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AVIS

LE PRIX JUSTINIAN F. RWEYEMAMU 1985


Afin de perpétuer son souvenir et d’encourager de jeunes Africains à suivre son exemple, les quatre institutions auxquelles il a été étroitement associé ont créé un "Fonds Justinian F. Rweyemamu" auquel un certain nombre de ses amis et collègues ont déjà fait des dons.

Le Prix sera financé par les intérêts du Fonds. Il sera attribué à un(e) étudiant(e) africain(e) avancé(e), dont le travail aura contribué d’une manière significative à l’élargissement des connaissances nécessaires au développement de l’Afrique, le développement étant compris dans un sens large, c’est-à-dire englobant ses dimensions culturelles, politiques, sociales, techniques, aussi bien qu’économiques. Le travail récompensé sera la fruit d’une recherche personnelle d’ordre théorique ou empirique (monographie, par exemple).

Le Prix permettra au lauréat de poursuivre sa recherche sur une base comparative dans une société africaine autre que la sienne. Les étudiants soumettant un travail doivent être désireux de visiter un autre pays africain et prêts à le faire.

(suite page 82)
Peace Movement in USA

by Elise Boulding
Sociology Department
Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH 03755, USA

Original language: English

Abstract: The US is experiencing an unprecedented level of peace movement activity in this decade, with unprecedented numbers of people involved. Some people hope this activity heralds the dawn of a new age in which serious disarmament policies will be pursued. The very loose groupings and coalitions involved are however very fragile, and they know little about each other. This paper will examine the diversity of these groupings and comment on their continuing viability as a peace movement for the future.

Le Mouvement pacifiste aux Etats-Unis

Résumé: Les Etats-Unis font actuellement l'expérience d'une activité sans précédent du mouvement pacifiste, avec un nombre sans précédent de participants. Certains espèrent que cette activité annonce l'aube d'une nouvelle époque, durant laquelle de sérieuses politiques de désarmement seront poursuivies. Les groupements vagues et les coalitions impliquées sont cependant très fragiles et se connaissent mal. Cet article examine la diversité de ces groupements et commente leur viabilité en tant que mouvement pacifiste.

El Movimiento pacifista en los Estados Unidos de N.A.

Resumen: En la década actual, en los Estados Unidos de N.A. el movimiento pacifista está alcanzando un nivel de actividad sin precedentes y cuenta con un enorme número de participantes. Algunos esperan que esta actividad anuncie el despertar de una nueva época en la que se desarrollen políticas serias sobre desarme. Los grupos individuales y las coaliciones involucradas son, sin embargo, extremadamente frágiles y existe poca comunicación entre ellos. Este documento examina la diversidad de estos grupos y comenta su viabilidad como movimiento pacifista para el futuro.

(This paper was originally read at the 10th General Conference of the International Peace Research Association, Györ, August 1983. It is reprinted here from the International Peace Research Newsletter, vol. XXI, N°3, 1983).
Historical Roots of the New Peace Movement

At the turn of the century, when the Hague Peace Conferences were stirring interest in international mediation as a substitute for war, the core of the US peace movement was a small educated elite of church leaders and civic activists. Their ranks swelled when the American Union Against Militarism and the Women's Peace Party gave hope for keeping the country out of World War I, but shrank to almost nothing during the war. At the close of World War I the war-weary joined new peace organizations that continue to give active leadership today: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters League. The peace movement barely survived the depression, however, and it was the issue of nuclear testing that brought it to life again in the early sixties.

The overriding organizational concern of the peace movement through these decades was to remove the causes of war and create the conditions for peace. The movement remained a small and relatively homogeneous one. Pacifism, in the sense of conscientious objection to the taking of life under any circumstances, was a respected position held by many, but not by all, of its members.

The anti-war movement of the Vietnam era brought about an abrupt change in the character of the peace movement. The core of oldtimers continued, but a whole new set of constituencies, political, professional, civic and religious, became active. They were not so much opposed to war as an institution as to particular wars being fought or planned. Their critique was couched in increasingly political terms. The latest growth spurt in the peace movement as we move to the 1980's involves an even wider range of constituencies, and an even narrower range of consensus. The use of nuclear weapons is opposed by the newcomers, but not other forms of military action. These diverse groupings are frequently lumped together under the label "pacifist", a term which applies to only a fraction of the total.

Nevertheless, this last wave of new constituencies has once again created an abrupt change in the character of the peace movement. At the symbolic level, the threat of nuclear war has stirred deep feeling about the meaning of human existence and the adequacy of political and economic arrangements in the modern world. While intellectuals discuss paradigm shifts, the empirical reality is that all kinds of local neighborhood groups are forming to think out for themselves what security and wellbeing mean, and what strategies might procure both. Because these discussions are not being
held in isolation, but are fed into hundreds of interconnecting communication networks, the public impact is of another order of magnitude than that of past peace movement peaks.

It is also true that the threat of nuclear war is orders of magnitude greater than previous military threats. While there are many disagreements about specific military strategies, the overwhelming concern of all groups is to halt the arms race, reduce military expenditures, stop the design of nuclear weapons and begin negotiated reduction of existing nuclear weapons. There is also a struggle to conceptualize alternate approaches to national security. Beyond that, there is enormous diversity among groupings within the peace movement.

This diversity represents both a threat and a promise for new political solutions. That movement will be examined under the following headings: civic and political organizations; churches, feminist perspectives, and science, the professions and the universities.

