EDITORIAL: Gandhi

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GANDHI

Au-delà de ses qualités et de ses défauts intrinsèques, le film de Richard Attenborough, Gandhi, a le mérite de rendre des millions de jeunes, hors de l'Inde évidemment, conscients de la vie, des luttes et du message du Mahatma. Pour inviter nos lecteurs à aller plus loin que le film, cette littéraison du Dossier FIPAD reproduit ci-dessous quelques extraits d'une discussion entre nos amis Chakravarthi Raghavan et Ignacy Sachs organisée et publiée par Forum du développement sous le titre 'Gandhi: un message sans frontières' (no 92, juin/juillet 1983). Nous publions également un article de S.P. Varma sur 'Gandhi and contemporary thinking on development' (pp. 37-39) et, sur le film lui-même, 'Gandhi: film as theology, an Indian view' par Anand Patwardhan (pp. 73-76).

Ignacy Sachs: Ce qui importe est de découvrir le message du film. Pour moi le principal est que, en dépit de la violence de la retraite coloniale, la libération de l'Inde a été extrêmement pacifique, peut-être faudrait-il dire économe en vies humaines. Et ceci est historiquement extraordinaire. Le deuxième message est de nature morale. Dans un certain sens Gandhi apporte un message à retenir dans nos débats et pour notre avenir - un message de maîtrise de soi, de simplicité volontaire, de contentement de son sort. Ce sont là des valeurs morales dont nous avons grandement besoin et par là Gandhi est un philosophe universel (...)

Chakravarthi Raghavan: La non-violence de Gandhi, par exemple, est tout à fait d'actualité aujourd'hui, en particulier quand on considère l'hologauste nucléaire qui nous menace et le désarroi complet des dirigeants politiques qui nous semblent s'engager dans la même direction. Le message de Gandhi, convenablement interprété et compris, reste d'actualité pour le monde contemporain.

Prenez la division Nord-Sud, par exemple. Les idées économiques de Gandhi, la charka, le rouet, par exemple, se proposaient de libérer les populations du village des conditions asymétriques de l'exploitation économique à laquelle le régime capitaliste conduisait. Gandhi a essayé d'apporter une réponse en disant aux gens de se dégager du système en comptant exclusivement sur eux-mêmes - en filant et en tirant parti des ressources locales. Si les gouvernements du tiers monde souhaitent que leurs économies fonctionnent au service des pauvres ainsi que Gandhi le proposait, les enseignements de Gandhi gardent leur utilité dans les efforts des gouvernements du Sud pour changer l'asymétrie Nord-Sud. Comme vous l'avez vu dans le film, Gandhi s'est débarrassé de ses vêtements d'avocat pour pouvoir vivre comme un homme ordinaire. Si les dirigeants du tiers monde en venaient à se sentir en symbiose avec le peuple et s'ils essayaient de mettre en pratique ce sentiment, les problèmes de la relation asymétrique pourraient

(suite p. 35)

Abstract: This draft for discussion first deals with two ways of viewing the non-economic costs of progress - externalities and counter-purposive function - that appear both in education and all other major economic sectors. It then deals with the history of the education/development couple and the danger it now gives rise to: repressive eco-pedagogical policies.

ECO-PÉDAGOGIE ET TERRITOIRE COMMUNAL

Résumé: Ce projet de texte soumis à la discussion traite d’abord de deux façons de saisir les coûts non économiques du progrès - les coûts externes et la fonction anti-intentionnelle - qui apparaissent tant dans le secteur de l’éducation que dans les autres secteurs économiques principaux. Le texte traite ensuite de l’histoire du couple éducation/développement et du danger qu’il crée actuellement: des politiques éco-pédagogiques répressives.

ECO-PEDAGOGIA Y TERRITORIO COMUNAL

Este proyecto de texto para ser sometido a discusión trata, en primer lugar, de dos maneras de considerar los costos no económicos del progreso - los costos externos y la función anti-intencional - que aparecen tanto en el sector de la educación como en los otros sectores económicos principales. En seguida, el texto trata de la historia de la pareja educación/desarrollo y del peligro que crea actualmente: políticas eco-pedagógicas represivas.
Ivan Illich

ECO-PEDAGOGICS AND THE COMMONS
DRAFT FOR DISCUSSION

Education and development are two sacred cows that since 1949 have been harnessed as the draft animals of so-called progress. They have been used in many a conference before this, our meeting in Bristol. It was President Truman who blessed their union financially by assigning them common budgets in his Point Four Programme. Not so much each of the two beasts, but their sacred yoke is the theme of my lecture. I have often thought that his harness is even better protected by immunity than the two animals that it joins.

Over the years the meaning of the two terms has changed, but even more profoundly the meaning of their marriage. Forty years ago education meant schooling. The word evoked classrooms, apprentices in overalls, college students under palm trees, readers in every home. As Kennedy moved in to the White House, the funding moved upwards: the agenda was now systems management, curriculum design, audiovisual materials, radio and the coming TV satellite. During the frustrating seventies there were no more budgets that could move upwards, it was hope that shifted. Expectations were glued to conscientization and to computers. Throughout the entire period education advertised enlightened and productive citizenship and in fact delivered certification.

"Development" went through a parallel metamorphosis. Early on it meant cement floors, washed hands, electric outlets, condoms and spirals, cooperatives and voting booths that were expected to result from factories, land reforms and nation building. Throughout the first half-life the carrot was the promised paychecks for all. Then the oil prices rose, pollution settled down, the bank rates went up and payrolls bought less. As a result of a now increased dependence on cash, large population groups came to taste modernized poverty. Development had so changed the environment that the penniless had lost much of the ability to survive by muddling through. Usually men lost their traditional chances faster and unemployed added to the burden of women. To shore up the legitimacy of development during its second half-life the rhetoric shifted towards local subsidiaries, small scale production, self-reliance against a background promise of microprocessors, biological engineering and the fallout effects from capital-intensive monster plants.

With age the sacred cows lost their image, but not their prestige; they continue to be well fed. The blue-eyed still worship them. Cynics still invoke them in electoral speeches. The professional priesthood, that has flourished in their honor,
is mostly engaged in research that can be used as a club to browbeat all those who want to sneer at the sacred oxen.

Mr. Garrett, who invited me, knew well that this is how I think. He wrote to me and enjoined that I speak as a thinker. I was honored by this epithet, but also emboldened. To speak as a thinker entitles me to address only those who here want to think with me and for this purpose are willing to get out of the furrows that the theory of progress has left.

The theme of my lecture is the bond that constitutes E & D as I shall call education and development when they are considered as a couple. I cannot pursue the origins of this bond back into romanticism and enlightenment, but I can touch on its history since 1945. I am interested in the bond because it is becoming an evil of an unrecognized kind. I am also interested in this bond because I believe that the assumptions which made it possible have now ceased to exist.

I will first deal with two ways to view the non-economic costs of progress: externalities and counter-purposive function, that appear both in education and all other major economic sectors. For simplicity's sake I will usually use transportation as the counterpoint to education. I will then call attention to the assumption of scarcity that is common to both sides. Then only will I deal with the history of our couple and the danger it now gives rise to: highly repressive eco-pedagogical policies.

E & D as terms have stayed together over four decades, but the older the couple became, the more discrepant were the meanings they covered. As a result it is more difficult to discuss them today than before. For some of us the two words light a yellow signal; we feel the urge to slow down. For others the signal lit is red. What I have to say is not meant for those who see green - they are the subject of my study.

For those who see yellow, the growth of E & D remains the goal. However, they have learned not to expect Shangrila from decades of frustration. They know they will have to change not only direction, but also methods and assumptions. A good dozen reminders flash yellow: cost overruns, dropouts, increased social polarization, declining quality and declining value of ever more expensive positional knowledge and commodities, mushrooming bureaucracies, disabling professionalism, rising repression, violence to body and mind, net transfers of privileges, class-specific burden of externalities. Each of these words indicates a category of evil that we know. When in the mid fifties we discussed educational development, at the Planning Board of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the best of my colleagues were barely aware of these issues. Today there is no need to insist that these terms name social effects that apply equally to the mass production of goods and of services; that these effects are inherent to growth and that they appear irrespective of the
political party which presides the game. In the yellow light you slow down, if experience has taught you that none of these social costs can be managed away; there might be trade-offs between them and at best: a social redistribution of the burden.

I know dozens of thinkers who have not lost faith in education as a basic necessity and hope to provide it better and to more people - and all this while Pandora's Box is exploding! While they continue to hope they have learned to question yesterday's fundamental "verities". Think of Majid Rahnema questioning compulsory literacy as a UN goal. 1/ Think of John Holt organizing parents to resist obligatory schooling. Think of John Ohliger unmasking compulsory adult education as the final solution of learning opportunities. Think of the plaintiffs who object to the preferred treatment of the certified and of the US courts that decide in their favour. In the field of development the same obtains. A decade ago eco-development seemed to be Ignacy Sachs' hobby. Today it is almost conventional wisdom, albeit wisdom in conflict with most established interests. There is no end of examples.

It is difficult to sum up this renewal mainly because it lacks a common ideology. What is common to the different initiatives is muddled progress in the face of overwhelming odds. Any summary then, reflects the categories of the beholder, in this case, mine. To me those who slow down in the E & D race pursue social change that fosters more informal learning and more opportunities for non-economic, subsistence-oriented activities. As a result in the blinking yellow lights education, as a goal, is being flanked by the pursuit of non-programmed learning opportunities. Economic growth, as a goal, is being flanked by activities that reduce the need for commodities. Learning with education, and satisfaction without production and consumption, appear as the desirable counterfoil to E & D.

I well know that the effects that I have just summed up are by no means the intention of most people who, despite yellow signals, modestly and realistically engage in E & D. The summary is the result of my reflections in the red light. The shadows which I associate with education and with economic growth are not primarily the social externalities that light up yellow. These loomed for me much larger in the sixties. Today I associate these two pursuits primarily with the directly counter-purposive side effects that they have spawned. Education I associate with some kind of swimming lesson in which pupils are trained to keep afloat in an ever rising tide of bits, a flood that has long ago lifted them off the ground of personal meanings. As the pupil is taught how to handle, ever more skilfully, the onrush of information, even his desire for grounding in a meaningful system is eroded. In a similar way with development and economic growth, I associate

1/ IFDA Dossier 31, pp. 3-16.
counterproductivity: the frustrating ability of institutions to remove their clients, particularly the majority of the less privileged, precisely from the purpose the institution was set up to deliver. I therefore see education as the most direct threat to those conditions under which meaningful learning can take place and I see economic growth as the most direct challenge to commons and customs on which vernacular subsistence is built.

Yellow and red light analysis thus complement each other. In the yellow signal externalities light up; the red light stands for a methodical prejudice that urges us to a continued comparison of an institution's stated purpose and its directly counter-purposive effects. In the yellow light educational institutions are one source of inequality, of privilege, of negative taxation and of the disruption of urban space. In the red light education directly threatens non-formal learning by legitimating the removal of learning opportunities from the environment and by training pupils to depend on programmed information. In the yellow light traffic generates smog, accidents, noise and privilege; in the red light the growth and acceleration of traffic is seen primarily insofar as it is a time consuming way of reducing mutual access.

Separated from each other, yellow and red light analyses remain incomplete; not distinguishing between them we remain confused. Only by clearly recognizing the distinction between the production of externalities and counter-purposive production can we conceive of ways that go beyond the necessity of indefinite growth. This is so, because analysis in the yellow light questions means and goals - it cannot question fundamental assumptions. Only in the red light can these assumptions, on which both means and goals have been built, become the object of analysis. I will try to show how this works by reflecting on the history of the bond between our two sacred cows.

There can't be any talk about education AND development without two assumptions. The first assumption is that an inner and outer world are separate from each other, both subject to management. A second assumption is that both of these spaces need to be filled with some product which is scarce. Education names the institutional enterprise which furnishes the pupils' inner world with skills, competence or attitudes which are both scarce and - in the educator's judgement - socially desirable. Development names the corresponding institutional process by which the outer world, conceived as an environment full of scarce resources, is transformed into a social space filled with goods of economic value. Education, in the restricted sense in which I here use the term, is related to learning under the assumption that socially valuable knowledge is scarce. "Development" becomes a useless verbal amoeba unless it is used to designate the creation of values under the assumption of their scarcity. Since E & D were tied together, human and material growth were imagined somewhat like construction enterprises in domains of
Each decade the perspective changed in which this complementarity was seen. At the outset the rhetoric was political and idealistic. Development was spoken of as the construction of a world fit for democratic or for socialist school-leavers. During the fifties the reciprocal relationship of the two spaces was already perceived in a different way. The coordination of inside and outside was now pursued to achieve so-called socio-economic progress. The trade-offs between investment in material and human capital were discussed for the first time. Crudely put, people had to be furnished with those qualifications which would make them into productive assets. The labour force was now seen as a human resource. Educational investment in human capital, next to plant capacity, raw materials and credit, was recognized as a major factor for economic growth.

In the seventies, moods and interpretative fashions changed again due to ecology and microprocessors - which I take as symbols. On the one hand it was understood that only within narrow limits, the environment could be used as a mine or as a dump. On the other hand it appeared that education had, so far, increased needs much faster than productivity. Education had helped to drive politically formulated demands far beyond the carrying capacity of the environment and this just at a time when the microcomputer began to replace people in production. Except for a scientific and professional minority, education is now more important to make people into disciplined consumers than into productive workers.

In these two steps, the bond of E & D lost its innocence. Education, as manpower qualification, is an enterprise by which people are disciplined for competent performance of work which remains meaningless to them. More recently, education, as training for clientage in the service industry, for computer use and for consumption, is an enterprise that teaches people to content themselves with meaningless lives off the job. In both ways education is a means to make people adjuncts to economic growth. But this economic growth will not come and if it comes it will be of an entirely symbolic nature. If the word "development" is to survive, it must now acquire a new meaning. So far it has meant more energy intensive goods and more professional service. Both types of growth have reached their asymptote, not so much because their externalities have become intolerable, but because they have become counterproductive. At this point, development can only mean a changeover from growth to a steady state. However, what steady state shall mean depends entirely on the way in which we interpret the present.

We can continue in the illusion that our most basic assumptions about human nature and society are somehow "natural" - that, without knowing it, all cultures share them with us. If we do this, we shall continue to assume that all cultures, in some
way, provide education for their young and that everywhere people live off scarce products. In this hypothesis, both education and commodity dependence, have always been the condition of man and it makes no sense to transcend them.

If we remain prisoners of this mind-frame, the development of a steady state society will require an unprecedented intensity of education and management. Only a hitherto unimagined degree of sober production, toil in consumption and mutual policing will make survival possible. Only life-long teaching, designed into the environment, can possibly provide that much "education". Re-reading Skinner might prepare us for this scenario of an eco-pedagogical dictatorship.

But we do not have to travel down this road. Now that work, education, progress, transportation and growth have all lost their luster - the time is ripe to discover publicly the historical origins of our assumptions. Take the assumption of scarcity. Most people now alive have acquired it during this generation. Take as an example transportation. A large part of all those still alive were born automobile. They had only their feet for moving about. Culture defined their range, but within this range they had almost unlimited access to each other. Getting from here to there did not depend, most of the time, on a resource which was scarce, which you could not get if I got it. This is totally different for us. We have created a world in which we have to be moved, in which we have to consume "passenger miles". And these are always scarce - if I get there, I compete with you for a seat. We belong to the human subspecies of homo transportandus. In the same way we belong to the subspecies of homo educandus. Once everywhere almost everything that people needed for everyday life they learned because it was meaningful to them and had proven useful. Now, we are constantly taught what is meaningful, from a perspective which is not yet ours and we are taught things that, we are told, one day will be useful to us. And we are taught only as much as we are able to pay for, or society is rich enough to give us. Education as a result of teaching, is always a commodity, a service and as such is scarce.

In the light of these two examples we can understand why education could so easily be coupled to economic growth; both enterprises are based on the assumption of scarcity and both tend to propagate the assumption, the experience and the organization of scarcity.

Education and Development are both social construction enterprises. Each creates that new kind of space which it then furnishes. Education creates the inner psychic void which demands to be outfitted and then monopolizes the production of its scarce furniture. Development redefines the outer world as "the environment" - a word now used to designate the container for scarce resources in which we live. Together E & D are the
catalyst which synthesizes the two into that commodity intensive reality within which we think and move.

E & D thus act as self-fulfilling prophecies about man. They create the subject which they supply with its wherewithals: Homo Economicus. In both instances they are "environmentally" effective. By creating an inner void, education blights the commons of sense and as a result homo becomes educandus: to learn he needs to be educated. Taught mother tongue devalues vernacular speech and sense. Industrial growth acts in a similar way. Conceptually and symbolically it transmogrifies the commons into a resource for the extraction, production and circulation of commodities and thereby destroys the milieu for local, culturally defined, vernacular subsistence. The schedules and distances that highways create make Homo Transportandus: a biped, immobile unless it is wheeled. Thus homo educandus and homo transportandus are not fictitious beings; however I trust that they do not represent an irreversible mutation of our species.

This hope of mine is shared by many in Mexican slums and Indian desas. It finds its expression in hundreds of funny and sometimes bitter jokes about E & D. But this hope is alien to most of my colleagues. As a result they cannot think beyond their professional noses. Their present concern is focused increasingly on one question: how to educate with much less money for an environment that requires "operators" much more skilled than they thought a decade ago. Even though they now want him to go "soft" for them Homo Economicus represents an irreversible mutation. And this is the reason why the transition from growth to steady state requires a new kind of co-management that I have called eco-pedagogics.

As I have said at the beginning, eco-pedagogics interest me for two reasons: first because industrial rationality reaches its high point in the so-called post-industrial co-management of the two spaces and second because through the attempt of this co-management both spaces can be easily exposed as recent social constructs which shortly might wane.

Both the inner void that calls for educational furniture and the scarce environment that must be softly and steadily turned into economic values are two politically homogeneous illusions. Both spaces are consistent with an ethical fantasy which Louis Dumont calls Homo Economicus and which has taken on flesh between Mandeville and Marx. Both, further, assume that this new being lives in a world milieu in which information and energy circulate, an illusion which has allowed our bearded forefathers to reduce language to communication, custom to work and gender to sex. Above all, E & D are mighty motors to create scarcity: expand the assumption of it, intensify the sense of it and legitimize institutions built around it. To expose the History of Scarcity on which I am now working: because if the sense of frustrating scarcity which defines our culture has a beginning
in history it might also have an end.

In fact, the ideal of the enlightenment of the "human" molecule is now fading. It is fading for two reasons: first because many of us recognize that it has a dark future and second because we understand that its descendence from past ideals is much less legitimate than we assumed. Far from fundamental desiderata both E and D might be nothing but useful supplements that ought to be soberly taken. The transition from growth to steady state does not have to be predicated on Homo Economicus whose every need for learning and survival must be satisfied through the social production of education and goods.

How shall I call the opposite project: the reconquest of the right to live in self-limiting communities that each treasure their own mode of subsistence. Pressed, I would call this project the recovery of commons. Commons, in custom and law, refer to a kind of space which is fundamentally different from the space of which most ecologists speak. Biologists speak of habitats and economists of a receptacle containing resources and opportunities. The public environment is opposed to the private home. Both are not what "commons" mean. Commons are a cultural space that lies beyond my threshold and this side of wilderness. Custom defines the different usefulness of commons for each one. The commons are porous. The same spot for different purposes can be used by different people. And above all, custom protects the commons. The commons are not community resources; the commons become a resource only when the lord or the community encloses them. Enclosure transmogrifies the commons into a resource for the extraction, production or circulation of commodities. Commons are as vernacular as vernacular speech. I am not suggesting that it is possible to recreate the old commons. But lacking any better analogy I speak of the recovery of the commons, to indicate how, at least conceptually, we could move beyond our sacred cows.

Truly subsistence-oriented action transcends economic space, it reconstitutes the commons. This is as true for speech that recovers common language as for action which recovers commons from the environment.
Another Development with Women

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DEALING WITH RESISTANCE ON THE PATH TO PEACE

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DEPASSER LA RÉSISTANCE SUR LE SENTIER DE LA PAIX

Résumé: La paix globale est possible. Le prix en est un changement dans nos esprits. L'auteur formule quatre thèses qu'il développe de la manière suivante:

. un ensemble de conclusions concernant la conscience humaine se fait jour qui sont compatibles avec la science moderne, respectueuses de la diversité culturelle et potentiellement universelles et dont les implications en termes de valeurs, motivations profondes et buts ultimes diffèrent radicalement de ceux qui sont implicites dans la société industrielle;

. ces conclusions mettent au défi les hypothèses soutenant le paradigme industriel moderne qui domine l'ordre global actuel;

. à mesure que les nouvelles hypothèses remplacent les anciennes, il devient possible de discerner les traits approximatifs d'un nouvel ordre global potentiellement viable et stable, fondé sur un paradigme transindustriel différent;

. un tel développement permettra, pour la première fois dans l'histoire, la dé-légitimation de la guerre et l'établissement d'une paix durable.

SUPERAR LA RESISTENCIA EN EL CAMINO DE LA PAZ

Resumen: La paz global es posible. El precio es un cambio en nuestros espíritus. El autor formula cuatro tesis que desarrolla de la siguiente manera:

. está surgiendo un conjunto de conclusiones relativas a la consciencia humana; dichas conclusiones son compatibles con la ciencia moderna, respetuosas de la diversidad cultural y potencialmente universales, y cuyas implicaciones en términos de valores, motivaciones profundas y objetivos esenciales difieren radicalmente de aquellos implícitos en la sociedad industrial;

. estas conclusiones desafían las hipótesis que sostienen el paradigma industrial moderno dominante en el orden global actual;

. a medida que las nuevas hipótesis reemplacen a las viejas, es posible
Willis W. Harman

DEALING WITH RESISTANCE ON THE PATH TO PEACE*

Global peace is possible. The price is changing our minds.

To that price there is great psychological resistance. Most of the world would still prefer risking nuclear annihilation to risking a fundamental change of mind.

The path to global peace involves major changes in the beliefs that prevail in both North and South. To make that assertion more specific I would like to develop the thesis through four propositions:

1. The goal of global peace requires the delegitimation of war.
2. This is feasible only if the preponderance of nations feel they can achieve no net gain through war, and particularly if the poor and populous portion of the world perceives for itself a future that is both achievable and fair.
3. This condition can be met only through reassessment of the basic premises underlying the present global order.
4. That in turn requires a reassessment of still more basic premises regarding human motivations, essential values, and ultimate goals.

I propose to examine these four propositions in the order given to explore their plausibility. Then I want to revisit them in reverse order, arguing that:

4a. A set of findings about human consciousness is emerging that is compatible with modern science, congenial to a diversity of traditional cultures and potentially universal - with implications for human values, deep motivations and ultimate goals that are sharply at variance with those implicit in modern industrial society.
3a. These findings challenge the basic premises underlying the modern industrial paradigm which dominates the present global order.
2a. As new premises replace the old it is possible to discern the dim outlines of a potentially viable and stable new global order, based in a different, transindustrial paradigm.
1a. That development will make possible for the first time in human history the delegitimation of war and the achievement of a stable global peace.

