EDITORIAL: Third system associations plan stronger networking

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THIRD SYSTEM ASSOCIATIONS PLAN STRONGER NETWORKING

From 10 to 14 November, some 30 people from all continents, responding to a joint invitation from IFDA and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, gathered at Uppsala, Sweden. Some of us had worked together since 1974 in the elaboration of the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report, What now - another development; others were meeting for the first time.

The assembly, which was more like a happening than a formal seminar, provided an opportunity for mutual briefing and discussion of common prospects and action in such fields as women's liberation, local development, alternative lifestyles, education, participation, human rights, consumers' self defense, international cooperation (both South-South and North-South) and, more generally, communications for another development.

The essential message from the seminar was the common determination of participants and the associations they represent to increase their contributions to strengthening the autonomous power of people vis-à-vis governmental and commercial powers through improving communications and networking among third system associations. They considered such an endeavour as a way to both revive and give a people-oriented content to North-South cooperation.

The gathering took place on the occasion of the re-inauguration of Geijersgården, an 18th century wooden building which houses the Dag Hammarskjöld Centre. It was destroyed by a criminal fire in April 1982 and has now been rebuilt as originally designed. Participants saw this as a symbol of their own commitment never to give up and always be ready to start anew.

The seminar was opened by Ernst Michanek, chairman of the Board of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and co-chairman of IFDA for 1981 and 1982. The text of his opening remarks, which expresses deeply the sense of the meeting, is reproduced below as a marking (pp. 59-64).
GANDHI - COMING BACK FROM WEST TO EAST?

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Original language: English

GANDHI - REVENANT DE L'OUEST À L'EST?

Résumé: L'auteur expose ses vues sur l'après-propos de Gandhi aujourd'hui en examinant les cinq questions suivantes:

(i) Faut-il distinguer l'Est de l'Ouest en parlant de Gandhi?
(ii) Gandhi est-il jamais allé à l'Ouest ou, pour poser la question d'une manière plus provocante, était-il probablement un 'Occidental'?
(iii) Comment Gandhi fut-il accueilli à l'Est, que fut la réaction de l'Inde à son message?
(iv) Quelles sont les raisons de sa récente redécouverte à l'Ouest?
(v) Comment expliquer le fait étonnant que Gandhi ait besoin de la bénédiction de l'Ouest avant d'être repris au sérieux dans l'Inde d'aujourd'hui?


GANDHI - REGRESANDO DEL OCCIDENTE AL ORIENTE

Resumen: El autor expone sus puntos de vista sobre Gandhi en el mundo de hoy, al examinar las cinco preguntas siguientes:

(i) ¿Es necesario hacer una diferencia entre Oriente y Occidente al hablar de Gandhi?
(ii) ¿Fue Gandhi alguna vez a Occidente? O, para hacer la pregunta en forma más provocadora: Fué probablemente un 'Occidentalizado'?
(iii) ¿Cómo fue Gandhi acogido en el Oriente? Cual fue la reacción de la India hacia su mensaje?
(iv) ¿Cuáles son las razones de su reciente redescubrimiento en Occidente?
(v) ¿Cómo explicar el sorprendente hecho de que Gandhi tenga necesidad de la bendición de Occidente para ser tomado en serio en la India contemporánea?

I wish to share some personal thoughts on the relevance of Gandhi today, by briefly discussing the following five questions:

(i) Does it make sense to distinguish East and West when talking about Gandhi?
(ii) Did Gandhi ever go to the West or, to put the question in a more provocative manner, was he probably a 'Westerner'?
(iii) How was Gandhi received in the East, what was India's reaction to his message?
(iv) What are the reasons for his recent re-discovery in the West?
(v) How to explain the strange fact that Gandhi needs obviously the blessings of the West before he will be reconsidered seriously in contemporary India?

I think we need not discuss in great detail the different cosmologies that characterize the Hindu-Buddhist and the Christian-Protestant answers of man to the riddles of his existence as a unique living being—unique in the sense that he has developed the faculty of symbolic communication through language, and of sharing and storing of knowledge via texts.

The Western man thinks in linear concepts of progress and in dualistic dichotomies of good and bad, of man versus nature, and of mind versus matter. He has, during the last four hundred years, developed this dualistic world-view into a system of 'science', i.e. an explanation of so-called 'reality' according to certain sense data matched with a set of mental formations called 'theories.' This kind of Western objectivity is exactly what Buddhists call 'anubodha'—knowing accordingly, dependent knowledge. 'Objective Science'—thinking in terms of object and subject is another Western dichotomy—is for *homo faber* the tool with which his mind tries to explain and manipulate matter. Thus only those aspects of reality matter to him which can answer accordingly, i.e. according to his dualistic world-view of man against nature. To be or not to be is for him...
the main question. Hence he cannot imagine a thought without a thinker
nor a deed without a doer. Brought up in the boxes of rectangular
thinking in alternatives of ‘yes’ or ‘no’, he has extreme difficulties in
even vaguely grasping the symbols of a circular world-view of condi-
tioned genesis in which every now is understood as a flux of momentary
change in an endless stream of becoming and re-becoming.

If we look at our surroundings, this fundamental difference becomes
obvious. Compare, for instance, the rectangular patterns in Europe, a
necessary consequence of man conquering nature more ‘effectively’, with
the circular structures by which farmers in South Asia try to fit them-

selves into a given natural environment. To keep all life going and not
to make only man’s industry grow is the rationale of their subsistence

 economy. The full moon does not challenge them to rocket out of their

 habitation but leads every month right back into the meditative context

of life.

The Western man splits material reality into particles so that it can be
fed into computer machines with a rigid binary logic. The Eastern man
tries to overcome his thought-provoked separation from the cosmic
whole through training of mindfulness so that he begins to realize the
liberating truth of *tat twam asi*.

The term ‘Sarvodaya’ was coined by Gandhi when he presented to his

compatriots in South Africa in 1908 a free translation of selections from
John Ruskin’s *Unto this Last*. In his autobiography, he describes the
decisive influence this anthology of four essays, first published in the
British Cornhill Magazine in 1860, on the ‘First Principles of Political

Economy’, had on his life from the day when he read them on a train
journey in 1903: “The book was impossible to lay aside. It gripped me.

 Johannesburg to Durban was a twenty-four hours’ journey. The train

 reached there in the evening. I could not get any sleep that night. I
determined to change my life in accordance with the ideals of the book.
I translated it later into Gujarati, entitling it ‘Sarvodaya’ [the welfare of
all]].

When Gandhi started a settlement of about 1,100 acres in the vicinity
of Johannesburg in 1910, he named it ‘Tolstoy Farm’, thereby showing
his humble respect for the grand old man in Yasnaya Polyana who lived
a life of voluntary simplicity among his former serfs. “Next to the late
Rajachandra,” Gandhi wrote in *Young India* in 1921, “Tolstoy is one of

*The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, edited by Shriman Narayan (Navajivan
the three moderns who have exerted the greatest spiritual influence on my life, the third being Ruskin.\(^2\)

In the appendices to his dialogue on *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi recommended twenty titles for his readers' perusal “to follow up the study of the foregoing”. Among them are, of course, two books by Ruskin and Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, but the first six books listed are books by Leo Tolstoy, with whom Gandhi exchanged several letters during 1909-1910 to inform him about the Movement and his new farm in South Africa.

Was Gandhi only the medium through which the thoughts of Western thinkers—Ruskin, Tolstoy, Thoreau—were fed into the minds of the Indian Congress? And what about his ethic of 'bread labour' and rigid punctuality, a lifestyle under the dictatorship of a huge pocket-watch attached to a *dhoti*?

There have indeed been several attempts to identify Gandhi as a Westerner. In a seminar on Max Weber, for instance, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and held at the National Institute of Community Development in Hyderabad in 1966, the Indian participants—mostly social scientists—were led to ask themselves whether there were “strains of belief within the Hindu belief system which under favourable conditions could lead to the savings-productive investment-income chain reaction, as there were in the Judeo-Christian belief system?”\(^3\) Gandhi was depicted as ‘a hard-working ascetic’ who seemed to “coincide exactly with the Weberian notion of the ascetic Protestant.”\(^4\)

Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph went even a step further. In their study entitled “Political Development in India”, they compared Gandhi with Benjamin Franklin and juxtaposed their daily schedule.\(^5\) The Chicago School—on whose decisive influence I shall come in the last part of my paper—had finally discovered in India a functional equivalent to Protestant asceticism. The 'modernity of tradition' had been proved and a Western development theory of growth had stood its universal test.

I think we need not waste much time to prove the fallacy of these Eurocentric interpretations. Sarvodaya—the welfare of all—was for Gandhi an altruistic ethic of self-realization. Truth (Satya) and Freedom (Swaraj) as the ultimate aims of one's self-realization can only grow in

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\(^4\)Ibid., p. 39.

an atmosphere of nonviolence (ahimsa). Such an atmosphere will prevail only in a society where an equal share is given ‘even unto this last’. Each individual must therefore work for ‘the welfare of all’. This was Gandhi’s simple explanation of the concept of Sarvodaya, and the ‘constructive programme’ was the instrument with which he tried to link his own self-realization to that of the weaker sections of the sub-continent in particular.\(^6\)

To quieten a revolutionary thinker, a society can either shoot him or enshrine him as a holy man. India reacted to Gandhi in both ways. His universal concept for the self-realization of man through nonviolent actions in the search for truth had been integrated by and into the Congress Movement in such a way that it seemed to have served its purpose when national independence was achieved. Only then did Gandhi realize that he had been misled by his hopes. At the end of his life he had to confess: “In placing civil disobedience before constructive work I was wrong. I feared that I should estrange co-workers and so carried on with imperfect Ahimsa.”\(^7\)

During his last days Gandhi made various attempts to change the direction of political thinking and bargaining. On 27 January 1948 he wrote: “The Congress has won political freedom, but it has yet to win economic freedom, social and moral freedom. These freedoms are harder than the political, if only because they are constructive, less exciting and not spectacular.”\(^8\)

Two days later, Gandhi drafted a New Constitution for the Indian National Congress. Being his last piece of writing, prepared one day before his assassination, it was later taken as his ‘Last Will and Testament.’ In it Gandhi repeated that “the Congress in its present shape and form, i.e. as a propaganda vehicle and parliamentary machine, has outlived its use. India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its seven hundred thousand villages as distinguished from its cities and towns.” The All India Congress Committee is therefore advised “to disband the existing Congress organization and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh,” or voluntary organization of Servants of the People.\(^9\)

Gandhi then sketches a system of decentralized government, with the village as its main working unit. For the workers of the proposed ‘Lok

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\(^6\)For details see the chapter “Gandhi”, pp. 3-15, in Kantowsky, Sarvodaya: The Other Development (Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1980).

\(^7\)Quoted from Ostergaard and Currell (see fn. 2), p. 3.

\(^8\)The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (see fn. 1), Vol. IV, p. 372.

Sevak Sangh', Gandhi then formulated ten basic principles and guidelines for action which can be seen as a kind of shorthand of the earlier Constructive Programme.

As we know, these proposals, which aimed at a social and cultural revolution to get rid of the "rotten boroughs leading to corruption and creation of institutions, popular and democratic only in name," were held to be 'utopian' by Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues in the Congress and the Constituent Assembly. They feared that the power vacuum created by a dissolution of the Congress structure might lead to a civil war and a Balkanisation of the subcontinent. Moreover, they believed that one could no longer potter around with village crafts and home industries in the middle of the twentieth century. The India of their dreams needed a central power and planning authority to carry out the ambitious development projects destined to raise the economy to the standards of the modern world.

According to Nehru, the Congress had never considered the Gandhian view of society as exemplified in his Hind Swaraj, "much less adopted it." Great as Gandhi's influence had been, he had not succeeded in convincing his own party of his view of how Indians should live and govern themselves. It was not a spinning wheel but steel mills, not an oceanic circle of autonomous village panchayats but the Central Planning Commission in New Delhi which became India's true symbols after independence. Harold Laski and the influence of his London School of Economics had overruled both the teachings of Ruskin and Tolstoy and Gandhi's practical attempt at an alternative explanation and solution of India's problems. An economic theory of growth based on an unshakable belief in the universal validity of its modernization paradigm had won India and the socio-cultural potential of its villages had, at least for the moment, lost.

IT has, however, taken only two Development Decades for the Western paradigm of development to prove its invalidity in the newly independent countries of the Third World. The main elements of this paradigm are the emphasis on economic growth, capital-intensive technology, and centralized planning. Underdevelopment, according to this paradigm, is mainly the result of internal factors such as traditional ways of thinking, an inefficient bureaucracy, outdated land tenure systems, castebound immobility, and the deep-rooted rural bias of the population.

10 The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (see fn. 1), Vol. IV, p. 373.
My generation was trained in the techniques of creating a ‘revolution of rising expectations’ aimed at transforming a subsistence economy into a modern market economy with a free flow of cash crops and ready-made goods. We laughed when we were told the story of a cobbler who, after getting handsome bakhshesh from a foreigner, takes to rest for a few days, since the additional and rather unexpected income is more than sufficient to keep him going. This was the kind of traditional, backward, non-profit oriented mentality and attitude towards work that simply had to be overcome. Working purely to satisfy one’s limited needs would get society nowhere. Where, then, did we want it to go?

When we look back, it seems rather strange that this question was not asked seriously enough during the 1950s and the 1960s. A naive belief of progress as a self-justifying process led us into the ‘backward regions’ with missionary zeal. Western man was so proud of his obvious material achievements measured in terms of urbanisation, energy consumption, and ‘auto’-mobility, that nobody felt inclined to listen to those few who were asking about the ultimate cost. We were proud of the doubling of the life-expectancy of children in the West and tried not to take any notice of the modern killing capacities that we developed simultaneously.

Does the average European citizen know, for instance, that the 60,000 atomic missiles and bombs that have by now been piled up in the bunkers of the industrialized societies amount to an average of three tons of conventional explosives per world-citizen? Does he realize what it means that the defence budget of one Super Power alone, namely the United States, has been raised to 178 billion dollars for 1981 and to 222 billion dollars for 1982? Most probably not. So far the outward glamour and glitter of an iron cage of consumerism has successfully supported his illusory belief that he lives in a golden age of affluence. And this is so despite the fact that we now have the Global 2000 Report to the President, the latest of many alarming bulletins of what is ahead. It states that by the time today’s 10-year-olds are thirty, there will be less water available, less fertile land, less clean air, less wilderness. One-fifth of the species with whom we now co-inhabit this planet will probably be extinct. There will be less natural diversity, less leeway for waste and conflict, and the gap between the affluent and the hungry is expected to widen.

The corresponding figures of self-destruction and despair are equally appalling. In West Germany, for instance, everyday 10 old people

\[\text{Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 6 March 1981.}\]
Aged sixty and above commit suicide. In 1978 alone, nearly 14,000 West German youths attempted to commit suicide, and nearly 600 pupils, mostly from high schools, killed themselves in the same year.\(^4\)

These few data from our anomic 'brave new world' should suffice. They are certainly not new to our readers. But they certainly strengthen my firm conviction that a culture based on individual competition and material achievement has reached the point of self-destruction. Accumulation of technical fitness to successfully compete with others—the evolutionary principle that brought a Western lifestyle of innerworldly asceticism and economic rationalism to world dominance during the last 400 years—has begun to turn against the human species as such. If it wants to survive the Occident—the root of that Latin word literally means "to sink, to fall, to get lost"—needs indeed a new Orientation.

More and more concerned groups, and especially the young generation have become aware of the limits of growth and are beginning to see the world around us as a closed system in which the so-called development of the North and the underdevelopment of the South are mutually dependent. These deformed relationships, of which many of us are well aware, though only on an abstract and theoretical level, can be illustrated as follows: "If the world were a global village of 100 people, 6 of them would be Americans. These 6 would have over a third of the village's income, and the other 94 would subsist on the other two-thirds. How would the wealthy 6 live 'in peace' with their neighbours? Surely they would be driven to arm themselves against the other 94—perhaps even to spend, as Americans do, about twice as much per person on military defence as the total income of two-thirds of the villagers".\(^5\)

It is this general context of new value orientations and the quest for human survival that the rediscovery of Gandhi's message in the West has to be seen. In contrast to the late 1960s when redress of all societal evils was sought in a total revolution of the whole system, what we now see is the rediscovery of the individual. 'Voluntary simplicity' has become a force that is backed by a major shift in public opinion.

The phrase 'voluntary simplicity' itself stems from an article that Richard Gregg published in the Viswa Bharati Quarterly as far back as August 1936. Greatly influenced by the writings of Ruskin and the teachings of Gandhi he had argued that the way to master the increasing complexity of modern life is not through still more complexity.

\(^4^{Hans-Eckehard Bahr, Du hast keine Chance, aber nutze sie. in Die Zeit, 10 April 1981, p. 43.}
Instead, we need to “turn inward to that which unifies all—not the intellect but the spirit—and then to device and put into operation new forms and modes of economic and social life.”

The will to do without can counterbalance the forces of greed and competition that perpetuate our destructive economic system.

This broad undercurrent of alternative groups and networks in the West should not be mixed up with the ‘appropriate technology’ approach that was developed as a by-product of mainstream thinking in terms of economic growth during the last few years. Basically it is nothing more than a piece of technocratic advice but not an alternative to the dominant forces. Its concepts and tools will remain sterile as long as they are developed from within the prevailing system.

The Sarvodaya concept differs totally from this kind of ‘techno-economic’ alternative. For Gandhi, village reconstruction and work for the welfare of all were not appropriate and timely techniques to save the Indian state machinery but means of achieving Truth (Satyā) and Freedom (Swaraṇ) as the ultimate aims of self-realization. He firmly believed that the village community and village economy were the only units which would enable the individual, with all his human deficiencies, to work both for his own self-realization and that of his neighbours. He knew only too well the bureaucratic structures that are bound to arise if ‘need satisfaction’ is planned and administered by a staff of development experts. Thus he did not strive for equal opportunities on the abstract level of per capita income; instead, he relied on the functional diversity and cultural heterogeneity of the Indian subcontinent. Its rural inhabitants would know best how to adjust to the potential of an area if only they were allowed to think and act on their own behalf.

Western alternatives are based on what is needed to keep those already living below the poverty line from starving. While Sarvodaya defines a maximum necessary for the well-being of all, development technocrats measure the minimum energy input required to keep individual labour intact and craving for material acquisitions growing. This juxtaposition shows that development concept under Sarvodaya does indeed offer an alternative. It starts with a new definition of aims, one which is made possible by reference to a value system that differs fundamentally from the world-view which governs modern thinking.

When discussing my studies on Sarvodaya with an Indian friend, Dr D.C. Wadhwa from the Gokhale Institute, who had worked in the

Bhoodan-Gramdan Movement for several years, he commented sceptically: "I think that the cancer of Western economic development has grown to such a magnitude that one will have to die with it now. Its secondaries have reached each and every part of our body and therefore it is impossible to escape the inevitable. Nothing else is now acceptable".

It was this kind of defeatism which Ivan Illich had in mind when he expressed his concern that it was the Western scholars who were coming up with Gandhian ideas and concepts. When in India in winter 1978 he is reported to have said that he felt it would be a tragedy if India had to 're-import' Gandhi from the West. Yet the fact is that most Indian scholars no longer consider a Gandhian approach 'feasible' for their country. At the same time, however, they use the jargon of the dependencia-theory without realizing that Gandhi had described the international dialectics of industrial development long before the model of centre versus periphery was introduced. As early as 1928 he had pleaded: "God forbid that India should ever take to industrialism after the manner of the West. The economic imperialism of a single tiny island kingdom [England] is today keeping the world in chains. If an entire nation of 300 millions took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world bare like locusts." Gandhi was, moreover, absolutely certain that it made no difference how the forces of production were organized. Capitalism or socialism were for him surface phenomena that had no significant influence on the destructive aggressiveness of industrialism as such. For an Indian farmer it indeed makes no difference today who tries to exploit him; no matter whether it is Russian state socialism or Western private capital, the terms of exchange are against him in both cases. In 1940 Gandhi had anticipated these basic similarities and warned his countrymen: "Pandit Nehru wants industrialization because he thinks that, if it is socialized, it would be free from the evils of capitalism. My own view is that the evils are inherent in industrialism, and no amount of socialization can eradicate them."

We have to accept that, for the time being, a wholehearted Gandhian approach to South Asia's problems is missing in the region. Despite the many official declarations of good intent and righteousness, things are allowed, or even planned, to move in other directions, and the

14Ibid., p. 52.
demonstration and penetration effects of the First World’s systems are to be felt everywhere, both on the material level and in the mental make-up. No matter how far we travel, Coca Cola has been there before, even in Peking.

It is quite obvious that ‘development’, the modern theodicy, has been accepted by India’s Westernized elite and their social scientists. A universal development concept helps to explain their own well-being and relative affluence and leaves a hopeful perspective even for those who are still backward or ‘behind schedule’. “The fortunate is seldom satisfied with the fact of being fortunate,” said Max Weber. “Beyond this he needs to know that he has a right to his good fortune. He wants to be convinced that he ‘deserves’ it, and above all, that he deserves it in comparison with others. . . . Good fortune thus wants to be legitimate fortune.”

An evolutionist view of ‘modernization and development’ thus serves a double purpose. Not only does it legitimize the relative affluence of the ‘functional elites’ in a ‘developing’ society; it suggests, moreover, that the Third World can ‘take off’ and even ‘catch up’ if only it follows the path of the First World. It remains to be seen whether this modern form of theodicy is consistent enough to determine the tracks along which action will be pushed by the dynamics of interests in India. For the time being, India’s development planners and their academic advisers think that they have learned their lessons in Oxbridge or Haryale well, when they attempt to refute a Gandhian view of India as ‘passive’ or ‘static’. They try to discover the functional prerequisites of an ‘active’ and ‘dynamic’ Hindu society. Dazzled as they are as a Westernized elite by the outward glitter of the ‘iron cage’ and its false promise of a rapid victory over suffering, they search for the modern short-cuts that will lead the country straight into it.