Civic and Political Organizations: The Freeze Campaign

One social movement of great importance which overshadows all other activity within the peace movement at the present time is the Campaign for a Nuclear Freeze. The genius of the freeze has been to take a minimalist position in terms of strategy. The goal is a bilateral US-Soviet freeze on the testing, production and deployment of all types of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, with interim restraints urged on the US Congress while the freeze is being negotiated. It is a tribute to the political skill of the freeze campaign leadership that a freeze resolution was not only democratically agreed to in a national meeting of delegates representing 47 states and 225 congressional districts in February 1983, but that it also passed, in somewhat modified form, in the House of Representatives in early May, over very strong presidential opposition 1/. Thousands of local communities have informal freeze groups; 56 county councils have passed freeze resolutions, as have 276 city councils, 11 state legislatures, and hundreds of national civic organizations.

In part it was the many hundreds of new local groups springing up independently around the country which helped make the freeze a political success 2/. Another important resource however was the communications infrastructure of the ten largest peace organizations, all cooperating for a common purpose. Table 1 lists those organizations by the era of founding and gives the current number of local branches of each. It is the joint impact of independent locals and more organized associational networks which has given the freeze campaign its unusual power.
Table 1
Number of Local Chapters of the 10 Largest National Peace Organizations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Founding Era</th>
<th>No of local Chapters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Womens International League for Peace &amp; Freedom</td>
<td>WWI</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellowship of Reconciliation</td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Friends Service Committee</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAR Resisters League</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANE</td>
<td>WWII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy and Laity Concerned</td>
<td>Vietman Era</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilization for Survival</td>
<td>&quot;New&quot;</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freeze Campaign</td>
<td></td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs with Peace</td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Against Nuclear Development</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data from unpublished draft of the Peace Directory of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies.

Whilst there has been some opposition to the freeze from within the older peace movement, mainly from longtime members who deplore the minimalist strategy, on the whole the campaign's success has won over most doubters. The plan is based on a concept of stages that will lead in time to substantial arms reduction and eventually to general disarmament.

One important contribution made by the freeze campaign to the US peace movement has been a conscious effort to link with the European peace movement. The US movement has been somewhat isolationist in its development from the Vietnam Era onwards, chiefly because so many of its newer activists have had little international experience. Recent joint meetings of representatives from the two sides of the Atlantic have reduced this isolation.

One significant offshoot of the freeze campaign is Nuclear Free America. This group urges political units at all levels from town and county to state and region to declare themselves nuclear free zones. Some towns have already done so.
The members call themselves the new abolitionists, using the old anti-slavery term for the abolition of nuclear weapons. There are many different freeze task forces, some of which will spin off as the nuclear abolitionists have done. They address economic impacts of industrial conversion to civilian production, verification technologies, outreach to business and labor, and the special concerns of minority groups. The newest effort is "Vote 1984", a political education program on nuclear war issues which will be carried out at the precinct (neighborhood) level within both political parties across the entire country. The intention is to have an aroused citizenry that will elect freeze supporters in the 1984 election.

Civil Defense and Ground Zero

The Civil defense awareness campaign and the freeze campaign have been separate but mutually reenforcing activities. In the spring of 1981 a citizen's anti-civil defense drive led the city of Cambridge, Massachusetts to reject state civil defense plans and to publish a booklet on the impossibility of defense from nuclear attack. Now over 100 communities in 32 states have formally rejected nuclear civil defense plans. One state legislature has done the same, with others likely to follow. The federal government's efforts to "hide" nuclear civil defense plans under the cover of general disaster preparedness (flood, fire, etc.) has been-notably unsuccessful so far. Once people glimpse what nuclear war might mean in their own town, the fear of nuclear holocaust becomes very personalized, and nuclear deterrence seems a less attractive national policy.

A similar emphasis is pursued by Ground Zero, a national educational program founded by a former National security Council staff specialist. Locally co-sponsored in each participating community by prestigious established civic associations, national Ground Zero Week dramatizes the danger of nuclear war locally through simulations. In 1983 over 1700 communities around the country participated in a simulation of the superpower conflict called "Firebreaks". A Ground Zero paring project, matching similar cities in the US and the USSR, further dramatizes and personalizes the US-Soviet confrontation.

Developing a sense of shared fate and common interests between citizens of the two superpowers through town pairing, team visits and family exchanges, is a theme adopted by a number of civic groups and churches.

Other Grass-Roots Action

Closely linked to a direct concern with nuclear war dangers is the concern for the tax dollars drained from social services and civilian production into military budgets. The Jobs with Peace campaign has attracted labor unions and minority populations unreached by the freeze activists. As
part of that campaign over 200 communities have designed "peace budgets" for their town, asking Congress for redirection of military budgets into civilian production and social expenditures.

A different type of grassroots action takes place at military production sites. Rocky Flats, Colorado, where nuclear warheads are produced; Bangor, Washington, where Trident submarines are made; northern Wisconsin and Upper Michigan, where the Navy builds transmitters for nuclear missile submarines (Project ELF). These and similar locations around the country have generated local action groups whose daily life rhythm involves holding vigils, passing out leaflets, engaging in dialogues with workers and staging varying dramatic protests which sometimes risk the lives of the protesters. Such actions do not shut down plants, but they do compel public dialogue about defense policies.

The weapons plant protesters are with a few notable exceptions ordinary middle class locals whose views of the world have changed as they have confronted the industries in their midst. Another group of "ordinary folk", not infrequently working class, refuse to pay taxes to support the military. This is not an easy refusal. Either one lives on an income below the taxable level, or one is subject to annual government distrainment. Yet there are now 239 publicly listed contact persons in 35 states who help other resisters. A newsletter and handbook is published by Conscience and Military Tax Campaign-US; in parallel, the World Peace Tax Fund group promotes legislation to allow war objectors to pay taxes for peaceful purposes instead.

Another set of voices comes from a different kind of grassroots group - soldiers exposed to nuclear testing since World War II, or to Agent Orange in Vietnam. Slowly, painfully, often ill and dying, or posthumously represented by their widows, these victims have been finding each other. There are now several newsletters and organizations, including Citizen Soldier and the National Association of Radiation Survivors, to call the government to account for its long denial of radiation effects from military operations. These survivors are not the elites and the intelligentsia. They are for the most part working class men and women who speak from their own life experience.