1. The delegitimation of war

Proliferation of nuclear weapons is no longer a possibility; it is an accomplished fact. The genie is out of the bottle, and it will not be enticed back in by arms limitation treaties or mass avowals of peace. An inexorably increasing number of countries have direct or indirect access to nuclear

* Delivered at the Universal Peace Conference in Mount Abu, India, on February 12, 1983.
weapons and their delivery systems. Some of those countries have deep and long-standing grievances, and some have earned reputations for reckless international behavior. Well-intentioned agreements and superficial value changes are not sufficient for the challenge.

All-out nuclear war is intolerable. To avoid nuclear brinksmanship, it will be necessary to establish a global order that is sufficiently equitable, and satisfactorily insures the security of the weak, so that no one can conceive of gain through nuclear aggression. The nuclear paradox is that the ultimate "defense" has imperilled us all. To extricate ourselves from this predicament will require fundamental change.

The toys of war have become too dangerous - to people and to life on earth - to allow the old rules to prevail. War is no longer a contest between armies; it is the desolation of civilian populations. Since no one can win by modern warfare, the legitimacy must be removed from war just as it has already been withdrawn from most other kinds of murder.

Almost no one aware of the global complexities really takes seriously that war could be abolished. Yet the abolishment of war may be more conceivable in the late 20th century than at any prior time in history, because of two developments of the last half century. One of these has already been mentioned - the spreading awareness that war has become too destructive of all of the things that wars have been fought for. The second is the advancement in the understanding of human consciousness, to be discussed below.

2. The need for an image of a viable global future

Throughout the world, economic, social and international policy is implicitly based in some image of global development - some picture of how human advancement will take place in diverse societies, as well as how we will exploit or care for the earth's resources and life-support systems. Practically all of that policy is founded on images of a global future that won't work, a future in which there is widespread human misery and conflict because of the gross disparities between the privileges of the rich and the wretchedness of the poor; because of forces pushing peasants off the land and into urban slums; because of the wrenching apart of societies by the temptations and imperatives of modernisation; because of deforestation and water pollution and soil destruction and a hundred other kinds of environmental spoilation; because of sudden wealth stemming from natural resources and coveted by the industrialized world; because of irreversible changes in plant and animal species, soil composition, climate, etc.

For example, the most widely held picture since World War II has the Third World countries catching up with, or following after, the industrialized countries. In other words, eventually these become mass-consumption, full-employment societies like the United States of America. But it has become clear that the planet cannot stand six or eight billion people with the high-consumption lifestyles modeled by the U.S. and a few other highly industrialized countries.

On the other hand, an alternative picture has the people in the advanced industrialized countries living their high-consumption lifestyles (necessary
to their economies) while the majority of the earth's population remain low-consumption (i.e., poor). One version of this is the "global factory" wherein there is specialization of labor—so some countries produce and consume luxury goods and services, and other countries specialize in providing them cheap labor for assembly, tropical fruits and raw materials. But increasingly these countries have at least indirect access to nuclear weapons and modern global communications raise their awareness of the discrepancies between their lives and those of workers in the richer countries. In the long run, this scenario does not portray global stability.

In either of the above scenarios, we have the disadvantaged groups, regions and nations—typically ex-colonies—being introduced to ways of life, techniques and economic imperatives which have the effect of destroying their traditions, imprisoning them in a state of dependence as pernicious as that of colonization, and weakening their abilities to contribute their own distinctive vitality and creative genius to the global community. Awareness of this fundamental flaw in conventional concepts of economic development has led to a search for alternative paths.

Thus in the past decade an enlarging segment of Third World thought has spoken of an alternative development which builds on the native cultural roots—in contrast to discarding those roots in favor of an alien Western industrial culture. Thus building, one can imagine a development that takes advantage of the strengths and creativity of the poor; that helps them reclaim their dignity by emphasizing self-reliance; that puts human growth and development ahead of economic and technological development per se; that sustains pride in their cultural heritage rather than fostering a sense of shame that it is not as good as the Western background; that chooses the type and timing of technology transfer to serve these social purposes of development.

From many standpoints, this alternative development emphasizing cultural integrity, self-reliance and human development seems most wholesome. If the country were not subject to powerful forces from the rest of the world, it might be a practical path to be desired. However, its feasibility is questionable when the people are subject to the tempting blandishments of consumer society. The prestige of Western high technology exerts a powerful pull, foreign exchange is earned by serving world markets, the elite profit through participation in the "global factory," and there is strong competition to industrialize faster than one's neighbors.

We are left with the absence of an image of a viable global future, and the suspicion that none is possible without fundamental change in the prevailing global order.

3. Reassessment of premises

It is not necessary to look to the impoverished peoples of the earth to see that the industrial society paradigm is encountering problems. The industrialized world, having lost any consensus on ultimate meanings and values, steers itself by the pseudoethic of economic logic. People are no longer referred to as citizens, but rather as "consumers." Problems abound—acid rain, toxic chemical concentrations, deteriorating water supplies,
environmental degradation. City governments openly announce that they can no longer afford to protect citizens in the streets; quality education for all is no longer an affordable goal; young couples can no longer afford to own their own homes. Yet hedonism and armament sales are "good for the economy"; pollution control is a "growth industry". The societies so successful at answering the "How to?" questions (How to build it bigger or faster? How to put a man on the moon? How to create new species through biotechnology?) are increasingly confused about the question "What for?". What is ultimately worth doing?

Increasingly, in the industrialized world, human activities become part of the mainstream economy and become judged by economic measures. Increasingly, economic rationality comes to prevail in making social decisions. The net result is alienated people and poor social decisions.

All sorts of goods and services whose contributions to the quality of life are questionable are provided in the mainstream economy because their production can be easily structured to generate a profit or to contribute to "national security". Meanwhile, many needed tasks are not accomplished because they are not easily so structured. That this is a flaw of industrialism rather than capitalism, a consequence of the predominance of economic logic in social affairs, is indicated by the fact that countries following a more Marxist path have similar problems.

Economic rationality is not suitable for guiding social decisions which will affect generations to come and peoples around the globe. For example, short-term "financial bottom-line" logic leads to decisions that may make sense to investors interested in earnings per share, but may be socially disastrous. Economic discounting at, say, fifteen percent per year, means that the welfare of future generations doesn't enter into present decision making.

4. Human motivations and values in industrial culture

It is critical that industrialism be seen as a particular cultural development, not an evolutionary destiny. The various industrialized nations have cultural differences between themselves, to be sure, but nonetheless the industrialized cultures are more alike than any of them is like the native cultures of Southeast Asia or the Islamic cultures of the Middle East. Industrial culture in Western Europe is very different from the medieval culture of the same area, and the various forms of "new age" thinking we can find in the highly industrialized societies today may be the precursor of a "transindustrial" culture which we at present can only dimly discern.

People who spend their lives in different cultures literally perceive different realities. Those of us who grow up in an industrial culture perceive a very different world than an Australian aborigine or a Bedouin or a Hopi. This phenomenon is very much like the alteration of perceptions by hypnotic suggestion. We are hypnotized by the cultural milieu that surrounds us, and we actually perceive reality as the culture has suggested to us we should perceive it.

Industrial society has its roots in the gradual secularization of values that characterized the waning of the Middle Ages in Western Europe. With
this shifting of the guiding values toward pragmatic and utilitarian ends, away from the traditional religious base, came new interests in exploration, colonization, development and application of new technologies, the birth of empirical science - and eventually, the growth of competitive capitalism, the industrialization of economic production, and the wedding of science and technology. Economic values came more and more to prevail over non-economic values in social decisions. An increasing fraction of human activity moved into the monetized economy and became judged by the standards thereof. Manipulative rationality came to dominate the knowledge system; that knowledge is valued which can be used to predict and control in the physically measurable world. Acquisitive materialism came to be assumed the dominating value. The "seven deadly sins" of medieval Christian theology - greed, avarice, envy, gluttony, luxury, pride, and sloth - became (except for the last) the driving forces of the new culture.

Those of us who live our lives immersed in industrial culture are literally hypnotized by it. We take as self-evident that industrial society's dominant beliefs and values are "natural" for people to espouse; that the motivations and goals individuals manifest in it are "normal"; that Western science gives the "best" picture of reality. We would find it extremely difficult, and it does not usually occur to us as particularly desirable, to enter into the cultural hypnosis of someone outside industrial culture and perceive as he or she does. We implicitly assume that eventually the planet will be populated with an industrial or hyperindustrial monoculture.

The central perception of North American Indian cultures has been described as: (a) everything in the universe is alive, and (b) we are all relatives. To feel the reality of that perception is a totally foreign experience to most educated Americans or Europeans. Similarly, the typical American would find it difficult to realize that the implicit goal in U.S. society, of ever-increasing consumption of goods, services, and information, might be viewed by an outsider as totally insane. Or the idea that economic considerations should be the major influence in social decisions (e.g. on land use or resource exploitation) which will affect future generations and people around the globe. Or the concept that pollution cleanup and high-technology armaments are "growth industries".

At the core of any culture are tacit understandings about the nature of human aspirations, relationships to one another and to the universe, the source of ultimate authority, etc. which are largely unspoken, untaught, and unquestioningly assumed. In industrial society these include something like the following:

. ultimate authority is the testimony of the physical senses and the reasoning analytical mind;
. what is real (or at least what is important) is what is measurable;
. knowledge is primarily an instrument of power and domination over unpredictable and sinister forces of nature and, ultimately, over social forces as well;
. persons are separate and autonomous, predominately seeking goals that relate to their physical well-being and self-gratification.
These and related tacit understandings (a) have been responsible for the great gains in material standard of living and the technological achievements of Western industrial society; (b) are now at the root of the global dilemmas that have recently become apparent; and (c) may well be in the process of change.

Unconscious believing, choosing, and knowing

Perhaps no finding in the social and psychological sciences is so well established as the discovery (more accurately, rediscovery) that the greater portion of our mental activity goes on outside of conscious awareness. We believe, choose, and know unconsciously as well as consciously. Yet we typically live, think and behave without taking seriously the implications of that finding.

Our lives are probably more affected by the beliefs we hold unconsciously than by our conscious beliefs. The conscious beliefs (e.g. that the earth travels around the sun) may be changed by rather straightforward educational processes. More deeply held partially conscious beliefs (e.g. that I am basically inadequate or unworthy) are not so easily changed, and their re-examination in psychotherapy often entails considerable inner struggle. Still more deeply held unconscious premises (e.g. about the basic nature of myself and my relationship to the universe) may be formed early in life and remain essentially unchanged throughout life; if they are altered it is likely to be in the context of a life trauma of major proportions.

Among these beliefs are beliefs about potentialities and limitations. These tend to be true in experience because they are believed, rather than the reverse. A ready example is provided by the phenomena of hypnosis. Acceptance of the hypnotic suggestion that a person cannot lift a chair weighing a few pounds produces a complete inability to lift the chair - it is as though it were bolted to the floor. On the other hand, a more positive suggestion may lead to the body being able to perform feats it could not otherwise do - form a rigid bridge between two chairs, for example, or lift a heavy weight.

This limiting-by-belief is ubiquitous and extremely important to understand. In some "primitive" cultures, for instance, strayed cattle may be located by sending the mind out over the hill to see where they are; in modern culture such clairvoyant remote viewing is known to be impossible, so we send out a helicopter instead. Recently, however, the military on both sides of the Iron Curtain have become interested in the intelligence applications of remote viewing. They find it to be a potentially reliable phenomenon, trainable by removing the unconsciously held belief that it is impossible!

We not only believe unconsciously; we also choose unconsciously. In this we are quite fragmented - the unconscious choosing is often in conflict with the conscious choice. In the phenomenon of repression, for example, one part of the mind chooses to hide things from, and lie to, the conscious part. The Freudian superego, and authoritarian internalized parent, chooses certain behaviors and goals and punishes deviations with guilt feelings. Another part of the self, some sort of deep intuition, knows the directions of wholesome growth and development and gently guides in these directions. Unless these various fragments of the self can be induced to align their choosing in the
same direction, inner conflict is unavoidable. The person in whom an integra-
tion of the inner fragments is more or less accomplished we refer to as "a person of integrity".

We also know unconsciously. Research in biofeedback training discloses
that we know unconsciously how to relax muscle tensions, change brain waves,
alter heartbeat or blood pressure, change blood flow and skin temperature —
but we don’t know we know without the feedback signal to instruct us. Un-
consciously I know how to operate this remarkable mechanism I call my phy-
sical body — to produce peptic ulcers or alleviate them, to heal wounds, to
replicate by procreation.

One of the tricks I know is how to hide from myself (repress) memories and
unsavory self-judgements so well that I can’t find them again! Another trick
is to protect myself against information or experience that would contradict
my unconscious belief system (denial) or imply the need for belief change
(resistance). The psychologist Abraham Maslow wrote on this resistance to
self-discovery in a paper felicitously entitled "On the Need to Know and
the Fear of Knowing". He pointed out that we are all ambivalent when it
comes to knowing about ourselves; we want to know and we also go to great
lengths to prevent ourselves from knowing. As Maslow says, we fear to know
the fearsome and unsavory contents of our inner mind, but we fear even more
to know "the godlike in ourselves".

Thus, one of the things we can be sure of is that attempts at self-discovery
will be accompanied by the uncovering of resistance. Even the innocuous
paragraphs above, for example, will arouse in some readers objections that
it is hazardous to explore one’s own mind without a psychiatrist as guide;
many people have gone “off the deep end”; it is socially dangerous to fail
to recognize the reality of evil in the deep mind; it is irresponsible to
refer to phenomena of remote viewing that have not been scientifically ac-
cepted, etc. Similar and perhaps even stronger evidences of resistance will
be elicited by the topic we address next.

4a. The spectrum of creativity

As previously noted, we know unconsciously much that we do not know we know.
I know unconsciously, for instance, how to search my personal memory files
for a forgotten bit of information or someone’s name. Consciously I don’t
have the slightest idea how I search the memory files, recognize the right
bit of information when it is encountered, and bring the information up to
conscious awareness. I may strain for a while trying to recall a name, and
then "file a request" with an unconscious portion of my mind which, later
on when my conscious mind is distracted or stilled, comes up with the missing
information.

We do not ordinarily think of applying the word "creativity" to such a
mundane accomplishment as remembering someone’s name. Nor do we apply it
to all the other accomplishments of the unconscious mind, from healing our
own wounds and protecting the body against bacteria and viruses to improv-
ising at the piano and driving a car without thinking about it. It will be
useful here to use the word more broadly to make a particular point.
Think of a spectrum of creativity with these mundane phenomena at the "low" end. Farther along are creative problem solving, intuitive judgment and hunches, aesthetic creation, etc. Some of these instances of creativity and creative problem solving are quite remarkable, as when a composer "hears" an entire musical composition and has only to copy it down, or an inventor intuits a complex solution to a problem. Still further toward the "high" end of the spectrum are instances of "automatic writing" where the manuscript seems to pass directly from unconscious mind to writing hand without passing through the conscious mind. Other more extreme instances of creativity seem to involve the person having information not available by ordinary means (e.g. diagnosis of illness at a distance without seeing or knowing the patient) or even producing effects not possible by our usual understandings of reality (e.g. extremely rapid healing, much faster than could be accounted for by the usual bodily processes). Way out at the high end we might think of the "grand inspirations" of the scriptures of some of the great religious traditions, which are thought to be divinely inspired.

Each person has some familiarity with things along this spectrum. Each draws a line somewhere and insists that beyond that point the reported phenomena are incredible. Different people, and different societies, place the line at different points on the spectrum.

What is being discovered in the field of research on human consciousness is that the perceptual bias of Western industrial society (disguised as objective science) has been limiting in a way that until recently was largely unsuspected. The more fully the spectrum of creativity is explored, the more it appears that the demarcation line between "plausible" and "preposterous" is a marker of our resistance, and there is no need to have it there at all. That does not mean of course, that we should believe everything we see or hear. But it does mean that we need not cling so tenaciously to our beliefs that certain things couldn't happen. As the Danish philosopher Kierkegaard once said, there are two ways to be fooled. One is to believe what isn't so, the other is to refuse to believe what is so.

In the end it is not clear that there are any limits to the abilities of the deep mind that are not fundamentally beliefs about the limits of the mind. And beliefs can be changed...

It is the repeated testimony of legions of creative individuals that the more one turns to the creative/intuitive mind for solutions and answers, the more faith is placed in it, the more results will justify the faith. This leads to the obvious question: why not submit to the deep intuition all questions and problems in life? At this point the resistance is strong indeed and for good reason. For to assent to accepting answers coming from the deep intuition is to relinquish all other means of guiding decisions - plans, goals, ethical rules, ambitions, and all the other ways in which the ego-mind maintains its sovereignty.

In fact, the ego-mind has a trump card to play. That is to convince the conscious mind that it doesn't know how to ask the deep mind anything, nor how to identify its answers. The confusion engendered is typically so thorough that the conscious mind isn't sure whether it believes the deep mind is real or not. It is more likely to believe that reaching the deep
mind must be very complicated and difficult, and take very many years to accomplish.

Fortunately, a number of simple techniques of imagery and affirmation are known for reprogramming the unconscious belief system. Resistance will insist that there couldn't be any simple approach, or will cause me to become easily discouraged. However, a great variety of research on exceptional human capabilities repeatedly seems to arrive at the conclusion that latent extraordinary mental and physical abilities await only the removal of unconscious barriers to become manifest.

The insight and wisdom of the deep intuition transcend any limits that might seem to be imposed by thinking of mind as some sort of isolated computer encased in an impenetrable cranium, connecting with the external world only via the nerve impulses in the sensory channels. Rather, at the level of the deep mind we appear not to be separated from one another or from the earth and universe. Our ultimate sense of security appears to come from full recognition of this oneness; our ultimate sense of meaning comes from identifying with the deep Center.

3a New premises for old

The great importance of the current reassessment of the potentialities of the mind-brain system is the light it sheds on value priorities and meanings, not only for industrial society, but for the rest of the world as well.

The need for one's life to have meaning, to make sense, is the most powerful value of any in our experience. Severe psychopathology and even physical symptoms can follow from failure to make one's life meaningful; suicide can be a statement that death has more meaning than life under some circumstances. On the other hand, we will willingly forgo physical comforts, or tolerate adversity, or risk our lives, in our insistent search for that which gives meaning to it all.

At the most fundamental level, the basic problem of modern industrial society is a crisis in meaning. Whereas in traditional societies the social matrix simultaneously instructs in meaning and provides the contrast for meaningful experience, the behaviors urged on people by the institution of modern urbanized high-technology consumer society are less and less congruent with the ways individuals find meaning in their own private lives. Decisions made by society affecting generations of future citizens and peoples around the globe are made, in the absence of consensus on deeper meanings, on the disastrous basis of narrowly defined, short-term, pragmatic, immediate gain.

The emerging new understanding of the human mind promises a fundamental corrective, providing as it potentially does a new basis for value consensus. But that is only part of the story.

Unlike most other areas of scientific endeavor where knowledge is genuinely new in human experience, the discoveries of consciousness research appear to be largely rediscoveries. Other explorers have gone before us. For an assortment of ideological, historical, and psychological reasons their
discoveries have not been easily accessible to us. However, through the past half-century, and particularly the past two decades, three remarkable developments have taken place:

i. through studies in cultural anthropology and comparative religion, it appears that the esoteric inner-circle understandings of the world's spiritual and shamanistic traditions, while not identical in emphasis, have an essential commonality in basic premises. This is in contrast to the publicly accessible, exoteric forms - the rituals, beliefs and practices - which obviously differ a great deal from one another;

ii. this esoteric core of the world's spiritual traditions has become public, particularly during the last two decades and among the better educated in the English-speaking West. This is evidenced not only by interest in meditation, yoga, holistic approaches to health care, etc., but also by increasingly widespread comprehension of Zen Buddhism, Vedanta, Sufism, Cabalism, the fundamental beliefs of the Native American Indians, etc.;

iii. this esoteric core turns out to be not in conflict with science, as was once assumed to be the case. No scientific findings disprove it; some findings in consciousness research seem to support it.

It is difficult to estimate what it could mean in terms of world understanding and the potential for global peace if we came to agree, around the world, on this common basic nature of human strivings and ultimate goals. Just as agreement on knowledge in the physical and biological sciences underlay the development of modern technology, so agreement on matters of fundamental meanings and values could provide a foundation for a workable global society, one that honors both the universal strivings of humankind and the diverse ecology of cultures which express, each with its own emphasis, the underlying unity of purpose.

New understandings of the human mind are challenging one of the basic assumptions underlying modern industrial culture, namely:

a) the assumption of limited mind and base motivations.

But there are at least two other assumptions that must also be dealt with before there is a chance of sustainable global peace:

b) the assumption of worldwide development toward mass-consumption, full-employment society;

c) the assumption of the legitimacy of war as a policy of the nation state.

2a. Characteristics of a viable global order

Some future historian may well observe in retrospect that the single most essential factor contributing to a lasting global peace was the agreement, around the world, on the fundamental nature of human beings and their relationship to the whole. Through the invention of weapons of mass destruction humankind had been on the brink of destroying civilization. Through a lusty technology and industry, and obliviousness to their true relationship to the earth, they had been on the verge of severely impairing the habitability of the planet. But then, through this global change of mindset,
the world began to rebuild human society in a way that was sustainable and equitable, a way based on the previously rare kind of unconditional caring for one another and for the earth that had so often been urged in the great spiritual traditions.

What is the nature of this workable global order in which our future historian lives? From our vantage point of 1983 it is difficult to discern very precisely. Whatever other characteristics of that global society turn out to be important, however, five stand out:

A. There is an ecology of cultures of varied forms; around the world, diversity is honored. As a climax forest gets its resilience from the diversity of trees and shrubs that make it up, so the human population of the globe creates a resilient society through the diverse strengths of a variety of cultures. This condition implies a modification of the dominant Western industrial culture which displays such a strong proclivity to overwhelm and subvert nonindustrial cultures.

B. There is a prevailing belief system, compatible with and based on the "perennial wisdom" of the world’s spiritual traditions, affirming the profound meaningfulness of human existence. Material "progress", economic growth, and equitable redistribution of wealth are understood to be not enough. People need a context that lends meaning to human lives; a "life work" guided by the deep intuition, rather than a "job" in the economy; a sense of cultural identity, of being a part of a group that is meaningful to one and feeling one’s life is making sense. Economic values and goals are clearly recognized to be unsuitable as end objectives for society; they are, rather, means toward the fullest development of the unlimited potentialities of human individuals and communities.

C. There is a prevailing ecological, cooperative ethic that recognizes the individual’s interdependence with all beings. Loving, sharing, cooperation, generosity, are cultural norms - not implying perfect human beings, but characterizing that behavior which is expected on the whole. There is a keen sense of planetary stewardship besides, of common responsibility for protecting the earth’s life-support systems and the welfare of our fellow creatures.

D. There has developed an adequate way of dealing globally with global issues. There is not an overall world government with highly centralized power. Instead there are separate networks which are granted legitimacy to employ power in their own sphere to manage the critical resources of the atmosphere and the oceans, the disposal of toxic chemicals, the control of weapons of mass destruction, etc.

