social de la Finlande, 4pp.


. Vandana Shiva and J. Bandyopadhyay, Political economy of technological polarisations (Indian Institute of Management, 33 Langford Road, Bangalore 560 027, India), 6pp.

THIRD WORLD SPACE

. Bichara Khader, Islam, technologie et développement (Centre d'étude et de recherche sur le monde arabe contemporain, 3 Place Montesquieu, 1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgique) 13pp.


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