As a Westerner I remember that the systematic study of ancient Sanskrit and Pali texts started in Germany in the early nineteenth century. The first indologists, as the academics who specialized in the new field of ancient South Asian texts were called, have had a tremendous impact on the development of nationalist thought in India and Sri Lanka. Men like Max Mueller and Wilhelm Geiger gave a new self-esteem to a growing intelligentsia who, with their help, rediscovered the ‘glorious past’ of their own countries. I also remember, moreover, the inspiring

example of Alice Boner’s work. She threw new light on the Sun Temple in Konarak23 and she helped to rediscover the heritage of the Kathakali tradition of Indian dance.24 Just imagine that she and Uday Shankar had been unable to raise money in India in 1930, to finance a troupe of classical artistes since nobody dared to identify himself with vulgar native dance. "I dare say," wrote Uday Shankar to the Maharaja of Baroda in February 1930, "that in Europe Indian dance is now looked upon with much more reverence than in our own country."25

The same holds true of Gandhi and his Sarvodaya concept which is more and more relevant for development thinking in the West. This will become only too obvious during the Third Development Decade, which will reveal the final collapse of the modernization paradigm and its related strategies. At the same time, it is quite clear that South Asia's development elites cannot admit this. They must defend—at all costs—the foreign-oriented development theories and policies of their respective countries as the only justification for their own relative affluence. The moment they confess that the common man can never hope to attain this type of lifestyle, they will have to resign. Thus it will take some time yet for Gandhian concepts to be rediscovered in their country of origin.


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Idioma original: Español

Resumen: La mayoría de los habitantes del planeta habitan en malas condiciones, y al mismo tiempo, muchos arquitectos son subutilizados o mal utilizados. El autor - cuyo mensaje es consecuencia de largos años de práctica personal - sugiere una solución a este típico problema de mal desarrollo: es importante que los arquitectos trabajen con y para los interesados, que estos últimos compartan la responsabilidad de la concepción, de la construcción, del mantenimiento y de la gestión de sus casas y de su barrio: en efecto, nadie conocerá nunca, tan bien como ellos mismos, sus propias necesidades y recursos. Es importante poner fin al desperdicio que representa la falta de cooperación entre los poderes públicos, los arquitectos y la demás gente. La tarea crucial de los arquitectos es encontrar los medios para trabajar eficazmente con las personas a quienes deben servir.

ARCHITECTS FOR ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT

Abstract: Most people on this planet are ill-housed, and many architects under-utilised or ill-utilised. The author - whose message results from years of practical work - suggests a way out of this typical problem of mal-development: that architects work with and for the people; that people share responsibility for the planning, building, maintenance and management of their homes and neighbourhoods: no one will ever know as well as them their needs and resources. An end must be put to the waste resulting from the failure of governments, architects and people to cooperate. The crucial task for architects is to work out ways and means by which they can work effectively with the people they serve.

(The English original of this paper appeared in Architectural Education 1983/2, Riba Magazines, 66 Portland Place, London W1N 4AD, UK, pp.58-62)

ARCHITECTES POUR UN AUTRE DÉVELOPPEMENT

Résumé: La plus grande partie des habitants de la planète sont mal logés, alors que beaucoup d'architectes sont sous-utilisés ou mal utilisés. L'auteur - dont le discours résulte d'une longue pratique - suggère une solution à ce typique problème de mal-développement: il importe que les architectes travaillent avec et pour les intéressés; il importe que ces derniers partagent la responsabilité de la conception, de la construction, de l'entretien et de la gestion de leur logement et de leur quartier; personne, en effet, ne connaîtra jamais aussi bien qu'eux leurs besoins et leurs moyens. Il importe de mettre fin au gaspillage que représente le manque de coopération entre les pouvoirs publics, les architectes et les gens. La tâche cruciale des architectes est de trouver les moyens de travailler effectivement avec les gens qu'il doivent servir.

(Une version française de cet article a été publiée dans Techniques et architecture, no 345, décembre 1982/janvier 1983, pp.59-61).
Una vez hice una simple pregunta a los estudiantes de 4° y 5°Cursos en la Escuela de Arquitectura de la Universidad de Morelos, (Cuernavaca, México), con objeto de empezar una discusión: "¿Cuántos de vosotros, les pregunté, pensais que se ganarán la vida como arquitectos practicantes durante los cinco primeros años a partir de vuestra calificación? (dije 5 años en vez de 1 o 2 sabiendo que éstos eran en su mayoría estudiantes sin dedicación exclusiva en una universidad de provincia sin los privilegios y oportunidades de los generalmente mas ricos y mejor relacionados que acceden a las escuelas de la Capital).

Cuando ninguno levantó la mano repetí la pregunta con otras palabras pensando que mi "Espanglish" no había sido entendi-do.

A pesar del hecho de que el promedio de edad de estos estudiantes era superior al de la mayor parte de las Universidades de las grandes ciudades, ninguno confiaba en ser empleado - con dedicación,plena en la profesión escogida y ni siquiera 5 años después de su calificación definitiva (por supuesto muchos estaban ya cualificados informalmente en virtud de su trabajo ocasional o de tiempo libre sobre todo en colaboraciones en trabajos de reforma y de pequeños edificios).

Por qué entonces molestarse con calificaciones formales pre-gunté? Uno me respondió que sin el título no podría ni siquiera aspirar a trabajar como vendedor de pintura: pero, por supuesto, todos querian practicar la arquitectura.

No pasó mucho tiempo hasta llegar a una explicación de esta situación desmoralizante y sin provecho: se estimó en alrededor de 6.000 el número de estudiantes de arquitectura en México en esos momentos y sin embargo solamente entre un 3% y un 7% de la población del país de alrededor de 90 millones podría exhibir casas diseñadas por arquitectos. Según recuerdo, ésto podría significar entre 25 y 50 potenciales por cada arquitecto titulado.

Tras esta conclusión pasamos a discutir qué se podría hacer. Obviamente el problema era y aún lo es: ¿Cómo pueden la mayoría de los mexicanos tener acceso a los servicios de los arquitectos cuando los necesitan? Ninguno de nosotros invocó la convencional "socialización" del alojamiento y del desarrollo local. Ya que todos pareciamos coincidir que esto no ayudaría ni a la mayoría de la gente (ya que los costos financieros son demasiado altos), ni a la mayoría de los arquitectos, especialmente a aquellos recientemente titulados.
Una respuesta potencial

En este punto yo describí mi propia experiencia la más estimulante y satisfactoria como arquitecto practicante. Una experiencia que he descubierto que no es única pero sí al menos muy rara.

En 1961 fui contratado para trabajar con una Asociación de 300 familias que se habían formado en los suburbios de Lima para invadir y ocupar tierras para una "barriada", (la forma que la gente de renta más baja viene utilizando para alojarse en el Perú urbano durante los pasados 30 años). Esta Asociación particular tuvo la oferta de una alternativa legal: un terreno y créditos para infraestructura básica y materiales para alojamientos auto-construidos individualmente. El planeamiento y la fase de diseño llevaron a un proyecto bastante mejor que el que yo podría haber desarrollado por mí mismo.

También la disciplina, así como el placer de convivir trabajando con la gente directamente interesada y democraticamente, me llevó a lo que fue para mí otra manera de trabajar. En lugar de presentarme en la Asociación con las alternativas a, b, o c, - elaboradas en mi propia cabeza y en mi estudio, inventé un simple entramado dimensional para la localización de muros de carga económica y corriente. Con un modelo simple los miembros de la Asociación eran capaces de ensamblar los componentes a su alcance con una amplia gama de posibilidades, dando pie a una forma ordenada pero infinitamente variable, determinada por los mismos propietarios-constructores.

En comparación con lo que muchos arquitectos han hecho desde entonces era un sistema burdo, pero, en espíritu y en intención, era la forma más correcta de servir a la gente de baja renta que colectivamente podía fácilmente aportar unos modestos honorarios profesionales.

La historia, inicialmente feliz, acabó trágicamente cuando nuestro amigo en el Ministerio, que tenía la autoridad necesaria para renunciar a la legislación que pone fuera de la Ley estos procedimientos de desarrollo (los únicos que la mayoría de la gente puede permitirse) fue destinado a otro sitio. Entonces era técnicamente ilegal ocupar tierras que no hubieran sido dotadas previamente de todo, con las ventajas modernas de los buenos pavimentos y las calles con firme. El nuevo funcionario se negó a que el esquema fuera más lejos, tal como estaba planeado, así que muchos perdieron su tiempo igual que su dinero y la oportunidad de haber invadido y ocupado el excelente terreno, como era su propósito original.

Diez años más tarde el proyecto había sido construido para otra gente de más alto nivel de renta, que podría pagar los costos mucho más elevados de trasladarse a unas viviendas ya acabadas según patrones modernos. La gran mayoría de mis
primitivos clientes no hubiera podido siquiera acceder a una unidad mínima de las oficialmente subvencionadas. Así que durante todo este tiempo, los esfuerzos y ahorros que los miembros de la Asociación habían invertido en la larga y atardecida organización y periodo de diseño fueron peor que perdidos.

Esto confirmó los temores que habían sido tan difíciles de vencer al principio: que la gente corriente está abocada a perder cuando se enreda con el Gobierno, y, que los riesgos de invadir los terrenos era menores que los que suponía el proyecto. Sus peores miedos se realizaron y la Asociación perdió la oportunidad de conseguir un terreno excelente, y con ello, la propia organización comunitaria fracaso como resultado. Ironicamente, todos sus esfuerzos pavimentaron (en el sentido figurado y literal) el camino para gente más adinerada que es la que mas exige a los escasos recursos del Estado. Este fracaso del Gobierno en cooperar con posibles y voluntarios grupos auto-organizados y con confianza en sí mismos, señala la principal barrera que ha de ser superada si el verdadero desarrollo - puede tener cabida.

La discusión de esta experiencia peruana con los estudiantes - mejicanos, hace 10 años, trajo a colación la significación completa de estos hechos. Así ahora, no parece existir otro camino en el que la mayoría de los arquitectos puedan servir realmente a la mayoría de la gente; ni siquiera en los países más ricos de Europa y América del Norte, mucho menos en el resto del mundo. Para aquellos de nosotros que han perdido la fe en el progreso tecnológico, especialmente para aquellos que tienen casi toda la vida por delante, la búsqueda de alternativas es un caso de vida o muerte para la humanidad.

A menos que descubramos o re-descubramos y desarrollemos caminos y medios de trabajo que desaten recursos desusados, subusados o malusados, una proporción creciente de nosotros nunca encontrará trabajo provechoso en un mundo cada vez más sin sentido y autodestructivo. De acuerdo con un creciente número de contemporáneos, todos los que han llegado hasta aquí y venía cuestión, están buscando Otro Desarrollo. Este artículo expone lo que muchos más arquitectos deben tratar de hacer a partir de ahora.

Diferentes tareas y diferentes caminos en un mundo

Un síntoma común en el "desarreglo conceptual" de nuestros días es el hábito dual de separar unidades y unir desunidades. Mi argumento será mal entendido si lo aplicamos tan solo al llamado "Tercer Mundo"; desde mi punto de vista, sólíc hay un mundo, así que cualquier conclusión básica o verdaderamente vital concierne a todos en todas partes, directa o indirectamente. Aquellos que buscan y experimentan con los procedimientos, medios y formas de otro desarrollo trascienden la polémica convencional entre capitalismo
financiero y socialismo de estado. El paradigma que hoy toma cuerpo presenta a estos últimos como versiones alternativas de la misma filosofía mecanicista y del sistema corporativo urbano industrial. Mientras esta estructura reduccionista siga en la mente, los conflictos entre las clases económico-sociales, el Este y el Oeste, el Norte y el Sur, no pueden conducir a una síntesis. La necesidad de abrir caminos cooperativos y medios de trabajo en empresas personales y locales (y existencialmente relevantes) es universal: es aplicable igualmente en contextos materiales ríos y pobres y a gente rica y pobre de igual modo. La práctica de este principio universal esencial es un elemento de todos los sistemas que reduce el consumo excesivo y aumenta la riqueza allí donde se necesita.

La confusión aumenta también amontonando paradojas unas a otras. Para los arquitectos es particularmente importante distinguir tareas que deben ser desarrolladas por organizaciones corporativas, y otras que no necesitan serlo, y no deberían serlo, según las enseñanzas del pasado y de hoy en día. En este ensayo se debaten procedimientos y medios de trabajar en hogares y vecindades; no se refiere ni se aplica estrictamente a trabajos de gran escala, que deben de ser necesariamente infraestructuras que soporten los lugares en los que gastamos la mayor parte de nuestro tiempo y dinero.

Los modernos sistemas de comunicación por ejemplo pueden ser esenciales para la supervivencia de la mayoría de la gente en lugares superpoblados y para la población del planeta altamente interdependiente. Pero, de manera diferente, en las tareas de planeamiento y diseño, construcción o remodelación, gestión y mantenimiento de nuestros propios hogares y vecindades, estos sistemas de escala grande y tecnológicamente pesada, fatalmente, no aportan posibilidades a los usuarios para la acción creativa: el usuario es solo el usuario. Sea pasajero, remitente o receptor de bienes o mensajes, el usuario es un consumidor de servicios, no un coproductor, incluso si los propios servicios resultan ser esenciales para actividades productivas del propio usuario. Los pasajeros que participan activamente volando en un avión secuestrándolo también arriesgan sus vidas, igual que lo hacen los demás pasajeros. Nadie que sea consciente de la necesidad de un control estricto y central de tales sistemas escogería viajar en una nave de ninguna clase que no tuviera capitán.

Por otro lado solo aquellos que necesitan o escogen ser institucionalizados quieren ser asentados y alojados por autoridades sobre las que no tienen ningún control. La gente saludable y con confianza en sí misma exige la libertad de escoger donde vive, con quién, y eligiendo entre una gama suficientemente amplia de formas de alojamiento, el entorno más apropiado, que sirva de soporte a su propia vida. Estas actividades de encontrar el lugar apropiado
para vivir organizando y administrando un hogar y, con tiempo, habilidad y energía, construir o reformar alojamien-
tos, ofrecen oportunidades para la satisfacción personal y lo mismo se puede aplicar a las actividades compartidas con los vecinos.

Sólo aquéllos con una mentalidad mecanicista o consumista pueden mentalmente dejar de ver la diferencia entre métodos activos y pasivos, de tener y de ser. El hábito moderno de confundir uso activo con consumo pasivo, llamando a los inquilinos "consumidores" por ejemplo es uno de los muchos abusos de lenguaje que encadena al que los usa a los principios del mal desarrollo. Los inquilinos solo "consumen" sus alojamientos o vecindades cuando los tratan con negligencia o vandalismo; toda la gente adinerada, en las sociedades ricas, se ocupa de sus hogares gastando tanta o incluso más energía en su mantenimiento que la que invirtió en su construcción original.

Gran parte de la "producción" de alojamientos de lleva a cabo actualmente por inquilinos con inquietudes. Esta distinción entre actividades que separan producción y consumo, como en los viales intercontinentales, y aquéllas en las que los usuarios son también productores, como en el caso del alojamiento, es esencial.

Los arquitectos que no se dan cuenta de la diferencia, inconscientemente, contribuyen al mal desarrollo alienante cuando sirven a organizaciones corporativas cuyos procedimientos y productos privan a las personas de oportunidades de autorealización a través de actividades autogestionadas. La arquitectura de viviendas y vecindades ha sido esencialmente diferente de la de los edificios públicos y monumentos, con raras excepciones, hasta tiempos recientes. Los abundantes bloques de gran altura plurifamiliares ya demolidos en Gran Bretaña y los más de mil que serán demolidos antes de que sus subvenciones hayan sido amortizadas, simbolizan el fracaso económico y el rechazo social de la arquitectura más característica del siglo XX. Si sobrevivimos a las consecuencias del sistema urbano-industrial, los arquitectos del alojamiento del siglo XXI mirarán hacia el pequeño pero creciente grupo de arquitectos que están desarrollando las herramientas y procedimientos para la planificación local y el diseño de la edificación por la gente.

**Otro método de trabajo**

Trabajar con la gente que tiene que vivir y pagar lo que los arquitectos diseñan es generalmente deseable pero no siempre posible. Cuanto más tiempo y energía los clientes-usuarios inviertan en lo que se construye, más importante es que compartan la responsabilidad sobre lo que se construye y cómo se construye. Es lo más importante de todo, quizás culturalmente esencial, que la gente comparta la
responsabilidad sobre la gestión, mantenimiento y modificación de sus propias viviendas y vecindades, donde transcurre la mayor parte de su vida y que es la mayor inversión material que la gente hace.

Digo compartir responsabilidad no solo porque los planificadores, administradores, arquitectos y constructores tengan conocimientos o habilidades especiales sino porque la vida material de las viviendas es generalmente más larga que la de sus constructores y ocupantes y las tipologías de vecindades a menudo perduran siglos.

También insisto en la diferencia entre trabajar con y para la gente ya que en muchos casos, los clientes del arquitecto son suministradores, empleados, terratenientes o representantes pero no los usuarios. Especialmente cuando los edificios o realizaciones de que hablamos son para usos especiales de usuarios transitorios, esta dependencia en otros para el diseño de los lugares que uno usa es a menudo necesaria y deseable a la vez. Incluso en el alojamiento, hay siempre una proporción de gente más o menos móvil que tiene poco o ningún deseo de participar en la gestión o mantenimiento de su vivienda, y menos aún en su diseño y construcción. Y los hay que prefieren invertir tiempo y energía en otras actividades, incluso si esto significa que les cuesta más, y que otros sean los responsables o, alternativamente, vivir en peores condiciones. Estas son libertades esenciales, pobremente entendidas y negadas por la mayoría de la ideologías populares.

El Dorcor Tony Gibson 2/, que ha hecho tanto o más que nadie que yo sepa para promover directamente el desarrollo democrático, trabaja con el convencimiento de que existen dos tipos de experto: los más grandes expertos en situaciones locales que son aquéllos que viven en ellas (los "inspertos" citando una palabra inventada por Charles Abrams 3/) y los expertos convencionales o especialistas, que ven las cosas desde fuera con una perspectiva totalmente diferente del "insperto", que las ve desde dentro. De aquí se deduce que una visión de conjunto y una comprensión total depende de la cooperación. Uno puede decir que la importancia de la participación del usuario en el planeamiento y en el diseño es proporcional a la complejidad y variabilidad de la situación de los "ocupantes".

Una vecindad de 500 vecinos, o entre 1.500 y 3.000 personas, de todas las edades, es un sistema enormemente más complejo que una gran factoría; especialmente si esta última sirve a una sola función. Ningún conjunto de considerandos sociológicos puede sustituir a los "ocupantes" en el conocimiento propio y personal de las situaciones domésticas o de vecindad, ni en las necesidades, prioridades y recursos que tienen para satisfacerla. La única manera que existe de usar: esta "inperiencia" es trabajando conjuntamente con aquéllos que la tienen.
Está quedando claro, entre la gente en todos los caminos de la vida, en todas las partes del mundo, el convencimiento de que tenemos que hacer mucho más con mucho menos y rápidamente. Cuanto más ricos y más despilfarradores sean nuestros métodos, más urgente se hace esta consideración y por tanto, ya que la gran fuente de despilfarro en todas partes, es el fracaso del gobierno, los profesionales y la gente tienen que cooperar entre sí; en lugar de la confrontación competitiva de poderes mutuamente dependientes. Un pequeño número de profesionales puede hacerse rico y famoso sin hacer ninguna contribución a este cambio vital. Pero hay muchas oportunidades de ganarse la vida decentemente para muchos profesionales haciendo una contribución real; si la demanda se hace conjuntamente con aquéllas personas a las que la gran mayoría de los arquitectos quieren servir.

La tarea inmediata y crucial para los arquitectos atentos a estos resultados es buscar los caminos y medios por los que puedan trabajar con eficacia con la gente a la que sirven en todas las esferas y especialmente de la más grande de todas: la esfera de la actividad local y doméstica.

Me he referido brevemente a una experiencia en Perú. Hay muchas otras, en Francia (Les Jardies y Alma Gare), en Suecia (Klostermuren), en Iran (Zabas), etc. Estas y otras se describen en un catálogo y en un registro que se está preparando para el Congreso de la Union Internacional de Arquitectos (Manila, 1984) 4/.

1/ James Robertson, The Sane Alternative (Turning Point Newsletter, 9 New Road, Ironbridge, Shropshire TF8 7AU, UK)

2/ Tony Gibson, People, power, community and work groups in action (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979)


4/ Roger Katan, De quoi se mêlent les urbanistes (13125 Le Faradou, France: Editions Actes/Sud, 1979)
L'ECONOMIE CACHEE, CONFLITS SOCIAUX ET L'AVENIR DES SOCIETES INDUSTRIELLES

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THE HIDDEN ECONOMY, SOCIAL CONFLICTS AND THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

Abstract: Under this title, the Italian Social Sciences Council organized last winter, in cooperation with the 'Maison des sciences de l'homme' of Paris, a conference of social scientists from 10 countries (USA and Canada, FRG, France, Italy, Spain, Sweden and UK as well as Hungary and Yugoslavia). The main purpose of the conference, which constituted a follow up to an earlier meeting of scientists and trade unionists from three Mediterranean countries, was to compare their approaches and the results of their research so as to take stock, strengthen their cooperation and formulate conclusions for economic policies recognizing the role of the hidden economy. This paper offers highlights of the national papers and sums up the major conclusions of the working group.