E. While there are a few large organizations, in the main the society is fairly decentralized. A multitude of autonomous small organizations, articulated and coordinated by bonds of mutual trust, characterize the technical-economic, political-regulatory, and cultural-social spheres.

1a. Toward stable global peace

As there emerge development paths which emphasize human development over economic development, which do not violate the cultural integrity and cultural values of non-industrialized cultures, which foster autonomy and self-reliance of those developing societies, and which are consistent with the
goal of a global society which will be ecologically sustainable, politically stable (perceived as adequately fair) and compatible with the diversity of component cultures which constitute it, honoring and cherishing that diversity as a source of its vitality, then and only then are we on the road to global peace. The remaining step is to remove the legitimacy from war.

We need only remind ourselves at this point that legitimacy rests in the perceptions of people. People grant legitimacy; people on occasion withhold it. In recent years, legitimacy has been denied to the institution of slavery and to the subjugation of women, and to the holding of political colonies; economic subjugation and organized warfare are next on the list.

We can imagine a world in which the knowledge and ability exist to construct weapons of mass destruction, yet no one fears their use; a world in which the technological knowledge and power exist which, if misapplied, could wreak ecological and environmental havoc and contribute to widespread human misery and yet no one fears that misapplication; a world in which the kinds of knowledge that have brought about our impressive technological advances continue to be discovered, but that knowledge is tempered by another kind of knowledge - about optimal human growth and development, about our real relationships to one another and to the universe, about our deepest motivations and ultimate goals.

It is the imperative task of our generation to imagine such a world and to begin to create it. Only one barrier yet needs removing - the resistance brought about by our own fears. But since those fears are the product of our unconscious beliefs, they too can be changed.

(Viene de la pag. 14)

discernir los rasgos aproximativos de un nuevo orden global, potencialmente viable y estable, fundado en un paradigma transindustrial diferente; tal desarrollo permitirá, por primera vez en la historia, la deslegitimación de la guerra y el establecimiento de una paz durable.
1983: A NEW STAGE IN THE PROCESS OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION

POINTS FROM THE SIPRI YEARBOOK 1983

Again, in 1982, there was no progress in arms control or disarmament. It is a full decade since there has been any substantial measure of arms control. This absence of progress has been accompanied by accelerating trends on the armaments side. If the current arms control negotiations at Geneva fail, there is the prospect of an increase in the world stockpile of nuclear weapons from around 50,000 today to well over 60,000 early in the 1990s.

In the history of weapon procurement and deployment, certain years mark a new stage in the process of military confrontation. 1983 is such a year. Once new deployments have been made, they are rarely reversed; they usually prove to be 'points of no return'. If no agreement on nuclear weapons is reached, and large numbers of new missiles are deployed in Europe, that will mark a new stage in the confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. It could set back the possibilities of progress in arms control for a lengthy period. If an agreement is reached, the way will be open for progress towards more radical reductions in weapon numbers.

- World military spending has over the past four years (1979-82) increased at the rate of around 4% a year (in volume).

- Military expenditure in the United States, after falling in the post-Viet Nam period, has risen rapidly since 1979—by an average of 7% a year (in volume) up to 1982.

- Soviet military spending also continues to rise. The volume trend is difficult to establish with certainty, but estimates are of at least a 2% rise a year in recent years.

- The trade in major conventional armaments continues to boom. The total volume of world arms trade in 1978—82 was 80% greater than in the previous 5-year period. Weapon exports continue, for many supplier countries, to be considered a major instrument of foreign policy and an economic imperative.

- The dominant concern for 1983 is with attempts to control the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe.

- By the turn of the century, on present plans, France and Britain could have between them over 2,000 nuclear warheads. This is not a negligible number—given that the United States and the Soviet Union are discussing numbers such as 5,000 strategic nuclear warheads each.

- In the START negotiations on strategic nuclear weapons, the USA and the USSR now have substantially divergent approaches. Both propose big cuts but of different things.

- For the first time in the history of arms control negotiations, issues are being argued before the court of public opinion. The new peace movements have brought the negotiations into the open, and governments are beginning to take some account of public opinion.

- The danger of a major arms race in outer space took a forward leap in 1982. Both the USA and the USSR continued the development of anti-satellite weapons and space-based lasers. In 1983 the USA announced its intention to develop space-based anti-ballistic missile weapons, jeopardizing the spirit of the 1972 ABM Treaty.
Gandhi and Contemporary Thinking on Development

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As Ignacy Sachs put it in his discussion with Chakravarthi Raghavan (cf. p. 2) "having for some time been a student of Gandhian social and economic thought, I believe that his is one of the most important forerunners of the most modern trends in development theory". S.P. Varma, a senior Indian social scientist, substantiates this comment in the following paper which we have excerpted from a much longer one he had contributed to the IFDA Dossier some time ago.

Gandhi was basically neither a politician nor a political thinker. He was a seeker after Truth and had developed the conviction early in life that Truth could be reached only through non-violence. Non-violence for Gandhi was linked up with Truth. Truth was the end. Non-violence was the means of reaching it. It was "not merely a negative step of harmlessness" but "a positive step of love, of doing good even to the evil doer". "Those who seek to destroy men rather than their manners", he wrote, "adopt the latter and become worse than those whom they destroy under the mistaken belief that the manners will die with them. They do not know the root of the evil."

Truth and Non-violence were described by Gandhi "as the two sides of a coin, or a smooth, unstamped metallic disc" (there being no head or tail in it). Pursuit of truth "did not admit to violence being enforced on one's opponent"; "he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy". Non-violence for Gandhi was a great 'force', and it was here that he differed from the traditional advocates of non-violence who had talked of non-violence in a negative sense and associated it with non-killing of human-beings, and sometimes extended it to the non-killing of animal life.

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His technique of non-violence was directed primarily to political and social change (and sometimes towards changing the character of the human beings who were in close contact with him). Doing good to the evil-doer, according to Gandhi, does not mean "helping the evil-doer to continue the wrong or tolerating it by passive acquiescence". One had to resist the wrongdoer by dissociating himself completely from him, even though it might harm him, or injure him physically, as long as the inspiration behind action was that of love and not of anger. For Gandhi there was no distinction between ends and means. He treated them as a continuum. Adoption of wrong means could never lead to right results. One could not hope to get a rose by planting an obnoxious weed. He compared the means to a seed and the end to a tree. "We reap exactly as we sowing. He was, therefore, convinced that swarajya obtained through untruthful and violent means would inevitably lead to tyranny and exploitation. Swarajya did not come exactly in that way, and even the leaders of the Congress party through whom the struggle was carried, believed in non-violence as tactics rather than as a creed - the results of which we can clearly see in the contemporary India which is ridden with tyranny and exploitation.

Self-suffering was an indispensable part of the struggle for the attainment of Truth through Non-violence. The technique of Satyagraha that Gandhi developed involved not only Truth and Non-violence but also Self-suffering. Self-suffering which he regarded as "non-violence in its dynamic condition" had to be conscious. "Conscious suffering" did not mean to Gandhi "meek submission to the will of the evil-doer". It meant, on the other hand, "the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant". He himself continued to do so till the end of his life. He believed that it was "possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire" - something which he did not only practise himself, but for which he prepared the entire nation. Non-violence, in other words, for Gandhi, had nothing to do with weakness or cowardice. As is well-known he frequently made the statement that where there was a choice between cowardice and violence he would advise violence. Non-violence, therefore, had to be used only by those who were capable of using violence effectively but deliberately refrained from doing so and invited suffering upon themselves.

A social and economic reformer

Gandhi was essentially a social and economic reformer and not a politician. He took to politics because he realised that the existence of a foreign government - which he described as 'satanic' - was coming in the way of social and economic changes in the country. Gandhi's primary interest lay in the abolition of poverty and the active participation of the individual in the economic, political and cultural decision-making at all levels - the two principles which developmental literature has been highlighting since the early seventies. "The present distress", he
said in 1926, "is undoubtedly insufferable, pauperism must go". He always stood for untouchables, for women and for the desperate poor - for the "lowliest and the lost", in the words of Rabindranath Tagore. His conception of the Indian National Congress being, in essence, that of a body representing "the dumb, semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of the land in its seven lakh villages", he assured the Round Table Conference held in London in 1931, in his capacity as its sole representative, that it would be prepared to "sacrifice every interest for the sake of the interest of these dumb millions". "We may not be deceived", he said in 1944, "by the wealth to be seen in the cities of India. It comes from the blood of the poorest... I know village economics. I tell you that the pressure from the top crushes those at the bottom. All that is necessary is to get off their backs". "Let no one try to justify the glaring difference between the classes and the masses, the princes and the paupers by saying that the former need more" he said on another occasion, "that will be idle sophistry and a travesty of my argument. The contrast between the rich and the poor is a painful sight. The poor villagers are exploited by the foreign government and by their own countrymen - the city dwellers".

"True to his political instinct", Gandhi wrote to Rabindra Nath Tagore, "the poet lives for the morrow and would have us do likewise. He presents to our admiring gaze the beautiful picture of the birds early in the morning singing hymns of praise as they soar into the sky. These birds have had their day's food and soared with rested wings, in whose wings new blood had flown during the previous night. But I have had the pain of watching birds who for want of strength could not be coaxed even into a flutter of their wings. The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vision or eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has got to be experienced to be realized. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song from Kabir. The hungry millions ask for one thing - invigorating food". "Imagine, therefore," Gandhi continued,"what a calamity it must be to have 30Q millions unemployed, several millions being degraded every day for want of employment, devoid of self-respect, devoid of faith in God."

"I may as well place before the dog over there the message of God as before these hungry millions who have no lustre in their eyes and whose only god is their bread", Gandhi wrote further. "To them God can only appear as bread and butter."

Gandhi was in search of an "immediate, practicable and permanent" solution to the problem of poverty. Poverty and "enforced idleness" being related, in Gandhi's view - poverty, he believed, could be removed not by doling out charity to the poor but by giving them full employment - work that gave them a 'living wage'. This was the basis of his approach. He thought that it was degrading and demoralising both for the individual and the society to have parasites - individuals eating without work.
"My ahimsa," Gandhi wrote, "would not tolerate the idea of giving a free meal to a healthy person who has not worked for it in some honest way and, if I had the power, I would stop every sadavrata (free distribution of meals) where free meals are given. It has degraded the nation and it has encouraged laziness, idleness, hypocrisy and even crime ... Do not say you will maintain the poor on charity."

Swaraj, for Gandhi, did not mean political independence only. It meant social and economic change as well. "The two things - the social reordering and the fight for political Swaraj - must go hand in hand. There can be no question of precedence or division into water-tight compartments here". He was strongly of the view that independence in India would be rapidly followed by social and economic revolution, in the absence of which there could be a violent uprising by the impatient masses. Economic equality, he wrote, "is the master key to non-violent independence ... Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other. A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class cannot last one day in free India in which the poor will enjoy the same fruits as the riches in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good". He was of the view that the magnificent government buildings in New Delhi were to be turned into hospitals for the poor. He was confident that, on India attaining independence, "the peasants would take the land." He would not have to tell them to take it, they would take it. He regarded any compensation for the landlord as "fiscally impossible".

Gandhi believed in non-violence and not in a forcible acquisition of property and expected that, with the change of society in the direction in which he was advocating, the rich would themselves use their wealth not in their narrow self-interest but as trustees working on behalf of the poor. "Should the wealthy be dispossessed of their possessions?" To this his answer was, "To do this we would naturally have to resort to violence. This violent action cannot benefit society ... The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society". If, however, in spite of the utmost effort the rich did not become guardians of the poor in the true sense of the term, what was to be done? Gandhi was not without an answer. He had full faith in the remedy of non-violent non-cooperation and civil disobedience which could be applied as much against an indigenous
system of exploitation as against a foreign one. "The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the cooperation of the poor in society. If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread amongst the poor, they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities which have brought them to the verge of starvation."

Tradition and modernity in Gandhi

The roots of Gandhi's social and political thought can be traced back to Hind Swaraj, his first systematic publication, which is a clear vindication of his stand against the Western civilization. "Despite its dazzling surface", based as it was on "material attractions and madly feverish activity", he regarded it as "a hindrance rather than a help to the needs of human soul and the craving for better life". Writing to H.S.L. Polak from London on 14 October 1909 he emphasized that "increase of material comforts ... does not in any way whatsoever conduce to moral growth" and, in a letter to Lord Ampthill a few days later, described the British people as "obsessed by commercial selfishness", though, as was characteristic of him, he attributed the blame not to the British as a people but to the system "represented by the present civilization in which they were living". The true remedy lay, in his opinion, in England discarding modern civilization, which in Gandhi's view was characterised by a "spirit of selfishness and materialism", was "vain and purposeless" and "a negation of the spirit of Christianity".

When it came to the social aspect of caste and the status of women, Gandhi was, in the words of Gunnar Myrdal, "an uncompromising radical leveller and never more so than in his later years". Gandhi regarded caste not only as "an evil" but "an excrescence and a handicap on progress". "Down with the monster of caste that masquerades in the guise of varna", he wrote in 1927. He was in favour of intercaste marriages and himself promoted many of them. He carried on a continuous struggle against untouchability and had "no hesitation" in "rejecting scriptural authority of a doubtful character" if it supported a "sinful institution". He rejected all authority if it was "in conflict with sober reason or dictates of the heart". However, he did not believe in giving any special political privileges to the untouchables. "What I have said and what I must repeat is that I am opposed to their special representation. I am convinced that this can do them no good and may do harm."

Gandhi believed in the decentralisation of both economic and political power. Family was to be the unit of the social and economic life of the people and the village panchayat the unit of the political system. Means of production for basic necessities were to be owned by families, or a cooperative of families. Agriculture and cottage industries were to be owned and operated by families (without hired labour) or by cooperatives. The village was to be the basis of a just non-violent
social order founded on willing cooperation and the elimination of social conflict - all conflicts were to be resolved by peaceful and non-violent means - such as non-cooperation and civil disobedience. "My idea of the village Swaraj" Gandhi wrote, "is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its vital wants and yet inter-dependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus, every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playgrounds for adults and children. Then, if there is more land available, it will grow useful money crops, thus excluding ganja, tobacco, opium and the like. It will have its own waterworks, ensuring clean supply. This can be done through controlled wells and tanks. Education will be compulsory up to the final basic course. As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the cooperative basis ... Non-violence, with its technique of satyagraha and non-cooperation will be the sanction of the village community ... The Government of the village will be conducted by the panchayat of five persons, annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications". Gandhi described this kind of organisation as "perfect democracy based upon individual freedom". "In a structure composed of innumerable villages ...", he wrote, "life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual ... The outer-most circumsphere will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it".

While Gandhi was a strong advocate of swadeshi - "use of all home-made things to the exclusion of foreign things, in so far as such use is necessary for the protection of home industry, more specially the industries without which India will be come pauperised" but, as in other matters, he was not a faddist. "Even Swadeshi", he wrote, "like any other good thing can be ridden to death if it is made a fetish. That is a danger that must be guarded against. To reject foreign manufactures merely because they are foreign and to go on wasting national time and money in the promotion of one's country's manufactures for which it is not suited would be criminal folly and a negation of the Swadeshi spirit ... Swadeshi is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of selfless service that has its roots in the purest ahimsa, i.e. love". While Gandhi believed in village industries playing the key-role in the economic reconstruction of India, he recognised the need for some large industries organically related to the needs and requirements of agriculture and cottage industry. "I do visualise electricity, ship building, iron works, machine-making and the like existing side by side with village handicrafts", he wrote, "but the order of dependence will be reversed. Hitherto, the industrialisation has been so planned as to destroy the villages and the village crafts. In the state of the future it will subserve the villages and their crafts". "I do not share", he continued, "the socialist belief that centrali-
sation of the necessities of life will conduce to the common welfare, that is, where the centralised industries are planned and owned by the state ...".

Gandhi's constructive programme

Gandhi's constructive programme - which he equated with 'construction of complete independence by truthful and non-violent means' - was based, in its early stages, on attaining the fourfold objective of: 1) communal unity, 2) removal of untouchability, 3) prohibition, and 4) Khadi. "Unity does not mean", he wrote while defining communal unity, "political unity which may be imposed. It means unbreakable heart unity. One has to feel one's identity with every one of the millions of the inhabitants of the country ... He should have the same regard for the other faiths as he has for his own". The beginning of such a revolution had to be made without any political motive behind the correct conduct. Removal of untouchability, which he regarded as a 'blot and curse upon Hinduism', was for him not a mere political necessity. He appealed to every Hindu to make common cause with the Harijans (God's people - the name given by Gandhi to untouchables) and befriend them in their isolation, "such isolation as perhaps the world has never seen in the monstrous immensity one witnesses in India."

Prohibition, in Gandhi's view, was a vital social and moral reform, which he wanted women and students in particular to take up. Simultaneously, he appealed for the opening of recreational booths where the tired labourer could rest his limbs, get healthy and cheap refreshments, and find suitable games. Khadi symbolised, for Gandhi, the beginning of economic freedom and equality of all in the country. Khadi, with all its implications, means, Gandhi wrote, "a determination to find all the necessities of life in India and that too through the labour and intellect of the villagers. Instead of half a dozen cities of India and Great Britain living on the exploitation and the ruin of the 700,000 villages of India the latter will be largely self-contained and will voluntarily serve the cities of India and even the outside world in so far as it benefits". Khadi, for Gandhi, stood for decentralisation of the production and distribution of the necessities of life. Every village was to produce all its necessities and a certain percentage in addition for the requirements of the cities. In addition to Khadi, essential village industries, such as hand-grounding, hand-pounding, soap-making, paper-making, match-making, tanning, oil pressing, etc., were to be encouraged.

Gandhi subsequently added village sanitation, basic education, adult education, education in health and hygiene, improvement in the condition of the adivasis, service of the lepers and several other items in his constructive programme. Divorce between intelligence and labour having resulted in criminal negligence of the villagers, this had converted the villages into
dung-heaps, surrounded by dirt and offending smells. New or basic education, principally designed for village children, was meant to transform them into model villagers. It was expected to link the children, whether of the cities or the villages, to all that was best and lasting in India. Adult education, for Gandhi, was not to be equated with teaching illiterates to read and write but meant true political education of the adult by word of mouth as well as literary education. People were also to be educated in the art of keeping one's health and the knowledge of hygiene. Gandhi regarded the service of adivasis (tribals), over two crores of them scattered all over India, a part of the constructive programme. Care of lepers, the most neglected and despised people in the country, was for Gandhi as important as the winning of independence. "If India was pulsating with new life, it we were all in earnest about winning independence in the quickest manner possible by truthful and non-violent means, there would not be a leper or beggar in India uncared for and unaccounted for".

The upliftment of peasantry living in rural India was the base on which Gandhi envisaged the construction of the new India. "Independence is a mighty structure", Gandhi wrote, "eighty crores of hands have to work at building it, of these, the peasantry are the largest part. When they become conscious of their non-violent strength, no power on earth can resist them". He was against using them for power politics, which he regarded as contrary to the non-violent method. He often cited the satyagraha in Champaran, a mass movement which remained wholly non-violent from start to finish and affected over twenty lakhs of peasants, as the model of a satyagraha campaign for the eradication of grievances of peasantry, and the Ahmedabad Labour Union set up by him as the model for a labour union. As regards women, he believed that they should become equal partners with men not only in fighting for independence but also in rebuilding the country. "In a plan of life based on non-violence", he wrote, "the woman has as much right to shape her own destiny as man has to shape his".

What is important for us is to realise that Gandhi rejected violence but not conflict as the method of resolving it, the problem of human conflict being, in the words of Joan Bondurant, "perhaps the most fundamental problem of all time". It would be wrong to think of Gandhi - as many people seem to do - as a peace-loving creature. He welcomed a "conflict situation" as an efficient physician would welcome a chronic patient. In the words of Arne Naess, he "always gravitated towards the centre of the conflict", and remained there - at the centre of the struggle, at the heart of the conflict - till it was resolved by non-violent methods. Gandhi stuck throughout his life to the decision he had taken in 1893 at the Maritzburg railway station in South Africa when he was thrown out of a railway compartment and stood shivering and alone at the railway station wondering what he could do next. He then had two alternatives before him, as
he has mentioned in his autobiography: 1) he could return to
India, which he regarded as an act of cowardice, or 2) face the
problem and resolve it. "The hardship to which I was subjected"
he wrote, "was superfluous - only a symptom of the deep disease
of colour prejudice. I shall try, if possible, to root out the
disease and suffer hardships in the process". It would be
interesting in this connection to recall the use of the term
"creative tension" by Martin Luther King Jr., one of his
greatest followers. There was always latent tension in society,
he believed, which it was necessary for the health of the
society to be brought on the surface. Create a crisis - instead
of quietly submitting to the situation - and force the wrongdoer
to confront the issue. This, according to King was "a type of
constructive, non-violent tension, which is necessary for
growth". As Barker has pointed out, a tension of this kind is
healthy, normal and indispensable for the growth of individual
as well as for a social group. Creation of tension was, there-
fore, an integral part of the non-violent technique of direct
action. Elevating conflict to the level of tension makes it
more susceptible to a non-violent resolution, since tension in
such a situation is transformed into a "creative tension" and
makes a smoother resolution of the conflict easier.

(suite de la page 2)

Être résolus en un rien de temps. C'est ce qu'il faut faire. Les révolu-
tions surviennent quand les gouvernements oublient ce devoir.

Sachs: (...) Je reconnais tout à fait avec Raghavan que, pour mettre en
évidence le problème de l'autonomie économique, de la rupture des liens de
dépendance, utiliser la charka, le rouet, était un coup de génie. Toutefois,
il ne suit pas nécessairement que, dans l'Inde indépendante, il faille con-
tinuer à se servir de la charka.

Raghavan: Je ne partage pas entièrement cette façon de voir. Les idées
economiques de Gandhi ont fait passer une vérité essentielle, même pour
aujourd'hui, la manière d'éviter l'exploitation du village par les centres
urbains, les centres capitalistes. Gandhi a considéré l'économie comme un
moyen de rendre le village autosuffisant. Dans le cas de la charka, il
estimait que l'ouvrier devrait gagner sa vie en se servant de la charka. Il
a aperçu que l'ouvrier agricole moyen travaillait deux ou trois mois dans
les champs et que le reste du temps il était oisif. Il a vu aussi que les
femmes et les enfants avaient des périodes d'oisiveté. C'est pourquoi il a
introduit la charka en vue d'utiliser la main-d'oeuvre disponible ainsi
que pour produire les articles supplémentaires qui permettraient aux pay-
sans de se soustraire à la dépendance des biens produits par le système
capitaliste (...
Technology for the people

In his quest for a better life, man has come a long way. He has probed and solved many mysteries of the universe—of time and space, of matter and mind, of life and death. He has conquered long-dreaded diseases, built complex systems and miraculous machines, extended his reach into the most inhospitable corners of this planet.

Development

Science and technology have given him now the ability to choose a future and design new paths of development: the ability to be a master of his destiny to a degree inconceivable only a few generations ago.

For whom?

Yet one half of the world’s people live in poverty. And everywhere, the environment on which our and our children’s well-being so heavily depends, is rapidly deteriorating.