Each group named in this section has its own organization and its own networks, but each has also been helped by the longtimer organizations listed in Table 1. Decades of activist experience in disarmament issues are tapped in each organization - the experience of women and men who have worked in diverse settings, urban, rural, international; the experience of church activists, of political leaders. Not every peace movement longtimer works effectively in the new peace movement, but many do, and provide multiplier effects for new groups just starting out. This may involve a suspension of personal action priorities and preferred action
styles on the part of movement longtimers, a willingness to let new and younger voices define a more limited problem focus, and a readiness to be a resource instead of a leader. Intergenerational partnerships are an important part of the dynamics of the new peace movement.

One reason the older peace organizations are such an important resource to the new peace movement is that they have for decades been studying the interrelationship of militarism with economic stagnation, political regression and the oppression of ethnic and racial minority groups and women. Under the broad rubric of non-violent education for peace and justice these organizations have sought to develop the means for reeducation and resocialization of an entire set of generations, old and young alike. They work in depth, on longterm processes, in contrast to the new peace movement which tries to target specific political moments for strategic policy-changing action. The undiscourageability of the old peace groups is an important resource for the newcomers who tend to rely on quick and visible victories to feel successful.

One wing of the older peace movement does not support the new emphasis on strategic radical pacifist collectives dedicated to the total reconstruction of society such as the Peacemakers and the Movement for a New Society. They do not oppose the freeze, but have concluded it is not worth their time to work on such limited political goals.

In reviewing the diversity of civic and political peace movement groups, we see that different groups have different styles, different social interests and differently specified goals - some narrow and short-term, others broad and longterm.

The Churches

Churches have entered the peace movement in a totally unprecedented way. The first national peace sabbath/peace pentecost took place in 1979, with 1,000 local churches participating; by 1982, 10,000 local congregations participated in a week of bible study, prayer, political discussion and witnessing against the nuclear arms race. In 1983 over fifty national denominations planned together for a national Peace with Justice week culminating again in a peace sabbath/pentecost, with over 15,000 local congregations participating. Black churches, conservative southern fundamentalist churches, working class and upper class churches: catholic, protestant and Jewish, have all joined in opposing nuclear weapons. The historic peace churches have reorganized, forming a new association to oppose nuclear war: The New Call to Peacemaking. Longtimer religious peace organizations such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Friends Service Committee find themselves a minority - albeit an important one - in an entirely new religious movement.
Even the pastoral letter of US bishops to all catholics condemning nuclear weapons, in itself a striking new call to conscience, has to be seen in the context of a broader movement toward a political ministry for peace and justice now developing generally in US churches. Many denominations for the first time have special national programs for peace education; they may also maintain lobbyists in Washington to work for the freeze, arms control and reduced military expenditures. There is a 14,000 member interfaith legislative alert network serving 24 denominations which follows nuclear war-related issues in Congress. The regional infrastructures of the major denominations now include as a matter of course program and personnel for peace education and peace lobbying.

The seeds for this new development began in the Vietnam era with the formation of the interdenominational group Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC). It was greatly expanded as violence engulfed Central America where many denominations, especially Catholicism, have deep roots. The fear of nuclear holocaust was the final mobilizing factor. The translation of moral concerns into political positions on foreign policy was considered, illegitimate for churches a decade ago, but has now become the order of the day.

This movement is vulnerable, as the secular freeze movement is vulnerable, because it raises the expectation of quick political success. The churches do however have a basis for building a long-term program and may be able to ride out short-term failures. Furthermore, many people active within church anti-war programs are also helping to form community anti-war groups, thus bringing new energies to local peace action generally. The net effect of these new developments has been to bring churches closer to the local communities of which they are a part, and closer to each other as an ecumenical force within the community.

Feminist Voices

The oldest women's peace organization in the US, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, is also the strongest national peace organization today in terms of numbers of active local branches, as can be seen in Table 1. Formed at the Hague in 1915 by an earlier generation of feminists, it has consistently worked for systemic reform of institutional mechanisms at national and international levels for the maintenance of peace and the achievement of economic and social justice. WILPF has always sought equal participation of men and women in public decision-making, while other women's peace groups have varied in the degree to which they emphasized wife-and-mother roles or civic and work roles in their peace activism.

The new feminist critique of the 1970's takes a somewhat different stance. It ascribes the warlike habits of human societies to a history of patriarchal domination of women
by men - a domination which has served as a template for all other forms of domination and exploitation. Since the patriarchal pattern permeates all institutional forms from family to nation state, peace cannot be brought about by cooperation with groups located within existing social formations. This suggests withdrawal from the peace movement, both in its traditional and its newer forms, and a commitment to radical action outside that movement. The result has been an intense intellectual search by feminists for new theoretical formulations.

It is too early to judge the effect of this on the larger peace movement, but the intensity of the questioning has on the whole given the larger peace movement a seriousness, a depth and a dynamism that it might otherwise have lacked. Longtimer feminists and new feminists do not always see eye to eye. The longtimers are everywhere in the new peace movement, lending an experienced organizational hand. The new feminists raise awkward questions wherever they are, and hamper "efficiency" in the view of some impatient activists. They insist on focussing on the quality of human interaction at all times, opposing manipulative strategies no matter what the goal.

The peace research movement contains a third type of feminist, the scholar feminist who carries the same attentiveness to the individual into research on international conflict and arms races. The theories, models and data with which they work reflect this concern.

Without women the new peace movement would be nowhere. Today's movement rests on the solid foundation of three decades (well documented in opinion polls) of consistent stands by women against nuclear weapons and for reduced defense expenditures. The gender gap in policy preferences regarding national security is now such a well-identified phenomenon that both political parties have noted it. Women are also providing critical movement leadership at present. Randy Forsberg, founder of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, is the originator of the freeze campaign, and Pam Solo, a Sister of Loretto, is one of its chief strategists. The roster of dynamic and inventive women leaders is a long one.