The list of participants and of papers submitted to the conference can be obtained directly from the author.
Michel Schiray

L'ÉCONOMIE CACHEE, CONFLITS SOCIAUX ET L'AVENIR DES SOCIETES INDUSTRIELLES

Sous ce titre, une conférence internationale a été organisée par le Conseil Italien des Sciences Sociales (CSS), avec le concours de la Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (MSH), Paris. Elle faisait suite à une réunion préparatoire "L'économie immergée, cachée, souterraine, invisible, parallèle, informelle...: une multiple réalité ou une seule?", qui s'était tenue il y a deux ans à Rome, entre chercheurs, universitaires et syndicalistes italiens, espagnols et français.

Elargie à d'autres pays industrialisés, la conférence a réuni des participants de dix pays: d'Amérique du Nord (Canada, Etats-Unis), d'Europe du Nord, de l'Ouest et du Sud (République fédérale d'Allemagne, Espagne, France, Grande-Bretagne, Italie, Suède) et d'Europe de l'Est (Hongrie, Yougoslavie).

Les principaux objectifs étaient de confronter les travaux et les approches développés sur ce thème dans ces différents pays et en en dressant un bilan, d'engager une coopération scientifique, et de tenter de dégager quelques propositions touchant les politiques économiques, pour prendre en compte les différentes réalités de l'économie cachée.

On trouvera tout d'abord un aperçu des différents travaux nationaux présentés puis, dans une deuxième partie, les principales conclusions des groupes de travail réunis au cours de la conférence.

I - DIVERSITÉ DES APPROCHES DE L'ÉCONOMIE CACHEE 1/

Qu'il s'agisse des pays capitalistes ou des pays socialistes, "chaque société produit son économie informelle propre", a-t-il été souvent rappelé au cours des débats. Force est de constater la diversité des approches et des réalités privilégiées par les travaux présentés. Ceux-ci reflètent en partie autant de situations et de préoccupations spécifiques dans ces différents pays.

Italie:

L'existence d'une économie informelle non saisie préoccupe les statisticiens depuis plus de dix ans. Mais à côté de cela, de très nombreuses recherches empiriques ont été réalisées sur des réalités apparemment diverses (le travail au noir, le travail à domicile, le double travail, le travail domestique, avec en particulier, le travail de la femme, le

1/ Selon les pays, les rapports présentaient des bilans plus ou moins exhaustifs des travaux. Les résumés n'ont donc pas d'autre ambition que de donner une image provisoire de l'état des recherches.
travail des étudiants, des retraités). Deux aspects donnent pourtant une certaine unité méthodologique à cet ensemble de travaux: ces recherches considèrent en effet les rapports entre micro et macro, en s'efforçant de produire des catégories générales nouvelles à partir de catégories particulières observées; et plus spécialement, la plupart de ces travaux ont été développés à partir d'approches régionales (à l'échelon du canton, de la province ou de la région), qui s'efforcent d'interpréter les données saisies au niveau le plus concret, en les situant dans des problématiques développées au plan national et même international. Un bilan des travaux réalisés fait apparaître cinq grands courants de recherche qui ont traversé l'économie souterraine:

. Les théories de l'entreprise, qui ont fait apparaître deux approches successives: celle de la "décentralisation productive", qui met l'accent sur le dualisme des entreprises; et celle, issue de la notion de "district industriel", qui définit un ensemble d'entreprises très différentes constituant un réseau de rapports économiques et sociaux.

. Le processus de différenciation sociale et les nouvelles formes de conflits nés de l'existence de l'économie informelle qui complexifient la théorisation des classes sociales.

. Les usages du temps dont les modalités différencient fortement l'économie formelle et informelle.

. Le développement potentiel des régions les plus sous-développées par une créativité supposée de l'économie informelle.

. Le rôle de la femme, enfin, pour laquelle l'analyse a mis en évidence l'existence d'aires de travaux féminins, assez délimitées. Elles permettent de mieux appréhender les articulations entre les économies officielles, marchandes non officielles et non marchandes et par là, de mieux prendre en compte l'ensemble des sphères de la production et de la reproduction.

Ainsi, les travaux menés en Italie montrent que de nouvelles catégories d'analyses doivent compléter les modèles dominants d'interprétation de la crise. Dans ce contexte de crise, qui se traduit aussi au plan de la connaissance générale et empirique, une coopération fructueuse pourrait être établie à partir d'approches de terrain menées au niveau régional, sans catégorisation rigide au départ, pour faire émerger progressivement une théorisation qui s'appuie sur l'observation comparative des faits, en tenant compte des différents contextes.

Canada:
Fortement liés dans le contexte de la crise à une problé-
matique de recherche d'un autre type de développement, les travaux canadiens présentés s'efforcent de construire de nouvelles catégories analytiques et de nouvelles approches dans une perspective multidisciplinaire.

Un des points d'entrée dans le thème de l'économie informelle a été la famille et l'économie domestique, dans une orientation de recherche sur la qualité de la vie et les modalités de satisfaction des besoins communautaires, par opposition à la croissance de la consommation matérielle. Ceci a abouti à mieux distinguer économie formelle et informelle. Cette approche s'est progressivement élargie vers une recherche étudiant la distribution des activités entre types d'entreprises, formelles et informelles, pour redescendre jusqu'au noyau familial avec l'étude de la répartition hommes/femmes entre les différentes sphères d'activités.

Plus ponctuellement, au Québec, une recherche s'est centrée sur les "organismes volontaires à caractère socio-économique présentant un caractère novateur" ("entreprises alternatives"). Ces organismes sont à but lucratif mais à vocation sociale en s'appuyant en grande partie sur du travail non marchand (bénévole). La problématique se situe dans le cadre de la recherche d'une plus grande indépendance des personnes à l'égard du marché et de l'État.

**Allemagne (République Fédérale):**

Les travaux sur l'économie informelle distinguent à côté du travail domestique (élargi aux formes d'assistance mutuelle et aux petits réseaux d'échange) et de l'économie irrégulière (comprenant l'évasion fiscale et les autres formes criminelles), les catégories d'auto-emploi et d'économie alternative.

Quatre séries de raisons convergent, en effet, pour expliquer l'intérêt croissant des hommes politiques et des scientifiques pour l'économie informelle: la crise de l'État-providence; la crise du marché du travail qui fait apparaître l'émergence de politiques d'emploi susceptibles d'intégrer le secteur informel à l'économie officielle; la croissance de la professionnalisation des politiques sociales et la colonisation de la vie de travail; enfin, l'importance prise aujourd'hui par un nouveau courant idéologique et social qui s'organise autour du slogan "vivre et travailler autrement". Le débat sur l'économie informelle peut se résumer ainsi: la séparation de l'économie formelle et de l'économie informelle conduit à un dualisme sectoriel (qui organise un dualisme social), auquel on peut opposer un dualisme temporel dont la réduction du temps de travail officiel est la variable essentielle. Face aux voies possibles de sorties de la crise par la relance de l'économie de marché ou l'utilisation de l'État comme agent régulateur, dans le sens soit d'un hyperétatisme, soit d'un néocoopérativisme (courant de plus en plus puissant), les
perspectives de recherche qui semblent se dégager dans la voie du dualisme temporel seraient de promouvoir de nouvelles combinaisons entre l'économie formelle et informelle associées à de nouveaux modèles de consommation, qui appuient le passage d'une logique dominante de production à une logique de consommation et de reproduction.

France:

Apparue comme thème d'ensemble, il y a quelques années, l'économie informelle se situe à la convergence de différents travaux qui n'ont pas encore véritablement trouvé leur unité problématique et méthodologique: l'économie domestique, pour laquelle notamment le mouvement féministe a appuyé l'approfondissement de la réflexion sur le travail féminin, marchand et non marchand; l'économie associative, qui prend une importance croissante avec l'essor des associations; le travail au noir, qui fait l'objet d'une attention nouvelle avec le développement du chômage, la segmentation du marché du travail et la précarisation de l'emploi, et plus généralement l'extension de la pauvreté. Ce thème a été aussi appuyé par tout un courant de pensée nourri par l'expérimentation sociale dans et hors de la sphère de la production pour repenser de nouvelles combinaisons entre l'économie marchande et l'économie non marchande. Il a en partie traversé le champ de l'économie sociale qui connaît, de son côté, un renouveau d'intérêt.

Le thème de l'économie cachée est fortement associé à la discussion sur la crise de l'État-providence, et aux politiques de création d'emplois. Cependant, face aux risques de dualisme de l'économie et de la société induits par le progrès technique et la compétitivité internationale, il met surtout en cause l'organisation du temps de la société. Ceci, avec pour objectifs la réduction du temps de travail et le partage du travail, tant dans les sphères officielles de l'économie, que dans l'économie cachée, questions auxquelles un nombre croissant de travaux ont été consacrés.

Hongrie:

L'économie seconde est cachée parce qu'elle échappe aux contrôles de l'État. Elle se décompose en sphère marchande et en sphère non marchande. Un accent privilégié est cependant donné aux recherches sur les marchés parallèles de l'économie cachée dans lesquels existe une logique de profit.

En termes de mode de production, on peut opposer la situation des économies capitalistes, où coexistent une sphère capitalistique de production marchande à grande échelle et une sphère de petite production marchande (pour une part cachée) et celle des économies socialistes où, à côté des unités de production de l'économie officielle, qui ne sont pas propriétaires de leurs moyens de production, existe une seconde économie, pour une part "tolérée", caractérisée par le fait qu'elle ne peut pas donner lieu à l'emploi de salariés et par une accumulation forcément limitée. De fait, par ces
limitations mêmes, l'Etat régule cette dernière sphère. Le travail constitue le lien organique entre les deux sphères, les individus pouvant passer de l'une à l'autre, alors que les autres facteurs de production, la terre et le capital, sont supposés non transmissibles de l'une à l'autre. Le modèle est celui du salarié de l'économie officielle, en même temps entrepreneur de la seconde économie.

La conclusion des enquêtes menées dans l'agriculture, mais aussi dans les autres secteurs, confirme l'hypothèse d'une croissance rapide des personnes engagées dans les activités privées et semi-prives. D'autres travaux ont également permis d'analyser des modèles de passage d'un secteur à l'autre, tenant compte en particulier du travail domestique.

Suède:
Les travaux sur l'économie informelle ont été principalement suscités par deux questions : l'explosion des coûts sociaux, et les préoccupations d'environnement et de qualité de vie mettant en question la croissance quantitative et la notion de PNB. Ils ont surtout été axés sur la prise en compte de l'économie informelle dans les politiques sociales.

L'un des principaux programmes développés, intitulé Care in society, s'est attaché à redéfinir de nouvelles combinaisons entre économie formelle et informelle. Les résultats ont été largement diffusés dans le public et ont donné lieu à un important débat social opposant ceux qui s'efforcent de limiter l'intervention de l'Etat et ceux, pour une part dans les syndicats, qui sont surtout préoccupés par la crainte de la suppression d'emplois.

L'autre axe important des travaux concerne l'impact des changements techniques sur l'économie domestique, notamment sur les transformations dans l'affectation entre temps et argent et les relations entre les personnes. Ces recherches ont été étendues dans le sens d'une prospective concernant les nouveaux systèmes d'information et la robotique. Du niveau domestique, les recherches se sont élargies aux formes d'organisations communautaires autour des équipements collectifs. Elles font ressortir l'importance des formes intermédiaires d'organisation mêlant des éléments d'économie formelle et d'économie informelle, en particulier avec le travail au noir. Elles insistent sur l'importance des structures sociales de base, en même temps que sur la nécessité pour tout individu d'avoir un pied dans chacune des sphères formelles et informelles, en particulier pour la répartition du travail entre les hommes et les femmes.

Espagne:
L'enjeu de l'économie cachée, d'après une approche présentée, se situerait dans le rôle de l'Etat et le droit du travail, avec l'hypothèse que la pression fiscale pourrait être la variable principale déterminant le passage d'une activité dans l'économie cachée.
La plupart des recherches sur ce thème s'insèrent dans le phénomène de l'industrialisation diffuse de petites et très petites entreprises, qui s'est développée dans de nombreuses régions, avec une réalité d'observation privilégiée: le travail à domicile. A côté de travaux brièvement cités, réalisés à Cordoue et Malaga, deux enquêtes approfondies ont été présentées. L'une porte sur la région de Valence, où l'industrialisation diffuse a précédé l'installation de trois groupes multinationaux. L'ensemble forme un système intégré, la question aujourd'hui est de rechercher la manière de sortir de ce dualisme. L'autre enquête porte sur un bassin d'emploi de la région de Madrid qui présente toutes les caractéristiques de l'ilégalité, aussi bien au plan du travail qu'au plan urbanistique. Ce bassin regroupe 259 entreprises. La recherche vise d'abord à mieux connaître cette réalité.

Grande-Bretagne:
Il existe bien deux grands courants dans l'approche de l'économie informelle. D'une part, celle des macro-économistes qui situent l'objet dans l'établissement de statistiques complémentaires aux statistiques officielles. D'une part, celle d'économistes, d'anthropologues, de géographes ou de sociologues qui cherchent à mieux comprendre le fonctionnement de l'économie informelle autour de quelques questions privilégiées: le passage de l'approche du local à celle du domestique à travers les relations de voisinage; l'effet du chômage sur les différentes formes d'économie informelle; la recherche de méthodes d'approches et d'institutions alternatives pour satisfaire les différents besoins (dans laquelle se situent de nombreuses recherches-actions); les relations, enfin, entre l'économie informelle et la macro-économie, c'est-à-dire l'économie formelle.

De plus en plus s'est imposée l'idée qu'il ne faut plus parler d'une économie informelle. Il existe une économie, capitaliste, avec une partie occulte. Ceci permet de situer la discussion dans un contexte actuel de renégociation d'une nouvelle division du travail au niveau international, local et domestique, avec en particulier la répartition entre les sexes. C'est à cette nouvelle distribution entre travail payé et non payé que s'attachent de nombreux travaux sur l'économie informelle.

De même, certains travaux s'appuient sur les nombreuses recherches empiriques menées sur les institutions informelles, en s'efforçant de rattacher les aspects micro aux aspects macro pour analyser leurs relations avec le système d'Etat. Il est également intéressant de noter le développement, sur ce thème, de travaux anthropologiques qui apportent des éléments nouveaux à la théorie économique. Par exemple, certaines recherches semblent montrer que si la théorie traditionnelle repose sur les facteurs de production terre, travail, capital, élargis éventuellement à
l'information, l'approche de l'économie informelle montre que les facteurs principaux seraient plutôt le temps, l'information et l'identité individuelle et collective. Enfin, un des biais de l'analyse des interrelations entre l'économie formelle et informelle concerne celle du choix dans l'allocation du temps entre production formelle et informelle. A supposer que les conditions d'un choix soient remplies, les choix réalisés en faveur de l'économie informelle sont susceptibles d'infléchir l'économie formelle, en particulier en matière de progrès technique. C'est le sens qui pourrait être donné à une nouvelle théorie de la consommation.

Etats-Unis:
La plupart des économistes abordent principalement l'évaluation et l'évolution de l'économie non observée. Les travaux interdisciplinaires semblent relativement peu privilégiés.

Il est aujourd'hui tout à fait admis que l'économie dans son ensemble comprend trois sphères: la sphère observée, la sphère monétaire non observée et la sphère non monétaire non observée. A côté des questions liées à la crise de l'Etat-providence, ou à l'évasion fiscale et sociale, une question centrale à laquelle s'attache l'économiste est le passage des activités entre ces différentes sphères.

Pour cela différentes méthodes sont utilisées, en particulier pour la mesure de l'économie monétaire, et d'autres, moins connues par les marchés de l'emploi. Ces dernières méthodes font intervenir la force de travail non observée, la population non observée, les heures de travail non observées qui sont croisées avec la productivité moyenne des secteurs non observés. Quelle que soit la méthode adoptée, on constate une croissance de l'économie monétaire non observée.

Il est intéressant de noter également l'importance de recherches sur les biens et services prohibés (drogue, prostitution...) à propos desquelles on insiste moins, semble-t-il, dans les autres pays. Aux évaluations assez précises et impressionnantes s'ajoute l'analyse des marchés organisés en larges systèmes analogues à des corporations. Les conséquences macro-économiques de ces activités sont également analysées du point de vue du PNB et des dépenses des consommateurs.

Yougoslavie:
L'économie peut se décomposer en trois secteurs: le secteur socialiste, le secteur privé et le secteur intermédiaire. L'économie cachée fonctionne en fait dans ces trois secteurs. La plupart des gens, à des degrés divers, y participent en même temps qu'aux activités officielles. L'économie cachée est une partie normale de la reproduction de la société. Mais plus spécifiquement, dans un pays où le petit
secteur privé est légalement limité en nombre d'emplois, une partie en est forcément cachée.

La question posée à la recherche est celle du rôle stabilisateur ou désstabilisateur de ces activités. Il s'avère qu'avec la crise, au lieu du développement de la grève, on assiste plutôt à une croissance de l'économie cachée, à laquelle les gens sont de plus en plus intéressés, en prenant à la fois du temps et des outils au secteur officiel. Cette croissance apparaît concomitante à la décroissance observée par les indicateurs macro-économiques. Des secteurs industriels et des services, elle s'étend progressivement à l'agriculture. Sur le plan social, on fait l'hypothèse que ceci est un facteur d'inégalités, certains groupes prenant des positions très avantageuses sur les marchés cachés. Les données empiriques manquent cependant aujourd'hui pour le vérifier.

II - CONCLUSIONS DES GROUPES DE TRAVAIL

Quatre groupes de travail ont été organisés au cours de la conférence sur les thèmes suivants: recherches générales; l'économie informelle et la crise; l'économie informelle, l'Etat et le marché; l'économie informelle et le temps. Ces groupes s'interrogeaient sur des axes de recherche qui pouvaient être développés en commun.

1. **Recherches générales**

A travers la diversité des approches, quelques grands points de convergence existent. D'une part, derrière l'importance quantitative du phénomène, se cachent des phénomènes qualitatifs peu connus. À côté de réalités anciennes, comme l'activité des ménages, apparaissent des phénomènes nouveaux qui impliquent un changement important dans le domaine socio-économique et donc pour la recherche.

Au-delà de cet accord général, deux courants de travaux ont été distingués. Le premier concerne les aspects macro-économiques et la mesure des phénomènes. Trois approches sont possibles: par le marché du travail, par les aspects monétaires, par les bilans des ménages. L'intérêt des modèles auxquels on peut aboutir est de souligner les effets pervers des politiques économiques qui ne tiennent pas compte de ces phénomènes. Le deuxième courant de travaux concerne les recherches sur le terrain, sur des aspects donnés, dans des contextes territoriaux spécifiques. Les thèmes peuvent en être très divers, du travail des ménages aux nouvelles coopératives. Mais l'intérêt commun est de mieux comprendre les différentes formes d'économie cachée et leurs liens avec l'économie formelle, les firmes ou les institutions. L'hypothèse partagée est qu'à travers l'approche de l'économie cachée on peut saisir une tendance nouvelle, avec la crise, de différenciation des sociétés, en rupture avec la tendance passée à l'homogénéisation. L'objet de la
La recherche est d'étudier le changement des mécanismes qui assurent la régulation de l'activité sociale, le marché, l'État et les institutions sociales, en saisissant les réalités au niveau de l'économie de la famille, des communautés et à un niveau plus proche de la production, dans les formes illégales de travail. Le cadre territorial local apparaît le plus adéquat pour ces recherches, qui pourraient se développer à partir de réseaux interdisciplinaires. Plutôt que d'engager immédiatement des recherches comparatives, proposition a été faite d'organiser un groupe permanent de consultation pour développer une critique réciproque sur l'état d'avancement des travaux dans les différents pays.

Enfin, sur le "sens" politique de ce travail, la conclusion a été que face à une idéologie facile qui appuierait une déséquilibre de la société, il convient de dégager du thème de l'économie informelle les germes d'une transformation culturelle et sociale. Ceci suppose beaucoup de clarté sur les différentes réalités.

2. L'économie informelle et la crise

Deux observations générales ont été partagées. D'une part, dans ce contexte de crise, à côté de la baisse de l'activité, les pays industriels vivent une restructuration institutionnelle dont on ne connaît pas le contenu. D'autre part, aucune alternative crédible n'est encore apparue, en particulier pour apporter une réponse à la crise de l'État-providence.

Un point de départ commun est le constat qu'à côté des différences régionales que l'on observe, l'existence d'une hétérogénéité des modes de production que suggère la prise en compte de l'économie informelle montre que la réalité est beaucoup plus complexe que l'on croyait. Or cette hétérogénéité s'accentue aujourd'hui, ce qu'expriment les approches dualistes. La conclusion principale que l'on doit en tirer est de reconnaître l'existence d'une seule économie, avec des manières différentes, formelles ou informelles, d'organiser les activités pour une même finalité.

Au plan des recherches, face aux incertitudes nées des transformations en cours qui entraînent une certaine insécurité du monde scientifique, il convient d'élaborer de nouvelles méthodes, largement ouvertes à l'approche interdisciplinaire, susceptibles aussi de suggérer des alternatives. Les scientifiques ont un rôle à jouer dans le développement des processus d'apprentissage pour faire face aux risques de clivage de la société.

3. L'économie informelle, le marché et l'État

Rejetant l'approche dualiste de l'opposition formel/informel, le groupe a insisté sur la reconnaissance d'un continuum d'institutions allant du formel à l'informel, à
commencer par les ménages, toutes reliées aux structures formelles de l'économie. On pourrait les classer selon leur échelle et les analyser en fonction de critères comme la formalité/l'informalité, le caractère mesurable ou non des activités, la légalité/l'illegalité. Ce qui est essentiel est le rapport entre les différents types d'institutions.