Science & Technology

Science and technology offer the knowledge and tools to fashion a just and long-term development—one which improves the quality of life for all without destroying the resources which will sustain future generations. The challenge is to translate the scientific knowledge and technological tools into products for the welfare of the people.

How?

This technology must be relevant, adaptable and in tune with local resources, skills and needs. In other words, Appropriate Technology. Technology that is usable, affordable, renewable. Technology which opens the doors to opportunities, work satisfaction and material rewards that never existed before. A co-operative effort in which everyone gains and no one loses.

- A technology where man is the master, not the slave.
- A technology which enhances man’s spirit without clamping his mind.
- A technology which generates sustained benefits rather than temporary relief.

- A technology that conserves resources and respects the limits of the environment.
- A technology which creates wealth for the community and not merely money for the few.
- A technology that is economically viable, and widely available.

- A technology for the people.

Development Alternatives

This precisely is the purpose of Development Alternatives. A new institution to transform the opportunities offered by technology into solid rewards for the people. To function as an agent of change for people in villages and to act as a bridge between what is within their reach and what could be within their grasp.

Why?

What sets Development Alternatives apart is:

- mass distribution of products for villagers through modern management methods
- small scale entrepreneurship fully backed by a nation-wide organisation
- self-sustaining, commercial operations directly aimed at social objectives
- high quality science harmonised with traditional knowledge.

Operations

Our product range meets the present needs of people and at the same time opens new paths to more food, water, energy, jobs. Our modern marketing system ensures widespread availability of our products and after-sales services.

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- Bicycle carts for both people and goods
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A CHILDREN'S REVOLUTION FOR 6 BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR 
(OR 1% OF WORLD MILITARY EXPENDITURE)

by James P. Grant

The latest 'State of the world's children', the annual report of the UNICEF Executive Director, James Grant, is one of those few documents which explain why 'in UN we believe'. It should be read by everyone. As a modest contribution to its diffusion, we reproduce below about one half of the full text which can be obtained from UNICEF offices everywhere, including Geneva (Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland) and New York (866 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, USA).

If the world's political leaders were to walk together through a village in the developing world they would only recognise about 2 per cent of the child malnutrition all around them. Indeed so invisible is the problem that, in one recent study, almost 60 per cent of mothers whose children were suffering from malnutrition believed that their children were growing normally and developing well.

The Third World's hunger is a hidden hunger. Visible malnutrition is rare. And it is time that the skin and bone image of the starving baby - an image which is too often used to represent the developing countries - was replaced by a greater international understanding of what child malnutrition really means.

Today, an invisible malnutrition touches the lives of approximately one quarter of the developing world's young children. It quietly steals away their energy; it gently restrains their growth; it gradually lowers their resistance. And in both cause and consequence it is inextricably interlocked with the illnesses and infections which both sharpen, and are sharpened by, malnutrition itself. (...)

The net result is that every day of this last year more than 40,000 young children have died from malnutrition and infection. And for every one who has died, six now live on in a hunger and ill-health which will be forever etched upon their lives. (...)

1/ For the purpose of recalling the main elements of the child health revolution which is now possible, some in UNICEF now use the mnemonic GOBI-FF to stand for Growth charts, Oral rehydration therapy, Breastfeeding, and Immunization - plus the more difficult but equally vital elements of Food supplements and Family planning. Of course in many countries, the key elements may differ.
To allow 40,000 children to die like this every day is unconscionable in a world which has mastered the means of preventing it. Yet progress towards preserving the lives of our children is now actually slowing down. (....)

Overall, present trends predict that the proportion of the world's children who live without adequate food, water, health-care, and education - a proportion which has been steadily declining for more than a generation - will now remain approximately the same at the end of this century as it is today. Meanwhile, the absolute number of children living and growing in malnutrition and ill-health is set to increase. According to the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization, for example, a continuation of present trends until the year 2000 would see "a horrifying increase in the numbers of the seriously undernourished to some 600-650 millions". In other words, the number of malnourished children in the world would increase by approximately 30 per cent. (....)

UNICEF is now of the belief that the social and scientific breakthroughs of recent years are at this point coming together to put into our hands the sudden means of bringing about a revolution in child health. A serious commitment to that revolution by peoples and governments could yet re-accelerate progress for the world's children, slow down the rate of population growth, and reduce child malnutrition and child deaths by at least half before the end of the 1990s. (....)

A children's revolution

The backdrop to the children's revolution which we now believe to be possible is the idea that organised communities and trained paraprofessional development workers, backed by government services and international assistance, could bring basic education, primary health care, cleaner water and safer sanitation, to the vast majority of poor communities in the developing world.

Such strategies are now beginning to take hold in nations containing a majority of the developing world's population. At the same time, new scientific and technological breakthroughs have also been made against some of the most widespread and intractable problems of health and nutrition. Put together, these social and scientific advances now offer vital new opportunities, four of which are described below for improving the nutrition and health of the world's children. For all four actions the cost of the supplies and technology would be no more than a few dollars per child. Yet they could mean that literally hundreds of millions of young lives would be healthier. And within a decade, they could be saving the lives of 20,000 children each day. It is not the possibility of this kind of progress that is now in question. It is its priority.

Oral rehydration therapy

The first breakthrough is the discovery of oral rehydration therapy (ORT). And its importance is that it can stop the dehydration - caused by the draining of the child's body as a result of diarrhoeal infection - which now kills an estimated 5 million young children a year and is by far the biggest single cause of death among the developing world's children.
Shortage of clean water, infrequent washing of hands, unsafe sanitation, and the lack of health education mean that the average child in a poor community of the developing world will have anything between six and sixteen bouts of diarrhoeal infection each year. Often the mother's response is to withhold food and fluid. And the result of this is that the child is malnourished by both the illness and the treatment. Each episode of the infection can increase malnutrition. Each increase in malnutrition increases the risk of another infection. Each period of weight loss, broken only by the plateaux of partial recovery, leads the child further down the broad staircase of malnutrition.

Most children recover. But many fall into sudden and severe dehydration. In only two or three days, 15 per cent of body-weight can be lost. And at that point, death is between one and two hours away.

This is not a theory. It kills a child every six seconds. And previously it could only be treated by qualified nurses or doctors using expensive intravenous feeding in an often inaccessible hospital. With the discovery of oral rehydration therapy, it can be treated by a mother giving her child the right mix of sugar, salt and water in her own home.

This is a breakthrough which was made possible by the discovery that adding glucose to a solution of salt and water can increase the body's rate of absorption of the fluid by 2500 per cent. But because it is also a breakthrough which could save the lives of up to 13,000 children every day, it has been described by The Lancet, a leading British medical journal, as "potentially the most important medical advance this century".

To realise the potential of the ORT breakthrough, there will have to be an equivalent "social breakthrough" in making the knowledge and the means of oral rehydration therapy available to the 500 million mothers and young children in the poorest areas of the developing world.

To achieve that, every available channel will have to be involved - the community's own organisations, the radio and the mass media, the billboards and the adult education centres, the women's groups and the community development workers, the primary health care networks and the health services themselves. (...)

With the right ingredients available, and with the knowledge that drinking - not the withholding of fluid - is the right response to childhood diarrhoea - ORT could become a "people's medicine" and put into the hands of parents themselves the means to save the lives of most of those five million infants who die each year from diarrhoeal infections. (...)

**Universal child immunization**

The second element of the children's revolution which is now possible is the increasing feasibility of immunizing all children against measles, diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, poliomyelitis, and tuberculosis, as long urged by WHO. Together, these six diseases kill an estimated 5 million children a year in the developing world and account for approximately one third of all child deaths. Tetanus alone kills a million children a year. Whooping
cough claims the lives of another 600,000.

The need to administer repeated booster immunizations to children and the primary injection of new-borns requires a well-organized delivery system. Social breakthroughs in the organization of communities to ready them for immunization campaigns are therefore as important as the technology of immunization itself.

In recent years, the growth of community organizations and the increase in the numbers of paraprofessional development workers has made the social organization of immunization more possible than ever before. To match these new developments, scientific advances have been made in producing vaccines which are more heat-stable and therefore more portable. The sensitivity to heat of several vaccines has constituted one of the main constraints to the expansion of immunization programmes.

Work is underway however on the development of more stable and more effective vaccines and already major improvements have been made, for example, in measles vaccine - allowing it to be carried on patrol to reach rural populations further away from centres with refrigeration facilities.

The cost of immunizing a child has also decreased. Measles vaccine, as one instance, now costs less than 10 cents per dose. And as with each of these possible interventions, the improvement of children's lives is as dramatic as the prevention of children's deaths. For such diseases are also major causes of malnutrition. (...) And incomplete as it would be, immunization of all children against the major diseases would also be an indirect "immunization" against malnutrition itself. Any increase in protection against malnutrition would, in its turn, reduce the risk of infection. A malnourished child who contracts measles, for example, is approximately 400 times more likely to die of the disease than a child who is adequately fed.

The promotion of breastfeeding

The third low-cost opportunity to significantly accelerate progress in the nutrition and survival of infants is the campaign to halt and reverse the disastrous trend from breast to bottle-feeding. And if such a campaign were comprehensive enough to change medical attitudes and hospital practices, to control irresponsible promotion and marketing of artificial infant formulas, and to help mothers both to improve their own nutrition and to be reassured that breastfeeding is best, then UNICEF believes that one million infant lives a year could be saved within a decade from now.

It is a campaign to which UNICEF, the World Health Organization, and many other individuals and organizations are now committed. And the facts are these:

Breastmilk is the best food for a baby in any society. But in the materially-poor communities of the developing world, its advantages over bottle-feeding can widen to a difference between life and death.

Usually unable to read the instructions on a tin of formula, or to afford enough artificial milk over so many months, or to boil water every four
hours, or to sterilize the necessary equipment, or to return to breast-feeding once she has stopped, the low-income mother who is persuaded to abandon breastfeeding for bottle-feeding in the developing world is being persuaded to spend a significant proportion of her small income in order to expose her child to the risk of malnutrition, infection and an early grave.

The evidence to prove what common sense suggests has recently been coming in from all parts of the world. In Brazil a 1980 study found that among the young children of poor parents, bottle-fed babies were between three and four times more likely to be malnourished. In Egypt, a similar study of bottle-feeding has shown the risk of infant deaths to be five times greater. In Chile, WHO has reported that babies bottle-fed for the first three months of life were three or four times more likely to die than their brothers or sisters who had been exclusively breastfed. In India, bottle-fed babies have been found to suffer from twice as many respiratory infections and three times as many episodes of diarrhoea as babies who had been fed at the breast. (...)

The advantages of breastmilk begin with improved hygiene and nutrition but do not end there. In recent years, the immunological qualities of breastmilk - and especially of thecolostrum which precedes it - have been more fully appreciated. In addition, the prolactin which breastfeeding releases in the mother's own body is also a natural contraceptive. And although an unreliable form of family planning from the individual mother's point of view, it nevertheless prevents several million conceptions a year in mothers whose bodies have not fully recovered from a previous pregnancy.

Finally, breastmilk is cheaper. The foreign exchange costs to the developing nations of imported baby milk formula will run into billions of unnecessary dollars in the 1980s. And for individual families, the cost of feeding a baby on adequate quantities of artificial milk works out at more than half of a labourer's weekly wage in Uganda, or Jamaica or Nigeria, or of a clerk’s take-home pay in Sri Lanka or Indonesia. Not surprisingly, one recent study in Barbados found that three quarters of low-income families who had abandoned breastfeeding were stretching a four-day tin of baby milk to make it last anywhere between five days and three weeks. At that point, of course, it is the infants themselves who pay the highest price.

Breastfeeding has declined steeply in the developing world. (...) In industrialized countries breastfeeding, after a steep decline, is increasing again.

Among the main causes of that decline has been the spread of artificial infant milk whose manufacturers looked outward from the stagnating markets of the industrialized countries in the 1960s and 70s and saw the potential of increasing sales among the large and rising infant populations of the developing world. (...)

In recent years, the fight back has begun. At least 35 nations have now adopted measures based on the 1981 World Health Assembly's "International Code on the Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes" and many manufacturers of infant formula have begun to change their marketing practices towards an accordance with the code.
The results are already reducing malnutrition and saving lives. In Papua New Guinea, where legislation was passed as early as 1977, the bottle-feeding of babies has fallen from 35 per cent to 12 per cent and the percentage of seriously under-nourished infants has also fallen from 11 per cent to four per cent.

In India, WHO and UNICEF have jointly sent letters to all members of parliament and all paediatricians explaining the campaign to promote breastfeeding and asking for their support. At the same time, UNICEF publications about breastfeeding - reinforced by advertisements in popular magazines - have now reached all medical and health institutions in the sub-continent. (...)

Not all the codes now being adopted are as effective as they should be. But a start has been made on a campaign in support of which governments and people the world over can help to reduce the most unnecessary malnutrition of all. That campaign has UNICEF's fullest moral and material support.

Growth charts

The fourth possible breakthrough against child malnutrition and ill-health is the mass-use of simple child-growth charts kept by mothers in their own homes as stimulus and guide to the proper feeding of the pre-school child.
Almost all child malnutrition is invisible - even to mothers. Consistent under-nutrition, successive infections and bouts of diarrhoeal disease, can all hold back a child's growth over weeks and months in a way that may pass unnoticed by the mother. But it will not pass unnoticed by the chart.

Regular monthly weighing, and the entering up of the results by the mother herself, can make malnutrition visible to the one person who cares most and can do most about improving the child's diet. And there is evidence to suggest that in as many as half of all cases of child malnutrition it is the invisibility of the problem, rather than the lack of food in the family, which is the principal constraint on improving the nutritional status of the child.

That is why the simple act of rendering the problem visible can in itself reduce the incidence and severity of child malnutrition. A child who has just had measles or suffered an episode of diarrhoea, for example, may well have failed to gain in weight from one monthly weighing to the next. When the mother can see that this has happened, her spontaneous reaction, if there is food available, is to give the child more at the family's evening meal, or to feed the child more frequently, or to persist in persuading and helping the child to eat even when appetite is depressed.

To take one specific example, the accompanying chart plots the growth of one individual child in a poor Central American community and tells a story which is typical of childhood in the developing world. For the first six months of life, breastfeeding keeps this infant growing normally. Thereafter, as weaning begins and contact with the outside world increases, malnutrition and infection, each making the other worse, begin to drag down the child's growth so that the weight gain between the ages of six months and three years is only one kilo.

If the mother of this child had been able to see this problem - on a growth chart in her own home - then the child's progress would almost certainly have been better. Apart from being a scientific early-warning system, such charts can offer encouragement by making the solutions as visible as the problems. Breastfeeding's success, for example, is clearly visible on this chart. And immunization and the availability of oral rehydration therapy would both have made a dramatic difference to a child whose "life-line" shows approximately 16 weight losses from diarrhoeas and infectious diseases in its first three years.

Often, growth charts have been kept in clinics rather than in homes and the weighing, monitoring and evaluating have been the responsibility of health personnel rather than of mothers. But the revolutionary potential of the growth chart will only be released when this pattern is reversed and the technology of the chart and scales is used to involve and enable the mother in the task of improving her child's nutrition rather than to alienate her from that responsibility by professionalizing the process and wrapping its techniques in mystery. (...)

In different regions and cultures, the child growth chart idea would need to be assimilated into different familiar forms of weighing, different traditional forms of social organization, different opportunities for
participation. In some places, the weighing itself may be the stimulus around which the means and the knowledge of other health improvements - in-formation about oral rehydration salts and vaccination campaigns, discussion of weaning foods and breastfeeding, provision of iron and folate pills for pregnant women and of vitamin A tablets for children - might be made available. In other places, other activities might provide the forum for participation - and therefore the point of entry for the technology of growth charts to become what it ought to be - a people's science.

Social organization

These four specific opportunities - oral rehydration therapy, universal child immunization, the promotion of breastfeeding and the mass use of child growth charts - are all low-cost, low-risk, low-resistance, peoples' health actions which do not depend on the economic and political changes which are necessary in the longer term if poverty itself is to be eradicated. They are available now.

In practice, all four of these actions could help to stimulate further participation in further health improvements. Similarly, all four would be mutually reinforcing - so that the impact of the whole could be considerably greater than the sum of the parts. Taken together as the leading edge of a basic services and primary health care strategy, and vigorously backed by governments and international agencies, UNICEF believes that these new opportunities have opened up the possibility of a children's revolution which could re-accelerate progress and save the lives of 20,000 children each day by the end of the 1990s.

This opportunity to do so much for so many and for so little comes at a crucial moment in history. It holds out hope for children in darkening times. And it arises as much from social as from technical change. Fifteen years ago, for example, such a revolution would not have been possible.

Social organization is the key to community health. And in recent years, the patient work of communities, individuals, government bodies, non-governmental organizations, and international agencies, has helped both to discover these new opportunities and to help create the growing social infrastructure, the community organizations and the paraprofessional development workers, the primary schools and the primary health networks, the peoples' movements and the trained professionals, the roads and the radios - which now make such revolutionary progress possible.

In Asia alone, for example, India has trained 100,000 community health workers and retrained 150,000 traditional birth attendants in recent years. In Thailand, 11,000 village health workers have been given basic training and 112,000 "village health communicators" are now serving almost a quarter of the population. In Vietnam, 8,500 health centres support the work of community development workers selected and paid for by each community. In China, over two million "barefoot doctors" are providing basic health care backed by highly sophisticated services where necessary - for a billion people. And in the last year alone, nearly 900,000 people have received training or re-orientation through UNICEF stipends and more than 300,000 institutions - from primary schools to village health centres - have received UNICEF supplies and equipment.
These "social breakthroughs" are the missing link between the know-how of science and the needs of people. And where that link is in place, a sudden increase in child health and child survival is now clearly possible.

**Birth spacing**

At this point, an obvious question arises from the apparent conflict between this potential "survival revolution" and the need of the majority of developing countries to slow down their rates of population growth. But it is a conflict which is dissolved by time. For when people become more confident that their existing children will survive, they tend to have fewer births. That is the principal reason why no nation has ever seen a significant and sustained fall in its birth rate without first seeing a fall in its child death rate.

Historically, when overall death rates make that first steep fall from around 40 per 1,000 as a result of eliminating epidemics, the decline in birth rates follows a long way behind. The result is rapid population growth. Fortunately, history has also shown, in the era since World War II, that when overall death rates have fallen to around 15 per 1,000 people - which, significantly, is about the average for the low-income developing countries today - then each further fall of one point in the death rate has usually been accompanied by an even larger fall in the birth rate. Thailand's 7 point fall in death rate (from 15 to 8 per 1,000) between 1960 and 1980, for example, was accompanied by a 14 point fall in the birth rate. In the same period Costa Rica's 5 point fall in death rate (from 10 to 5 per 1,000) was accompanied by an 18 point fall in the birth rate. Similarly, an 8 point fall in the death rate of the Philippines was accompanied by a 12 point fall in birth rates.

Paradoxically, therefore, a "survival revolution" which halved the infant and child mortality rate of the developing world and prevented the deaths of six or seven million infants each year by the end of the century, would also be likely to prevent between 12 and 20 million births each year. (...)

**Political will**

Even if the technological know-how and the social organisation is available, re-accelerating progress in child health depends upon the will to do so. In some nations, political will can be stimulated by national and international advocacy. Research and publicity, for example, can help to get across the message that simple diarrhoea is the major killer of children in most countries of the world today and that a government committed to the greatest health of the greatest number at the lowest possible cost would certainly give more priority to oral rehydration salts than to heart-transplant technology.

But just as the political commitment - in support of technological and social change - can achieve results, so achieving results can help to bring about that commitment. For no advocacy is as convincing to governments as successful action to demonstrate that substantial improvement is possible at low cost and in a short space of time. And one of UNICEF's goals, in co-operation with its many partners in the development process, is to demonstrate
that potential. (...)

But if the political will can be created, then the opportunities outlined in this report so far, opportunities which have been distilled from and are available through the social and scientific progress of recent years, can be the additional means by which people participate in revolutionizing their own children's health and re-accelerating the planet's progress toward the goals which the international community accepted only two short years ago.

Food and jobs

The opportunities discussed so far are all ways of "taking up the slack" created by recent social and scientific advances. And they are all ways which would help to reduce malnutrition by helping to improve the use of available food - both in its use by the child's body and in its allocation by the child's family.

But these improvements can only go so far before running into the hard rock of the malnutrition problem - the lack of food itself. For if a family cannot provide enough calories, proteins and vitamins for a child's growth and health, then growth charts will flag the need for food in vain and malnutrition will become inevitable. Today, approximately one third of families whose children are malnourished fall into this category: they are just too poor to fight it.

For those who simply do not have enough to eat, the long-term solution lies in having either the land with which to grow food or the jobs and the incomes with which to buy it. But as many as one-third of the Third World's labour force is now unemployed or under-employed. (...)

In general, the labour-intensive route to efficiency is more appropriate in most of the developing world today - as the example of Northeast Asia has convincingly shown. The average farmer in China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea, for example, produces far more food per acre of land than his counterpart in India or Pakistan. And the reason is that credit and marketing, training and technology, education and health services are geared to the family with an average holding of approximately two acres. In the Punjab of India and Pakistan, by contrast, such services have been geared to the farms of 20 acres or more.

Greater equity could therefore increase the production and lower the price of food. But, even more important, it could increase the production of food by the poor for the poor. And in so doing it could begin to break down the walls which have been built up between agriculture and nutrition in so many countries of the world. And at this point, of course, a better-nourished work force would add a new twist to the upward spiral of increasing employment and increasing production. (...)

However important increasing production may be, it is clearly not the central problem. And the answer to hunger is therefore not ultimately technological. The problem is rather one of what crops are grown by whom on whose lands and for whose benefit. And the solution lies in political and economic change to allow the poor to both participate in, and benefit from,
the increases in production which can most certainly be achieved.

One of the most difficult and necessary of those changes is land reform itself. Two-thirds of the "poorest billion" live in the rural areas of the developing world. And for the majority, whether there is enough food to eat depends on whether they have access to land and the right to the fruits of their own labour.

Some will no doubt say that UNICEF should concern itself with children, not employment and land reform. But concern for children cannot be oblivious to the fact that the death rate of those children in the villages of Bangladesh, for example, is twice as high in the families of the landless as in the families of those who own land. (...) Concern for children's health and nutrition is therefore inseparable from a concern over the lengthening shadow of landlessness cast by the increasing concentration of its ownership. In Bangladesh, for example, more than half the land is now owned by 10 per cent of the landowners. In the Philippines, four per cent of farms cover over a third of the country's cropland. In Kenya, 3,000 large farmers own more land than the country's three quarters of a million smallholders. In Bihar, India, the poorest half of the population has less than four per cent of the land. In Latin America as a whole, seven per cent of the landowners control 93 per cent of the soil whilst the poorest third of the people have to manage on just one per cent.