Radical feminists are not on that list, for they would not want to be known as leaders. That works against their conception of non-patriarchal social progress. But their influence is felt. The presence of women with a great diversity of political views and action styles is one of the important facts about the new peace movement.

Science, the Professions and the Universities

While peace movement activism comes primarily from civic and church groups, the scientific, professional and campus groups mobilized by the new peace movement pursue activities
which may have far-reaching effects on political decision processes because of their special competencies. Table 2 lists the type of initiating interest group for 143 national peace organizations in the US, as indicated by their title or their purposes. Altogether, professional associations number 59 as contrasted with the 34 general civic organizations and the 27 religious associations.

Table 2
Initiating Interest Group for 143 National Peace Organizations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiating Interest Group</th>
<th>N°of Organizations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Civic</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and Scientific</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International relations</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural scientists</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social scientists</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication specialists</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business executives</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition organizations</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political activists (radical)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth volunteers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data from unpublished draft of the Peace Directory of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies

IPRA and its North American associate, COPRED, have long supported advocacy research on alternative security policy. They and the physicists associated with Pugwash and the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists are the longtimers in the protest against nuclear weaponry. International relation scholars belong partly to the older groups, partly are creating new groups for more active debate on nuclear issues. The production of technical material on arms control and the dangers of nuclear war for fellow professionals and college students (and sometimes simplified versions for community groups) has been a primary focus for most professional groups.
The Federation of American Scientists, the Union of Concerned Scientists, and, more recently, the Committee on Science, Arms Control and National Security of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and SCOPE, affiliated with the International Council of Scientific Unions, have published such materials.

In the social science domain, the Institute for World Order has long produced publications on alternative security policy. Among newer professional groups, the Physicians for Social Responsibility have been dramatically active with films, lectures and books for the general public. Educators and lawyers have also formed Social Responsibility associations and the powerful National Education Association now produces curriculum materials on the threat of nuclear war for the public schools.

At present every national professional association in the social sciences is producing either monographs or teaching materials at the university level, at a pace that makes it almost impossible to keep track of all the publications. Humanities journals are now also publishing special symposia on war and peace, and artist's groups for peace are spreading fast. Business men organizing on the basis both of economic and civic concerns are more low key.

Campus-based research, whether on the technologies of arms control or the behavioral aspects of conflict and peace processes remain limited, however. Of the 93 institutions of higher learning with programs in disarmament and peace studies listed in the IDDS Directory, only 16 support both research and teaching. Most of the programs are social science-oriented, but few teachers in these programs have research funding. This means that students are exposed to a variety of world order models and studies of conflict regulation processes, but with minimum opportunities for the development of research or practitioner skills in the peacemaking field. The political support of the peace movement for a US Academy of Peace is a recognition of the training lack.

Student initiatives, making use of the curriculum projects of national scientific associations, have produced a series of nuclear war conferences on college campuses across the country independently of local conflict and peace studies programs. There is a 150-campus nuclear interest network from these efforts.

The student peace movement is not strong, however. Rather, there is a student "fear of nuclear war" movement which leaves many students feeling helpless rather than empowered. This was dramatically underscored in the national Firebreaks simulation mentioned above. 80% of the college students participating chose the military option at the crisis point. The negative tone of student bodies has not been noticeably affected by the significant group of security.
professionals including former secretaries of state, former
Pentagon officials, former weapons researchers, retired
military commanders and former ambassadors to the Soviet
Union who turn up regularly on college campuses to
speak with force and eloquence on the need for nuclear
disarmament.

The Future?

We have identified a great diversity within and between dif-
ferent sectors of the peace movement in terms of time per-
spectives, degree of comprehensiveness of goals, social in-
terests and political strategies. Most, but not all groups
support the minimalist concept of a nuclear freeze. The
range of consensus is narrow.

In the absence of a compelling vision of what a more peace-
ful future world could be like, some sectors of the peace
movement may tire of efforts that have few visible immediate
effects. Furthermore, most participants know only their own
group and are but vaguely aware of the diversity of the
larger peace movement.

Two developments are needed to give staying power to the new
peace movement: (1) more horizontal communication between
groups so that the diversity of experience, perceptions and
skills of different sectors can build a more multidimension-
al sional awareness of the processes involved in working for
arms control and lend dynamism to weakening sectors;
(2) active visualization by all groups of the kind of social
order they would like for a future generation. The actual
future emerges from a process of human visioning, intending
and acting, as Polak 5/ told us at the close of World War
II. If the peace movement does not contribute to this vi-
sioning, it cannot help move the world toward disarmament.

1/ It is also a signal about the shakiness of the freeze coalition
that the same congressmen voted a few weeks later to approve production
of the MX missile, with the excuse that it was an arms control strategy.

2/ These locals included anti-nuclear, environmental and human rights
groups. The freeze campaign gave them common purpose.

3/ See, for example, Pam McAllister's Reweaving the Web of Life, New

4/ E. Boulding, "Perspectives of Women Researchers on Disarmament,
National Security and World Order" in Womens Studies International
Quarterly (Vol. 4, No. 1, 1981) which documents some of these research
interests, is based in part on responses of IPRA women scholars.

PEACE MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA

Abstract: Several initiatives for peace took place in 1983 and suggest a growing mobilization all over the continent. Following Luis Pérez Aguirre, an Uruguyan Jesuit, the author perceives, in the countries under a military regime, three supporting elements: (i) the power of weakness (reject the rules of the game established by the governmental power, or the David/Goliath dialectics); (ii) the preaching of truth and peace as a liberating force (the peace movement is more than a movement against war: it constitutes a social movement of emancipation); (iii) the use of 'available means' (take advantage of all unoccupied spaces which have remained uncontrolled, including the smallest, for instance the possibility for priests to speak). These movements contribute, beyond the phantasm of violence in the name of the oppressed, to enriching the forms of struggle against structural violence.