En ce qui concerne les rapports à l'Etat, un certain dilemme a été explicité. S'il est vrai que reconnaître l'existence d'une économie informelle, en particulier domestique, suppose une intervention appropriée de l'Etat, en liaison avec les acteurs, ceci pourrait aussi bien aboutir à une "colonisation" publique de nouvelles sphères d'activités de la société.

En ce qui concerne les rapports au marché, la conclusion a été que tout effort de recherche doit être guidé par l'analyse de l'interdépendance entre les macrostructures et l'activité de l'homme. Ceci appelle une théorisation intégrant macrostructures et microstructures, de manière à mieux concevoir des politiques qui rendent sensibles les premières aux influences des secondes.

A côté des facteurs sociaux et culturels, le groupe a insisté sur la dimension technologique. Avec les possibilités de développement, à petite échelle, de nouvelles technologies comme l'informatique et la robotique, se pose la question de la répartition des technologies entre les différentes formes d'organisation de l'économie selon leurs avantages comparatifs.

4. L'économie informelle et le temps

Trois questions ont été abordées. En ce qui concerne les possibilités d'amélioration de la comptabilité nationale par l'ajonction des données relatives à l'emploi du temps, la conclusion a été qu'il est tout à fait possible de concevoir une macroéconomie avec le temps comme indicateur: celui-ci opposerait, par exemple, le temps de consommation au temps de production. Ceci aurait une valeur descriptive certaine, en complément à une macroéconomie classique. Mais le temps ne peut pas être un substitut à une comptabilité monétaire, en raison même de son hétérogénéité.

S'agissant de savoir si, comme le soutiennent certains, ce seraient les technologies qui détermineraient les répartitions du temps de la société ou bien, plutôt, les rapports sociaux, la conclusion évidente est que l'analyse se doit d'intégrer ces deux hypothèses.

Face aux rigidités d'emplois du temps caractéristiques des sociétés industrielles, l'objectif des politiques devrait être d'accroître les options possibles d'emplois du temps, en considérant que les formes d'organisation informelle sont également sources de production de richesses.
CONCLUSION

La principale conclusion de la conférence est la reconnaissance qu'il n'existe bien qu'une seule économie et qu'il convenait de dépasser les modèles dualistes distinguant, à côté de l'économie formelle, une économie informelle. La connaissance des réalités de l'économie informelle conduit surtout à enrichir et à complexifier le cadre d'analyses qui passe par une révision radicale aussi bien des théories économiques que des instruments de gestion du système social.

En termes de recherches, le point d'entrée privilégié serait de développer des travaux de terrain dans des ensembles territoriaux complets et bien définis. Concrètement, cela suppose très certainement un renouvellement des pratiques de collectes et d'analyses de données, avec en particulier le recours à une participation accrue des personnes et des groupes impliqués. Au plan théorique, ces recherches devraient viser à mieux connaître l'articulation des systèmes complexes et leurs implications sur la vie quotidienne.

Avant d'engager des recherches comparatives, il a été convenu d'organiser des rencontres régulières destinées à confronter les travaux réalisés dans chaque pays, afin d'affiner progressivement un cadre d'analyse qui puisse être partagé.

Pour contribuer au développement de la coopération engagée par ce réseau de chercheurs de différents pays, il nous semble qu'au plan français les travaux pourraient prioritairement prendre deux directions générales:

. d'une part, l'étude des réponses de la société à la crise à travers les comportements dans le quotidien;

. d'autre part, des analyses en profondeur, au niveau régional et surtout micro-régional de l'économie réelle, saisie dans son ensemble. En s'appuyant sur des enquêtes et des monographies dans quelques contextes différenciés, il s'agirait de décrire et de comprendre son fonctionnement en testant de nouveaux instruments d'analyse qui puissent aussi bien appuyer l'effort scientifique que les politiques à mettre en œuvre.

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ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION EFFORTS FOR SCIENCE EDUCATION IN RURAL INDIA

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Abstract: The current communication strategy is dependent on the accepted models of development. It has an urban bias and uses formal communication channels. These methods are severely constrained for effective communication in rural areas. The suitability of non-formal and folk media for the rural areas is illustrated using three voluntary science education projects in operation in India.

EDUCATION SCIENTIFIQUE EN INDE RURALE: DES EFFORTS VERS UNE AUTRE COMMUNICATION POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT

Résumé: La stratégie actuelle de la communication dépend des modèles de développement en vigueur. Elle est déformée par des influences urbaines et utilise des moyens formels. De telles méthodes ne permettent guère une communication effective en milieu rural. Cet article décrit trois projets entrepris en Inde centrale et méridionale par des groupes volontaires. Ces projets, visant l'intégration du processus de communication dans l'environnement local permettent de tirer quelques leçons d'une portée plus générale pour une stratégie de la communication fondée sur la culture des intéressés et leur participation.

EDUCATION CIENTIFICA EN LA INDIA RURAL: ESFUERZOS HACIA OTRA COMUNICACION PARA EL DESARROLLO

Resumen: La estrategia actual de la comunicación depende de modelos de desarrollo en vigor. Está deformada por influencias urbanas y utiliza medios formales. Tales métodos permiten apenas una comunicación efectiva en un medio rural. Este artículo describe tres proyectos emprendidos en la India central y meridional, por grupos de voluntarios. Estos proyectos que tienden a la integración del proceso de comunicación en el medio ambiente local, permiten obtener algunos resultados de alcance más general para una estrategia de la comunicación fundada en la cultura de los interesados y su participación.
ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION EFFORTS FOR SCIENCE EDUCATION IN RURAL INDIA

For the development process to become self-sustaining, building the capacity of people is an important element. Few will deny the importance of education as a critical input for making a society economically more developed and socially more just and equitable. However, there are a number of issues which have not been fully explored. What kind of education can possibly play such a role? How can a system of education be developed which is linked with the social life of a community? What is the role of science education and communication for developing and spreading such a system of education?

Some of these questions are examined in the light of development communication experiences in India. In the past few decades, centralized communication (mass media) has been used in India to direct change from outside, and the focus of this process has not been the rural poor. However, non-governmental voluntary organizations have experimented with ways to increase the access and the quality of information and science education for rural communities. They have generated an interactive communication process which involves rural people and invokes their participation. This paper is concerned with the experiences of these groups and the role which communication could play to promote an appropriate science education. The object of this paper is to review three contemporary rural education experiments in India as the modes of an alternate communication process; to analyze their effectiveness in overcoming the urban bias of the contemporary mass media; to examine their potential to integrate local media into the communication process; and to evaluate their role in increasing participatory social action.

The paper is divided into three parts. The first part examines the shortcoming of the communication process as it has related to development efforts in general, and the case of India in particular. It is shown that communication has played either an over-enthusiastic (independent) or a passive (supplementary) role in the development process. In India, it has remained urban-originated and urban-oriented. The second part on 'Alternative experiences' describes and discusses three rural voluntary-action groups for communication education in Central and South India. These experiments have tried to remove the shortcomings of the existing education and communication channels. They have shown the potential of alternatives in science education, by integrating the communication process to the local environment. Finally, the third part derives the lessons regarding the potential and the limits of formal science education and communication and brings out the need for a communication approach based on culture and community participation.

I. COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

Most efforts for development communication presuppose a model of development. In theory, the communication process has a potential of being a tool for social change; in practice, it has fallen short of its probable role. It has suffered from three shortcomings: 1) communication has been a prisoner of the dominant paradigm of economic development, 2) communication has remained a synonym for a one-way process concerned
with the dissemination of technical know-how, and 3) communication has been regarded as a value-free medium that could play an independent role. Let us examine each of these shortcomings separately.

First, the concept of development has gone through many changes from indexing, differentiation approaches to the models of exogenously induced change. The mass media has followed suit and as is shown in the Table below, it has played a supplementary role merely to support these strategies. In the index approach, productivity, GNP and accumulation were important. The number of schools, radio and newspaper became the goal and 'barometer' of the success of communication. Theories of differentiation treated developing societies as 'simple' in need of sophisticated (Western) institutions. The communication strategy shifted from increasing number to acquiring high technology and creating complex centralized institutions. Theories of exogenous change suggested that static societies could be brought to life by outside knowledge and resources. Stress in the communication field moved to extension workers, diffusion of ideas, and package deals. When alternate models of development, like basic needs or participation were proposed, they were tagged onto the management model of development. In the field of communication, a corresponding strategy 'on paper' like feedback and cultural inputs was suggested.

Correspondence between the models of development and communication

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development models</th>
<th>Communication strategy</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Growth, index model</td>
<td>Number of schools, newspapers</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Sophistication of structure</td>
<td>High technology &amp; institutions</td>
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<td>3. Exogenous change model</td>
<td>Transfer of information</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community development</td>
<td>Diffusion</td>
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<td>Green revolution</td>
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<td>Integrated development</td>
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<td>4. Models in theory:</td>
<td>Strategies on paper:</td>
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<td>Basic needs</td>
<td>Cultural emphasis</td>
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<td>Participation</td>
<td>Feedback</td>
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<tr>
<td>New international economic order</td>
<td>New international information</td>
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The correspondence between development and communication was not limited to the follow-up of outward approach but also to the psychological basis of the strategy. The development process was regarded as the adjustment of the individual to new technology, new values, and status quo so that the communication strategy concentrated on individual's enlightenment. The macro-sociological and the overall political questions which involve scrutinizing the social system as a whole did not attract the attention of most communication workers. They did not question either the hypothesis of development models or observe the reality.

Secondly, the role of communication as a process of dispersing information is tied not only to the follow-up of a top-down model of
development but also to the inherent limit of a borrowed medium of communication. Mass media presupposes a homogeneous society and centralized control. This alien technology in itself became a goal and was not based either on dialogue or on local media, so it failed to be a link to the rural poor. It was resource based, so it created another gap - 'information gap' (in addition to the already existing 'income gap') - and became a new tool for exploitation in the hands of the rich.

Finally, communication was regarded as value-free and independent, i.e. free of cultural and political variables. Since it neglected the social matrix, cultural forces overwhelmed it. Because people (village level workers, bureaucrats) were value-loaded, it became one-sided and misguided. Concepts require meaning by their place in a social matrix. It is inconceivable that communication can be effective without taking account of the rules, customs, beliefs and rituals of a community. Communication cannot be an independent variable as it reflects social relations; in fact, it can reinforce the already existing disparities.

Two opposing views have often been debated: one, 'information can do all' and two, 'information cannot do much without structural change'. Both the notions that increased information will naturally lead to more growth (in the sense of greater control over the environment), and that increased information is useless because of structural constraints are too limited and narrow. Information itself has no value; its value lies in how it is used, and that depends upon specific situations. Increased information cannot increase the entities' control over their environment unless the information is appropriate to their environment, and is conveyed in an acceptable way. Likewise, structural constraints may render some information useless, but structural constraints are also a part of the environment, and the information about them could help an entity gain greater control.

Understanding of the communication process and the use of appropriate methods could play an important role in the process of change if the limits and the roles of communication are properly analyzed. Changes in what and how an individual acts is both a function of the nature of the world and the nature of his conception of that world. Communication helps to change the latter to liberate the consciousness of the oppressed. It cannot create change; it can help create a background for change by providing the setting and information. Both the medium of communication and the content of information have to be relevant and appropriate to the surroundings. Thus, communication is firstly only one vector in a complex structure of the development process, and secondly it is a necessary component but never sufficient.

It will be short-sighted to conclude that the mere appropriateness of a medium will ensure its implementation. In a certain sense, communication is a technology. All appropriate technology faces the problem that it is a technological fix, which is not enough. Change has to be backed up by political will. Communication is neither ideologically free nor politically neutral. That is why both the medium and the process of communication can neither take social reality as given nor can lose sight of political dimension of control.

The result of an inadequate understanding of the relationship of communication to development and its inherent limitation has led to
unrealistic high hopes. In the past decades, media, science, education and social engineering were the watch-words of the future. Today, all the four are found wanting. They have failed to fulfil the promise of a better, more egalitarian and less violent world. Instead, the past decades have witnessed the emergence of three dominant world trends. One, the increasing, rather than the decreasing, division between the rich and the poor both between and within states. Two, the phenomenal growth of state power and the growth of communication media as instruments of domination. And three, the increasing powerless of poor people. In today's world, poor people cannot hope to survive without proper information. In reality, their access to appropriate knowledge and skill is continuously denied and the communication channels continue to be biased against them in most developing societies.

Communication in India

India is a vast and varied country with 784 million people, speaking 17 major languages. Most of the people live in 575,000 villages. The task of adequate communication support is a formidable one. How could the tools of communication be a vehicle of efficient change in each village, with relevant and easily understood messages delivered on a regular basis and at a reasonable cost, has been the prime challenge for the government as well as the planners.

In the context of communication, there are three major factors which should be considered: medium, message and masses. In spite of the fact that India produces the highest number of feature films (764) annually in the world, and has one-third of the world's technical manpower, its media statistics show up a depressive overall picture. In 1980, newspaper circulation totalled 13 million, that is one newspaper for every 50 persons (1:50), periodicals 33 million (1:19), radio receivers 20 million (1:33), TV receiving sets 1,1 million (1:390).

The overall media reach in India is below the minimum desirable standard set by UNESCO in 1961. Hidden within these bald ratios are still more depressing distortions in social reach. The concentration of the media in the catering of one particular class (middle class) is one obvious aspect; the rural-urban differential is another recognized fact; and the least considered but no less significant factor is the sex differentiation.

In reference to rural areas, modern mass media received more attention than traditional media, but all the three forms of formal channels of communication: press, radio and TV, failed to reach the large masses of the rural poor. Because of the concentration of literacy and the purchasing power in towns and cities, daily newspaper circulation is overwhelmingly urban. Only 20% of 20 million radio receivers are in villages and the community listening sets in villages number less than 5,000 for radios and less than 1,100 for TVs. Two out of three villages in India do not have electricity so the introduction of a centralized TV or satellite system has remained beyond the reach of most rural poor.

The communication support for rural areas was also provided by extension workers. But the number of village level workers (VLW) is alarmingly low, and compares unfavourably with other Third World countries. As far as the formal schooling is concerned, first, the number is low; second,
the education system is a relic of the colonial past and is irrelevant to the village environment; and third, 60-70% of village children fail to benefit from the formal schooling, as they are used for economic purposes. There is no formal or nonformal rural education structure which confronts the rural reality, can teach villagers to think scientifically and help them to understand their environment and solve their own problems.

Failure of effective communication in rural India has not only been due to the improper use of media but also due to the impalpable use of messages and inadequate understanding of the masses. The information gap and distance have been created as many discourse styles of modern media are far removed from the 'business and bosoms' of the rural folk. There is an inadequate understanding of holistic oral model and folk rhetoric of rural people.

Historically, mass communication in India took place through non-mass media until three decades ago. Traditional medium is a living symbol that carries the 'light and delight' of the grass-roots culture of the past, through the present into the future. This medium has been either overlooked or looked upon as an appendix to the mass media, or has been mishandled by overloading it with modern messages. A careful and natural balance is needed between traditional art and modern messages. For that clear understanding and appreciation of various forms of indigenous method of communication is required.

It is easy to analyze the current 'area', 'class' and 'modern' biases of the media and suggest a local, decentralized communication system which acts as a dialogue and multilogue and which mixes with local culture. The concept of mass media which presupposes a homogeneous social and centralized control is not appropriate; but the real question is, could a 'class media' deliver a 'mass message'? Should it deliver a message and who will deliver it in the absence of a national political will?

These questions have been taken up in India by three voluntary groups from three angles. One group believes that biases could be corrected if people understood their environment and structure better. They should be equipped to analyze themselves scientifically and the start should be made at the level of elementary science education. The second group takes the view that, rather than people reaching to science, science should come to the people. Multimedia forums and science carnivals should be used to provide a setting for discussion in folk surroundings; and conscious citizens, social activists should act as a catalyst for this process. The third group tries to expose the ill-effects of development directly by linking itself to, and strengthening local and regional newspapers.

II. EXPERIMENTS IN MODES OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

a. Rural Science Education in Madhya Pradesh

Kishore Bharati (KB) is an independent voluntary agency involved in the field of rural education and development in Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh (MP). This group has systematically tried to explore the role of education in rural economic development and social change.
through an action-based research project. The basic assumption has been that education can be an effective instrument for catalysing development and raising the latent potential of rural people, especially of those from the landless and marginal-farmer class. The educational work has channeled through both formal science teaching program and nonformal education efforts.

The formal structure of school hardly exists in rural India. If it exists, science education is passive and unscientific, i.e. endowed with rote learning of alien contents with the absence of questioning and participation by students and teachers. There is a high rate of school dropouts, and class meetings are often interrupted by the social structure of rural society. Education almost everywhere is a process of selection of gender, class and conformity to status quo. Rural education in India is no exception to this, but in addition it is burdened with urban middle-class, colonial content of the past and contextual difficulty of structural inequality of the present rural community. These facts were realized by the volunteers of KB; many of whom were trained scientists and who wanted to improve the style and content of rural education by participation of, and dialogue with, students and teachers.

In 1972, KB acquired the state's permission to experiment autonomously on nine middle schools of Hoshangabad. Their work started by rewriting textbooks with the help of students and teachers' feedback. They discovered many irrelevant and alien phrases, lessons and concepts in the textbooks, and replaced them with familiar objects of the rural environment and local terms. The texts were supplemented by zero-cost experiments to discourage passivity and encourage experimentation and analysis. Teachers were trained in this new style of education; constant visits and communication links were maintained with those schools where this educational material was tried. The annual performance of the students who took this course was better than those from other schools in the state. Some 40,000 children today in the middle schools of MP are taking this pioneering science course called 'Hoshangabad Science'. Devised by voluntary participation of scientists, educators and school teachers, the method relies extensively on inexpensive, easy to assemble experiments that stimulate children's interest in science, that increase their understanding of the environment and prepare them to analyze broader issues. How far this formal 'cause effect', 'probability' training will reach the analysis of social phenomena is yet to be seen, but a beginning has been made. Valuable lessons have been learned, regarding the role of science education and the importance of on-site communication dialogue, conceived as a relationship process.

KB has also investigated the possibility of building up a nonformal education system around agricultural activities. The role of education for youth leadership and for organising poor peasants is undergoing planned experimentation.

b. People's Science Movement in Kerala (Science March, Through the Medium of Art) 1/

The people's science movement in Kerala was initially a city-based voluntary intellectual movement. It started in the form of science clubs, classes and magazine publication. Slowly, the number of classes and clubs increased and dispelled the belief held by many that people cannot
think in ways different than they are accustomed to. It was decided in 1975 to embark on a massive program of classes and discussion about problems of economic growth. The aim was to mobilize people for their own development as against the kind of development which is handed down to them. This needed an identification of basic social and economic issues. A book entitled Resources of Kerala was prepared by individuals with an aim to figure out all the resources of the state, and how can they be best utilized and what institutional mechanisms exist for their efficient utilization.

Workshops for about 200 volunteers were held, where the book was discussed thoroughly. Volunteers in turn conducted workshops in different districts for more volunteers. Within six months, about 12,000 classes were conducted as the first step in popularizing the need for interaction with people on the problems of the state.

To spread throughout to villagers the message of people's movement, a long march called Science Procession was undertaken by a team of activists towards the end of 1977. Starting from the North, this travelling-exhibition travelled for 10,000 km and contacted 500,000 people through 900 public meetings. Booklets on selected themes were prepared and distributed. The procession lasted 37 days and received enthusiastic welcome from the villagers. Apart from spreading its message, the group was able to enlist new local activists.

The mass education continued in 1978 - with not only booklets and meetings but also with an accompanied mobile medical camp. Since then, it has become an annual multimedia-mobile forum with art, drama and visual, oral folk methods added to it. It tries to highlight people's concerns and tries to actively involve people through educational dialogue with question-answer sessions. In Kerala, each October brings a surge of excitement; hundreds of villagers wait for folk artists to perform short skits on a wide range of social and scientific issues.

In order to mobilize people, just teaching and popularization is not enough, their dissatisfaction has to be channelized. These opportunities had come when difficulty of people with a particular project or factory were heard. Local people themselves have requested activists to come and conduct studies. One of the first attempts in this direction was the socio-economic study of water control projects implemented in a waterlogged region - Kuttand, in South Kerala. The approach of the activists in such cases was to prepare a report with people's input, and popularize it. The aim was to bring out the socio-economic drawback of the project and draw a set of alternative proposals to suit the environmental and economic requirements of the area. The group has come up with a program that involves common man in the planning and analysis processes.

There were two other similar cases where the investigation input of outside activist helped highlight the problem and create an environment for discussion and action. In a rayon factory near Cheliyer River, workers went on strike until pollution control measures were taken, and compelled the temporary closure of the factory. In another highly publicized hydro-electric project called Silent Valley Project, the fight and discussion were difficult as there were diverse interests of the union, the
state board and the politicians. The effort, however, proved to be an opportunity to think about other development projects in the state.

With the annual multimedia issue-oriented science exhibition and procession, and its emphasis to seek input from people, the people's movement of Kerala is unique. It demonstrates the possibility of active participation by people when an adequate and appropriate channels of communication exists.

c. Centre for Science and Environment in Delhi (CSE)

The Centre is a recent voluntary communication group effort, which started two years back. It was started by a group of scientifically liberated people who felt that demystification of science and reaching to the small town was vital to balance social development. The action of this Centre was based on the following two observations:

1. Development plans and projects are negligent about the health and environment of the people, and this information is not reaching to the people.

2. One of the reasons it is not reaching is that small scale local and regional newspapers (which are read by the majority of small towns and villages) do not have access to development news or national environment.