In total, an estimated 600 million people in the rural areas of the developing world now lack secure access to the land on which they could grow the food to feed themselves and their families. And as the ranks of the landless swell, those who oppose justifiable land reforms which could give millions of poor people in the world the means of producing food, may eventually prove the wisdom of the words that "those who make peaceful change impossible make violent change inevitable". (...) Food supplements

Land reforms and economic growth to give the poor access to land, jobs, increased productivity and higher incomes are an essential part of the long-term solution to the poverty from which malnutrition and ill-health are born. But for the very poorest families, hunger and ill-health themselves form a prison in which increased education, energy, and incomes are only to be gazed at through the bars. In many parts of Africa for example, and in the shanty towns which surround many of the Third World's cities, the poorest families are already spending three-quarters of their income on food and still they cannot keep malnutrition away from their children. And in many of those urban areas food prices are likely to go on rising.

For such families, action against malnutrition is a minimum precondition for, and not an incidental by-product of, their economic development.

If the children of those poorest families are allowed to grow up malnourished, then the cycle of ill-health, low energy, low productivity, low incomes and a low level of financial and energy investment in improving family and community life will be perpetuated into a new generation.
Somewhere, somehow, this cycle must be broken into. And experience suggests that the answer to "where" is in pregnancy, lactation, and weaning, and that the answer to "how" lies in some form of food subsidy for the families of those who do not have the means to earn enough to buy the right amount of food in those vital years.

Intervention to get more food to undernourished pregnant women is almost certainly the most cost-effective single point at which to break into that cycle. For it is known that the nutritional well-being of the pregnant woman is the most decisive factor in the birth weight of the baby - and that the birth weight of the baby is the most decisive factor in its chances of survival. Low birth weight babies (below 2,500 grammes) for example, are three times more likely to die in infancy than babies of normal weight at birth. And the result is that the 10 to 15 per cent of babies born with low birth weights now account for between 30 and 40 % of all infant deaths in the developing world (...).

After the birth of the child, the mother needs both the reserves built up during pregnancy and an adequate daily intake of food if she is to meet the new energy demands of breastfeeding and all the additional tasks of looking after an infant's health and well-being. For the very poorest mothers at this time, some kind of food supplement is therefore again indispensable if the energy needs of mother and child are to be met.

At the age of five or six months, breastmilk alone is no longer sufficient for a child's needs. And if the gradual introduction of other foods does not now begin, then weight gain falters, the growth curve flattens, the risk of infection increases, and malnutrition takes a grip on the young child's life. Delaying weaning therefore gives millions of infants the first unintentional push down the slope of malnutrition. In India, for example, 36 per cent of all infants in the rural areas and 40 per cent among the urban poor are still being exclusively breastfed at the age of one year. For one-fifth of those children, weaning has not begun even at the age of eighteen months.

Regular monthly weighing and the use of growth charts is by far the best way for a mother to decide when weaning should begin. And immunization and oral rehydration therapy can help to combat the increased risks of infection and diarrhoea which come when a child is weaned into more contact with food and water from the outside world. But it is just as important that the mother is able to give her child the right weaning foods in the right way and in the right quantities. And for that she needs both the knowledge and the food.

During the vulnerable weaning period, nutrition education is therefore an important element of basic community services and primary health care. But it should not be forgotten that when the poorest mothers go shopping, they usually get two or three times more proteins and calories - per unit of currency - than the rich. Among the very poor, lack of income is therefore the main constraint on better diets. Subsidised food at the time of weaning, as well as in late pregnancy and early infancy, can therefore be the sharpest means of cutting into the closed circle of malnutrition which now traps the families of the very poor. And that food supplement might also be a necessary safety net for those families hit by drought or flood, or the desertion of a husband, or the loss of a job.
In sum, it does not seem likely that widespread malnutrition among the most needy families in the world can be effectively overcome without some form of consumer food subsidy, targeted to those most in need, in addition to the kinds of intervention outlined earlier in this report.

Food subsidy is a complex and controversial issue. But when the dust has settled, the fact remains that most nations which have ever made great progress in reducing malnutrition among the poorest of their peoples - from the People's Republic of China to the United States of America - have used food subsidies as one of the means of doing so. And its potential as a weapon against the worst of hunger has also been dramatically demonstrated in low-income developing nations like Sri Lanka, or in regions like the Indian state of Kerala, where food stamps and fair-price shops have helped to reduce child deaths to a half or even a third of the rate now prevailing in most countries at the same level of economic development. And it is because of the demonstrated benefits which such subsidies can bring to the life and health of the poorest of the world's children that the idea of an internationally backed food subsidy programme for the poorest of the poor - designed specially to reach undernourished pregnant women and young children - deserves urgent study.

In practice, effectively targeted food subsidies would also depend on social organisation. If community development workers were to be involved in such schemes, for example, then there would be obvious advantages in cost-effectiveness. It would enable the subsidised food to be targeted far more flexibly and precisely to those at risk - to the poorest, to the pregnant woman, to the breastfeeding mother, to the young child, to those who have lost weight through repeated illness, to those whose growth chart indicates need. Potentially, it would also mean that the subsidised food could be made available in poorer villages or neighbourhoods rather than in whole regions or cities. Similarly, it might be made available at particular seasons rather than all year round. In the rainy and usually hungry months before the harvest, for example, a food subsidy might mean that the poor would not have to take "consumption loans" from money-lenders or landlords. And as one small example of how short-term help for those in need can dovetail with the needs of long-term development, not having to take out a loan may mean not having to sell land. And for the smallholder, it usually takes only two or three such loans to become landless.

In its briefing to Ministers of Agriculture in March of 1982, the Secretariat of the World Food Council (WFC) reported that "if the trend of growing numbers of hungry people is to be reversed in this decade and mass hunger overcome, more direct measures will be required... It is now understood that general economic growth and increased agricultural production will not in themselves achieve a reduction in the absolute numbers of the hungry".

The "direct measures" in the WFC recommendations included investment in credit, training and technology for small cultivators to enable them to produce more food for themselves and their families; redirecting food-aid towards the hungry, and consumer food-subsidies targeted to those in most need.

Overall, the World Food Council now estimates that four billion dollars a
year for the next fifteen years could provide the "income and productive
assets sufficient for about 500 million people to satisfy their minimum
food needs by the end of the century". (...)

Added to the estimated cost of universal child immunization, and the pro-
motion of the means and the knowledge for oral rehydration therapy, child
growth charts, the breastfeeding of infants, and basic community services
for primary education and health care, the total additional cost of such
"direct measures" to overcome the worst aspects of large-scale hunger and
malnutrition would be in the region of six billion dollars a year until the
end of the 1990s. In other words, one hundredth of the world's spending on
armaments each year. (...)

Symptom and cause

In summary, immediate and dramatic gains against child malnutrition and ill-
health are now offered by the availability of oral rehydration therapy, the
immunization of all children, the promotion of breastfeeding, and the mass
use of child growth charts. These four opportunities to revolutionise child
health are the leading edge of the continuing drive, by communities and
paraprofessional development workers, to work towards basic services for all,
including health and nutrition education, basic literacy, cleaner water, and
safer sanitation. In such a context, making available the means of spacing
births is both more possible to do and more likely to find acceptance. And
at that point, family planning itself could also make a major contribution
towards improving the health of mothers and children.

Secondly, and in addition to these methods of helping mothers and children
to make the best use of the food they have available, some kind of targeted
food subsidy - especially in pregnancy and infancy - will be indispensable
if the grip of malnutrition on the 100 million children of the very poorest
families to to be broken.

Third, the pressure needs to be kept up on the longer-term and more funda-
mental solution of increasing the productivity of the poor through greater
social justice - including, above all, access to land and the means to make
it grow more.

This wedge of different activities - operating on different time scales and
against different degrees of financial constraint and political resistance-
could break into the cycle of hunger which has trapped so many for so long.

Many of those fundamental changes which are necessary to expunge the stain
of malnutrition and life-denying poverty from the fabric of our civilisa-
tion will be slow and painful. Land reform and employment creation on a
scale commensurate with the scale of the problem will not happen overnight.

In the meantime, UNICEF itself is committed to that part of this same task
which would most directly help individual mothers and children to improve
their levels of health and nutrition now. And we believe that the very
specific proposals outlined in this report could bring about such improve-
ments in a short time and on a significant scale.
But we also believe that the now-possible "children's revolution" in
nutrition and health is in itself a part of the longer-term solution to
hunger and poverty. (...) 

With the commitment to that revolution which its potential deserves, it is
clear that the most effective attack ever made on child malnutrition could
now be mounted - and that progress for children could again accelerate.

Without that commitment, the present slow down of progress will continue and
the target of halving the infant and child death rate in the year 2000 -
with all that such an achievement would imply for the nutrition and health
of the world's children - will be quietly abandoned.

If such a target, accepted by the international community only two years ago,
is indeed laid by, then it means that the number of children who die unnecesarily each year from now on will be the equivalent of the entire
under-five population of the United States of America or of the combined
child populations of the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Spain and the
Federal Republic of Germany. Yet their voice is not heard in this debate
and no murmur of protest do they make.

In a world distracted by so many deceptive and dangerous kinds of progress,
we refuse to accept that such truly human and truly civilised progress as
saving the lives and improving the health of the world's children should be
abandoned at the first sign of difficulty. And we believe that if the
political will can be found to seize the opportunities now offered by recent
social and scientific progress, then the goal of adequate food and health
for the vast majority of the world's children need not be a dream deferred.
FOOD FOR BEGINNERS

BY SUSAN GEORGE AND NIGEL PAIGE

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In clear and straightforward terms, this new book in our popular Beginners series demonstrably refutes the usual assumptions that overpopulation, climate and inefficient farming are the causes of Third World Hunger; the ruthless game of multinational agribusiness is exposed. Impeccably researched, facts and figures are graphically presented not only to inform, but also to entertain.

Susan George and Nigel Paige's accessible and informative presentation makes this an ideal textbook for schools and colleges. Excellent for courses in:

Social Studies

Environmental Studies

Third World Studies

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CHILDHOOD AS AN ENTITY

DEVELOPMENT VALUES AND GOALS ENHANCING THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF CHILDREN

by Godfrey Gunatilleke*

The place of the child in the development strategies would be determined by the character of the strategy that is being pursued, its central objectives and goals, and the principal means adopted to achieve them. A strategy which is highly growth-oriented and which is primarily dependent on the market both for its productive sectors as well as its services, will affect the well-being of children in a way which is significantly different from the way in which an equity-oriented strategy with a bias towards social welfare and the satisfaction of children's needs for their present well-being would do. In the former, children are essentially conceived as resources and assets, as a future factor of production which has to be developed with care and attention. In the latter, the accent would fall more clearly on the improvement of present well-being and the alleviation of present deprivation. Both approaches have their own intrinsic concern for the well-being of children, each with a different emphasis on the development values which guide it.

Sri Lanka's own efforts at promoting the well-being of children have been guided more by the social-welfare approach directed at improvement of the conditions of the specific age group rather than by a manpower-planning or resource development objective. In the provision of free health, free education, and distribution of subsidised food rations, it removed the main cluster of basic needs of children from the market economy of exchange and made it a part of the grant economy, the economy of public welfare. Implicit in that removal was a framework of non-economic values which set the parameters for the policies and development strategies of the government. While these values derived partly from the concepts of the modern welfare state, they easily accommodated within and were reinforced by the traditional Buddhist value system. The size and character of the "grand" economy is an indicator of the quality of life in a society, its capacity at sharing, at enjoyment in community. It becomes particularly important for the well-being of the dependent population - children and old people. Therefore, in the post '77 efforts to find a new equilibrium between equity and growth, between present well-being and needs of the future, it is essential to preserve the ethical core which guided the process of social development in the past.

All societies, whether traditional or modern, will see in their children the image of the future society. In the traditional society, with its very slow pace of socio-economic change and relatively stable value system, the "manpower" planning was essentially a slow initiation and preparation of children for adult roles which themselves changed little over time. As a result the passage from childhood to adulthood was an integrated process in which the sharp discontinuities were managed within a complex system of values and beliefs. The world of play, the apprenticeship to adults both in
the workplace and household, the rites and ceremonies which marked the challenge of moving from childhood to adulthood was one unified experience of growing up, in which the relationship between the generations was relatively free of conflict, and the values governing the relationship stressed the intrinsic meaning and worth of each stage of life from childhood to old age. Within this framework of values the patterns of upbringing to condition the child for his future adult role and impart the necessary values and skills for fulfilling this role were in equilibrium with the concern for the enjoyment of his childhood as a stage of life. This of course is an ideal representation of the value-orientation in traditional societies. Acute scarcity of resources often took its toll of human life and within the normal priorities of survival it tended to discriminate against the youngest segment of the population. Parental love and all the primal bonds relating to reproduction and nurture of the young had at times to yield to inescapable problems of balancing population and resources. In such a situation the needs of the dependent population came after those of the active and productive workforce. Hence the incidence of infanticide in some of the traditional societies.

The process of modernisation has released forces which have radically disturbed this traditional equilibrium which had both its positive and negative features. First, modernisation implied a process of change. This signified a period of preparation in childhood for adult roles which were very different from the roles of the parental generation. It was therefore a process of preparation in which the parental relationship could play only a very limited function. It consequently separated the parental roles from the functions of learning and initiation into adult society. It thereby brought a serious cleavage between the formation of values for the totality of living, the conduct of interpersonal relationships in family and society on the one hand, and the acquisition of skills and knowledge for modern occupation on the other. These disruptions and discontinuities were seldom taken into account in the formal preparation of the young in the process of modernisation. Apart from these disruptive effects which were to some extent an inevitable part of modernisation and structural change, the objectives for the preparation of the young were essentially oriented towards technological and economic growth. The framework for the development of children was ideally one which became part of an overall exercise in manpower planning which had as its terminal objective the satisfaction of the manpower needs of the economy.

The preparation of children in terms of future roles is as we saw part of any society. The "manpower planning" approach is in this primary sense integral to the functioning of any society. The purposive link between the present life of the child and his future roles is essential, it is the way in which future prospects are perceived and integrated into the world of play and learning that surrounds childhood with a sense of security and meaning about the future. In this sense even the toys, the games and children's mythology form the values of children and prepare children for their later roles. For example, the world of play around "cowboys and Indians" or the institution of scouting had its relevance for the child and its upbringing in the migrant European settlements in the North American continent at one stage in history. The neglect of the linkages between the present well-being of childhood and the demands of future adulthood can lead to a situation in which a relatively healthy literate generation of children will in time enter an adult society which is not organised to receive them - a situation which is partly reflected
in the Sri Lankan crisis in the early seventies.

But the approach to the child through concepts of modern manpower planning can be narrowly functional in focus. Children's well-being then becomes conceptualised mainly in terms of economic rationality. It serves its purpose mainly in terms of future efficiency as a manpower input into the system. In such an approach many aspects of upbringing and nurture could be ignored. It is likely to fail to project childhood as a stage of life which has to be experienced and enjoyed in all its richness. Its bias will be to develop the child for its future economic and technical roles without adequate attention to its spiritual nourishment, the formation of values, and the accumulation of the knowledge and wisdom to cope with and respond to human experience as a whole.

To conceive of childhood in a "holistic framework" is to approach it with developmental values which are significantly different from those which inform a strategy based on narrow manpower-planning concepts. In such an approach the concern to enrich the experience of the child materially and spiritually, to identify and satisfy the needs specific to childhood would be balanced and integrated with the concern to prepare him or her for future roles and functions. The home with its environment of love, affection and primal bonds, the social institutions for health care and physical well-being, the world of learning, the world of recreation and play, the links to the religious institutions and centres of spiritual nourishment must each receive its due place in a strategy aimed at enhancing the quality of life for children. The assumptions that are made in a strategy of this kind have far-reaching implications for the upbringing of children and their preparation for adult life.

There is recognition, here, that the extent of fulfilment in childhood and the unfolding of experience at this stage have a significant bearing on the patterns of adult behaviour and the health and sanity of the entire social system. It is acknowledged that the material and spiritual deprivation that may occur at this stage of life can find expression in the deformities and social neuroses of adult society. Recent writing draws attention, for instance, to the adverse effects which the intense competitiveness of the modern examinations system and the profound insecurity it breeds is tending to have on social organisations as a whole. Perceptions of this nature call for a greater awareness and understanding of children's needs and better integration of child-specific programmes and policies in the national development strategy than has been done hitherto. These problems are compounded in a Third World society where the needs of the young have to be dealt with in the transition from a predominantly agrarian society to the technological order. Development planners have given little attention to these aspects, particularly the fundamental tensions and conflicts that are generated in the inner world of the child and adolescent. It would seem that development planning for children would need much greater intellectual and analytical inputs to these aspects than are at present available.

The implementation of such a strategy requires a basic re-orientation of the centrally organised top-down planning and delivery of services which has been hitherto characteristic of Sri Lanka's welfare system. It has to emphasise the role of the community and its participation. The parental
generation and the community in general have to be incorporated as partners in child development, and the roles they traditionally performed recast and given new responsibility and meaning in the modern setting. This becomes all the more important in the light of the government effort to create a decentralised institutional framework in which village development councils will play a role. Concern for the well-being of children could become a prime mover. It can mobilise community participation for the entire development effort which moves upward from the village level, over a whole range of activities ranging from agricultural activities for nutritional self-reliance to pre-school programmes of child care, and public goods such as places of recreation, children's parks, libraries and centres of cultural and creative activity for children. The present welfare programme for children as pointed out earlier has concentrated on a few basic needs; it has largely neglected the range of recreational, cultural and spiritual needs and the development of the creative personality of children. More active participation of the parents and the community could help in a much more diversified extra-curricular life for the school-going population as well as a richer socialisation process for the pre-school children. It would also be much more effective in dealing with the persistent problems of morbidity and mortality in the most vulnerable infant groups where the hazards are largely in the home and the immediate community environment and where the upgrading of care by parents is of the first importance. The entire effort to enhance the quality of life of the pre-school group depends largely on the parents and the local community, as is being demonstrated in some of the programmes in primary health care and in the Sarvodaya efforts.

The child-specific development effort which links the stage of childhood to the adult roles by the holistic nature of its concern for human needs will need to go beyond the needs of manpower planning. It will have to be concerned as much with the formation of values and the personality as with the formation of skills and acquisition of scientific and academic knowledge. The preparation of the young in Sri Lanka would therefore have to address itself to the problem areas in Sri Lanka's pluralistic society. From the very early processes of socialisation the inculcation of values and habits of thought must contribute towards the growth of a conflict-free multi-ethnic society. This means that in the early stages of developing the child's outlook, forms of play, both the oral and written tradition for children, the perception of history, the appreciation of the fine arts and crafts, must promote the environment for such a society. This is indeed a very demanding task as it requires the development of a whole system of communication through the period of schooling, higher learning and the rest of society which lays the basis of values, perceptions and concepts which work in favour of national harmony and remove inherited communalistic biases and prejudices. Similarly, the value-formation in childhood has to lay the groundwork for adult roles and the disciplines required in a modern society. These include the work-ethic essential for development, the nature of civic participation and responsibility needed for the efficient functioning of a free democratic society, the capacity for tolerance, communication and interchange in a society in which dissent opposition and civic freedoms are fundamental to the system. It is important in this connection to note that the formation of values in the young generation plays a primary role in the socialist countries. This of course would be criticised as ideological conditioning, but regardless of the controversial issues in the particular mode of value formation adopted in these
societies, basic elements of the process are those of harmoniously integrating the young in adult society. Any society needs to have the equivalent of this process adapted to its own social goals and ideology.

The issues that have been discussed stress the central importance of the child-specific component of any development strategy. It is certainly a component which cannot be dealt with in disparate parts which are dispersed in a fragmented way in different parts of the system. It requires strategic guidance from a central point in the system which is capable of integrating the different aspects ranging from what might be described as the enriching "stage of life" approach to the manpower planning and preparation for adult roles in a consistent complementary whole. In Sri Lanka the cluster of child-oriented activities which have been brought together under the Ministry of Plan Implementation provides a beginning for such strategic planning for the well-being of children.

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The above is an excerpt from pp. 13-15 of Changing needs of Children, The Experience of Sri Lanka, prepared by Godfrey Gunatileke for a national symposium on changing needs of children, organised by Sri Lanka's Children Secretariat in collaboration with UNICEF. The full text of the paper can be obtained from the Marga Institute (P.O.Box 601), the Children Secretariat (P.O.Box 1348), or UNICEF (P.O.Box 143), all in Colombo, Sri Lanka.

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SAMSAM

EXPERIENCE OF NINE YEARS MAKING A DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION MAGAZINE FOR CHILDREN

by Bob van Opzeeland *

Type: development education magazine for children in the age-group of 9 to 14

Christian name: Samsam

Nationality: Dutch

Date of birth: January 1975

Place of birth: the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, section development cooperation information service in The Hague

Appearance: 24 pages, full colour, offset-rotation

Circulation: 10 times 500,000 copies a year

Goal: to increase the understanding between human beings in the industrialised world and those in the Third World

Reach: individual children and schools in the Netherlands, Surinam, the Dutch Antilles and the Dutch speaking part of Belgium
Costs: Samsam is free of charge, fully subsidised by the Dutch government, the Minister of Development Cooperation.

Position: the editing staff is fully independent. The publisher (Dutch Royal Tropical Institute) and the Minister of Development Cooperation do not have any influence on the editorial views.

What to do with the growing amount of money we can spend in favour of development aid? Thus you can describe the atmosphere in the Dutch Development Cooperation Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Netherlands in the early seventies.

Samsam started in 1973, at the right moment. To find the funds for an ambitious project as Samsam was still not a big problem. In fact, in 1973 the idea of starting a children's magazine was born in the development cooperation information service.

With strong support of the Minister of Development Cooperation (in those years Jan Pronk), tactical struggles in the department and with the help of some friends, writers, politicians, artists, one and a half years later the zero-issue of Samsam appeared in a circulation of 100,000 copies. During these one and a half years there was a lot of fighting and debating before the concept of a children's magazine devoted to development education for children from 9-14 years had been completed. The goals were clear. Samsam had to reach the group normally neglected by official governmental information services, who in practice are only working for the group of interested people or for professionals, politicians, volunteers and so on.

The idea of the initiators of Samsam was to start not only for the basic groups, who did not know anything about development processes, but also to start at the beginning, at the age-group of nine.

The children of this age are already trained in reading, understanding and possess a certain social development, necessary to be able to widen their views on this subject "far from their beds".

At the same time, this age-group (from 9-14) is very openminded and vulnerable. To accomplish anything on the long term you have to start with these children.

The magazine itself was rather ambitious, the targets were in fact more ambitious. In short I can say that the purpose of the magazine was to change a whole generation by making the readers aware of the connections between themselves and children in the so-called Third World and to make them understand the structural causes of inequity in the world.

After nearly nine years of Samsam, I am forced to answer the question: What has been the effect through the years of Samsam on the mentality of its readers? And I have to take into account that the readers from nine years ago could have the age of 23 today. In fact, you can turn the question around. You may ask: What would have been the effect if there had not been a magazine like Samsam in Holland, during the last nine years?
Two years later, Samsam reached a circulation of 500,000 (3 million copies a year). At the moment only 30% of the subscribers receive Samsam on a personal base at their home addresses. Seventy of Samsam is distributed to schools that asked for a collective subscription to use the magazine in their lessons. Nearly all schools in the Netherlands have integrated development education in their programs in this way.