MOUVEMENTS POUR LA PAIX EN AMÉRIQUE LATINE

Résumé: Diverses initiatives pour la paix, survenues en 1983, suggèrent une mobilisation croissante à l'échelle du continent. Suivant le Jésuite uruguayen Luis Pérez Aguirre, l'auteur distingue à la base de ces mouvements, dans les pays à régime militaire, trois éléments qu'il illustre d'exemples récents: (i) le pouvoir de la faiblesse (refus des règles du jeu établies par le pouvoir gouvernemental ou la dialectique de David et Goliath); (ii) la prédication de la vérité et de la paix comme élément de libération (le mouvement pour la paix est plus qu'un mouvement contre la guerre, il constitue un mouvement social émancipateur); (iii) l'utilisation des 'moyens du bord' (tirer parti des espaces demeurés non contrôlés, même les plus petits, par exemple la parole des prêtres). Ces mouvements contribuent, au-delà des fantasmes de la violence au nom des opprimés, à l'enrichissement des formes de lutte contre la violence structurelle.
Jorge Osorio Vargas

LOS MOVIMIENTOS POR LA PAZ EN AMERICA LATINA

Diversas iniciativas por la paz y los derechos humanos han ido perfilando una creciente movilización continental en torno a los principales conflictos de América Latina. La persistente acción emprendida tanto por grupos religiosos como políticos, destinada a provocar una reacción social y moral frente a la violencia permite que hablemos en propie-
dad de la existencia de movimientos por la paz.

Este ecumenismo religioso, político, intelectual e intercon-
tinental se expresa en la actualidad a través de las accio-
nes solidarias con los pueblos oprimidos, en las campañas de derechos humanos y en la denuncia de la carrera armamentista y de la militarización de la sociedad.

Definición a través de gestos y acciones

En la voz de uno de sus principales actores, el sacerdote jesuita uruguayo Luís Pérez Aguirre, los movimientos latino-
americanos por la paz surgidos bajo regímenes militares están sostenidos principalmente sobre tres elementos 1/:

1) El uso del "poder de la debilidad":

"Establecemos, a partir de nuestra experiencia anterior, cambiar las condiciones de juego que normalmente se pretenden imponer a quién quiera tallar en el campo de la defensa de las libertades y de la dignidad de la persona. Buscamos, con un poco de imaginación, crear otras condi-
ciones y dar respuestas a las situaciones que no estaban condicionadas por el adversario. De esa manera, el mismo adversario, el sistema, quedaba al descubierto en sus métodos, en sus sistemas de represión, etc. El asunto era negarse a entrar en ese juego totalmente controlado por el régimen. Nuestro propósito nunca consistió en ganar el juego impuesto, sino abolirlo. Fue así que nos vimos frente al desarrollo de una paradoja. Comenzamos a descubrir el poder de la debilidad y la pequeñez ante el acorazado y desmesurado poder del adversario. La misma pequeñez y soledad en que muchas veces accionábamos, nos hacía más invulnerables ante el único tipo de poder que el adversario disponía para oponer. Es algo así como aquella experiencia bíblica de lo acaecido entre el gigante Goliat y el joven David, infinitamente más débil y desarmado en ciertos aspectos, pero con una capacidad operativa imposi-
tible de neutralizar con el pertrechamiento de Goliat".

Esta misma metodología la vemos desarrollarse en grupos de diversos países latinoamericanos, como una forma activa de oposición a las injusticias, buscando modalidades alterna-
tivas de convivencia humana. Son grupos pequeños aún, pero que manifiestan en su testimonio una gran fortaleza moral. Un ejemplo de estas nuevas formas de acción no-violenta fue la "Vigilia de Acción por la Paz en Nicaragua", realizada entre los días 3 al 8 de julio de 1983. 157 ciudadanos de
Estados Unidos y Puerto Rico se reunieron con el pueblo de Jalapa (Nicaragua) para montar una vigilia por la paz, en las proximidades de la frontera con Honduras: "Cuando juntamos nuestras manos en Jalapa y nos extendimos por las fincas, en un gesto de paz y esperanza, hicimos un compromiso de regresar a nuestros hogares y trabajar con renovada dedicación para poner fin a todas las formas de agresión estadounidense contra Nicaragua". Luego de la Vigilia, los participantes acordaron promover una "Acción Nacional por la Paz en Centroamérica" para el 15 de septiembre, fecha de la Independencia de El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras y Costa Rica.

La Fundación Latinoamericana por los Derechos Humanos y el Desarrollo Social de Venezuela (FUNDALATIN), presidida por el sacerdote Juan Vives Suriá, promovió esta campaña en los países latinoamericanos invitando a organizar jornadas de "ayuno y vigilia por la paz con justicia". En su comunicado internacional, Fundalatin precisaba que el objetivo de esta acción era sensibilizar a los pueblos frente al hecho bélico centroamericano, buscando "sacudir" las conciencias y la opinión pública mundial a través de un compromiso colectivo "que debe ser notorio por su fuerza moral". Se sugería finalmente "hacer mucho énfasis en el carácter moral y ecuménico del ayuno y vigilia. Ayuno como compromiso personal que reforza la participación. Vigilia como compromiso comunitario". Entre otros, debían emplearse los siguientes símbolos: fuego (luz y esperanza contra las tinieblas); pan y frutos (por el trabajo y la vida); libros (por la educación y cultura del pueblo); ceniza (por la destrucción de la guerra); tierra (por las invasiones, los migrantes y refugiados); cadenas (por los hombres libres encadenados); flores rojas (por los mártires y torturados); flores blancas (por los desaparecidos).

b) La predicación de la Verdad y de la Paz como elemento libertario:

"Sabiendo que un elemento básico de la doctrina de la Seguridad Nacional es el control de la información, en el supuesto -verdadero- de que la información es un poder y que no puede estar en manos del enemigo, decidimos entregarnos al "ejercicio de la verdad" como supremo acto libertador. En el contexto de la Seguridad Nacional el nuevo anuncio de la palabra verdadera tiene su propia eficacia. No es sólo anunciar sobre verdades, sino que el mismo ejercicio es verdad, y por ello también es eficaz para que se haga realidad lo que en esa palabra se anuncia".