The Centre started to provide regional and national news (by translating in local languages) to the small papers at a minimum cost. In collecting news, it tried to get the support of grass-root workers and regional activists (whose input was never sought). Some of this unique hidden news was also sold to big newspapers and few of them stirred public dialogue. When enough information got together last year, the centre published within six months a national report on 'India State of Environment - 1982'\(^2\). It is a unique report prepared by citizen's voluntary and participatory contributions from many parts of India. It is a demonstration that people have insight, and if asked and given a chance, they can suggest plausible alternatives.

The State of the Environment Report is planned to be an annual publication totally funded by the advanced selling of the books, and prepared by voluntary effort. For the first time, a report at national level provides a detailed picture of what the figures on pollution, soil loss, reduction in pasture lands, depletion of firewood and the rest mean to the lives of ordinary people. The Centre is currently engaging in two projects:

- Exposing the ill-effects of technology, especially in medical and health care. Modern science and technology is being introduced in the Third World faster than literacy and other aspects of social development, so that in towns and especially rural areas, science and technology are becoming the new superstition. Blind acceptance of "Western" science and technology overlooks the value of traditional ideas and methods; herbal remedies are ignored.
Investigating the probable effect of future advanced technology for a country like India. Not all new technology is appropriate. Before it is blindly borrowed, it should be analyzed in national and international context.

The CSE is not only an information service but also an experiment on people-based participatory media. It encourages citizen's voluntary investigation and gives them national voice. It does not communicate on a regular basis to villagers as such, but it generates a resource and relevant pool of information which could be used by other local agencies. Thus, it fills a void between national and local media, and tries to create a momentum for indigenous consciousness and mobilization.

III. EXPERIENCE OF EXPERIMENTS: TOWARDS LIBERATIVE COMMUNICATION

We started our discussion with a need to build the capacity of people and for a development process which is guided and carried out by people. If a strategy is not to be dominated by alien or elite ideology, the masses have to own not only the means of production but also the means of thinking - a very important form of capital - and those who have not, have reached the dimension no less formidable than the gap in access to economic assets. The process of closing these two gaps have to be simultaneous. This is where a vigorous interaction between intelligentsia and people with genuine dialogical and participatory approach has an important role to play. This is where the communication efforts of the three experiments described in this paper play a pathbreaker role.

One of the outcomes of borrowed development models and the Western method of education and communication has been that rural poor are negatively influenced by this process. The endogenous development of people's science has been stultified by the domination and assumed glamour of formal science, which is allied with economic power; also over the people. This unhappy relation could be transformed into a mutually enriching interaction by three means and ways shown by the voluntary efforts. First, by the approach of formal science to people voluntarily as in Kerala. It comes not to teach or transfer knowledge but to contribute to the organic development of people's knowledge by working with the people rather than for them. Second, by focusing on the primary role of science education like that of KB to enable the people to comprehend the socio-political reality of their environment through the scientific method, so that their struggle for justice and development can be planned on the basis of reliable data and logical thinking. Third, by the process of mass education like that of CSE, by spreading the news and method of science among common people to enable them to understand the obstacles which prevent their development, and successfully voice their concern to plan their struggle for justice.

How is this theoretical understanding of the role of science and education process to be created in field situation was demonstrated by these voluntary experiments where alternate modes of communication to remove the biases of the existing communication channels were tried, and the success of face-to-face on location communication through familiar terms and medium was demonstrated. The success of these experiments
demonstrates the utility of local media and cultural context of communication.

In a highly structured society like India, the traditional and ritual forms of communication are important. Carnivals and fairs not only offer opportunity to renew community bond but also provide opportunity for communicating and learning exchange in a pressure-free as well as acceptable environment. People prefer to have face-to-face, touch-and-feel communication rather than the impersonal and disjoint rhetoric of electric mass media. The contemporary communication system in India, as was shown in this paper, by and large, is a world apart from the traditional system. It is one-sided, authoritarian, urban-paternalistic, assaulting and far from the reach of people. The CSE tries to correct this formal bias directly by substituting and promoting an alternate press. The Kerala experiment integrates folk surrounding in its science marches, while KB tries to prepare a long-term autonomous base of scientific thinking through on-sight appropriate education dialogue and face-to-face communication.

These experiments may look little different in their representation but they share some common ideology and line of argument which could be phrased as follows:

- information about under-utilized or misutilized resources are not available to people;
- people are being kept ignorant. Urban media and formal science perpetuate unequal social relation;
- structure could be changed by understanding them. Solutions exist within the given system;
- people possess power to understand and change;
- science education can equip them with tools to analyze. Proper communication can help facilitate this process.

While some of the assumed assertions have come true, like people's ability to analyze and rural teachers' insight for making better textbooks, the over-enthusiasm about scientific method is reaching a plateau; and groups like KB have realized the limits of scientific methods in social analysis. There are two lessons from the KB's experiments:

1. Correct observation and scientific analysis are helpful for comprehending the socio-political reality. The potential of scientific process is not confined to the educated elite; such potential exists among the oppressed and the uneducated people, and can be further enriched through proper communication and experience-based education.

2. There are inherent factors in the social sciences which limit the application of scientific methods; one's cultural and economic background may colour one's analysis. Similarly, the attempt to improve observational skills and analytical ability often do not succeed where there is a clash of vested interests. This is where formal education and communication reaches one of its limits.

Another limit of these experiments is that they are localized, voluntary and small scale. The success of Kerala's experiment depends on the high
educational and literacy rate of the state. It is doubtful that this process could be repeated in other states. The school education experiment of KB is a pilot project done in a small number of schools of a district in MP. At some stage, it has to be taken over by the government, and it may become victim of neglect and inefficiency of bureaucratic, paternalistic, top-down approach of the state. For them, new lessons of alternate communication may or may not mean much. The prospects of alternate press media like CSE are hopeful, but the demand of uncertain funding and voluntary journalism of high quality are enormous.

In spite of these limitations and uncertainty, the impetus given to local science and to folk and decentralized communication has already begun to play many roles. It is easing the tensions between the disadvantaged and the elites, it is beginning to lead to better people-oriented strategies, and starting to evolve a liberative communication process which liberates people from regressive old traditions and also from the contemporary oppressive modernisation of biased communication and development strategy (Saint, 1981).

Communication can mediate a process of change in rural strata, but the social structure of the contemporary society prevents a successful communication. So, voluntary efforts like the three experiments described here are needed to organize and involve people to obtain the benefit of communication resources. At the moment, they are playing a pilot demonstration and alleviating role. Their transformative role is yet to be seen. They have however shown that demand for equity is essential and communication should not only build a cognitive structure of awareness but also should promote such equity, including those of the rural poor, women and youth. Voluntary experiments also bring out the necessity of decentralization and multimedia approach to facilitate the liberative communication. But the success of these experiments have been because of the constant presence and outside link of the activist. How far this process is self-sustaining and self-duplicated is yet to be seen and analyzed.

1/ cf. also IFDA Dossier 4, February 1979.
2/ cf. IFDA Dossier 34, March/April 1983.
For almost forty years now, the United States of [Capitalist] America and the Union of Soviet [Socialist] Republics or, rather, their establishments, have forced the world to watch and to pay for an exceedingly expensive and dangerous farce, which is commonly but quite mistakenly referred to as the nuclear arms race between the two; and which by now has assumed proportions so monstrous as to have become the grimmest menace that our race has ever had to face.

The point I am trying to make here is this: in order at all to be able to dispel this menace, we must never lose sight of the fact that what the superpowers are enacting is only a farce or, in Edward Thompson's phrase, a mere road show. Besides, the fact that it has grown bigger and bigger to the point that both have lost all control of it, clearly suggests that the key to genuine disarmament lies not in the 'talks' which the two coteries of nuclear thugs might ask their nominees to hold, but in our refusal to continue to watch this farce any more. In other words, in the peace movement.

But, we must first see that this indeed is a farce. To this end, it seems necessary to refer to an extremely suggestive, though not a very precise, analogy that Robert Oppenheimer proposed way back in 1953. According to him, the United States and the Soviet Union were like two scorpions in a bottle, each capable of killing the other but only at the risk of its own life. But since each of them possesses immense stockpiles of extremely and indiscriminately destructive weapons, the two superpowers have by now become the most vicious and power-hungry scorpions that man has ever had to contend with. And, the most wily as well: for they feign bellicosity to conceal the fact that each of them actually needs the threat said to be posed by the other for purposes of domestic and bloc-internal legitimation.

But, a situation in which either can pretend to be threatened by the other and can thus expect to be able to enhance domestic credibility can only be maintained, if at all, by
each side ensuring the other's basic integrity. Therefore, it could not possibly be in the interests of either to prepare to mount an attack on the other with a view to eliminating it altogether as a military power. For where, then, would the threat to its own existence be which it needs in order to exist at all and the bogey of which only the other can provide?

I am persuaded, therefore, that the two establishments have in effect entered into a state of conjugal concord which they would very much like to last for ever. I am not suggesting that what they have become parties to is a formal or even an informal agreement designed to keep each firmly entrenched in its own domain. What I am suggesting is that such arrangements as they have actually evolved over the years totally preclude even the desire or, rather, the need on either's part to go to war with the other. The reason simply is that the war constituencies in the two blocs, which also happen to be the dominant constituencies, must find the continuation of the tenuous peace of today to be an extremely lucrative business: contracts and cost over-runs in the United States; perks, power, and extra fat salaries in the Soviet Union. They would not want such peace to terminate either in a nuclear holocaust or in peace proper.

The powers that be on either side would therefore have a definite objective need to create an external enemy. But, frequently, while the fact of this need as such is recognized, its objectivity is not. It may even be dismissed. On the American side, a recent example is a statement by George Kennan who is not so much of a dissident as a somewhat disturbed member of his country's establishment.

According to him, the intensified anti-Soviet hysteria of the late seventies and early eighties would be impossible to explain in essentially objective terms. In fact, 'even after long hours of poring over the bulletins of the London Institute for Strategic Studies', he remained unconvinced that 'the development of the Soviet conventional armed forces, particularly in the European theatre, was nearly as drastic or as frightening as was suggested by the bits of statistical information regularly leaked by the Pentagon to the American press'. Therefore, 'finding so little objective reason' for the 'professed fear of and hostility to the Soviet Union', he 'could only suspect that its origins were primarily subjective'.

This suggested to him 'something much more sinister than mere intellectual error, namely, a subconscious need on the part of a great many people for an external enemy - an enemy against whom frustrations could be vented, an enemy who could serve as a convenient target for the externalization of evil, an enemy in whose inhuman wickedness one could see the reflection of one's own exceptional virtue'. Little wonder that the politician, 'anxious to avoid involvement with the bitter internal issues of the day' such as
inflation and 'the growing and uncontrollable crime and pervasive corruption and cynicism of every sort in our own country', and 'eager to reap, instead, the easy acclamations usually produced in our society by a vigorous ringing of the chauvinist bell' 3/, took up the Soviet 'threat' in right earnest.

But, his glossy eloquence not withstanding, Kennan can be seen to have missed the real point. For, the objective basis of an hysteria internal to the United States ought not to be sought only in the Soviet Union, though it could well be there. But this is what Kennan seems to have done, and failing to see it there, he has decided to explain it as a purely subjective phenomenon. But the external enemy is primarily an objective need not of the ordinary people but of those who happen to be in power in each bloc and who stand to gain in the development, production and deployment of successive generations of weapons. It is for them to whip up mass hysteria so as to generate at the popular level a subjective need for an external enemy.

Nor is this a phenomenon exclusive to the twentieth century. Indeed, as Edward Thompson reminds us, the threat of an enemy, even recourse to war, has always afforded to uneasy rulers a means of internal ideological regulation and social discipline 4/. The idea was quite familiar to William Shakespeare himself, and he made the dying Henry IV, who knew that the succession would be beset with problems, advise his son as follows:

Therefore, my Harry,
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels... 

Accordingly, Henry V was led to Agincourt. Only, if he were to be persuaded to do such a thing today, the consequences could be calamitous in the extreme. He would be obliged to whip up hysteria, threaten to move towards the brink and also try to remain stalled if he ever moved too close to it.

In support of this view, one can do little better than to go to John Foster Dulles, a leading cold warrior of all time, and so notorious indeed that Albert Einstein himself was once forced to exclaim: 'This man Dulles is a real misfortune' 5/. But as real a misfortune as he was, Dulles did make some statements which, taken together, help us see a superpower's need for 'regulated hysteria': for going to the brink but, given the compulsions of the nuclear age, trying not to go over the brink. Thus, on one occasion, he said: 'In order to make the country bear the burden of arms expenditure, we have to create an emotional atmosphere akin to wartime psychology. We must create the idea of a threat from without' 6/. But even then, he had to make sure that this bogey of a threat from without did not get exaggerated beyond control. Therefore, he felt obliged to affirm that: 'I do not know any responsible official, military or
civilian in this government or any government who believes
that the Soviet Government now plans conquest by open mili-
tary means'. I am not sure if these statements were
made in this order or even in quick succession. But it seems
reasonable to presume that Dulles held the two positions
simultaneously. It also seems necessary to submit that
Kennan's subjective need is, of course, the same thing as
Dulles' 'emotional atmosphere'. But while Kennan simply
presumes it to be there already, Dulles knew that it has to
be created.

It follows that the present hysteria also is a purely arti-
ficial phenomenon. It had to be created on both sides,
though no Russian counterpart of George Kennan would dare to
or be allowed to say this, at least in public. Be that as
it may, the decisions leading to the current acceleration of
the arms buildups were made evidently during the 'detente'
itsfelf. They were not in response to any crisis but ac-
tually stimulated one. They would therefore need some
plausible excuse which in turn would necessitate the crea-
tion of a subjective need for an external enemy. Each got
this excuse in the increased tempo of the others' buildup.

This might have been a coincidence. But, new generations of
weapons on either side, having taken years on the drawing
boards and in the laboratories, became ready for deployment
in the late seventies. Excuses also had therefore to be
manufactured. Thus, in 1977 when after years of develop-
ment, the cruise missile became ready for introduction, its
advocates managed to 'discover' a new Soviet weapon - a pro-
ton beam said to be able to destroy all conventional US
ballistic missiles and aircraft but not this new low-flying
contraption.

It may well be that when the weapons now available have been
deployed, though only after some horse-trading, the super-
powers will decided to sanction another period of detente,
though at a much higher level of nuclearization of the
world. If the present is any guide, it will be followed by
another crisis. For, then, weapons now being developed will
have been perfected and will 'need' to be deployed. Such is
the dire dialectic of the nuclear age that the establish-
ments of the two super powers have no option but to go on
producing weapons which they cannot and would not like to
use. In the process, each has acquired the power to destroy
the other many times over. But neither would like to use
this power even if there were no risk whatsoever of
self-destruction. But that risk is more of a certainty now.

However, since each is perfectly aware that it could inflict
only unlimited damage on the other and also suffer similar
damage in return, it seeks actively to ensure, as best it
can, that the other's legitimacy at home and abroad remains
largely undestroyed and, in fact, essentially unquestioned.
Little wonder that as scorpions, the two have divided up the
bottle or, rather, the world into more or less well-defined domains that each takes care to respect as inviolable.

It follows that at least in so far as the behaviour of the two superpowers with respect to each other is concerned, it cannot be explained in terms of what the exponents of the art of diplomacy in ancient India designated as "matsya-nyaya" or the fish-logic which entails that big fish eat small fish 9/. But, in so far as their behaviour with regard to their respective client States is concerned, they continue to be nothing but very large and voracious fishes. Each has in effect managed to swallow numerous smaller powers so as to create its own power bloc. But since neither can manage or even afford to swallow the other, they can no longer relate to each other as fishes would.

Indeed, the sheer quantum and the kind of power which becomes available and has to be accumulated in the nuclear age obliges each to seek self-preservation not in trying to swallow, but in trying in effect to sustain the other. They have no option but to get metamorphosed into scorpions. I am not sure if two ordinary scorpions, caught in a bottle, would indeed behave like the superpowers: each pretending to threaten and yet needing the other. Some zoologist specializing in the psychology of scorpions perhaps would be able to enlighten us on this. But each superpower understood as a scorpion in Oppenheimer's sense must condone what the other has to do as a fish.

Thus, when in the late sixties the Soviet Union managed to crush dissent in Czechoslovakia and the United States succeeded in smothering the movement for freedom in Greece, each defended its own actions as bloc-defensive, and indirectly accused the other of expansionism. But, at the same time, both took care not to fall for their own propaganda. Rather, 'in a variety of ways they sanctioned each other's intervention' 10/. Indeed, the two have mastered the art of regulating their relations in such a way that they can use them for purposes of controlling the rest of the world.

Evidently, in order to explain the behaviour of the two 'fishscorpions', we would do well to make a sharp distinction between the way they deal with their respective client States and the way they relate to each other. In the former context, it is the fish-logic which continues to prevail and the mini-establishments in each bloc accord explicit recognition to the supremacy of the superpower concerned. But when it comes to State relations between the two blocs or, rather, between the two superpowers, it is the scorpion-logic which takes over. For, it is no longer a question of one swallowing, or being swallowed by the other, but of each pretending to threaten or be threatened by the other. In other words, some kind of tacit understanding must exist between the two which prevents them from taking each other too seriously.
It follows, then, that neither can claim to have any respect for political principles and proprieties. In fact, each fishcorpion in either role can have nothing but cynical contempt for moral decency as such. For, as a big fish dealing with its satellites, it can respect only the norms prevailing in the deep; and as a scorpion dealing with the other superpower, which is presumed to be its natural enemy with its distinct ideology and interests, it cannot but seek as lasting an accommodation as possible.

In the light of all this one cannot but reject the very idea of the nuclear arms race which the two superpowers are supposed to be engaged in. For, what each seems to be primarily concerned with is its own arms buildup. This is not to say that the policies and pursuits of one do not in any way influence the policies and pursuits of the other. For to insist on the primacy of the internal momentum of each one of the two arms buildups is not to deny the fact of the stimulus that they receive from each other. Even so, since each superpower must perforce consider the military conquest of the other as both impossible and undesirable and, therefore, inconceivable, the obsession of either with its own relentless rearment could only be explained in terms other than those of military strategy.

This being so, one would have no option but to focus on the arms buildup of each superpower as a phenomenon essentially internal to itself. Indeed, the idea of an arms race would be patently absurd. Each superpower is interested in the continuation of its own power structure; and this it tries to ensure with the help of its own buildup, using the buildup of the other as an excuse.

Besides, the United States in particular, being the senior of the two partners in 'The Global Swindle Unlimited', does not even have to match its weapons with those of the Soviet Union which in any case are essentially imitations of its own. Instead, it tries to acquire whatever science can yield. This was affirmed as long ago as 1968 by John Foster, the Pentagon's Director of Research and Engineering at the time. Testifying at a Senate hearing, he said: 'Now most of the action the United States takes in the area of research and development has to do with one or two types of activities. Either we see from the field of science and technology some new possibilities, which we think we ought to exploit, or we see threats on the horizon, possible threats, usually not something the enemy has done but something we have thought ourselves that he might do, we must therefore be prepared for' 11/.

This reaction to the response which the Soviet Union might make, but had not yet made, was designated by Lapp as 'pre-response' 12/ and evidently, what this means is that the United States would be the first to engender most of the diabolical novelties. The Soviet Union with its relatively modest resources has to make do with 'response' rather than
'pre-response'. Thus, while the United States has already produced the cruise missile and is trying to work out a basing pattern for the MX missile, Yuri Andropov has only been able, though right at the beginning of his reign, to promise to create no more than the Soviet imitations thereof. But whether a superpower is able only to respond to what the other has done or to 'pre-respond' to what the other might do in the future hardly matters. What matters is the fact that each is concerned primarily with its own buildup.

Nevertheless, no arms buildup can be sustained unless the population is sufficiently docile and accommodating to accept the costs involved. A buildup of nuclear weapons is no different from one of conventional weapons, at least in this respect. But what is peculiar to the former is this: the individual missiles have to be pointed in directions in which they cannot even be fired. This means that they cannot but be aimed at targets other than those at which they are pointed. Therefore, the only people they can be aimed at are those who have been made to pay for their development, production and deployment. Phrased a little graphically, the SS-20s might be pointed at Bonn and Rome, but they are aimed at Moscow and Warsaw; and vice versa for the Pershing IIs which are now planned to be installed in large numbers in Europe.

What all this means is that the key to disarmament lies in people shedding the very docility which has permitted rearmament of such monstrous proportions in the first place. In other words, it lies in what Einstein once called the chain reaction of awareness; and therefore in mass agitation. In Olof Palme's words, 'It is very unlikely that disarmament will ever take place if it must wait for the initiatives of governments and experts. It will only come about as the expression of the political will of people in many parts of the world' 13/.

It seems reasonable to argue, too that in view of the mounting costs of rearmament, manifested for example in an inexorable inflation, the political will of the people cannot remain dormant for long. This is to say that people may not remain indefinitely befuddled by the illusion of security in the grotesque technology of what Edward Thompson has called exterminism. And this means in turn that unilateralism, properly understood, may not be taken as an arms reduction which the establishment of one superpower may undertake in order to persuade and encourage its counterpart also to undertake a corresponding arms reduction. Rather, it may be taken as an arms reduction which the people of either bloc may force on their own masters.

The extreme urgency and immediacy of this task can hardly be over-emphasized. One reason of course is that 50,000 nuclear war-heads are not the best company for men to keep. They possess the explosive power of roughly 20 billion tons
of TNT which is one million and six hundred thousand times
the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb \(14/\). In con-
trast, the total explosive power used during the Second
World War amounted to 2.5 million tons of TNT or a bare
1/8000th of the power now congealed in the nuclear warheads
in existence. Moreover, as they poliferate, the sheer sta-
tistical probability of a purely accidental and unintended
nuclear war increases and continues to get closer and closer
to one.