For more than 2000 schools, the Samsam staff provide the teachers with background material and educational/didactical suggestions on each theme covered in Samsam. In fact, what happens on this scale with Samsam in the schools is something completely new. For the first time in history, Dutch language, geography, religion and other lessons, attention was paid to development problems in relation to the daily life in the Netherlands and in the Third World countries. Of course, you cannot measure the effect of this change in the educational field. But even without measuring, it is clear that Samsam will have an impact on the way of educating children.

It is 1981. The members of the Dutch Batt of the UNIFIL troops in the south of Lebanon are busy with things other than the struggle in the Middle East. They are preoccupied with raising money, with building several schools and with constructing an orphanage for little children who lost their parents during the war in Lebanon.

These activities did not originate from an initiative of the army staff but were started by the soldiers themselves who, at that time about 18 years old, showed a remarkable awareness of the needs of the local population. They all knew Samsam: 60% of them were former readers of the magazine. The Samsam issue in which there was a report on their humanitarian aid was sent to Dutch Batt and even read by some Dutch-speaking local people.

Of course nobody is able to prove that Samsam did have, and still has, a positive effect on the mentality of former readers and present readers. But, the editorial staff believe there is such an effect and do not need to be convinced. Any effect, even when it is only measurable by using a microscope makes the efforts of the editorial staff worthwhile. The purpose of the magazine is to reach the base of society, if you like it better: the grassroots of the Dutch people. That is why it is free of charge. Everybody can afford to read Samsam and, by the way, Samsam has got more subscribers at the moment than the Donald Duck magazine in Holland.

The wish to reach all children, from upper to lower classes, influences the whole concept of the youth magazine. Samsam uses the present tense, because it works more directly and increases the reality value and appeals more strongly to the emotions. This approach is important because the issue at stake is hard to comprehend and is far removed from the daily world in which
the children from 9-14 are living. Samsam uses short stories with short sentences, because for this age group and not only for them, written texts are often a very poor means of communication and language is more difficult than most people think. Samsam approaches children mainly by case-stories, by giving them adventures with hidden information, avoiding, by doing so, that the readers are patronised or are getting an overkill of information. They are put in the position of drawing their own conclusions, they are handled in an adult way as young people with a mind of their own.

The small amount of pure information Samsam is giving is presented in the shortest possible way. The stories offer the readers the opportunity of identification and empathy by the suspense and by the fact that children of their age, or who are a bit older, play the main role. Furthermore, the stories are richly illustrated, as pictures, particularly in colour, don't lie and give a chance for identification. Photographs enhance the reality value of the story and make them more attractive and tangible. The stories deal with issues and events that link up with the real world of the young reader and are related to situations at home.

An important part of the magazine is always devoted to a special theme such as wood, water supply, health-care, food, etc. But to make the magazine more attractive, it also contains letters from readers, a recipe from a Third World country, a book-review and a serial about children in a Third World country.

In short, the editorial staff of Samsam try to publish a professional magazine, attractive, with a clear recognisable layout, which contains 50-55 colour slides and at least 20 different items in 24 pages. This concept has proved to be successful and is shown by the nearly 200 letters and postcards readers send every day to the magazine. These 72,000 reactions a year are, by the way, all answered by the editorial staff.

* Initiator and editor-in-chief of the Dutch development education magazine for children: Samsam, Mauritskade 63, 1082 AD Amsterdam, The Netherlands.*
THE DAY THE CHILDREN PUT OUT THE WORLD'S NEWSPAPERS

by Ricardo Grassi*

The day major newspapers throughout the world published articles written by children and young people was greeted with a rush on international newsstands. The newspapers disappeared in no time at all. Only a major disaster could have sold as many papers ... and that is telling in itself. But such popularity was expected. The content, on the other hand, was surprising, especially to adults. They discovered an unknown world - or was it a world that had been secretly silenced? It is the same world in which the adults live and walk around, in which they make or accept decisions every day. Equally surprising was that many of the children and young people in the world who could read went out and bought and read that special issue of the newspaper. Of course most of the 200 million children between six and eleven years old who can't go to school because they have to work didn't bother.

The young writers' questions covered all facets of daily life, but their approach reveals another reality. They wrote with humour, they wrote seriously, they wrote of love, life, boredom, adults, games, the future, war and peace, hunger, fear, their families, imagination, sex, and the mass media. And they posed some unusual questions ... perhaps a few that raised some hackles: "What are armies for?" "Why is there barbed wire?" "Superman where are you?".

Your more typical economic and political issues were not ignored, but neither were they buried like the hot spots of news that day after day devour yesterday's events. No, the children made their statements and, above all, they asked their questions: big questions bringing together the condensed capsules that the mass media daily produce about events which appear to shape - or misshape - the world: "Pope John Paul, why...?" "Mr. Reagan, could you...?" "Dr. Andropov, how many...?". And they didn't stop with the big international stuff. National leaders and Ministers of Culture, Education and Sports, etc., were queried, all with the accent and approach which is natural and particular to youth.

The children and young people were looking at the world and asking questions from their perspective, for themselves, but this didn't bother the adults. Between smiles and questions, they wound up identifying with much of what appeared in the papers that strange day.

Obviously, all the above is a product of this writer's imagination, and any resemblance to reality ... is no more than a wish. The purpose of the tale is to announce the beginning of a new IPS service: Children's Press. It will be composed primarily of stories written by children and adolescents from seven to fifteen years old.

The Children's Press is supported by the Swiss Committee for UNICEF and Radda Barnen - the Swedish organization for children's rights and welfare. "Children's Magazine Service" of Stockholm is offering its special cooperation. There are now 1,265 billion people in the Third World under fourteen years of age. There are several million more in Europe, North
America, Japan and Australia. But few are the media that allow them the chance to communicate among themselves. Rather their needs compete for space with those of the earth's 4.5 billion other inhabitants.

The topics mentioned in the above fantasy - and many more - will be taken up by the young people writing for youth press, in a service made up of stories and interviews by children and youth and information that concerns them. To start, IPS will move three stories a week in its daily service. These first ones will come from Latin America and the Caribbean. They will be indicated as part of the Children's Press Service.

Perhaps, one day, the fantasy that introduced this announcement will itself become a reality ... and that is why we dreamed it up.

* Inter Press Service, 507 Via Panisperna, 00184, Rome, Italy.

WHY DO CHILDREN PLAY WAR?

By Jorge Gillies

Why do children play war? German psychologist Christian Buettner says this common phenomenon is a symptom of alarm - a distress signal. For children, war games are a means of expressing and externalizing their fears and aggressions. In a study published by the Hesse-based Foundation for the Study of Peace and Conflict, Buettner says the aggressive behaviour that is becoming increasingly common in today's children disguises "accumulated fear". Buettner's study is an analysis of external influences affecting such behaviour.

The social scientist says children's fears are not necessarily those of a real war. Because of their lack of experience, he argues, the existential threat which this implies is not accessible to them. What children fear, he maintains, is bad grades in school, the ridicule of classmates and parental punishment and beatings, drawing his conclusions from an analysis of a group of school children. The subjects of his study gave explicit reasons for their interest in war games. But for Buettner, the evidence points to the existence of more profound fears, rooted in the subconscious: fears acquired during the first few years of the child's life. The most significant single event is one shared by all: the traumatic impact of being born, a phenomenon studied by psychologist Siegmund Freud. The abrupt separation after having been completely protected within the mother's womb produces a profound fear. According to Buettner, this fear is capable of generating the worst imaginable fantasies of war. This initial shock, adds the psychologist, can only be neutralized by someone very close to the newly born infant, a person of great sensitivity.

Subsequently, each new experience of separation, however insignificant it seems to adults, may produce in the child a sensation of extreme insecurity, forcing him to seek refuge in aggressive behaviour. This type of aggression is further exacerbated by the child's total dependence on adults, especially
the parents. Playing war gives the child an opportunity to externalize his fear and feelings of anger towards his parents.

Another important element observed in children's war games and in their drawings about war, is the absence of parents or parental figures. Almost always excluded, parents are as forgotten in terms of the game itself as in terms of their role as protectors. According to the study, parents should refrain from imposing themselves as protectors and supervisors of their children's behaviour. They need to learn to accept their children along with all their hates and fears, internalizing the role which the children themselves attribute to them. "Children", adds the psychologist, "don't always see their parents as authority figures whose dictates must be obeyed. Nor do they necessarily agree that they should adjust their behaviour accordingly... they view their games as perfectly normal". In this sense the idea of playing war is a 'normal vehicle' for releasing tensions, and the one which society most frequently makes available for this purpose.

Does this mean that war games are acceptable? Certainly not, answers the study, particularly when children go too far in acting out their aggressive fantasies. In such cases, Buettner contends, it is past time to resolve the conflicts. Without some actual problem-solving work, he maintains, the war games are nothing more than a superficial release from hidden fears and tensions.


TOWARDS "ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT" BASED ON LOCALLY GENERATED CONCRETE UTOPIAS

by Raymond Lorenzo*

The objective that is the concern and requirement of true progress must be seen as so rich and deep in content that the diverse nations, societies and civilizations of the Earth (in all stages of economic & social development, and the dialectical laws governing these stages) have their place in it and in striving towards it. ...The objective has a human content that is not yet clearly defined, not yet manifested: a concrete-utopian human content. Ernest Bloch, A Philosophy of the Future (1970).

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Past Development

The above quote bears directly on development theory and practice. However, the largest segment of national and international development programs to date have allowed for very little of the rich diversity of perspectives and utopian objectives which the Block statement admonishes. Rather, development planners, experts, technicians, have tended towards a uni-dimensionality of vision of futures. That vision has been that all nations should follow the western industrialized nations' road to development.

The approach has been one which theoretically splits means from ends. That is, the expert/planner in effecting structural change to physical systems (power grids, urbanization, industrial infrastructure, etc.) is "objectively" defining the "means" to an "end" which has been (should be) "democratically" decided in the political arena. In such a theory socio-economic development should grow deterministically from the environmental-physical changes implemented. The "objectivity" of such a separation of means and ends is easily questioned given the fact that people in their communities have had little towards these goals. Human development resulting from such interventions has been at the most minimal and in most cases negative.

Even by the criteria of traditional development theory the results of such strategies have been less than satisfactory. Increases in GNP if more carefully checked reveal a mere shift in averages and rather an increase in socio-economic stratification; technological "progress" in limited sectors of these society has meant great increases in social backwardness, loss of competencies, and culturally marginally amongst the great majority of the populations; undesired "externalities" such as ecological devastation are common; and finally, such "advances" have usually created a structural dependency on outside assistance for survival. The failure of such development approaches has become so obvious that as Ivan Illich stated: "Today... few critical thinkers would take such an instrumentalist view of the desirable society."

Another Development

In the past decade, we have witnessed the spread of a philosophy of "another development" strategy. Its roots in practice go back much further to the Gandhian village movement, the Ujumaa movement in Tanzania and some aspects of development in the Chinese commune movement (to name just a few precedents). It is a development which is "need-oriented, self-reliant, endogenous, ecologically sustainable and based on structural transformation... a comprehensive people-centered social, cultural, political and economic process." Its "focus is the community as an autonomous entity creating its own future with the physical and cultural materials at hand...its objective is (sic) the continuing and sustaining increase in the quality of life of people and the equitable distribution of those increases both within and between societies."

Development is defined as the development of people. Brazilian educator Paolo Freire has stated that "the object of the action (of development) is the reality to be changed. Human beings change (develop) through changing
Experiences based on these "philosophies" have become so widespread that in 1978 the United Nations University initiated a major research-action collaboration of 27 research institutes and development practitioners throughout the world.

This perspective in development has much in common with the conception of progress held by E. Bloch in the opening quotation. Such an approach(es) tend toward a multi-verse of possible development futures since it is based on the creative-critical capacities of all people to evolve (from their socio-historical-material realities) plans and programs for their socio-material development.

Yet, how can such a process grounded as it is in local realities possess a "utopian objective?" This requires some theoretical-practical considerations.

"Gruppo Futuro" and community generated concrete utopias

Although etymologically utopia means "no place," it does not spring, however, from no place (time). Utopian visions are rather grounded in and grow out of socio-historical reality. Karl Mannheim has rightfully identified the source of utopian visions in the underclasses of society. The desire to radically alter a condition of oppression/inequity grows directly from the material state of reality. What's inherent in the new development processes identified above is that the critical knowledge of reality which emerges from dialogues around "limit situations" (Freire's definition of material contradictions in society) must link to the utopian spirit as these needs assessments become proposals for changing reality. The contradiction or tension of such unfulfilled needs, community problems, limit situations (various terms for the same phenomena) cries out for change not abstractly (as a planner might identify hunger as a condition to be eliminated) but concretely as community proposals towards action to resolve such felt inequities.

"Gruppo Futuro" Napoli

In six years experience working with children in Gruppo Futuro in community contexts in Napoli and elsewhere we have experimented various approaches ("methods") conducive to the emergence of these critical-transformative perspectives.

Briefly stated, our approach (which has been initiated in most instances in elementary schools but which could just as well take place outside) has been to: (1) introduce the concept of "futures" for discussion; (2) create a context in which children's ideas and community knowledge is valorized; (3) make accessible to children an array of media (photography, sound recording, video taping, etc.) and materials with which to express, question, evaluate and synthesize visions of futures; (4) facilitate children's researching their everyday community realities-identifying problems and resources; (5) open up dialogues, forums and channels of communication in which to "try out" and discuss their ideas and those of parents, school
staff, community residents, and workers, technicians, etc., and (6) in the end support their proposals and plans for action.

I feel that "Futures" project can contribute several innovations to the "other development" processes described earlier. In the first instance, it has used imaging futures as a first step towards critical consciousness of reality (i.e., desired changes destructured collectively as indicators of an evaluation of reality); furthermore, it has contributed a methodology based on creative experimentation with audio-visual media (collage making on own neighborhood photos, sound collages of community residents, synthesis in slide-tapes, etc.) around the generation of transformative themes for local environments and finally and most importantly it has identified children as a fundamental participating group in any community development process.

Apart from my own personal joy and pleasure in working with children there are two fundamental reasons for focusing on children. First, in the long term the project methods experimented in school settings have been intended as in-field testing of possible changes in educational praxis: dialogue as a method, opening the school to the community, valorization of popular-community knowledge, valorization of creative-critical thinking within school, etc. These pedagogical changes should contribute developmentally (now intended in a psycho-social sense) to creating in the future, persons and societies most capable of planning their own strategies. Secondly (and more importantly) in the immediate short term, the children as a marginal underclass per se (within Western society, at least) have created the concrete utopian images discussed earlier. These images, by their very nature and also due to the integrative role (community "glue") which children tend to play within families and communities, have spread to adult members of the community and in some instances (Napoli, in particular) have contributed to increased community participation in development planning.

Conclusion

I began this short essay with an admonition for the introduction of concrete human utopian imagery into development processes. It seems that our work with children may have uncovered one possible source of such imagery. I would like to hear from others throughout the world who are working at the community level on participatory action research projects on development—or from those involved in more conventional development planning who want a critical pause—to learn from each other.

I am sure the time is ripe for the initiation of networks, information exchanges, and workshops (as the IFDA and others are already doing so well) to be initiated dealing with the important question of a new development strategy and the potential role of children and concrete utopian imagery in these processes.

...to believe that it is not yet too late to engage in the creation of the opposite utopia. A new and sweeping utopia of life, where love will prove true and happiness be possible, and where the races condemned to one hundred years of solitude will have, at last and forever, a second opportunity on earth. (Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Nobel Acceptance Speech, December 1982)
BACKGROUND TO OPEC'S CURRENT CRISIS - WHO BENEFITS REALLY?
Paul Aarts / Michael Renner*

OPEC's predicament

While OPEC's share in the capitalist world's oil production has been fairly stable at around 65% throughout the 1970s, it suffered a sharp setback after 1980. At present, the organization supplies only 46% of total demand; its output is estimated not to surpass the 14 million barrels per day margin significantly.

There is a whole number of factors that contributed to OPEC's severe crisis. First the deepening crisis of the world economy, combined with increased oil prices since 1979, resulted in a considerable decrease of demand for oil in the capitalist centers. Secondly, during the 1970s and more so since 1978, technologies have been developed that are a lot more energy-efficient than their predecessors were. Thirdly, and more important still, technological breakthroughs (the "third industrial revolution") have given rise to new industries which only to a rather small part rely on energy input. A fourth factor has been the substitution of other sources of energy for oil, for example in industrial boilers. The increase in the importance of alternative sources of energy has been helped by the high level of oil prices which allowed profitable exploitation and near-competitiveness.

Even before the increase in world oil prices the major oil companies moved to secure and tighten their grip on coal and uranium reserves, coal conversion and solar technologies, oil shale and oil sands resources. In the course of the 1960s and 1970s, a virtually enlarged energy monopoly was created.

Non-OPEC production

Reduction of demand for oil however, is only part of the picture. Another feature contributing to OPEC's predicament is a boost of non-OPEC producers, predominantly Britain and Mexico (together accounting for some 10% of world output) and, to a lesser degree, Egypt and Oman. Britain now is the capitalist world's fifth largest producer and has caused considerable headache for Nigeria, whose oil (of comparable quality to the one found in the North Sea) is increasingly being pushed out of the markets. Likewise, Mexico (third largest producer) has succeeded in penetrating the US market, formerly a stronghold of Saudi Arabian crude. Mexico, which is dependent on oil sales for 80% of its export revenues, has sought to finance its international debt through a sell-out of its abundant petroleum resources. When oil prices were moving up, Mexico followed suit without feeling aligned to OPEC in any conceivable way. As the tide turned, Pemex (the country's national oil company) insured it would still be able to hold on to its newly conquered
market share (or even expand it) by consciously underselling OPEC. The very same policy was applied by Britain, undermining OPEC's efforts to come to terms with the deteriorating market situation.

Corporate strategy

Most of the increased crude production outside OPEC - with the notable exception of Mexico - is the result of a corporate investment strategy which aimed at a major reshuffle in the power balance with OPEC. Some 20 years ago, Exxon and British Petroleum (BP) began to focus their interest on the vast potentials of Alaska and the North Sea; other firms followed suit. As nationalism in the producing countries already had proved to be potentially threatening to their monopoly interests, the companies' primary motive was to hedge against conceivable future threats. The re-location of corporate exploration and production activities has gained a new, greatly enlarged dimension with the quadrupling of oil prices - and hence profits - in 1973/74. It subsequently served to undermine OPEC.

Since 1981, the oil transnationals have massively manipulated the oil market by the destocking of their crude reserves (which they had carefully built up during the preceding years) at an unusually high rate. The result was a sagging of spot prices which ultimately forced OPEC producers to reduce their official selling prices.

"Haves" and "have-nots"

Falling prices and shrinking revenues have created considerable pressure on at least some of the OPEC producers: those dependent on stable oil income to carry out their development programmes. These countries, with a high population, initially tried to stabilize the level of oil sales by "cheating" on official prices (offering discounts, etc.). This, in turn, has not only resulted in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states being left to bear the brunt of OPEC's declining output, but also did much damage to Riyadh's claim for leadership within OPEC.

Internal contradictions between "haves" and "have-nots" have thus served to reinforce OPEC's troubles. Yamani, Saudi Arabia's oil minister, is said to have quite consciously provoked the failure of the producers' January pricing - and quota-meeting in Geneva. A further deteriorating situation would, just by letting time pass by, automatically play into the hands of the Saudis, as the hard-pressed OPEC members would have to turn to Riyadh in order to find a way to end the predicament. So far, Yamani has been proven right; OPEC's new market price at $29 a barrel is much more to the taste of the Gulf producers than the previous $34 a barrel.
The capitalist centers

Lower oil prices are welcomed by most commentators as the one road block being removed which allegedly had prevented the capitalist economies to regain their lustre. The prospects of lower interest rates and curbed inflation are cited; but the "recession" which besets the Western economies better had be analyzed in terms of its structural nature. The reorganization process of capitalism during the 1970s (and the 1980s) is the prime cause of the enduring crisis; oil input which accounts for only about 5% of gross domestic product, can hardly be blamed - rather it added to existing troubles.

The fact that oil prices all around the world are expressed in US dollars did, at least in the short run, even prevent Britain from enjoying the reduction in prices. As a result of the depressed demand and reduced $ price for oil, the over-valued petro £ sharply decreased in value against the dollar last February. This in turn meant that oil prices, expressed in pound sterling, were going up instead (consequently, gasoline prices in Britain were increased). The previous North Sea price of $33.50 a barrel translated into £19.14 a barrel, given the £:$ parity of 1:1.75 - with the new exchange rate being 1:1.55, the lower $ price of 30.50 a barrel amounts to an increased price level of £19.67 a barrel. While consumers are being ripped of the benefits of the fall in world market prices, the British government (as a tax collector) and the oil companies enjoy higher revenues. In the longer term however, even this odd situation will subside as the pound sterling is widely expected to recover in part from its sharp drop and to stabilize its showing.

Just as the Western press greeted the fall in oil prices, fears are uttered now that a considerably lower price level might render much of the oil production outside OPEC unprofitable, especially such relatively high-cost areas as Alaska and the North Sea. However, much depends on whether oil prices will fall any further and if so, how far. Non-OPEC oil certainly requires a great deal more investment than the low-cost Middle Eastern fields, but once production starts up (and if recoverable reserves are large enough), production costs tend not to be all that high. Average per barrel costs in the North Sea are presently about $7.50 - still considerably lower than present price levels.

Big Oil's advantages

We are, then, not concerned with competitiveness of non-OPEC oil in the first instance. Rather, disputes may arise between (Western) producer governments and the oil companies over the right distribution of the surplus from non-OPEC production. With falling oil prices, companies are pressing governments to reduce the rate of taxation, or, in other words, to raise private
profits. The London-based Financial Times recently reported that the British government, under considerable corporate pressure, has announced more favourable terms for future North Sea production. Shell and BP, the leading producers, threatened to scale back their exploration efforts if the government was to abide by its present tax-policy.

In the United States meanwhile, tax rates are already considerably lower than anywhere else. The oil industry got its way when Presidents Carter and Reagan enacted the decontrol of crude oil prices. Natural gas prices now will be allowed to be pushed up further, too. Worldwide, Big Oil is able to use the recent developments to press governments into agreeing to more favourable terms for corporate interests. Nigeria, hard-pressed OPEC member, has had to increase the nominal profit margin 2½-fold during the last 9 months in order to give the oil companies an incentive to raise crude liftings: Africa's giant needs every drop of oil sales to finance its huge import bill. With the national elections scheduled for August this year, the Unity Party of Nigeria, one of the main contenders for power, reportedly is opting for Nigeria's defection from OPEC.

Advances which OPEC has made in crude oil marketing, especially during the last 4 years, are about to be undone at least in part. Through direct sales with Western governments or their state companies, OPEC had made significant inroads into the oil corporations' former monopoly control over the marketing sector. Direct marketing by producer countries rose from 8% of trade in 1973 to 25% by 1976, and reached almost 45% in 1980 1/7. But while OPEC governments were still hanging on to their (higher) official prices, consumers increasingly slashed supply contracts and went to the (cheaper) spot market for their needs.

There is yet another advantage for the large oil corporations. Many of their (much smaller) competitors have gone heavily into debt to finance enlarged exploration and production activities in the wake of the price surge which triggered the 1979/1980 oil boom. Now, falling prices are forcing a great many of them into bankruptcy – to the benefit of the larger survivors.