Restaurar las condiciones de justicia y paz a través de la denuncia y la predicación de la verdad de los hechos ha sido una tarea ecuménica en que se encuentran personas de diversas ideologías y compromisos políticos. El objetivo central es defender la dignidad de la persona humana, como criterio básico de la política y de la convivencia humana.

En esta común experiencia sobresalen los vínculos, cada vez más estrechos, de organizaciones de derechos humanos y de no-violencia de Europa, Estados Unidos y América Latina. La "lucha por la paz" adquiere una dimensión de responsabilidad
planetaria. Muchos movimientos y campañas realizadas en países dominados por regímenes militares sufren la falta de apoyo nacional y una casi total incapacidad para acceder a los medios oficiales de comunicación, lo que hace imperioso crear medios alternativos y lograr el respaldo internacional.

En este sentido destaca, entre varias iniciativas, la visita que hiciera una delegación compuesta por representantes de movimientos de paz europeos y norteamericanos (en el grupo también participó un chileno exiliado, residente en Holanda) a Nicaragua, bajo la Organización del Comité Intereclesial de la Paz de Holanda-IKV. Esta acción ecuménica "para anunciar la verdad de los hechos", tal como la hacía Monseñor Oscar Romero en El Salvador, es fuente de un verdadero "programa" universal de justicia y paz que se va desplegando en gestos y en acciones concretas: "Queremos que se respete el derecho a la vida y el derecho a elegir su propio camino al pueblo de Chile pero que se respete también en Holanda, y en vez de producir y vender armas para favorecer el armamentismo y la militarización se apoyen proyectos de desarrollo al servicio de todo el país especialmente de los más pobres...

El movimiento de la paz es algo más que un movimiento contra la guerra. Es un movimiento social por la emancipación que busca empalmarse con otros países y regiones que están dispuestos a iniciar un curso independiente y a tener una estrategia propia de paz y desarrollo, contra cualquier amenaza de intromisión externa. Debe producirse más contacto e intercambio entre los movimientos sociales. Un contacto a través del cual podamos aprender recíprocamente lo que significa exactamente la paz, es decir, desarme, justicia social, autodeterminación y derechos humanos, y cómo estos conceptos se necesitan y fortalecen entre sí". (Declaraciones de Jan Faber, Secretario Ejecutivo de IKV, julio 1983).

Bajo la misma inspiración, el 15 de junio de 1983, el Consejo Mundial de Iglesias (CMI) envió un comunicado a sus miembros, a los consejos asociados y a los grupos cristianos que trabajan por la paz y la justicia anunciando para el 5 de agosto una reunión de los participantes en la Asamblea Mundial del CMI en Vancouver para celebrar un acto público de carácter simbólico: una marcha hasta la tienda de culto de la Asamblea, se iba a celebrar un servicio religioso y, a continuación, una vigilia durante la noche.

El 6 de agosto, por la mañana, fiesta de la Transfiguración y aniversario del bombardeo de Hiroshima se efectuó una celebración eucarística, según la liturgia de la Iglesia Ortodoxa Bizantina. Uno de los textos de la liturgia decía: "Afirmamos que nuestra seguridad no reside en las armas, deseamos un orden económico justo en el que todos tengan acceso a la abundancia de la tierra; queremos establecer unas relaciones basadas en la justicia, que emana de la solidaridad de toda la familia humana. Afirmamos la justicia para todos. Elegimos la lucha, no la indiferencia. Queremos
preservar la tierra y amar a nuestros semejantes, no explotarlos. Queremos ser ciudadanos, no súbditos. Preferimos construir la paz a tener que defenderla".

El mismo 6 de agosto otro grupo de activistas de la no-violencia iniciaron, en San Francisco, un "Ayuno por la Vida". A esta campaña han adherido numerosas personalidades y grupos internacionales, entre ellos el Patriarcado de Moscú, la War Resisters League de Estados Unidos, el Obispo católico de Detroit Thomas Gumbleton y el Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez de Chile. En su manifiesto los ayunantes expresaban que "al ayunar, nos identificamos con los millones que sufren hambre mientras dura la carrera armamentista; compartimos su dolor y así podemos abrir las puertas a nuestros mismos corazones y a los corazones de nuestros hermanos" 2/. Si pensamos también en los diversos ayunos y vigilias que se han realizado en Chile durante este año debemos concluir que la "geopolítica de la paz" también es efectiva y espera activamente su oportunidad 3/.

c) El aprovechamiento de los "medios al alcance":

"Ante el control tan sofisticado y perfecto por parte del régimen de toda la población, con sus instituciones y organizaciones políticas, procuramos sacar el mejor partido de los pequeños espacios que todavía permanecían más o menos incontrolados, más allá de la situación de desmovilización total del país":

La política de utilizar las fuerzas y recursos propios, por humildes e insignificantes que fuesen, es una táctica antigua de la no-violencia. En América Latina, esto ha significado, entre otros aspectos, potenciar la palabra profética de Obispos, pastores y personalidades políticas, usar la presión social ejercida por las comunidades populares organizadas y crear comisiones nacionales y comités de base para defender los derechos humanos, a través de la doctrina de la Carta Universal de las Naciones Unidas.