Evidently, even a small fraction of the firepower available
at present, no matter how it came to be used, would spell
planetary disaster. Many have tried to visualize what the
world would then look like if indeed it would still be a
world of human beings. But to my mind, an excessive and,
generally, an exclusive concern with the aftermath of the
holocaust inevitably results in a distraction from the real
issues involved. In any case, no account howsoever de-
tailed, of the devastation which a nuclear war would cause,
has so far been able to arrest, much less reverse, the in-
tensifying nuclear madness of today.

As I see it, therefore, a focus on the consequences of a
uclear holocaust helps only to reduce the nuclear question
to an unresolvable and in fact puerile debate between those
who say that a good part of the world population will some-
how manage to survive a nuclear war and those who contend
that it will be eliminated altogether or, at least, reduced
to a state of sub-human barbarism. Besides, among the
former are those, though not many, who believe, or at least
used to believe, that out of the ashes of the iniquitous
world order of today, man will create and usher in a new
millenium and those who believe that he will just about
manage to stay alive.

In this connection, it would be of some interest to refer to
some of the thoughts of Mao who was born and even embalmed
as Tse-tung but has now been re-named Zedong. Well, he had
his own Law of Progress to propound which was that a nuclear
war would devour imperialism, leave socialism intact and
therefore would enable the surviving half of the world popu-
lation 'very swiftly' to create a civilization thousands of
times better than the capitalist system and thus 'a truly
beautiful future' for itself.

On the other hand, Edward Teller is not so sanguine about
the outcome of a nuclear war. Nor is he quite explicit as
to which system will come out victorious. But he is abso-
lutely certain that our race as a whole will not suffer ex-
tinction. A nuclear war, he says, 'would have a great and
dreadful effect on the lives of men and women - but they
would stay alive' \(15/\). After all, he reminds us, men did
manage to survive the Black Death and even Genghis Khan.

Perhaps, there is some point in this. If our race could
survive one curse called Genghis Khan in the thirteenth
century, it could well hope to survive another called Edward Teller in the twentieth. But is survival, when understood as the ability of the human race to avoid complete incineration, the real question? I do not think it is. The real question is the deprivation and suffering which vast numbers of people have to undergo now in order that the powers that be on either side might accumulate incredibly large amounts of destructive potential. For, caught up in the bottle are not just the two scorpions we have been talking about. There are people, billions of them in the more or less sealed bottle of the biosphere, who have to pay for the insatiability of the power-hungry scorpions. In the circumstances, a focus on what might happen after the two have accidentally or otherwise stung each other can only mean a distraction from what is happening right now: inflation, unemployment and poverty of various forms and manifestations.

This only means that an excessive concern with the aftermath of the nuclear holocaust must perforce entail a total unconcern with what I should like to call the foremath of it. But, as Mary Kaldor would say, we should not just be worrying about the ultimate catastrophe because some of the most insidious products of the military technology of today are proliferating and sapping the vitality of every society here and now 'In a sense the future of civilization may be threatened even without the launching of a missile or the dropping of a bomb' 16/.

The moment we shift the focus from its common abode to where it belongs that is, from the potential and future consequences of a nuclear war to the actual and immediate consequences of nuclear buildups, we perceive the unsurpassably ugly and vicious pyramids of power. Therefore, a plea for the destruction of nuclear stockpiles is nothing if it is not also a plea for the destruction of these pyramids. It is a plea, in other words, for an effective and irreversible decentralization of the processes of decision-making.

But this is not always appreciated. By and large, nuclear weapons are seen as a product of the advancements of the science of physics alone. We are told that since the knowledge of nuclear physics once gained can never be lost, since, that is to say, it can never become zero, we can never again get back to a state of nuclear innocence. Therefore, if each single nuclear warhead could be dismantled and even destroyed, we would not take very long to create it again. The inevitable advice follows that since we have already managed to live with nuclear weapons for forty years, we should learn to live with them for another 40,000 years 17/. That is to say, for ever.

The sheer naivety of this suggestion would be difficult if not impossible to surpass. Having decided that nuclear weapons are a product of the knowledge of physics alone which once acquired cannot be lost; having decided therefore
that once produced they cannot be done away with; further, having completely ignored the role of the concentration of the process of political decision-making in their development; and, finally, having presumed that the only threat they pose is one of the physical incineration of our race and are not otherwise paralysing: Zacharias and his co-authors come to the amusing or rather bemusing conclusion that we should be able to look 'beyond disarmament' and thus to try to learn to live with these weapons for ever.

What this means in effect is that human and material resources would continue to be diverted towards the development and production of these weapons; that economically useful and socially satisfying pursuits would continue to languish; that unemployment, inflation and crime would continue to bedevil different societies. But, then, imagine the consequences of, say, a ten per cent per year inflation compounded not for the next 40,000 years but just 40 and see if any economy whatsoever could survive the experience. In fact, on this account alone, it should be impossible for men and missiles to live together.

Absolutely the most important condition for our existence as a civilized species, then, is the abolition of the missiles and of the lethal cargo they would carry. Else we would continue to be a miserable multitude paralysed by inflation, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and homelessness on the one hand and by the threat of instant incineration on the other.

This decision to re-create a nuclear-free world has to be one in the making of which each one of us would have to participate. For, if there is any way at all in which the nuclear menace can be dispelled, it is mass agitation. We are told that the number of people who took part in the secret debate in the United States on the construction of the hydrogen bomb was less than one hundred $\text{/}$. We have no idea of the number of people involved in the making of a similar decision by the Soviet Union. But it cannot have run into thousands. One of the most fateful decisions in history was thus made by an extremely exclusive coterie of elites. And elites it is that continue to dominate decision-making in this regard, even now.

It is to arrest and to reverse the consequences of this kind of decision-making that we need a full-blooded peace movement. If a handful of bomb-making physicists cannot lose the knowledge they have gained, hundreds of millions of people also ought to find it difficult to erase the lessons of Hiroshima from their minds and to ignore the pangs of persistent poverty. Creating the kind of awareness needed would of course be the greatest educational undertaking of all time, and the immediate goal of a well-formed and well-informed peace movement would have to be the denial of resources to the powers that be for successive waves of re-armament. In fact, if our race has any hope at all, it lies
in the peace movement being able to so influence the legislatures that effective budgetary brakes could be applied to the process of rearmament. Therefore, a motto of the peace movement could well be: 'Peoples of the World Unite, you have nothing to do but to starve the scorpions'.

(This article originally appeared in Seminar, Delhi, July 1983).

8/ John Cox, op.cit. p.90.
12/ Ibid. p.19.
16/ Mary Kaldor, 'Technology and the Arms Race' The Nation (9 April 1983) p.422.
The Law of the Seed
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By Pat Roy Mooney

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The Conservation of Plant Genetic Resources—The Related Issues

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While we are warming up, getting acquainted to the surroundings, I should like to use the privilege of the Chairman of the host institution, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, to make a few personal comments on the theme of this seminar. They are not meant to set the tune of the meeting or in any way direct the proceedings - just reflect a personal view, without much of conclusion - a credo.

I am sure we meet, all of us these days, exponents and examples of what we may call "development fatigue". We hear questions being put - with or without answers provided - like this: "What went wrong with development - and why? Was it the wrong development that was preached - with growth, fair distribution, self-reliance and the like? Or were the wrong means proposed - production, exports, technology, social reform, international cooperation and all the rest?"

In the thinking and talking there is, like in the economy, a recession or even depression. Not seldom - both in the North and in the South - there are people who jump to conclusions just as flaccid as such questions: "No use continuing these experiments, nationally or internationally... Let us rather, each for himself, put his own house in order and let others put theirs... After all, the pure self-interest is the best engine of development, or isn't it?"
The visibility and audibility of the mass manifestations is so enormously increased by the technological communication explosion of the last decade - and this, I presume, is not only changing the geography rather literally, it is also making it impossible to prevent national conflicts from becoming international concerns in a way and within a timespan never experienced before. To "put one's own house in order" in isolation is no more a splendid idea, it is passed and passé.

This being so, we have to be more concerned with each other, concerned participants in each other's situation, because we cannot help ourselves otherwise. Whatever we think of the development that was proposed and the one that took place, we simply have to try again; all sides together in a communal effort because self-sufficiency does not work.

What is it that the demonstrating masses demand, primarily? As I see it, it is not bread and jobs from an omnipotent government that come first on the banners - because too many have seen above all the impotence of governments in providing material goods; too many ruling generals have provided first of all tanks and guns, which eventually are turned against their own people.

The craving of today is primarily for democracy - for a leadership of the people that is listening, and learning from people - for another development with people (if I may allude to the theme of "another development with women" and include also the other half).

An important part in my own background for saying this is the following. A few decades ago this country of Sweden was seen by some as a kind of model democracy (at least we felt happy to think so). There were many delegations coming to see what was being tried and achieved here, and there were invitations to Swedish personalities to travel abroad to
tell about their methods of building a welfare society with full employment and a high degree of social harmony. I took part myself in some of these missions, as a third wheel of the cart, as it were, representing the government, with the chairman of the trade unions and the director of the employers' federation as the most important—and indeed impressive ones, as they demonstrated in person how labour market peace could be reached and on the whole maintained in a system of free collective bargaining without government intervention except for voluntary mediation. The trade union leader, Mr. Geijer (not of the family that gave the name to this house) who was also the President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, had a standing memento at the after-meetings: we must show, he said to the audiences, that the democracy that we represent is the most efficient kind of society in solving the problems that people are up against. Of course, it was felt at that time that Sweden was successful to a large extent because of our democratic institutions and associations—and now that we are less successful, I, for one, am among those who feel that part of the reason for this is that the quality of our democracy is not as high as it used to be; a self-searching exercise is going on.

When this country began to think of development of the outer world, it is not surprising that "a development towards a democratic form of society" was one of the four main goals of Swedish participation in international cooperation. However, in my opinion, this country has not been active enough in building up a democratic system into the dialogue with partner countries. While in our own national policies individual freedoms and democratic institutions come first, it may be said that in development cooperation we have acted as if these values were a kind of self-fulfilling consequence of economic growth and a fair income distribution. Our experience tells us that the democratic institutions—free and open debate, free associations in an open wrestle
of interests, supported by a basic level of general education and welfare - is much more a prerequisite for economic growth and fair distribution than the other way round.

It is no consolation to see that the Brandt Commission in its "programme for survival" of 1980 and in its "crisis programme" of 1983 speaks so quietly of the national political dimensions of economic development that it is hardly discernible - and this at a time when the world is resounding of demands for political reforms in individual countries.

Of course, one can offer explanations for this prudence. I don't need to mention them, even. But I think there is time for a more vigorous attitude, not least in order to present alternatives to political demands of the kind that certain countries raise towards neighbours and underline by sending invasion armies - to Grenada and Afghanistan.

Democracy is the alternative that the massive demonstrations propose in so many countries today - and I feel that there are democratic alternatives that can be offered. We shall hear of many examples at this seminar of what I mean, as we go along. (One thing I feel particularly strongly: there are few who believe, that the absence of democracy is good for economic development).

The alternative is democracy; democracy means alternatives.

In a textbook on democracy that my generation has read again and again, the Danish political scientist Alf Ross says the following - and certainly on the basis not least of experiences of foreign occupation and colonisation of his own country by the nazis. I quote: "Democracy does not guarantee to the individual a particular freedom of action. But a series of freedoms are inextricably tied to democracy. These are first of all freedom of speech and freedom of association, freedom for the individual to express orally and
in writing his or her opinions in political matters, and to form associations in order to work for the realization of these opinions".

This in my opinion expresses what the oppressed peoples demand most of all today - and indeed they are entitled to try this method of searching and finding solutions and of decision-making.

Communication for communal solutions is my tentative formulation of an adequate motto for what is often referred to as "people's participation", which is a phrase mostly used for the often hopeless effort of politicians and bureaucracies to convince ordinary people by exhortation to join programmes that the government has devised for them - not seldom on the basis of memoranda from some external consultant.

Communication for community action (another wording for the same thing) means manifoldness in the opinion-making and solution-searching process, many voices in many directions in the exercise of the freedom of ideas and expression. And it means indeed that the government is not allowed to restrict the press or to censor the radio message, but that the right to inform and be informed is a part of the democratic society, organized and supported in such a way that the voices can be heard and the arguments discussed.

The third system is another expression for the organizational side of what I am after - and what I think the mass demonstrators are after as they turn against the ruling first system of the government bureaucracy and against the second system of the commercial power structure, neither of which has succeeded in solving the problem of a development worthy of man.

I have not said a word of the solutions that we are all seeking to the many specific problems of development facing
the world today - I just felt the need to underline that there is no better or probably no other way to find these solutions and to carry them out, than that people make use of their creative capabilities and join hands in a system of their own to do the job. In this endeavour, a free association like the one we now form around this table, can play a role, and the evolving communication technique is an important tool to support our effort.
AUSTRALIA'S FUTURE

by Keith D. Suter
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Keith D. Suter, Dean of Students at Wesley College (University of Sydney, Australia) is also the Secretary General of the Commission for Social Responsibilities of the Uniting Church of Australia. In this interview, he talks about Australia's future and the church's response to it.

What sort of society are we likely to face in Australia in the future?

One which is increasingly divided and conflict-ridden. It will be divided between those with jobs and those who face long-term or permanent unemployment. Already it's taking longer and longer for people to find work - it now takes on average three months. With the micro-processor revolution proceeding at staggering speed, more and more people will face unemployment.

There's going to be new divisions between those who live in comparatively affluent parts of Australia - the Northern Territory, Western Australia, Queensland - and those who live in the declining states - Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria, with New South Wales straddling the gulf between those that are booming because of mineral resources and those declining because of their reliance on decaying manufacturing industries.

There will be problems maintaining civil order. We have a large number of people (and now their children) who were brought to Australia after the Second World War as cheap labour to fuel our manufacturing boom. That boom is now ending, and increasingly these people will be unemployed. This will provoke racial tensions within our community.

Today we're facing the phenomenon of second-generation unemployment - children of unemployed people who leave school with no hope of getting a job. In this kind of situation it requires only a handful of articulate people to create all sorts of rabble-rousing which in turn will lead to political tensions. The police you can count on to overreact; my study of guerilla warfare has convinced me that the best way to create a radical is to hit a conservative over the head with a police truncheon.

On the international scene, unless there are some major breakthroughs, I see increasing problems. One of the worst will be the possible collapse of the international financial system owing to the over-commitment of the major banks and problems within transnational corporations. Australia's trading partners will be increasingly affected.
So the picture is one of increasing gloom. Since the war Australian society has been characterised by a sense of optimism, by a genuine air of progress. Now people are beginning to believe that the best times are behind them.

Do you think the Australian people are prepared for these sort of changes?

No, they're not prepared - on the contrary, there's been no political debate at all as to where this country is going. There's a growing range of publications available on the type of society we're heading towards - such as Alvin Toffler's *The Third Wave* - but these are circulating within a narrow range of people. The discussion of the future in the mass media is largely limited to sensational reports about the impact of the micro-processor. And there's no political leadership in this area - the politicians are focussed only on the narrow day-to-day games of point-scoring.

I would argue that this is a task for the church. The church has its own mass media outlets, its own scholars and it has a way of reaching a large number of people in small groups on Sundays. The church should be encouraging the debate about how we can move towards an Australia which is socially just and which has a respect for the environment.

Do you think the church is prepared to minister to the society that's going to emerge?

Again, no. There have been attempts to think ahead - for example, the Queensland Synod of the Uniting Church held a seminar on the problem in early 1980. But generally we're very much an unprepared society, and we are an unprepared church.

What would you advocate as the way for the church to prepare?

The most significant task the church could perform would be, as I've indicated, to foster discussion about the future of Australia.

I don't think it's possible to plan in detail now to cope with the future, simply because conditions change so much from year to year. The really important thing is to get people speculating about the type of future they want. Nothing is definite. There's no guarantee that the type of society which people like Toffler have been predicting will necessarily come.

Getting people to think about the future (a) gives them an opportunity to help change society; and (b) prepares them for the new ideas and factors which will inevitably sweep over them. It's much better to be alerted to the waves that are coming to hit you than to be suddenly caught unawares.

Keith, are you hopeful for the future of the church over the next 30 or 40 years?

Yes, I am. The church has great reserves: the problem has been not a lack of reserves or potential, but mobilising those reserves and that
potential. It may well be that the crisis which is sweeping over us will at long last release those reserves.

The 1980s and 1990s will be the most exciting time in which to live since the 1750s in Britain, which saw the introduction of the Industrial Revolution. The new era into which we're moving is part of a similar sort of revolution. It may be due to the micro-processor, or to a change in cultural values, or to a breakthrough in disarmament negotiations, or to the creation of a new international economic order.

Whatever the reason, we're on the edge of a series of major upheavals.

Now, it's really like passing around a bottle of whisky with the whisky at the half-way level. An optimist will say it's half full, a pessimist that it's half empty. I remain a fairly positive, optimistic sort of person, which is one of the advantages of being a Christian.

Let me give an example of the excitement of these times in which we live. Each minute, the world spends one million dollars on the arms race. The cost of eradicating smallpox around the world—which took 30 years—was the equivalent of what we spend on arms in one afternoon.

Imagine what could be done by syphoning off just half of that million dollars a minute to other areas. Solar energy could be introduced around the world and basic health education and welfare facilities could be established throughout the Third World, both in a matter of months. In this powerful situation we really could create a fantastic new world, and make the 1980s and beyond one of the most exciting times in which to live for the past 10,000 years.

On the other hand, of course, we could have a miscalculation and World War III could begin at any minute.

In addition to what you've said, how can the church prepare for the Third Millennium?

First, it can look towards the future and create visions of alternative societies. There's nothing written that the destiny of Australia must be economic decline, unemployment, social tension and violence. There are ways to make a better society.

Second, it must offer a message of hope. If the church looks back it will discover times in the past when gloomy periods have ended in significant breakthroughs and very pleasant eras were created. It can happen in our time.

The church also must offer the hope of ultimate salvation which is available for every human being. The present era, although one of great problems, is also potentially one of great evangelism. We can change society; and the church—if it gets mobilised—will find for itself a tremendous evangelistic role.
Some time last Fall, some 80 women met in Santiago to lay the groundwork for a feminist movement organised around the struggle for democracy and women's rights in Chile. All left the meeting convinced that women must take part in the Chilean social movement's 'national days of protest' against 10 years of military rule, but they are not stopping with that.

The new group has already shown its vitality and political bent with public speeches and pamphlets on 'democracy in the country and at home' and 'women give life, the dictatorship exterminates it' distributed on the street, in supermarkets and elsewhere.

The women, feminist activists from various walks of life and existing institutions, have not yet established a formal organisation. These women are not building their movement around theories, intellectual study groups or traditional ideologies, they began with each woman's experiences and real anxieties, seeds of discontent which have lain latent until now.

The meeting did not begin with a lengthy plenary session and opening statements. The women divided up into working groups in which suggestions and questions were formulated which came up for discussion by the full assembly afterwards. This inductive and democratic method, little used by traditional organisations or parties, began by posing two questions prompting reflection: 'who am I as a woman?' and 'what do I want to be?'

'I am a person whose rights are not respected' said one. 'A person discriminated against who is permanently struggling to continue on', said another. 'I am strong and weak, courageous and fearful, woman and child, emotional and rational, contradictory', argued a third. 'I want to be, I'm very angry, I am unfinished' a fourth said, expressing the individual aspect of the conflict. As a collective, many said they felt committed to their gender. 'I have discovered I am not alone, that I have sisters in the same struggle' said one woman.

The struggle touches all life issues, including those in the social and political realms. 'I believe in democracy and I am a pacifist', declared another. 'I want a democracy that makes not only institutional or juridical changes, but creates a system for living in which values, feelings and the practice of personal and social relationships are renewed' said yet another.

In the realm of 'wanting to be', the possibilities expressed were more intimate than collective: 'I want to assume my contradictions and to be recognised in society with them', said one participant. 'I want to be a person that need not defend herself but express herself, a female friend of man, not dependent, not subjected, nor do I want to be his mother', declared one woman. 'A person who demands from a man that he recognise her duality of strength and weakness, tenderness and force, rationality
and emotionality' said another. 'I want to have the right to be equal, I do not want guilt or authority to become a hidden tyrant inside me', said one. 'I want to have solidarity and be non-competitive with women: to fight for the rights of all, intellectuals, professionals, workers, slum dwellers, peasants...' said a woman participating from another group.

In the political realm, visions of utopia were at the forefront: 'I want a society capable of expressing itself, a society of equals where we women are able to freely decide our work, our sexuality, and whether or not to live with a man without being discriminated against because of (the decision). 'I want to struggle for social change, justice and democracy, beginning from the home. I want to participate in political life, in organisations, in political parties, without losing my feminine identity nor following the logic of patriarchal power', said one.

These ideas will go into a public manifesto the women plan to issue, calling together all Chilean women wanting to fight for their individual and social rights. It will publicise actions and campaigns aimed at demanding respect for these rights.

One idea the movement will likely put into practice is establishing a centre where women can come and talk about the abuse and discrimination they face in the home, the workplace or on the streets based on power relationships, sex, problems of health, housing, education and the like. The women's work through the media, informal talks, round-table discussions and public demonstrations will follow the demands set out in the United Nations Agreement 'Against Discrimination Against Women' which most governments in the world have signed. Chile is not among those nations.

(Oficina internacional de la mujer/IPS)

230 MILLION WOMEN IN THIRD WORLD SUFFER FROM NUTRITIONAL ANAEMIA - PREVALENCE HIGHEST IN THOSE PREGNANT

by Peter Ozorio
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Some 230 million women in the Third World, aged from 15 to 49, are estimated to be suffering from iron-deficiency anaemia, 'one of the most frequently observed diseases in the world today'.

This is a finding of a recent review, published in the statistical quarterly I/ of the World Health Organization/WHO) that brings together information on the prevalence of anaemia in a total population of 464 million women.