Higher oil taxes?

In case world oil prices hit a low, which might endanger the profitability of alternative energy projects, Western governments have an ideal device at their disposal to counter such a development. They would merely have to either impose a fee on (imported) oil to decrease or to increase the consumer tax on oil products to offset any potential undercutting of non-oil energy production. The London-based Economist is lobbying actively to use such measures to further weaken OPEC. While

governments in Western Europe already in the 1960s have resorted
to such measures (to safeguard the survival of the local coal
industry), these are being discussed on Washington's Capitol
Hill too. With the exception of West Germany, all Western
European governments are considering to impose anew such fees
and taxes (in the Netherlands they are already enforced). Un-
doubtedly, this would amount to a massive transfer of wealth
from OPEC producers to consumer countries.

The disadvantages of lower oil prices

While Western commentators praise the benefits of lower prices,
not all of capital's fractions can be expected to tune in to
this "free market-hymn". These are the ones which have in fact
largely benefited from the OPEC countries' ambitious development
spending throughout the 1970s, fuelled by higher oil revenues.
High-technology, capital-intensive industries have seen new
markets in the Middle East opening up in those years. The
1973/74 and 1979/80 jumps in oil prices each initiated a pre-
viously unknown export boom and rush of contractors to the oil
capitals.

With the U-turn in prices, all this has changed quite dramati-
cally. OPEC orders of West German firms, e.g. have been reduced
by 20% in 1982 compared with the preceding year. Especially
such hard-pressed countries as Nigeria were forced to scale back
imports to a large degree. War-profiteering from the continuing
Iran-Iraq conflict has offset corporate losses of orders though.
Anticipating an at least somewhat shrinking import capacity in
the oil producing countries, capitalist competition for Middle
Eastern and other export markets may be expected to gain momen-
tum.

Third World

What is left then of the much-acclaimed benefits of lower oil
prices after all? Apologists point at the non-oil producing
Third World. Much of their economic troubles, it is maintained,
is caused by the drain on export earnings brought about by the
oil import bill. Lower oil prices then are said to relieve
those countries of their greatest burden. However, such reason-
ing consciously excludes the main factors which are responsible
for the balance-of-payments deficit of many countries: the
fabulous rising costs of imports of manufactured goods and food
items from the capitalist centers; secondly, the huge debt-
service burden due to high interest rates. / Although nominal
interest rates have declined now, real rates are still high by
historical standards, especially for developing countries whose
exports are not rising/. Beyond that one has to distinguish
between the so-called "Newly Industrializing Countries" (NICs)

2/ A.W. Clausen, Third World debt and global recovery, Washington D.C.,
and all the rest of them. A large part of the population in the latter category still is not integrated into the commercial energy market and remains pretty much insulated from oil price moves as far as traditional sources of energy (such as firewood) are still available.

Merely for a group of about one dozen countries - the NICs - such as Brazil, Taiwan and South Korea has the oil price drop a significant impact. They characteristically are in a phase of economic growth which relies to a considerable extent on cheap energy inputs. This applies to their export-oriented, modern sector. The situation in the traditional rural areas is more comparable to the countries of the second category.

OPEC's dismantlement?

In conclusion, it needs to be stressed that oil prices do not play the tremendously significant role often assigned to them. Just as the oil price rise in the early 1970s was not the cause of the crisis of the world economy, the reverse will not cure capitalism of its inherent contradictions. The talk about the alleged benefits of cheap oil is an integral part of the negative image of OPEC which has been quite systematically constructed during the last decade.

Commentators now extol the end of the "cartel" that "once seemed to bend the world to its will". While OPEC actually has never enjoyed the exclusive powers of a monopoly, the implication is not unrealistic at all however. OPEC member states individually have been forced to concede far-reaching concessions to oil companies; a development which places the organization's much needed unity further at risk. Political and ideological differences between the oil producers are abound; the economic problems now arising for many of them are reinforcing the splits.

The international oil companies have, beginning in the 1960s and increasingly in the course of the 1970s, embarked on a massive investment strategy outside OPEC to build up a counter-weight against the producers' organization. Big Oil is now about to reap the fruits of its counter-strategy.

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"GANDHI": FILM AS THEOLOGY
AN INDIAN VIEW

By Anand Patwardhan*

Perhaps I am being unfair. Being already familiar with the life of Gandhi, I did not feel more moved by the film than I had by what I had already read by and about Gandhi and about the exhilarating times in which he lived. To those unfamiliar with this body of work, or to those who have for ideological reasons chosen to belittle and ignore it, perhaps the film "Gandhi" does come as something of a revelation. It is reported that in the US a woman in the Navy after seeing "Gandhi" refused to wear her official uniform and further subjugate herself to an authority for whom she had no moral respect. She was imprisoned and kept in solitary confinement for over a month but did not change her resolve.

Whereas it may be argued that to those unfamiliar with the existing legend, "Gandhi" adds a valuable dimension in that every affirmation of the human spirit increases one's moral courage to fight injustice, it is just as likely that to those already moved by their knowledge of Gandhi, the film is an acute disappointment for it analyses nothing, reveals nothing and in selecting certain well-known incidents and issues for wide dissemination, it buries a whole body of pertinent and provocative information. As someone moved at an early age by the life of Gandhi, I was always perplexed by his attempts to harmonise the explicitly oppressive existing class forces in India. Could he not see that never in a thousand years could a big landlord and a landless Harijan live together in harmony without a change in their material relationship? Even if such a harmony could be brought about, would it not be an oppressive one like the harmony between British rulers and their Indian subjects in areas where freedom consciousness had not yet penetrated?

It is perhaps to avoid this very question that Attenborough has left out one of the most fascinating and significant ideological debates of the times - the dialogue which took place between Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar. Whereas Gandhi had been content to change the nomenclature of these oppressed sections - from 'untouchables' to Harijans - hoping thereby to overcome the stigma they bore, Ambedkar advocated class struggle to change their condition.

Almost as if he does not have faith that the real Gandhi can maintain undiminished stature without his help, Attenborough, throughout his film, chooses the path of least resistance, avoiding all controversy. Personalities in the independence struggle who achieved herioc proportions in their own right but whose heroism did not reflect upon or from Gandhi himself are written out of the script. Hence there is no room for a scene in which Gandhi visits Bhagat Singh in prison where he awaits execution at the hands of the British. Gandhi had pleaded with Bhagat Singh to recant his belief in armed struggle or at least to draft a compromise letter that would stay his execution. Bhagat Singh refused and was hanged. For Gandhi it had been a moment of acute anguish, perhaps even a moment of

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doubt for, in Bhagat Singh, he had encountered a man of equal integrity and principle as himself.

There is no room in the script for Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army which set out to oppose the British empire militarily; nor is there room for the entire 1942 Quit India movement, led as it was by socialists who had deviated from Gandhi's non-violent path. It may be uncharitable to suggest that a further element of controversy was thus avoided by not depicting the roles of Jaya Prakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia and other leaders of the 1942 movement, many of whom later opposed the Congress leadership and the ruling party of today.

The only movement of human weakness Gandhi is allowed is the scene in which he throws Kasturba out of his house for not agreeing to clean her toilet. Even here there are two conflicting principles and Gandhi opts for one of them and is repentful for breaking the other — the love and respect for his wife. The essentially ambivalent and patriarchic approach he had towards Kasturba and, by extension, towards all women is not an issue in the film.

Right from the first sequence in South Africa where it is never questioned or explained as to why Gandhi did not fight equally for the rights of the black Africans as he did for brown Indians (indeed hardly a single black face can be seen in the frame even though we are meant to be in Africa), no element of doubt or potential criticism is allowed to creep in. What unfolds is an epic drama of one man's heroic attempt to save the world from itself by preaching the gospel of turning the other cheek — an attempt that ends in martyrdom. The parallel with Christ is unmistakable. Small wonder then the eight Oscars and the adulation in the Christian West. We should perhaps be grateful that no statements like "Gandhi died so that we may live" have yet been heard and no posters and T-shirts which proclaim "Gandhi Saves!" have yet been spotted.

As the audience leaves the theatre (unlike in "Missing") the finger does not point at any enemy in particular, but to the tragedy of the human condition. British imperialism shown at its dastardly worst during the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh is ultimately more of a spectator than an active participant in the unfolding tragedy of events. In the bloody aftermath of partition, from the bloody and mutual butchery of Hindus and Muslims with not an Englishman in sight, to the final assassination of Gandhi at the hands of the fanatic Hindu, we have long forgotten Jallianwala. Nowhere are we shown the desperate alarm with which the British had always viewed Hindu-Muslim unity during the active freedom struggle. Nowhere do we witness the well-documented incidents of their divide-and-rule policy which culminated in the inevitability of Partition. Nowhere do we see Satyagrahis crushed to death under the wheels of British locomotives or the torture of political prisoners by British officers. Even the condemnation of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre stops short of indicting the whole system focusing instead on the misdeeds of a single officer, General Dyer. Having witnessed the massacre in vivid detail we are next shown General Dyer facing a commission of enquiry. We leave this scene with the unmistakable feeling that British justice will prevail and the general will be brought to book for his monstrous crimes. We are now told what really happened. General Dyer was exonerated (the Hunter Commission merely found that he had
been "unduly severe") and Parliament voted to give him a handsome pension in reward for his services to the Empire.

Everywhere British judges, officers and administrators are shown to be reluctantly carrying on their duty to King and country. This was certainly true of some of them, but it is far from being the entire truth, and it hides its uglier counterpart - the fact that no Empire worth its name can rule another nation, especially one whose people aspire to freedom, without resort to cruelty, injustice, exploitation and terror.

Attenborough has repeatedly maintained that his film is not a history and it is true that he appears more interested in the metaphor than in the reality of Gandhi. In this respect just as films like "The Ten Commandments" or "King of Kings" have some historical basis but are essentially religious versions of the lives of Moses and Christ, "Gandhi" may be seen as a theological version of the apostle of non-violence, Mahatma Gandhi. It is not as though this version has no value, for in those areas of the world where the prospect of a nuclear holocaust looms large and wild consumerism flourishes, the power and simplicity of Gandhi's message is a welcome shot in the arm for activists fighting the system. Perhaps had the film been released six months earlier, there may have been more protests in the UK against the Falklands War by people who are convinced that "an eye for an eye will only make the whole world blind".

But there is a crucial difference between "Gandhi" and "The Ten Commandments". The events described in "Gandhi" are part of recent history; many eyewitnesses to these events are still alive and documentary film footage to corroborate them also exist. Indeed, Attenborough has clearly taken pains to ensure that he is not caught in factual inaccuracies (although occasionally a lapse does occur such as in the depiction of the Calcutta riots as having happened after Partition rather than before). The existing documentary footage of Gandhi's meticulously collected by Vithalbhai Jhaveri has been carefully studied and a number of key scenes in "Gandhi" (such as the Dandi March) have been shot from the same angle and with the same framing as the documentary footage. Those familiar with this footage - and many Indians are having seen it incorporated in numerous Films Division documentaries - experience an immediate feeling of déjà vu enhancing the 'truth claim' of the film "Gandhi".

It is this implicit 'truth claim' that forces us to evaluate "Gandhi" historically rather than as a mere metaphor of one man's struggle for truth and justice. Like it or not (and I suspect Attenborough himself rather likes it) Attenborough's "Gandhi" is pop history which, because of the speed and widespread nature of its dissemination, is replacing the real thing. The complexities of the Indian freedom struggle, the philosophical and ideological debates between the Gandhians, the Marxists and others endeavouring for this freedom, the strengths and pitfalls of each approach and its practice - all this is lost as we zoom in from a wide angle perspective on history to an idealised giant close-up of a man who was already a giant before the cameras started zooming in.

It is perhaps this lack of context, the lack of a sense of history, that allowed Attenborough to accept an invitation to attend a whites-only
premiere of "Gandhi" in South Africa. The fact that public pressure forced him to reconsider his decision should not cloud the fact that such an act was considered. Nor should it stop us from asking as to why the South African regime finds the film "Gandhi" so acceptable as to allow it to open in South Africa at all.

There are two possible explanations. One is that because Gandhi stood primarily for Indians and not for blacks, the film may strengthen the separate identity of the Indian Community in South Africa and therefore further facilitate the racist regime's policy of dividing the non-whites. The second is that after many years of fruitless non-violent protests, the South African resistance movement in the form of the ANC (African National Congress) and the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) have taken to armed struggle as the only means of liberation. The racist regime's decision to show "Gandhi" both to whites and blacks (albeit separately) may well be intended to promote 'non-violence' at this historic context.

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VIVRE CHEZ SOI ET VIVRE MIEUX *


Les difficultés commencent et provoquent l'exode massif des Sénégalais vers la France, dans le but de subvenir aux besoins des familles.

Dès leur arrivée, les premiers venus en France ont décidé de s'organiser, afin de faire face à l'ensemble des problèmes qui se posaient à leur niveau: logement, travail, santé, éducation.

Mais dès les premiers jours, nous avons toujours eu à l'esprit de préparer notre retour. Cette préparation ne doit pas être faite avec précipitation car elle doit tenir compte de deux facteurs fondamentaux: le facteur traditionnel et le facteur moderne. C'est pourquoi nous avons cherché à concilier les deux, raison pour laquelle nous avons mis beaucoup de temps pour arriver à notre stade d'aujourd'hui. Nous nous sommes consultés les uns et les autres, observé différentes expériences réalisées à travers le monde, étudié les réalités de notre pays.

En dépit de notre bas niveau de formation à la fois théorique et technique, nous n'avons jamais perdu de vue qu'un développement doit s'appuyer sur la force vive du pays. Nous n'avons jamais cru à un développement imposé qui ne tient pas compte des réalités et de l'identité des pays. De même, nous n'avons jamais cru à l'importation d'une idéologie politique comme une marchandise toute faite.

C'est pourquoi, l'UGTSF (Union Générale des Travailleurs Sénégalais en France) a fermement refusé de s'aligner avec tel ou tel gouvernement, parti-politique, quelle que soit son idéologie. Nous avons toujours eu, comme souci principal, le développement de notre pays comme seul moyen de nous permettre de revenir définitivement dans nos villages. Dans cette optique, nous sommes très attachés à l'éducation. Les projets de développement, quels qu'ils soient, ne peuvent être efficaces que qu'ils sont pris en charge par la population. D'où la nécessité d'une prise de conscience de cette dernière. Cette préoccupation a toujours été celle de l'UGTSF. De multiples exemples, et sans une concertation sérieuse et objective de la population concernée, ont échoué.

Aujourd'hui nous pensons, d'après plusieurs expériences réalisées et dont l'efficacité a été prouvée, que le moment est venu de franchir le pas. D'où l'idée de cinq Centres expérimentaux dans la vallée du fleuve Sénégal (Fouta). Chacun de ces Centres doit être dans les zones villageoises les mieux organisées et qui ont montré déjà leur efficacité. En appoint à ces Centres de développement, il doit être créé un Centre de Recherche - Action.

Les contenus des Centres de développement sont: l'agriculture, l'élevage, la santé, l'artisanat, l'alphabétisation et l'éducation. La recherche s'aboutira autour de ces cinq grandes activités. Chacun de ces Centres doit servir d'expérience pilote, mais aussi renforcer ce qui existe déjà dans le pays et susciter d'autres initiatives à travers le pays.
L'UGTSF compte actuellement 168 villages organisés et auto-financés. Chaque Centre doit disposer, au minimum, de 50 hectares, de deux puits très profonds. Nous bénéficitions déjà de l'expérience locale en ce qui concerne l'élevage par les nomades, nombreux parmi nous. Le fourrage naturel existe déjà et le champ collectif fournira l'appoint. Pour les céréales, nous sommes en majorité des cultivateurs, mais nous avons bien sûr besoin des connaissances techniques extérieures pour améliorer les nôtres. Pour le fonctionnement, il existe en notre sein des éducateurs, des gestionnaires. Nous avons déjà l'appui des villages environnants, qui seront d'ailleurs membres du Conseil d'Administration. Nous avons également un encadrement technique sénégalais: agronomes, gestionnaires, vétérinaires etc., amis de l'UGTSF.

A l'extérieur, nous avons déjà le soutien de quelques organisations qui ont montré par le passé et le présent une efficacité et une solidarité véritables envers notre peuple. Sur le plan financier: participation des communautés concernées, demande aux gouvernements et organisations nationales et internationales susceptibles d'appuyer une telle initiative.

Dans un souci d'efficacité, les Centres doivent être totalement indépendants des partis politiques, avoir de bonnes relations avec tous les services gouvernementaux et administratifs concernés.

Avec la volonté de tous, ces Centres feront quelque chose de capital pour nous aider à retourner et à rester dans nos villages auprès de nos familles, afin de nous permettre de participer activement au développement de notre pays.

I. IDENTIFICATION DU PROJET

1. Le maître d'œuvre: l'UGTSF

L'Union Générale des Travailleurs Sénégalais en France a été créée en 1961. Elle s'était fixée pour premier objectif de faire face à l'ensemble des problèmes qui se posent aux travailleurs immigrés en général, aux Sénégalais en particulier, problèmes qui étaient et qui sont, jusqu'à présent, de plusieurs natures: logement, travail, alphabétisation, formation professionnelle, lutte contre le racisme, aide sociale et juridique, problèmes administratifs etc.

Dans le but d'harmoniser la lutte des immigrés en France, elle a participé à la création de la Maison des Travailleurs Immigrés (MTI) qui regroupe en son sein:

- l'Association des Marocains de France (AMF)
- le Comité des Travailleurs Algériens (CTA)
- l'Union des Travailleurs Immigrés Tunisiens (UTIT)
- l'Association des Travailleurs Turcs (ATT)
- la Fédération des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire Immigrés (FETRANI)
- l'Union Générale des Travailleurs Sénégalais en France (UGTSF).

Envers le Sénégal, l'action de l'UGTSF obéit au principe "tout ce qui se fait pour les masses se fait avec les masses et par les masses". Pourtant, de cette ligne directrice, l'UGTSF a choisi d'accéder aux villages par l'intermédiaire des Associations de villages.
D'origine traditionnelle, ces associations de type vertical (classes d'âge) s'érigent en associations de type horizontal (fusion des classes d'âge) et s'engagent dans un véritable processus de développement de leur pays.

L'UGTSF regroupe aujourd'hui en son sein 168 villages, car à chaque fois que nous utilisons la notion d'Associations des villages, entendons par là l'ensemble des habitants des villages.

2. La durée du projet
Il est prévu une période de cinq ans sur le financement extérieur avec apport interne des villages. L'objectif est d'arriver à ce que les Centres s'auto-financent, mais cela ne peut être atteint qu'avec une gestion efficace de la première phase.

3. Les bénéficiaires
A court terme, le projet fera bénéficier les villages situés dans la zone visée (Département de Matam), soit une population d'agriculteurs, d'éleveurs, d'artisans, de pêcheurs; il est à noter que les initiateurs du projet prévoient une propriété collective des Centres, c'est-à-dire qu'une fois que la phase d'auto-financement est atteinte, ces Centres appartiendront réellement aux groupements des villages où ils seront implantés et seront gérés par ces groupement villageois eux-mêmes.

4. Situation géographique
Département de Matam (Sénégal).

5. Les acteurs
De la phase préalable de projet à sa phase d'auto prise en charge, l'ensemble des ressources humaines des villages forment la constellation des acteurs. Il est évident qu'un choix devra être fait par les villageois de ceux qui serviront de leaders et de techniciens pour assurer la réalisation et la marche du projet. Nous prévoyons que le projet gravitera autour de: agriculteurs/techniciens agricoles, éleveurs/agents d'élevage, guérisseurs/infirmiers locaux, artisans. Il est à noter que pour ceux qui connaissent ce milieu, le travail collectif pour un projet collectif n'a pas de problème.

II. OBJECTIFS DU PROJET
Le projet a pour but la création de cinq Centres "villages-entreprises" multifonctionnels dans le Département de Matam, avec l'appui d'un Centre de Recherche-Action; ainsi, trois volets se dessinent:

Volet no 1: "Villages entreprises" multifonctionnels
" no 2: Centre de Recherche-Action
" no 3: Gestion administrative

1. "Villages entreprises" multifonctionnels
Il est prévu, pour chaque village, cinq activités principales:

a) agriculture          c) artisanat          e) alphabétisation
b) élevage              d) action sanitaire
1. a1 Agriculture: production
Le Département de Matam se trouvant dans la moyenne vallée du fleuve Sénégal, a des terres favorables à l'agriculture des produits vivriers.

Agriculture céréalière: maïs, mève, sorgho.
Agriculture maraîchère: oignon, patate douce, "kore", "jayeeje", gombo, autres légumes.
Agriculture fruitière: manguier, bananier et autres arbres locaux.

Le reboisement accompagne nécessairement le projet pour rendre la zone plus résistante aux effets de la sécheresse.

1. a2 Agriculture: commercialisation
Pour la commercialisation des produits obtenus à partir de l'agriculture vivrière en période de soudure et de l'agriculture maraîchère et fruitière à la période des maturités, le projet propose la construction d'un magasin de stockage comprenant autant de compartiments que de variétés. Pour la transformation des produits agricoles, le projet prévoit pour chaque "village-entreprise" un moulin à mil.

1. b Elevage:
L'élevage est transhumant; les éleveurs semi-nomades sont en mouvement continu à la recherche de l'eau. Le projet prévoit deux volets au niveau du cheptel:

- une exploitation des ressources animales (commercialisation de la viande, des peaux et des cuirs, d'où la création d'un abattoir),
- implantation d'un embouchure des vaches laitières. La zone servira de naissance, d'embouchure et d'abattage et pour cela, la création d'une ferme modèle et d'un parc à bestiaux s'imposent.

Le projet prévoit, pour l'élevage, un magasin de stockage des aliments destinés au bétail.

1. c Hydraulique villageoise et pastorale:
Pour les besoins en eau des "villages-entreprises" pour l'agriculture et l'élevage, il est prévu deux grands puits par village.

1. d Artisanat:
Les artisans du bois et du fer pourront se perfectionner pour l'entretien du matériel agricole. Le projet prévoit aussi la maçonnerie pour la construction et l'entretien des bâtiments.

1. e Action sanitaire:
Le projet prévoit pour chaque "village-entreprise" la fourniture de médicaments, l'éducation sanitaire et, à long terme, la construction de postes médicaux.

1. f Alphabétisation:
Elle doit se faire en langue nationale de la zone, à savoir le "Pulaar" et
en français, si besoin est. Le projet prévoit à cet effet la construction d'une salle de classe et équipements. L'UGTSF a déjà produit des syllabaires en "Pulaar" et des livrets de formation des formateurs.

2. Centre de recherche-action

En appoint aux différentes activités des "villages-entreprises", le projet prévoit la création d'un Centre de recherche-action.

La recherche permettra de provoquer une prise de conscience permanente par le milieu de ses propres problèmes, d'où une prise en charge par la population concernée de sa réalité vécue.

La capacité de progression d'un milieu social vers la résolution de ses problèmes peut être suscitée par l'introduction d'un processus de régulation et de retro-action (feed-back).