Un ejemplo de cómo se combinan estas dimensiones de la movilización pacífica ha sido el "diálogo Continental por la Paz en Centroamérica" que reunió en Washington (23-25 de junio) a representantes de diferentes Iglesias que trabajan por los derechos humanos y de organizaciones humanitarias de inspiración cristiana. De Chile participaron un representante del Servicio Paz y Justicia y el Obispo Jorge Hourton. Como resultado de esta reunión se acordó un "plan de acción ética" para detener la guerra en Centroamérica. Una de sus primeras acciones fue constituir una Comisión integrada por el Obispo Tomás Balduino de Brasil; el doctor Ramón Custodio Lopez, presidente de la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de Honduras; Armando Lopez, s.j. de la Universidad Centroamericana de Managua y Juan Vives Suriá, presidente de Fundalatin, que rindieron testimonio ante la Comisión de Derechos Humanos del Congreso de Estados Unidos, sobre la situación de injusticia como causa antecedente del conflicto en la región, los riesgos de una intervención militar directa y la esperanza
de los pueblos latinoamericanos en las reservas democráticas de las instituciones norteamericanas. Por otra parte, Mons. Hourton, por encargo de la asamblea, se dirigió en el mismo sentido al arzobispo Hickey de Washington apoyando sus gestiones de paz 4/.

VISION GLOBAL DE LOS MOVIMIENTOS POR LA PAZ Y LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS EN AMERICA LATINA

La existencia y desarrollo de estos movimientos hablan de la irrupción de nuevos sujetos de liberación 5/. Los pueblos se han enriquecido en diversas expresiones y las organizaciones de base han adquirido una capacidad de iniciativa históricopolítica que ha transformado paulatinamente el cuadro tradi
cional de las "luchas de liberación". En este sentido se inscriben las comunidades cristianas de base, los movimientos populares de derechos humanos, los grupos de educación popular, los comités de favelas en Brasil, los comités por las amnistías, las agrupaciones de familiares de detenidos
desaparecidos, los movimientos de mujeres, los talleres de no-violencia, y otros. Es importante destacar las características de los métodos de "acción socio-política" practicados por estos movimientos, "la tragedia humana que ha trastorna
do decenas de millones de familias argentinas arrebatando indiscriminadamente jóvenes, mujeres e incluso niños a causa de una de las represiones más feroces de América Latina, ha empujado a las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo a buscar formas de lucha no practicadas hasta ahora" 5/.

Del mismo modo la industrialización paulista ha contribuido a formar en los años setenta una clase obrera que ha descubierto en la huelga no-violenta un arma de uso eficaz, lo que ha quedado demostrado en las huelgas históricas de Perus y San Bernardo y en la acción del Frente Nacional del Trabajo, organización obrera de no-violencia activa. Los movimientos por la paz y los d.d.h.h. son grandes protagonistas en la actual coyuntura democratizadora que viven algunos países del cono-sur latinoamericano. Para ellos, la democra
cia es percibida como el medio de convivencia más adecuado para la creación de un verdadero protectorado social de los derechos humanos y para la re-dignificación de los pueblos, siendo difícil concebir un proceso democratizador sin asumir el desafío de extender en las relaciones socio-políticas un marcado sentimiento de rechazo a la violencia como forma de resolver los conflictos nacionales e internacionales.

Por lo mismo, es importante la "educación para la paz", en orden a buscar un despliegue verdadero de los valores y de las instituciones que permitan la instauración de una sociedad solidaria y participativa. Tal acción educativa debe ser el soporte para toda acción liberadora desarrollan
do una dinámica relativamente autónoma, capaz de suscitar
procesos subjetivos y culturales de proyección hacia las transformaciones sociales de tipo estructural. Debe contribuir a la búsqueda humana y política del respeto de los derechos humanos como fuente inspiradora de la construcción del "futuro", disipando el fantasma permanente de la violencia y del armamentismo tan confirmado en los hechos y alentado por la propaganda belicista. No es ajena a esta dinámica renovadora de la acción por la paz, la búsqueda y el ejercicio de nuevos modos para resolver los conflictos por métodos pacíficos y el despliegue de formas alternativas de defensa nacional, que respetan la "objeción de conciencia" y respalden el "servicio civil" a la patria.

La experiencia de estos últimos años demuestra que estos movimientos por la paz y por los derechos humanos han desarrollado a través del "poder de la debilidad" y del uso de los "medios al alcance" una verdadera fuerza moral y política que consiste en "contestar" (denuncia, acción y resistencia no-violenta) cualquier práctica atentatoria a la dignidad de las personas y de los pueblos venga de los Estados o de otros grupos. Este "método" se ha mostrado igualmente capaz para reunir a personas de diferentes religiones, iglesias e ideologías, en torno a una "utopía de lo ecuménico" (Roger Garaudy) fundada en el rechazo de toda discriminación y la aspiración de construir una sociedad solidaria y democrática.

1/ Luis Pérez Aguirre, s.j. El Servicio Paz y Justicia en Uruguay, mimeo, junio, 1983.

2/ Informaciones sobre esta campaña pueden solicitarse a "Ayuno por la Vida", 942 Market Str., 710 San Francisco, CA 94102, USA.

3/ La Geopolítica ecuménica de la paz está en permanente conflicto con la "seguridad nacional". Como ejemplo de esta situación podemos señalar el reciente decreto del gobierno uruguayo que prohibió el funcionamiento del Servicio Paz y Justicia en Uruguay. En uno de sus varios "considerando" el decreto dice: "Considerando que... que la mezcla de actividades religiosas y típicamente políticas, en un mismo grupo de personas, genera confusión, crea tensiones innecesarias, favorece coacciones psicológicas y posibilita el aprovechamiento de la autoridad de las instituciones religiosas, por parte de grupos o fracciones políticas". Por tanto se resuelve: "Prohibir, bajo el régimen de medidas prontas de seguridad, las actividades del grupo de personas identificadas con el título de "Servicio Paz y Justicia" (Serpaj).