Essentially what the report shows is that about half of all women in the Third World - that is 230 out of 464 million - are anaemic, suffering from a deficiency of one or more essential nutrients, chiefly of iron, and less frequently of folate.
Because of its deleterious consequences, and because it is so wide-spread, nutritional anaemia in women is one of the nutritional-deficiency diseases that must be given high priority, the report states. 'Most nutritional anaemia can be prevented'.

The report, by WHO statistician Erica Royston, also shows that the percentage of anaemia is higher among pregnant women than in non-pregnant ones. 'From the information collated' she says 'it would seem that about half the non-pregnant women and nearly two-thirds of the pregnant women have haemoglobin concentrations below those laid down by WHO as being indicative of anaemia'.

This is due to the 'dramatic increase in nutrient requirements' of pregnancy that is needed not only to replace body losses, but also to provide for the needs of the foetus and placenta and the increased blood volume of the mother.

'The need cannot be met by diet alone, but is derived at least partly from maternal reserves' the report says. 'When these reserves are already low - from malnutrition or frequent pregnancies - anaemia results'. Women in the Third World have 'on average twice as many children' as women in the industrialized world. At any point in time, every sixth woman, aged 15 to 49 years, in a Third World country is pregnant, compared with 1 in 17 in industrialized countries, the report states.

This is the situation region by region:

* In Africa, 63 per cent are anaemic out of 15.1 million pregnant women, as against 40 per cent anaemic out of 77.1 million non-pregnant women.
* In Asia, the figures are 65 per cent anaemic out of 43.2 million pregnant, and 57 per cent anaemic out of 253.2 million non-pregnant women (no information was available for China).
* In Latin America, figures are 30 per cent anaemic out of 9.6 million pregnant, and 15 per cent anaemic out of 65 million non-pregnant women.

Maternal Mortality

Severe anaemia in pregnancy has been shown to be associated with an increased risk of maternal mortality. While the maternal death rate for non-anaemic women is 3.5 per 1,000 births in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, the report notes by way of examples, the rate is higher by five-fold for those with severe anaemia, or 15.5 per 1,000 births.

Mild or moderate, anaemia may 'impair well-being, reduce maximal work capacity and adversely affect work performance' the report says, even though it is 'more or less well tolerated'. Few, if any, however, can function normally with severe anaemia.

Singularly at Risk

The report cites two major reasons why women in the reproductive ages are singularly at risk of anaemia.
Firstly, 'regular menstrual blood losses constitute a continuing drain of nutrients which have to be replaced'. About 40 ml of blood 'equivalent to an average daily iron loss of 0.6 mg' is lost each month by a healthy woman and a small proportion often lose even more iron through their menses.

Secondly, 'pregnancy increases the requirements of the woman's body to meet the needs of the growing foetus'. Yet more often than not, diets in the developing world are inadequate for the needs of pregnancy, or to replace menstrual blood losses.

According to calculations of a WHO expert group, for women to 'remain in iron balance' they need 'three times as much iron as is required by an adult man'.

Although women have higher requirements than men, in many countries their diets are 'frequently more deficient than men's'. And in certain societies food taboos, 'specially those that apply during pregnancy, aggravate malnutrition'.

Anaemia can also be caused by parasitic diseases, the report adds, with the 'two chief culprits being intestinal parasites and malaria'.

Among highlights of the report:

**Africa**

- 'In Algeria, three-quarters of all hospitalized women were anaemic'.
- In Egypt, data show a 'high prevalence of anaemia, specially in pregnancy'.
- In Tunisia, '31 per cent of non-pregnant, 46 per cent of lactating (breast-feeding) and 38 per cent of pregnant women had haemoglobin concentrations below the norms'.
- In Tanzania and Zambia, the prevalence of anaemia is 'high among both pregnant and non-pregnant women, especially in the rural coastal areas. Anaemia is associated with hookworm infection, and low dietary iron intake'.
- In South Africa, many Bantu families use iron pots for cooking. Their iron intake is very high and, among such people, anaemia is rare.

**America**

- In Costa Rica and Honduras, 40 per cent of pregnant women surveyed were found anaemic; in Nicaragua, 20 per cent were; and in El Salvador, 15 per cent were. 'The prevalence of anaemia was said to be highest at altitudes below 750 m.'.
- In Trinidad and Tobago 'over half the pregnant women had levels below the norm'.
- In Argentina, Guatemala and Mexico, studies showed iron-deficiency anaemia widespread 'not only in low but also in high socio-economic classes'.

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In Venezuela, about 18 per cent of non-pregnant women had haemoglobin concentrations below the norms; in hook-worm infested areas the proportion was double.

Asia

In Turkey a quarter of pregnant women had haemoglobin concentrations below the norm.

In India, between 60 per cent and 80 per cent of pregnant women in the south are anaemic. Of all countries of the world for which information is available, 'India has probably one of the highest prevalences of nutritional anaemia in women'.

In Burma, about 40 per cent of non-pregnant women in villages were anaemic, as were over 50 per cent of pregnant women.

In Indonesia, 70 per cent of women delivering in a Jakarta hospital were found to be anaemic.

In Thailand, studies show that 'the prevalence of anaemia in pregnant women doubled after the third pregnancy, and increased five-fold after the fifth pregnancy'.

Oceania

In Fiji, the prevalence of anaemia among Indian women was 'somewhat higher than among the Fijians'.

In Papua New Guinea, 'anaemia is widespread, especially in coastal areas. In the lowlands, between 50 and 100 per cent of women were found with haemoglobin concentrations below the norm'.


POVERTY LINE

by M.K. Tikku
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The official Planning Commission in New Delhi is currently engaged in hammering out a new definition of the controversial Poverty Line. This will then be used to determine the actual spread and nature of poverty across the country.

The concept of the Poverty Line was formulated for the first time in 1978 when the Task Force on Minimum Needs estimated that nearly 40 (forty) per cent of India's population were living below the level of minimum subsistence, defined as the Poverty Line. Before that, the poverty
estimates had been variously arrived at by different economists and were neither comprehensive nor comparable.

The Task Force had used the nutritional norm of 2,100 calories per capita per day for the rural population and 2,400 per capita per day for the urban inhabitants as the mark off point to define the line. The calorie intake norm applied here was on lines similar to that used by the FAO in its global estimates.

But, the Commission Economists now argue that the calorie criterion alone is too gross a measure to go by. For example, it does not take into account the regional or sectoral variations which are ever-present in a country of India's size and diversity. In many cases, the incomes have risen without in any way changing the dietary habits, which remain more or less tradition bound. Again, the impact of the welfare programmes such as the mid-day meals for children in some places or of the primary health services are not reflected where a family's food-intake is treated as the norm. Moreover, the nutritional norm does not tell the planners anything about the micro-level profiles to enable them to evolve area-specific strategies. For example, the per capita calorie intake is higher in Punjab, but it is Kerala that is leading in literacy rates, primary health and social welfare.

The Commission has now evolved a set of 190 different criteria that give adequate weightage to official inputs, such as the investments made on welfare programmes, in estimating the effective levels of poverty in different parts of the country. The Commission's Working Group currently engaged on the subject is expected to take a year to collect and process the data that, it is claimed, will for the first time give a detailed profile of the local level socio-economic conditions of the various strata of the poor. And, the findings will be extensively used in the formulation of the Seventh Plan (1986-90).

Some Opposition leaders have however charged that the exercise could be used to blur the Poverty Line, which, having neatly put the figure of those living below the level of minimum subsistence at over 40 per cent of the population, causes some embarrassment to the government every time it is mentioned. Further, it is pointed out that the emphasis on welfare spending in the new computation may lend a cosmetic effect to the results. A bio-gas plant that was set up but is no longer in working condition, or a tube well that is monopolised by the rich or the high caste members of a village community when taken into account as averages may yield a rosier picture than the reality affords.

The Commission economists do not totally deny such biases. But they insist that the overall picture will still be a great improvement on the existing data position, which is very poor. The Central Statistical Organisation, the survey and data computation wing of the Planning Commission, has remained a slow moving establishment all these years. Its survey techniques are antiquated and tabulation of the nation-wide data alone takes years - which makes nonsense of its feed-back functions. 'Till now' one Commission economist said, 'there has not been sufficient motivation for the CSO to do a prompt job. Now, there is plenty. Moreover, we are proceeding on the assumption that some data, howsoever imperfect, is better than no data'.

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Former Prime Minister and likely governing party presidential candidate, Manuel Ulloa, has revealed government plans to alter traditional forms of collective land ownership in Indian communities.

These communities represent the survival of the socialist spirit of institutions that date back to the Inca Empire — a spirit that has remained intact during three centuries of Spanish domination and some 150 years of republican independence. All republican constitutions including the present one, effective since 1979, have acknowledged the right of Indian communities to autonomously maintain their cultural forms and traditions. But the former Prime Minister, on returning from a three day visit to Peru's central mountain region, near the area most affected by guerrillas, outlined a government plan for the immediate modification of land ownership systems in Indian Communities.

According to Ulloa, this is necessary in order to 'depoliticize' land ownership. He maintained that political groups have infiltrated these communities disrupting their agricultural organization. In his opinion, the existing type of land ownership association in Indian communities 'prevents individuals from being the true owners of their lands'.

Land is owned collectively in most Indian communities, even in areas where communal lands have been divided into individual plots they continue to function according to Inca norms which include collective labour methods and the prohibition against selling communal lands to anyone outside the community. However, some indication can be gleaned from precedents set by government action taken with respect to agricultural cooperatives.

The country's cooperatives were created by the agrarian reform of the military government of former President Juan Velasco Alvarado. In 1980, when the present centre-right government of the 'popular action' party took office it inherited an agricultural sector dominated by cooperatives and collective land ownership. Cooperative leaders have complained that these organizations are purposely being destroyed by credit restrictions and the artificial provocation of marketing problems.

Sugar cooperatives have accused the former Minister of Agriculture of causing the sector's financial collapse, forcing them to sell to transnational corporations or their intermediaries. Maize producers, tired of having to fight for better prices for their products, protested last year by blockading highways. In Canete, a province close to Lima, leaders of a dairy cooperative complained that the agrarian bank was using credit manipulation to break up communal lands.
Peruvian Indian communities have a centuries' old tradition of struggle to preserve their culture. In this sense agrarian cooperatives represent a politically unifying movement in defense of the conquests made by agrarian reform.

UN MANIFESTE POUR L’EMANCIPATION

(AMBROS LUETHI: MANIFEST DER HERRSCHAFTSFREIHEIT
HERRSCHAFTSFREIHEIT ALS BEDINGUNG FUR EIN UEBERLEBEN IN
MENSCHENWUERDE (Basel: Z-Verlag, 1981, 80pp.)

par Markus Schärlí

Ambros Lüthi voit la lutte pour l'emancipation se dérouler simultanément dans cinq dimensions qu'il présente chacune en deux volets, d'abord une analyse critique de la situation actuelle, ensuite l'esquisse de scénarios pour une situation souhaitable. Ainsi apparaît peu à peu la nature de la lutte pour l'emancipation: elle est le mouvement vers une société plus libre, fondé sur le repérage des situations de domination, toujours renaissantes, et l'effort incessant pour les dépasser. C'est une révolution à la fois non violente et permanente.

1. L'homme et la nature. Dans le passé, l'homme (blanc) n'a pas cherché sa place parmi les animaux, les plantes et les eaux. Il a essayé de dominer la nature, il a détruit et abusé de l'espace vital des êtres vivants qui l'entouraient. Pour dépasser cette situation de domination, il faut remplacer des processus linéaires (exploitation - utilisation - déchets) par des processus circulaires, qui garantissent le recyclage des ressources.

2. L'homme et l'économie. Les conséquences de la technologie actuelle se manifestent sur deux plans:

- les hiérarchies à l'intérieur de l'entreprise font de l'homme un rouage mineur dans un mécanisme complexe. Il n'est plus capable de contrôler et de diriger ses actions;

- dans notre système économique, la concentration des entreprises ne connaît pas de limite. Il en résulte un pouvoir économique transnational et la domination de l'économie du Tiers Monde par celle des pays industriels.

Le scénario envisage l'abolition des liens de subordination dans les entreprises par l'autogestion. Ni savoir, ni sexe, ni race n'apportent des privilèges. La direction fonctionnelle d'une entreprise n'implique pas forcément des "directeurs". La gestion d'une entreprise n'est pas une tâche plus exigeante ni plus importante que la recherche et le développement. C'est pourquoi Lüthi propose une séparation des pouvoirs ainsi qu'une rotation des délégués d'autogestion. L'unité de production est un petit groupe relativement autonome. La rotation régulière des fonctions freine la renaissance de structures de domination et de subordination.
Un tel modèle ne peut pas être appliqué aux structures d'une entreprise transnationale. La concentration économique doit donc être supprimée, la décentralisation étant une condition nécessaire à une économie plus humaine. Ce modèle n'exclut pas la technologie avancée, là où elle a un sens, mais il ne la favorise pas non plus au détriment d'un travail humain.

3. L'homme et les besoins matériels. L'analyse de cette dimension montre l'importance de la consommation, étroitement liée au statut d'une personne. Notre société impose un mode de vie qui est marqué par l'avoir et non pas par l'être. Le scénario est fondé sur le droit inaliénable de chaque être humain de satisfaire ses besoins fondamentaux; mais son moyen n'est pas la croissance économique, mais une réduction des différences de revenu et de fortune. De plus, le terme de propriété appelle une nouvelle définition, en fonction de l'utilisation (Nutzungseigentum) établie selon les besoins de chacun et évitant la subordination.

4. L'homme et la politique. On constate aussi, dans la dimension politique, une concentration du pouvoir au niveau des relations entre les états, comme entre les citoyens d'un même état. Lüthi prévoit une décentralisation dans laquelle les états en vigueur seraient remplacés par des unités fédérées, dans lesquelles chacun pourrait participer aux décisions. Les communautés les plus petites auraient la possibilité de s'autogérer. Une rotation des positions de prestige empêcherait une concentration du pouvoir. Lüthi souligne également que les structures démocratiques sont sans valeur lorsque les minorités n'ont ni le droit ni la possibilité de s'exprimer et de défendre leurs intérêts face à ceux de la majorité.

5. L'homme et la société. Cette cinquième partie analyse les structures de domination dans l'éducation et la formation. La critique et le jugement permanent de ceux qui apprennent favorisent la compétition et empêchent souvent le développement de la personnalité. La distinction entre ceux qui "réussissent" et ceux qui "échouent" provoque privilèges et discrimination. Dans le scénario, ces mécanismes de triage sont remplacés par une éducation basée sur la tolérance et le travail en groupe. L'institution de la famille moderne isolée fait place à une institution qui regroupe plusieurs générations; une famille rend une place aux vieux et aux handicapés.

En comparant le modèle de Lüthi avec celui d'André Gorz (Adieu au prolétariat - au-delà du socialisme) on constate que Lüthi ne propose pas une augmentation du temps disponible pour les loisirs pour compenser la peine que procure le travail, mais qu'il propose de rendre meilleures les conditions mêmes du travail. Cette analyse multidimensionnelle s'adresse surtout aux groupes de base, en espérant qu'ils ne se perdront pas dans des luttes contre des symptômes, mais au contraire s'occuperont d'analyser les causes profondes des problèmes et de discuter les valeurs fondamentales de société.
THE LAW OF THE SEED - AN INTRODUCTION

by Pat Roy Mooney

In 1982, the OECD Observer reported that the South contributes US $500 million a year to the value of the United States wheat crop. If anything, this is a serious underestimate of the real contribution. Were it to be calculated for all major American crops, the economic impact of the Third World contribution would reach into several billions of dollars. And what the Third World does for the Americans, it also does for the Australians and the Europeans.

What is the nature of this contribution? Germplasm: the genetic characters added into new varieties of all the world's crops. Almost totally overlooked in the political and economic debate over the form and need for agricultural development and food security, germplasm is the absolute underpinning of the global food system. Without imports of the right genes, a wheat field might wilt from summer heat, a maize crop might succumb to mildew, potatoes might not process acceptably and tomatoes might bruise too easily. It is a simple but profoundly important fact of our biological and agricultural history that the substantial majority of this germplasm lies in the Third World. The North may be 'grain-rich' but the South is 'gene-rich'.

This fact points to our tremendous food inter-dependence. It has a number of immediate implications.

First of all, while most of the world's breeding material (germplasm) for all its major crops rests in the South, most of the plant breeding and plant breeders are located in the North. For some years now, a kind of gene drain has been underway, siphoning off the Third World's germplasm to 'gene banks' and breeding programmes in the North. The South has been donating this material in the belief that its botanical treasures form part of the 'Common Heritage' of all humanity. Meanwhile, the North has been patenting the offshoots of this common heritage and is now marketing its new varieties, at great profit, around the world.

A debate on the efficacy of all this is now underway at FAO in Rome in the form of a resolution passed in 1981 calling for a legally binding International Convention on the exchange of plant genetic resources (germplasm) and the creation of a system of internationally controlled gene banks.

Secondly, the new bio-technologies (recombinant DNA et. al.) highlight the fundamental importance of access to Third World genes. To date, the South has been an unwitting 'raw materials' supplier to this high-tech
industry. UNIDO and other agencies have devoted their energies to advising Third World governments on how they might accommodate themselves to receive the new technologies. At stake, however, is a prize that may—in its agricultural applications alone—be valued at US $100 million by the end of the century. Genetically and climatically, the South has no need to be a bit player in this new technology. There are compelling practical as well as political reasons why much of this new technology should be based in the South.

Thirdly, the scientific community has become aware that the introduction of new plant varieties via the Green Revolution or commercial companies leads to the elimination of older varieties and the loss of often invaluable germplasm. Once gone, this germplasm cannot be recovered. 'Genetic erosion' is now seen as a profound threat to long-term world food security. The pace of genetic erosion in our crops almost defies exaggeration. Most of the crop germplasm in the Third World will be gone before this century is over. Left behind are a comparative 'handful' of modern High Yielding Varieties (HYV's) and hybrids bred from an ever narrowing genetic base. The risk of widespread crop 'wipe-outs' because of our vulnerability to plant disease attack is already alarmingly high. An urgent international effort is needed to preserve our crop genetic diversity. Existing international efforts appear to serve the needs of the North, are poorly financed and tragically myopic in approach.

Finally, this 'germplasm' poses for the South a political problem (germplasm exchange and control); an environmental crisis (genetic erosion); and an economic opportunity (increased breeding and work in new technologies). The scene is very much clouded, however, by dramatic changes in what has become known as the Genetic Supply Industry. A small number of very large transnationals—led by Royal Dutch/Shell, Ciba-Geigy and Sandoz—have acquired hundreds of seed companies over the last twelve years and are aggressively moving into the South. Most disturbingly, they have an opportunity to combine their leadership in plant breeding with their dominant position in pesticides manufacturing. At stake is the future of agricultural development in the South.

'Germplasm' gene banks and genetic engineering can seem a long way from the struggles of peasant farmers to find food and justice. They seem esoteric compared to the painful burning issues of land reform and rural credit or even national self-reliance. But germplasm is the raw material of seeds—and seeds are the first link in the food chain. Some governments and some chemical companies recognize this and a grab is being made for the control of germplasm. There can be no true land reform—no true agrarian justice of any kind—and certainly no national self-reliance, if our seeds are subject to exclusive monopoly patents and our plants are bred as part of a high-input chemicals package in genetically uniform and vulnerable crops.
HABITAT INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL PLANS TO SURVEY

THE ROLE OF PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATIONS IN HOUSING IMPROVEMENT

One of the contributions which Habitat International Council plans to make to the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless is a survey of the role of community groups and other non-governmental organisations in improving housing and living conditions. At present this role is largely unappreciated, ill-understood and poorly documented.

If one looks at the work both of groups formed by the inhabitants of low-income communities (voluntary associations, squatter organisation committees, co-operatives and community organisations of all kinds) and 'NGOs' who work with such communities (church groups, non-profit foundations, trade unions, co-operatives, charities like OXFAM and, on occasion, political parties and professional associations) their contribution to improving poorer people's housing and living conditions is enormous. Indeed, it is greater than both Government and private formal sector operations in most third world countries and substantial in most high-income countries. But the way in which such groups work is very rarely documented. Where it is documented it is often not well-known and not easily accessible to those who could benefit from the experience. Few governments or professionals recognise the scale and range of formal and informal 'NGO' activities. Even fewer have much idea of how they operate, or indeed understand why their relatively modest projects often have greater success with more modest costs than official government projects. The potential role of such associations is even less appreciated. Yet the right kind of support for their work could solve two of the most pressing problems facing government housing, building and planning agencies: the implementation of shelter and basic service projects (a) on a scale which has a major impact and (b) a way which reaches lower income groups.

The project

The purpose of the project is to highlight the role that people's associations of all kinds play in shelter construction, improvement and management (as distinct from the role of governments or international agencies) and to describe their role as intermediaries between people and government in projects which reach lower income groups with improved housing and living conditions. The work will document how such groups operate in a number of detailed case studies drawn from around the world. It will demonstrate the great diversity in the kind of associations active in this area. It will also try to make governments recognise and better understand the role of such groups and show the ways in which governments can depend on them to carry out government housing policies. And finally, it will include a major effort to publicize the present and potential role of associations through the media worldwide.

Thus, the project will aim to produce:

(a) A series of detailed, well-documented case studies of how specific associations operated in shelter improvement, construction and
management (or related areas). Clearly, these should be drawn from a very diverse group of nations. And full use should be made of existing studies and those now being carried out.

The project will aim at producing three different levels of detail:

i several detailed case studies selected so as to show a wide range of people's associations activity and to cover different aspects (mobilisation of local savings and labour; good use of local materials; innovative cost recovery techniques...);

ii a number of shorter "profiles;"

iii a bibliography of relevant references.