Il existe pour le milieu une capacité de progression et d'auto-régulation qui exige, pour s'actualiser, l'intermédiaire d'une aide extérieure favorisant l'introduction d'un processus de feed-back et de structuration des communications.

Le fonctionnement d'un groupe tendra vers un optimum quand le maximum d'énergie pourra être libérée vers des tâches de progression.

Le feed-back, en renvoyant l'information à l'émetteur, favorise la restructuration des communications (horizontales et verticales) et, en mettant une connaissance permanente du milieu par lui-même, permet aux mécanismes d'auto-régulation et d'auto-progression de fonctionner.

Toute pédagogie visant le développement d'un milieu, d'une collectivité, doit nécessairement, pour être efficace, susciter la participation active du milieu à l'intervention. L'intervenant doit découvrir les problèmes de l'intérieur, à travers l'intelligence et les aspirations de ceux qui les vivent quotidiennement.

Savoir où en est la société.

Il faut un repère pour faire le point. Ce repère peut être le modèle social d'origine que l'on peut analyser à partir de trois paliers: infrastructure techno-économique; organisation socio-politique; valeurs et vision cosmogonique.

La recherche touchera initialement l'agriculture (connaissance traditionnelle/connaissance moderne); l'élevage (connaissance traditionnelle/connaissance moderne); la santé (médecine traditionnelle/médecine moderne); la pédagogie éducative - formation des formateurs; comment créer le décollage de l'artisanat.

Pour le Centre de recherche-action, le projet prévoit: un bâtiment composé de deux salles (bureaux); équipement; pépinière des plantes médicinales. Le CRA sera implanté dans l'un des cinq "villages-entreprises".
IV. STRATEGIES

1. Stratégie d'implantation
Tout doit partir des villages et revenir aux villages.

2. Stratégie d'organisation
Chaque village s'organise et se coordonne sur trois niveaux, le premier étant déjà réalisé au niveau du village, de Dakar et de la France.

L'unification et la coordination de 168 associations de villages se sont effectuées en France au sein de l'UGT SF dans le seul objectif de participer au développement du pays. Ce deuxième niveau est réalisé.

Au niveau du pays, la réalisation de ce projet contribuera largement à faire dépasser le Département de l'état dépendant à l'état entrepreneur, et fera du village du Centre de Recherche-Action le lieu de coordination de ce processus de développement. Ce troisième niveau est dans sa phase constitutive.

V. DÉROULEMENT DU PROJET

Il est prévu un déroulement en quatre phases:

1ère phase (phase préalable déjà commencée): contacts avec l'administration sénégalaise; repérages et contacts de nos personnes ressources; choix des villages; choix des terrains; choix d'emplacement des constructions.

2ème phase (phase préparatoire): aménagements des terrains agricoles; puits; constructions des infrastructures; achat des vaches, taureaux, boeufs etc.

3ème phase: phase d'auto-prise en charge.

4ème phase: phase opérationnelle (5 ans)

VI. RETOMBEES DU PROJET

À court terme, la réalisation de ce projet vise à fixer la population et à contribuer au retour des immigrés.

À long terme, l'autosuffisance alimentaire et la création d'une épargne font nos objectifs.

Nous pensons que ce projet transformera qualitativement la vie des paysans, des éleveurs et des artisans de la région, qu'il est à effets multiplicateurs car d'autres villages ne manqueront pas d'imiter ce projet, qu'il donnera aux villages un esprit d'entreprise et pourtant tendra vers une auto-prise en charge.

*Union Générale des Travailleurs Sénégalais en France, 3 rue Bellini, 92800 Puteaux, France.*
Third World PDAs meet in Lima

Something rather unusual happened in March last year in Lima, Peru. For the first time, as far as is known, eight Third World private development associations (PDAs) or non-governmental organisations (NGDOs) met to exchange experiences and points of view without being convened by any co-financing institutions. These associations were from Peru (DESCO), Colombia (CINEP), Brasil (IBASE), Kenya (NCCK/CORDS), Tanzania (CDTF), India (ISI), Indonesia (LP3ES), and the Philippines (NASSA). They had much in common: working with the poorest sectors of population, aiming at supporting the popular movements and having relations with the same co-financing institutions. In addition, several of them had links with christian churches. The discussion focussed around six major themes: relations with the popular movements; with governments; with other PDAs, with political parties; with the co-financing institutions. The institutional aspects of the associations were also discussed.

The report of the workshop, prepared by Mario Padron of DESCO has been published together with the presentations made by the eight associations. (NGDOs and grassroots development, limits and possibilities, Workshop of Third World NGDOs, Lima, 15-22 March 1982, Final Report, 230 pp.). It can be obtained from either Mario Padron at DESCO, Avenida Salaverry 1945, Lima 14, Peru, or F. Wils at the Institute of Social Studies, P.O. Box 90733, 2509 LS The Hague, The Netherlands. Some excerpts from the DESCO presentation are reproduced below, both for their intrinsic interest and because they illustrate concretely what a PDA is.

**Research/action**

**THE ACTIVITIES OF DESCO, THE CENTRO DES ESTUDIOS Y PROMOCION DEL DESARROLLO, LIMA, PERU**

1. Study and debate on national reality

Since 1980 our Research Division articulated in four workshops the various research and studies undertaken, organizing also debates expressed in three open Seminars. Open to the participation of other researchers, technicians and politicians, and articulating it with our promotion work, by including within the debate, representatives of popular organizations.

1.1. The Rural Research Workshop: has begun the study of the rural trade-union and political programmes between 1945 and 1980. It has undertaken a research on State, process and peasantry; on the productive resources in the Peruvian agriculture and on peasant economy and the social structure of the community. This latter research is articulated with our promotion programme in peasant communities (which has been going on in three areas during the last two years). In December 1981 this Workshop held its first
Seminar on "Present situation and perspectives of the Agrarian Problem in Peru", with the participation of technicians and professionals of different research centres, as well as from the state apparatus and from various centres and programmes for development.

1.2. The Peruvian Economy Workshop: has integrated a group of studies to examine the reality and perspectives of the Peruvian industry and the follow-up of the economic conjuncture, refining at the same time the methodological instruments to do it. We have just concluded a research programme with the Dutch Department of International Cooperation which enabled: a study of the industrial policy in the last decade, a study of the reality of public enterprise, and a study of the non-foods agro-industry. This programme enabled also the continuation of the research on the "evolution and determinants of the industrialization process". Another two researches have begun: i.e. "Impact of the transnational companies and the investment of foreign technology in industrial development" and "Inflation and anti-inflationary policies".

This workshop organized, in August 1981, a Seminar on Strategies and Policies of Industrialization which sprung from the studies under way; in October of the same year we published a book with proposals and comments on the Seminar (there were representatives of enterprise associations as well as from academic and state organizations). The Seminar ended with a Round Table meeting including representatives of the various political parties, the Government and the Society of Industrialists, permitting an ample debate.

1.3. The Workshop on Politics and Society has undertaken two long-term studies: "The Peruvian political regime and its perspective in the present political process" and the study of the "popular movement". Also research has been done on "industrial bourgeoisie, unions and political struggle", and a study on "popular culture"; they are part of a long-term study of the state and the dominant class, in the first case, and of the ideologic struggle in the Peruvian society in the latter.

This Workshop held a permanent debate on the significance and condition of the democratic opening as well as on the concepts of democracy which exist in the leftist forces. At the end of 1980 it organized an international seminar on "Democracy and Popular Movement", inviting Latin America's social scientists to deal with this topic just when a new stage was starting in the Peruvian political process; the discussion on 'democracy' was a central matter, particularly for the popular organizations risen during the last twelve years of military government. After the Seminar, a book was published and a series of meetings to broadcast the themes and conclusions took place; likewise booklets have been published within our "Popular Library" series derived from this theme.

1.4. The Workshop on Urban Studies is the most recent; it includes a study of the informal sector of the economy in the cities, started at a level of preliminary report, and a study on housing and services policy which articulates various studies within our present promotion programme in urban settlements. It also works on 'alternative urban policies' with the participation of popular leaders.
2. Programmes in the field

During the past two years we have been active both in peasant communities of the Peruvian Andean Area (Sierra) and in urban popular settlements.

2.1. The programme in peasant communities in the Peruvian Sierra has been working in three regions, i.e. 13 peasant communities in the Sierra of Lima; 17 peasant communities in Huancavelica, and 6 peasant communities in the province of Bolognesi, Department of Ancash. With a central leadership group and local promoters in each area, and with the support of two researchers, the programme has concluded the work in one of the regions (the Sierra of Lima). In December 1981, after four years of support to the peasant organization, the communal level, and the formation of the intercommunal Committee for Development, a project has been designed and directly assumed by the intercommunal organization (only advisory relationships will be maintained).

In the region of Huancavelica, our work will reach its final stage over the coming two year period, after developing succeeding projects since 1976, initially backing communities and later organizing the Integral Association for Development which includes 17 peasant communities. Various projects are being developed by them, the central ones being one on Communal Stores and a project of Commercialization of Alpaca Wool, all integrated in popular education activities which must also be progressively assumed by the Intercommunal Organization. A Regional Centre of Promotion is to be developed, associated to ASINDE, to contribute to the management of its projects and to the study of micro-region.

2.2. The programme in urban popular settlements includes a training project in self-help housing in the Canto Grande area; a project of a people's health centre at San Juan de Lurigancho; and a small project of popular press.

Our work at Canto Grande includes providing legal and technical advice to popular organizations so as to fortify its own undertaking capabilities, the study of its reality, and the search for common solutions. The perspective of the project is to strengthen the popular organizations in the area with a view to securing the continuity of services generated. As in all our promotion activities, together with the concrete actions, there is popular education work undertaken with formal and informal mechanisms.

The People's Health Centre at San Juan de Lurigancho combines medical services by doctors and psychologists in the perspective of education for health and neighbourhood organization to obtain health services. It is not a centre of ample services but is fundamentally centred on organizing the population to provide these services giving, at the same time, minor attention services and conducting programmes of prevention campaigns in health education.

2.3. The popular press project has tried to articulate some experience of the settlers in the publishing of neighbourhood press and has been publishing "Vecino" (neighbour), an organ which expresses its point of view and tries to insert itself in the popular organization expressing its demands.
3. Promotion services

Although our work is localized in some specific areas, we try to have the experience accumulated in promotional matters utilized both in services to other development promoting projects as well as in direct services to other grassroots organizations. In this sense, during these two years we have organized three service departments: Projects Service; the Training Materials Service and the Popular Information Service.

The Training Materials Service, starting from an effort to systemize the experience in popular education developed in previous programmes by DESCO, has produced audiovisual series and popular pamphlets in a series called 'popular library' (biblioteca popular). From these two services, an ample effort has been developed to participate in training courses in different grassroots organizations and different regions in the country, depending on requests and initiatives which are constantly received from those in DESCO.

The audiovisual series produced have dealt with the following subjects: municipal elections; historical experience in the popular movement (I & II); development of the platform for popular organizations; housing problems; neighbourhood power; responsibilities of mayors and people's participation; health and nutrition.

The popular pamphlets produced in this period were: Municipal elections; History of the popular movement (I & II); Unionizing of public employees; Constitution and workers law; Exploiting of wool cattle in the Peruvian Sierra; Labour stability; Workers petition; Health problems in Peru; Democracy and popular block; Popular centralization.


New President for CEBRAP appointed

Professor Fernando Henrique Cardoso is on leave from his post as President of CEBRAP (Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento) from March 1983. He has taken up the position as Senator of the Brazilian Republic for the State of São Paulo.

The new President of CEBRAP is Professor Juarez Rubens Brandão Lopes, member and Executive Director of CEBRAP from 1969 until now, full-professor at the University of São Paulo, Department of Political Science.
INNER SPACE


LOCAL SPACE

David Pitt, P.M. Shah, Göran Sterky and Asha Williams (Eds.), "Child labour: a threat to health and development", *The Iketsetseng Series on the Health and Welfare of Children*, (No. 1, December 1981), 85pp., (Iketsetseng Project, Defence for Children c/o WHO, Geneva, Switzerland). Iketsetseng is a word from Lesotho meaning, roughly, "do it yourselves". The symbol of the series is a small deer, Sang Kancil, from Malaysia. This deer is renowned for its ability to get on in the jungle, to be self-reliant, and to take the appropriate initiatives to extract itself from difficult situations. It is also the name of a self-reliant project in the urban squatter settlements of Kuala Lumpur. The series presents ideas to promote the health and welfare of children. It is intended as a means of promoting exchanges of views about health and development, ideas that may lead to, and reflect, more effective action to combat poverty, deprivation and exploitation.

"Le travail des enfants", *Rapport du Directeur général du BIT, 1983*, pp. 3-43, or:


Simon Nicholson, "Choice, Chance and Utopia: Future-related questions and ideas, developed by children in Sweden, using a participatory and multimedia approach, *Educational and Psychological Interactions*, (No. 79, 1982), (Box 23501, S-200 45 Malmö, Sweden). Most learning in school is concerned with the past. Children are taught to drive into the future looking only in 'the rearview mirrors'. They are rarely permitted to 'clear the
windscreen' or 'do the driving'. Therefore, what would happen if children could be at the controls? The present paper discusses this question and illustrates from a classroom study in Sweden where children developed their own future-related questions and ideas, using a participatory, multi-media approach. It argues that children and adults can drive into the future in various ways in partnership and that it is important, psychologically, that children be active participants in, rather than passive spectators of, change.

UNICEF, Forum "Ecole pour un seul monde", (Comité suisse pour l'UNICEF, Werdstrasse 36, 8021 Zürich, Suisse). Le Forum contribue à ce que l'école reconnaît le monde dans toute son étendue comme communauté de vie et de destin; cette vision globale du monde stimule l'action solidaire et favorise le respect de la paix et de la justice.


Guy Gran, Citizen Construction of a Just World, Development By People, (New York: Praeger, 1983), 481 pp. A new guide to a 21st century world of far greater productivity and equity than is now conceivable by conventional capitalist or socialist solutions, i.e. to building, through democratic empowerment, new societies in the Third World (and everywhere else), in which mass human needs actually are met. Development by People is not a utopian view of a just and sustainable world order. It is instead a practical guide to the concrete steps for creating such a world. Development by People illustrates the real workings of the world-system, creating for the first time a practical interdisciplinary synthesis of current world growth processes. The workings of AID, the World Bank, and the IMF are explored through their own internal material. In sum, blueprint, top-down social engineering does not help the poor and is not development. The answer is not more of the same. It is instead to advance democratic politics and economics through participatory development. The heart of the book lays out the plan for its implementation - a specific sequence of changes in education, organizations, politics, and economics. The process begins in the local space and works up. But many readers will still be trapped in traditional social agencies and so constructive critique is also offered to advance mass participation throughout the conventional project cycle. Systems change and true development is a matter of permanent learning as well as effective citizenry.

Development by People adds therefore a global development studies guide and an impressive bibliography. This alone makes the volume a useful tool for anyone involved in any aspect of foreign area studies or practical policy implementation.


Raqiya Haji Dualeh Abdalla, Sisters in Affliction: Circumcision


2. Vida Tomsic, Policy of Non-Alignment, Struggle for the New International Economic Order and the Role of Women in Development, and Maja Kosak, The Position of Women Workers in Redeployed Export-Oriented Industries in Developing Countries, (Research Centre for Co-operation with Developing Countries, PO Box 97, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia).


11. Energias libres, Sol, Veinto, Metano, (2a edicion, 1983), 114pp. y


NATIONAL SPACE

13. Roger Young, Canadian Development Assistance to Tanzania, (Ottawa: The North-South Institute, 1983) 126pp. (185 Rideau, Ottawa, K1N 5X8, Canada).


THIRD WORLD SPACE


GLOBAL SPACE

Tamas Szentes, *The Political Economy of Under-Development*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1983), 426pp. The fourth revised and enlarged edition of Prof. Szentes magnum opus provides a comprehensive political and economic analysis of one of the most pressing problems of our age, the Third World's state of underdevelopment. Following an overview and critique of different theories concerning underdevelopment, the author examines the historical roots, causes, nature, essence and inner laws of underdevelopment within its international context. This fourth English edition contains a great deal of new information; in addition to bringing data up to date, Szentes has added several new chapters, with particular attention to the major global changes in the world economy during the seventies. Since its first publication in English in 1971, this work has been translated into eight languages. It is used in over thirty countries on four continents in higher education.


Bernard Benson, The Peace Book, (New York: Bantam Books, 1982). Dedicated to the children of the world, Bernard Benson's The Peace Book, sold an unprecedented 100,000 plus when it was published by Fayard in France. CoEvolution Quarterly said, "This book brings a remembering, in the midst of all the hullabaloo about nuclear war, that what all the hullabaloo is about is what the children in The Peace Book say, 'We want to live'". Raised in England, Bernard Benson was an RAF fighter pilot during the Second World War. An inventor, he later developed patented torpedo and missile guidance systems as well as computers. In 1962 he had a vision of humanity blowing itself up and he decided that technological developments had not been matched by a commensurate wisdom. This is a tale about a small boy, the son of a nuclear strategist, who hears discussions about nuclear death and destruction at the dinner table. Horrified, he contrives to appear on a live television program and tells the viewers that he is just a small boy who doesn't wish to die because of the decision of a handful of world leaders. He becomes instantly famous and is summoned to meet with heads of state. They all explain that they don't dare disarm because they don't trust each other. All seems lost until the little boy comes up with an ingenious solution.
Vivienne Verdon-Roe, *In the Nuclear Shadow, What can the children tell us?*, (The Educational Film & Video Project, 1725 B Seabright Avenue, Santa Cruz, California 95062, USA). 60 children of various races and backgrounds from 20 different schools were individually interviewed for this production. 27 young people represent the overall spontaneous thoughts and feelings expressed concerning the arms race. Children know much more about nuclear issues than most adults assume. Recent evidence suggests that they are deeply disturbed by the possibility of nuclear holocaust. Responses are simple; anger, fear, and a sense of helplessness. These young people speak out, as if discussion on how to prevent a possible nuclear war is responsible and absolutely necessary. This film has a positive message. The counterpart to fear is action. The children emphasize that the way to overcome, or at least lessen, the feelings of despair and defenselessness, is through personal involvement.

PERIODICALS


- *Global Futures Digest* (Vol. 1, No. 1, 1983, Charter Issue): The essence of futures research and international development (Global Futures Network, Suite 1, Futures House, 26 McGill Street, Toronto M5B 1H2, Canada).


The results of the Råttvik Conference on Environmental Research and Management Priorities for the 1980s are highlighted in a special 64-page section in this issue. Thirty-five environmental scientists spent four days whittling down the planet's many woes to a list of 10 research and 10 management priorities that must be confronted by this decade's decision-makers. These two lists are not intended as the word, but represent a scientific consensus as to the most severe environmental problems confronting us - problems that will have to be dealt with during the course of the next 10 years.

Alternatives (No. 1, 1983) 40pp.: "Berlin, de l'expérience à l'illusion?", (M.A.B., Kuringersteenweg 35, 3500 Hasselt, Belgique).


Paix et conflits, Jan-fév. 1983, nouvelle série no. 1. L'Association française de recherches sur la paix (ARESPA) et le nouveau centre interdisciplinaire de recherches sur la paix et d'études stratégiques (CIRPES) coopèrent à la relance du bulletin créé sous ce titre en 1976. L'objectif du bulletin est de combler une lacune dans les moyens de réflexion et d'information de ceux qui s'inquiètent du danger de guerre lié à la récession économique et à la nouvelle course aux armements.

Grassroots Development, Journal of the Inter-American Foundation, (Vol. 6:2/vol. 7:1 1982/83), 56pp. Grassroots Development is published by the Inter-American Foundation twice a year in English and Spanish. The purpose of the journal is to report how poor people in Latin America and the Caribbean organize and work to improve their lives, and to explore ways that development assistance can more effectively contribute to the self-help efforts of the poor. Articles in Grassroots Development draw heavily on the experiences of the foundation and the groups that it assists as well as on articles based on other bottom-up development experiences. (Grassroots Development, Inter-American Foundation, 1515 Wilson Boulevard, Rosslyn, VA 22209).
MATERIALS RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION

INNER SPACE

. Ashis Nandy, The idea of development: the experience of psychology as a cautionary tale (Centre for the study of developing societies, 29 Rajpur Road, Delhi 110054, India), 17pp.

LOCAL SPACE


. Robley E. George, Socioeconomic democracy and general systems research (Center for the Study of Democratic Societies, Manhattan Beach, California 90266, USA), 10pp.

. Prayag Mehta, Interface between rural communities and development agencies: People's participation in development and political efficacy and participation in socio-economic development (National Labour Institute, AB-6, Safdarjang Enclave, New Delhi 110029, India), 19pp. and 17pp.

. Shashi Pandey, Alternate development communication efforts for science education in rural India (415 W. Gilman, 418, Madison, WI 53703, USA), 25pp.

. D.B. Ray, Health care problematique of India and community mobilisation for health and wellbeing (Kasturba Medical College Hospital, Manipal 567 119, Karnataka, India), 8pp.

. Andrew Sheen, Papuan canoes (Advancetown Caravan Park, Via Nerang, Queensland 4211, Australia), 12pp.

. Girdhar Rathí, Grass-roots stirrings and the future of politics (see Ashis Nandy's address above), 24pp.


NATIONAL SPACE


. Janos Pasztor, The role of energy in the development process (World Council of Churches, Energy for my Neighbour Programme, CP 66, 1211 Genève 20, Switzerland), 17pp.


THIRD WORLD SPACE


(Continued on page 76)
Maurice Strong: Suppose the South organized

"The Third World would never move out of its trough unless it imitated the tactics of Mahatma Gandhi and collectively refused to cooperate with the industrialized world until it was given a better deal. (...) Progress has not come about by enlightenment of the elite, but by struggle. We abolished child labor and slavery and permitted trade unions only after years of pushing and agitation. The desperate economic conditions of the Third World are rapidly producing a sense of solidarity. Aid is down, export prices are down. Debt repayments are going through the roof. If there is further disintegration and breakdown of cooperation between North and South, it's only a question of time before the South will find the leadership it needs to challenge the industrialized North. Lech Walesa came out of the woodwork of Poland, when the moment of truth arrived. The same will happen in the Third World."

"They do have levers. The Third World countries take 38% of U.S. exports of manufactures and 45% of Japan's. So if they organized their purchasing power they could hurt our economies. If seven or eight countries got together, worked out what they bought from, say, Canada and then went to Mr. Trudeau and said 'We are going to stop buying your chemicals, food, computers and aircraft unless you reduce your trade barriers and give us a fairer price' it would compel Trudeau to make a deal."

"Often what's needed is not subsidies or aid, but simply a free market, a removal of protectionist barriers - the application of what the Western countries preach. (...) When the economic climate was more propitious, the Third World countries could sidestep difficult decisions. Now they need to impose discipline on the way they run their economies. They realize they'll only survive if they organize and fight."

"The world will be a better place for it. We've all benefitted in the long run from the poor in our societies being emancipated. We'll come to realize, before long, that the only way to resuscitate our own economies is to liberate the potential buying power of the Third World marketplace."

(International Herald Tribune, 5 November 1982)