(b) A series of seminars through which senior government officials can be presented with case studies and become involved in a discussion as to the present and potential role of people's associations.

(c) A programme to get the world media to give considerable coverage to "NGO's" work in this field.

(d) Preparation of material for exhibitions building up to the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, and afterwards.

Implementation

Habitat International Council has within its members just the kinds of groups which could actually undertake this work. For these members have contacts with groups of many kinds working in shelter projects and programmes throughout the world.

. The Institute for Housing Studies (IHS/BIE) has groups in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Colombia, among others, with whom it undertakes collaborative work.

. The German Development Assistance Association for Social Housing (DESWOS) and the International Co-operative Alliance which DESWOS represents in Habitat International Council have close links with housing co-operatives throughout the world.

. The Groupe de Recherches et d'Echanges Technologiques (GRET) has strong links with many Third World associations and perhaps has a better knowledge and better links with active groups in francophone Africa than any other HIC member.

. John F.C. Turner and his associates (AHAS) have an enormous range of contacts with groups active in the housing field, and long and varied experience in this particular subject.

. The International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) has collaborative housing and settlement research programmes with institutions in India, the Sudan, Nigeria and in many Latin American countries, and an office in Buenos Aires already working with other Latin American groups on this subject.

. The Mazingira Institute acts as the Secretariat of the Settlements Information Network Africa.
Initial Action

A working group consisting of representatives of these institutions met on 3 June in Rotterdam. It defined the terms of reference of the project, made outlines of the working programme and a division of tasks between the co-operating institutions, drafted a budget and drew up a list of potential sponsors. The working group intends to approach other associations besides those taking part in the initial meeting, with an invitation to contribute to the project.

(Habitat International Council is the major umbrella for third system associations concerned with housing. 45 Wassenaarseweg, 2596 CG The Hague, The Netherlands).

AHAS: ENABLING PEOPLE

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John Turner's name is very much connected with the idea of self-built and self-managed housing. The books he wrote and co-authored Freedom to Build and Housing People have been translated into many languages and have a place on the bookshelf of those concerned with human settlement development.

John Turner, his wife Bertha and Peter Stead are the Directors of Associated Housing Advisory Services for Alternatives in Housing for Another Society, AHAS. Last year, John gave up his permanent occupation with the Development Planning Unit of London University for that of a Senior Associate so that he could devote most of his time to AHAS.

In the course of the past 20 years John Turner has built up a network of like-minded people, mainly in Asia and Latin America, with whom AHAS has a continuous exchange of information. As the principles of AHAS are of universal application, its field of action is not limited to Third World countries, however, in the United Kingdom for instance, AHAS is involved in several activities concerning self-managed housing and local development. Generally speaking, the programme of AHAS consists of any one or a combination of:

- Information: AHAS has a library of thousands of references accumulated over the past 10 years, including documents (published and unpublished), organisations and individuals, and case studies of actual projects where the people themselves are involved in the planning and management of their own homes and neighbourhoods, local development and participation.

- Consultations: By informing and advising decision makers, government agencies or non-governmental organisations serving locally self-managed action. In some cases AHAS acts as an intermediary between local groups. Government and non-government agencies.
. Monitoring and Evaluation: Acting as participant observer AHAS can record and evaluate the development of local programmes and make recommendations for subsequent action.

. Raising Awareness: AHAS helps to find wider public support for its aims by raising awareness of alternatives open to all concerned with improving housing conditions, through teaching and lecturing, writing and broadcasting.

INDIA: THE AVARD FOUNDATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT (AFFORD)

5 (FF) Institutional Area
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AVARD Foundation for Rural Development (AFFORD) is a voluntary, non-profit, secular, non-political public charitable Trust dedicated to rural development through voluntary action.

AFFORD came into being in 1973, to meet the felt need of voluntary organisations engaged in rural development to undertake a promotional role, provide need-based training support, technical help in respect of programme planning, implementation, resource mobilisation, monitoring and evaluation; and undertake action-oriented research to stimulate, catalyse, promote and strengthen voluntary action and participatory rural development.

The main objects of AFFORD are as follows:

. Prepare, plan and implement area development programmes, particularly with a view to providing gainful employment to landless agricultural labourers, small and marginal farmers, rural artisans, and such other poorer sections of the community.

. Help farmers, artisans, labourers, educated youth, entrepreneurs, etc. in obtaining all such supplies and facilities as are required by them.

. Promote rural industries.

. Establish training centres; research, evaluation, education, planning and extension in various fields, including advancement of education, art, science and health.

. Provide consultancy services including expert advice and guidance;

. Prepare, print and/or publish books, periodicals, pamphlets, papers and other educative or publicity material, or have them prepared, printed and/or published.

. Strengthen existing development agencies and foster development of new agencies wherever necessary and possible.

. Act as a channel for inter-change of experience and ideas through seminars and conferences, group meetings and discussions, demonstrations and exhibitions.
In furtherance of its objectives, AFFORD has taken up the following activities:

1. **Strengthening Grass-root Agencies**

   AFFORD's experience has shown that a number of small grass-root agencies with sound ideas and good potentials, needing relatively small outlay, face stagnation and frustration due to paucity of funds. With a view to helping such agencies implement small programmes and thereby instill and strengthen self-confidence to enable them take up larger integrated development programmes in their areas, AFFORD has so far identified and supported 41 agencies in different parts of the country and provided necessary financial and other kinds of support.

2. **Training**

   With the increasing emphasis on micro/block level planning and multi-disciplinary approach to integrated rural development, AFFORD is ideally equipped to take up training of personnel for rural development work. In this regard was the launching of a 9-month course for training in Block/Micro Level Planning for functionaries/nominees of voluntary agencies. The emphasis in the training programme is on the practical field aspect of rural development.

   The trained persons have been absorbed by various voluntary agencies; it would equip them to plan and initiate integrated rural development programmes in their areas. Thus, AFFORD has been promoting decentralised planning and implementation of rural development programmes.

   AFFORD proposes to continue the training programme for block/micro level planning. Based on its experience and on the expressed demands of various voluntary agencies, short-term courses in project formulation and project management including monitoring and evaluation, are proposed to be added. Some of these project formulation courses would be for women exclusively.

3. **Specialised Services to Voluntary Agencies**

   AFFORD being committed to promote and strengthen voluntary action, also provides specialised services to needy voluntary agencies.

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**THE AG SPAK**

Kistlerstrasse 1
8000 München 90, FRG

The AG SPAK is a union of many groups working for positive changes in the different branches of sociopolitical problems: criminal politics, mental health and disabled rehabilitation, homeless people and community organization, alternatives to youth welfare and protection, alternative pedagogics and economy.
The problems all these initiatives have in common are their regional isolation and different theoretical and practical levels.

So the AG SPAK first has the duty to organize the exchange of all kinds of informations in relation to the specific needs of various action- and working-groups. Then there has to be guaranteed an exchange of the different experiences and methods or work on special training meetings. The third scope of duties is the production of theoretical readers or practical manuals according to the work of sociopolitical action- and working-groups.

Unlike the way of other organizations of this kind AG SPAK seriously tries to rely on the ability of its member-groups for self-determination of the association's program. Decisions are not delegated to the leading collective or the manager of the association's office. The concerned groups or persons are always invited to take part in the decisive procedure and it is practice to make unanimous decisions as often as possible.

Best the association may be compared with a network activating itself according to the specific situation.

Many members of the local groups are students. Thus the AG SPAK is involved in the main problem of higher education, the mutual transfer of theory and practice. After over ten years dialogue and experiences with action- and working-groups the association pleads for self-determined practical study projects not only to improve scientific learning, but even more important as a way to humanize the living together of various social classes.

LOVINS, PALAU CHIEF, CHILEAN SHARE 'ALTERNATIVE NOBEL PRIZE'

2, Cambridge Gate, Regents Park
London NW1 4JN, UK

Renewable energy pioneers Amory and Hunter Lovins, the traditional High Chief of the Pacific Palau Islands and a Chilean economist share the 1983 Right Livelihood Prize of 350,000 Swedish Kronor.

The annual prize was introduced four years ago by a Swedish-German, Jakob von Uexkull, who sold his valuable postage stamps to fund it. It was presented in Stockholm on 9 December, the day before the Nobel Prize ceremony, to "honour and support those working on practical solutions to the real problems facing us today".

The winners of this year's Award are:

- Amory and Hunter Lovins (USA) who have shown that energy conservation and the use of soft renewable and decentralised energy resources is not only ecologically desirable but also makes economic sense;
High Chief Ibedul of Palau (Belau), a small pacific nation under US Trusteeship, struggling to uphold their constitution declaring Palau nuclear-free despite massive US opposition;

Manfred Max-Neef, a "barefoot economist", working in Latin America to show that positive changes can be brought about at the local level with meagre resources and very little outside support.

A special Honorary Award was presented to Professor Leopold Kohr from Austria, whose writings on the effectiveness of small autonomous units in the solution of human problems inspired the "small is beautiful" movement.

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PEACE NEWS FOR NONVIOLENT REVOLUTION

What Peace News is about.

The nuclear arms race poses the greatest ever threat to our survival. But it is only an extreme part of the violence that is inherent in our society. Militarism, economic exploitation, sexism, racism and the devastation of the environment are fundamentally related.

We must work to remove the causes of violence that are rooted in the structure of our society. Peace News believes that to reach our vision of a nonviolent, co-operative society we must use nonviolent methods, and thus break the pattern of violence and oppression.

Peace News declares itself for nonviolent revolution, and concerns itself not only with struggles against oppression but also with the construction of nonviolent alternatives in all areas of our lives. It draws on a wide range of traditions - socialist, libertarian, "ecological", and the ideas and practice of feminism.

Peace News is produced by an independent collective who are responsible for content, type-settling, layout and office work. All tasks are shared. Part of PN's philosophy is to break down the barriers between producers and consumers: we welcome your news and your thoughts.

8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham 3, UK.
MATERIALS RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION

LOCAL SPACE

- Mark Mosio and Wenche Barth Eide, *Educating about food and nutrition problems and their solutions: towards a global reconsideration of scope and objective* (University 1, PO Box 1046, Oslo 3, Norway) 15pp.

NATIONAL SPACE


- Juan Carlos Bossio, *Les technologies avancées et leur enjeu pour les PSA* (Centre de Développement de l'OCDE, 94 rue Chardon Lagache, 75016 Paris, France) 32pp.

THIRD WORLD SPACE


GLOBAL SPACE

- C. Ford, *Wages, hours and working conditions in Asian free trade zones* (International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation, 8 rue Joseph Stevens, 1000 Brussels, Belgium) 19pp.

- Harlan Cleveland, *Mere might is least 'national security' factor* (Humbert Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, 909 Social Sciences, 267 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MA 55455, USA) 1p.
INNER SPACE


. Gerald G. Jampolisky, Teach only Love (New York: Bantam Books, 1983) 244pp. The techniques of attaining inner peace and serenity, even when confronted with catastrophic life situations are detailed in this book by the author, a psychiatrist who has received international recognition for his work in helping desperately ill children cope with their diseases. This new book is an extension of the principles and philosophies the author discusses in an earlier one, Love is Letting Go of Fear, which has 470,000 copies in Bantam print.

LOCAL SPACE


. IUED, Les nouvelles chaînes, techniques modernes de la télécommunication et le Tiers Monde: pièges et promesses, (Paris: PUF & Genève: IUED, 1983) 270pp. (24 rue Rotschild, 1211 Genève 21, Suisse). En plaçant ce cahier sous le titre des "nouvelles chaînes", l'équipe des Cahiers de l'IED n'a pas seulement voulu jouer sur les mots. Il s'agissait surtout de manifester à quel point le terme est lié à la culture contemporaine: encouragé par le systéme à faire un usage toujours plus grand de sa liberté de consommateur, l'homme moderne ne peut bientôt plus satisfaire ses désirs qu'en les abandonnant à des chaînes: chaînes de restaurants, chaînes de supermarchés, chaînes d'hôtels, chaînes de haute-fidélité... De ce point de vue, les chaînes de télévision ne constituent qu'un cas particulier, et la fortune du mot devrait nous inciter à méditer sur la misère à laquelle il pourrait bien nous condamner.

. The Vanishing Earth, a 30 minute video documentary in English shot amongst the colourful T'boli tribe of Southern Philippines. The theme is universal - can mankind survive if it continues to plunder the earth's resources beyond its capacity to renew itself. The tribes are mankind in closest harmony with its environment - if the T'boli culture is lost we lose another voice on behalf of a renewable world - few such voices remain. (Interim Media Productions, PO Box 177, Ozamiz City, Mindanao, Philippines).


Abuse of Women in the Media (Penang: Consumers Association of Penang, 1982) 85pp. (27, Kelawei Road, Penang, Malaysia).


Educação rural integrada - A experiência de pesquisa e planejamento participativo no Ceará (Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Paz e Terra, 1983) 238pp. (90, Rua Sao José, 18º andar Centro, Río de Janeiro, RJ).


Technologie et réalisations populaires à Madagascar (Antananarivo: Coopération Technique Suiss, 1983), 144pp. (Coopération Suisse, B.P. 4052, Antananarivo ou Etablissement d'enseignement supérieur polytechnique, B.P. 1200, Antananarivo, Madagascar).


Solar, viento, metano, (Barcelona: Ecotopia) 114pp. (32151 Apto Correos, Barcelona, Espana).
NATIONAL SPACE


Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, "El experimento monetarista en Chile: una síntesis unitaria", y

Alejandro Foxley, "Algunas condiciones para una democratización estable: el caso de Chile", Estudios CIEPLAN (N°9, Diciembre 1982) pp.5-40 y 139-170 (Casilla 16496, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile).

THIRD WORLD SPACE


Alejandro Foxley, Experimentos neoliberales en América Latina (Santiago: Estudios Cieplan 7, 1982) 166pp. (Casilla 16496, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile).

Armand Mattelart/Hector Schmucler, América Latina en la encrucijada telématica (Santiago: ILET, 1983) 131pp. (Casilla 16637, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile).


With the upsurge of public concern over the nuclear threat to Europe, the idea of nuclear weapon-free zones has captured the popular imagination and become a political issue. Not only would such zones build confidence and raise the nuclear threshold, but they might be first steps towards a more comprehensive elimination of nuclear weapons. Proposals for a Nordic nuclear weapon-free zone were explored in a symposium which Pugwash convened in Oslo in May 1983. This book contains revised versions of the papers submitted to that symposium, as well as specially commissioned papers. The work was co-ordinated at SIPRI. "Nuclear Disengagement in Europe" probes the question of nuclear weapon-free zones in the region. An international team of lawyers, scientists, politicians and military experts gives backgroung information and provides an appraisal of problems regarding the zone initiatives as well as benefits that would accrue. Possible elements in a European zone arrangement are elaborated on and procedures towards the establishment of such a zone are suggested.


pour le pays hôte. Nestlé, à l'instar des autres transnationales, est porteuse non seulement d’une technologie mais encore d’une vision du monde, de modèles de consommation, d’une logique propre de développement et de domination qui mettent en danger l’autonomie collective et la sécurité alimentaire des populations de ces pays du Tiers Monde.


PERIODICALS


Alternatives économiques (N°18, 15 sept-15 nov. 1983): Enquête sur une puissance méconnue: la Caisse des Dépôts (pp.7-9). (57 Bd. de la Motte, 21800 Quetigny, France).

. The Arab Alternative Futures Dossier (N°10, oct. 1983): "Non-Alignment and beyond" by Soedjatmoko (pp.15-18). (PO Box 43 Orman, Cairo, Egypt).


. CIS Report (N°33, Autumn 1983): "Banking on the city" (CIS, 9 Poland Street, London W1, UK).


. Development and Peace (Vol.4, N°1, Spring 1983):"Economic effects of global militarization" by Tomás Szentes (pp.5-34); "Representing the collective economic interest of the Third World: The Group of 77" by Karl P. Sauvant (pp.101); "Irish aid: performance and policies" by Helen O'Neill (pp. 130-147). (PO Box 149, 1389 Budapest, Hungary).


. Economie et humanisme (N°273, sept.-oct. 1983): Dossier: la mer, 1,37 milliard de kilomètres-cubes... et quelques enjeux (14 rue Antoine Dumont, 69372 Lyon Cedex 08, France).


. Gaceta Internacional (Vol.1, N°1, Julio-Septiembre 1983): Une nueva revista trimestral venezolana. Su proposito es servir de foro para el debate, el analysis y el estudio de los problemas politicos y econimicos internacionales. En el N°1, colaboraciones de Carlos Massad, Aldo Ferrer
y otros sobre el tema "America Latina: crisis económica y endeudamiento externo" (Apartado 62156, Caracas 1060-A, Venezuela).


- Multinational Monitor (Vol. 4, N°11, November 1983): "Merchants of firewater" by John Cavanagh and Frederick Clairmonte. Excerpts from the suppressed WHO study of the transnational alcohol producers reveal how the brewers are flooding the world with booze (pp.12-16). (PO Box 19405, Washington DC 20036, USA).


- Women's International Bulletin (N°28): "International women and new technology conference" (BP 50, 1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland).

- Women at Work (N°1, 1983): "The right to work: is it equal for women?" by Krishua Ahooja-Patel (ILO, 1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland).
TO OUR READERS

The IFDA Dossier mailing list is approaching 12,000 addresses all over the world. So as to make its management a bit easier, we have computerized it, which implies a number of simplifications and abbreviations. Please check carefully the label which appears on the envelope of this Dossier and write us immediately if any change is required. Please do so according to the model on page 95 and attach the label to be modified. This, incidentally, applies to all changes of address: our task is easier if we can work on the basis of the label to be modified. Thank you for your cooperation.

A NOS LECTEURS

Le fichier des destinataires du IFDA Dossier compte actuellement près de 12.000 adresses dans le monde entier. Afin d'alléger quelque peu sa gestion, nous utilisons désormais un ordinateur, ce qui a entraîné certaines simplifications et abréviations. Veuillez vérifier attentivement l'adresse qui figure sur l'enveloppe de ce Dossier et nous communiquer immédiatement toute rectification à lui apporter. Veillez le faire en suivant le modèle figurant page 95 et en nous retournant l'adresse à modifier. Cette recommandation, soit dit en passant, s'applique à tout changement d'adresse: notre tâche est facilitée si nous pouvons travailler sur la base de l'adresse à modifier. Merci de votre coopération.

A NUESTROS LECTORES

La lista de personas a quienes se envía por correo el IFDA Dossier actualmente tiene cerca de 12.000 direcciones de todo el mundo. A fin de facilitar su manejo, en lo sucesivo, utilizaremos un computador, lo que implica ciertas simplificaciones y abreviaciones. Sírvase verificar cuidadosamente la dirección que figura en el sobre de este Dossier y comuniquenos inmediatamente cualquier rectificación que sea necesaria hagalo según el modelo p.95 y devuélvanos la dirección que debemos modificar. Esta recomendación, dicho sea de paso, se refiere a todo cambio de dirección; se nos facilita la tarea si podemos trabajar en base a la dirección que debemos modificar. Gracias por su cooperacion.
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| 6. Country pays pais |

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- US$ 30.-

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- S.fr. 24.-
- US$ 15.-

Higher contributions will be appreciated. Please send cheque to: IFDA, 2 place du Marché, 1260 Nyon, Switzerland. Residents of Switzerland may use: CP 10-23549 FIPAD, Nyon.
OLAF PALME: J'AIME LES FACIISTES

- Que pensez-vous des mouvements pacifistes?
- Je les aime bien. Je trouve qu'ils incarnent l'un des rares sentiments absolument sains. Ces gens ont compris qu'une guerre atomique n'était pas quelque chose d'abstrait, mais au contraire de très concret, que tout sera détruit et que cela se passera en Europe. Voilà ce qu'ils ont découvert et voilà ce dont ils ne veulent pas. On dit que ce sont des extrémistes, mais ce n'est pas vrai, ce sont des prêtres, des jeunes, des femmes, des travailleurs. Il n'y a pas deux cent mille extrémistes aux Pays-Bas. N'oubliez pas qu'il y avait un million de manifestants à Central Park. Non, ce ne sont pas des extrémistes, mais des gens qui ont découvert que la guerre nucléaire enlèverait tout sens à leur métier, à leur vocation. Comme l'a dit Gunther Grass, s'il y a une guerre nucléaire, même la poésie, pas seulement les poètes, disparaîtra. Mais le mouvement pacifiste en arrive maintenant à sa deuxième étape, et c'est alors qu'on va savoir s'il se développera en une secte extrémiste fanatique, violente, ou s'il débouchera sur une discussion approfondie basée sur les faits. (Le Monde, 20 mai 1983)

WILLIAM COLBY: BACKING THE NUCLEAR FREEZE

(The former head of the CIA has joined the public debate on nuclear arms control on the side of the Catholic bishops and the nuclear freeze movement).

"I felt his way long before the bishop's letter came out and, in fact, I helped to some degree in explaining the issue to Catholic groups, I figure the priests can take care of the moral aspects and I'll talk about the practical aspects" (...) "It is clear to me that the arms race has us on the verge of another one of these terrible destabilizing steps that is moving us toward a hair-trigger world with all this talk of launch under attack. My God, we're talking about the fate of the world". (International Herald Tribune, 18 June 1983)

BENIGNO AQUINO: NO LIFE IS WORTH A LIE

After five years in jail, Benigno Aquino wrote to his sister, Lupita: "I even went on a 40-day hunger strike... There were times when my desperation was so deep. But I believe no life is worth a lie. Things are either right or wrong, and life is worth living only if one acted with some consistency. To submit, to yield and to surrender to the forces of oppression is to give ourselves to despair. But to act, to resist, no matter how puny the resistance, still preserves for us a hope that we stand erect". (International Herald Tribune, 23 August 1983)