4/ El "Diálogo Continental por la Paz en Centro América" fue convocado por Fundalatin, Office of Justice and Peace (Maryknoll), The Human Rights Office (National Council of Churches, USA) y Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA).

Los hechos políticos, económicos y sociales han alcanzado en nuestro país tal densidad que es fácil perder las perspectivas. A un hecho grave sucede otro igualmente importante que tiende a borrar la impresión del anterior. Y así la comprensión de los problemas permanentes de la Argentina se somete al torbellino de las revisiones diarias y se termina sin siquiera recordar los sucesos que conmocionaron la opinión pocas semanas atrás.

*EL BIMESTRE político y económico* recoge las noticias publicadas por todos los diarios de Buenos Aires, agrupadas por tema, con un lenguaje distinto, en un trabajo sistematizado. Los acontecimientos aparecen ordenados cronológicamente, brindando una herramienta de trabajo a investigadores, sociólogos, economistas, políticos, docentes, sindicalistas, periodistas, y a todos los que desean saber qué, cómo, dónde y cuándo pasó lo que importa hoy y mañana.

**EL BIMESTRE ES LA MEMORIA DE LA OPINION PUBLICA**

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Du 24 au 26 janvier dernier, s'est tenu à Dakar, Sénégal, un séminaire du Conseil des organisations non gouvernementales d'aide au développement (CONGAD), qui a groupé des participants venus de plusieurs pays de l'Afrique occidentale.

La FIPAD a apporté sa contribution aux discussions par la présence de Mme Vibhuti Patel, de l'Association Lokayan, Inde, d'Hector Bejar, du Centro de Estudios para el desarrolllo y la participation (CEDEP) Pérou, et du Président de la Fondation.

Le séminaire a discuté l'expérience de l'animation rurale depuis les indépendances et surtout des perspectives et, dans ce contexte, du rôle des associations de base - le tiers système. Nous reproduisons ci-après un des textes soumis à la discussion, qui reflète l'approche et l'expérience du groupe Six S en Haute Volta.
Bernard Lédéa Ouedraogo

DEVELOPPER SANS ABIMER

L'association SIX S, illustrée par le groupement Naam en Haute Volta (Se Servir de la Saison Sèche en Savane et au Sahel) est un organisme d'appui.

Son principe philosophique "Développer sans abîmer" s'inspire du milieu, et sa méthode d'action des aspirations des bénéficiaires.

En effet, l'analyse des systèmes de développement rural, depuis l'Indépendance, permet d'exhumer des incohérences dans la conception même des stratégies et méthodes appliquées.

On n'a pas toujours tenu compte, dans la conception des nouveaux systèmes du développement rural, du modèle socio-économique actuel qui comporte deux systèmes distincts: le modèle "traditionnel" qui fonctionnait en vue de satisfaire tout juste les besoins biologiques, sociaux et religieux, et le modèle de l'économie marchande. Ces deux modèles, au lieu de former un hybride ayant les qualités de l'un et celles de l'autre, se juxtaposent et s'opposent.

Dans de nombreux villages, les techniques innovatrices exogènes sont rejetées, la production ne constituant pas l'objet essentiel des préoccupations du milieu paysan. Les stratégies du développement varient en Afrique selon les caractéristiques physiques et culturelles des régions concernées. L'essentiel est de pouvoir, dans une première étape, rendre les hommes responsables de leurs propres problèmes.

Pour promouvoir un développement intérieur en vue d'un changement d'attitude, il faut parvenir, au niveau de la collectivité concernée, à une communion de pensée et d'action.

Pour ce faire, deux facteurs sont indispensables pour une action efficace:

- la connaissance du milieu en deux séquences: la société traditionnelle et la société d'aujourd'hui;
- la formation conséquente des leaders et des bénéficiaires des projets.

Les pages qui suivent tentent de décrire des indications pour l'étude du milieu, appuyée par un exemple, le Naam, que SIX S appuie.
I - CONNAISSANCE DU MILIEU

Pour agir efficacement sur l'individu, il faut connaître le milieu dans lequel il vit: ses valeurs, sa mentalité, son organisation sociale, les différents pouvoirs qui le régissent et ses tendances économiques. Des enquêtes socio-économiques s'imposeront donc avant toute action de développement communautaire. Vouloir aller trop vite serait réaliser un saut dans l'inconnu.

Les imbrications entre les valeurs idéologiques, morales et religieuses sont si liées et si complexes qu'il est difficile de les séparer en rubriques distinctes. La philosophie du paysan consiste à organiser le monde visible et non visible en un réseau de forces correspondant à une répartition des tâches en fonction des "compétences". Il ne cherche pas à soumettre la nature. Il essaie de s'y intégrer pour l'utiliser harmonieusement. Il vit en étroite communion avec elle. C'est ainsi qu'il sollicite des dieux et des divinités, à des époques déterminées et par des rites appropriés, des femmes prolifiques, la bonne santé, de bonnes récoltes, la sécurité et le bonheur.

Les systèmes éducatifs renforcent l'autorité des anciens. Le Chef du clan, entouré du Conseil des anciens, détient le plus souvent le pouvoir politique, religieux, législatif et judiciaire. À ce titre, il incarne tout seul l'autorité rationnelle, l'autorité charismatique et l'autorité traditionnelle. Tous les problèmes ont des interférences avec les relations qu'on tisse avec Dieu, les ancêtres et les divinités.

Les minorités privilégiées, les majorités psychologiques et les minorités discriminées forment les principales catégories sociales de la masse paysanne.

Les différents pouvoirs sont détenus par les anciens du groupe. Les pouvoirs politique, législatif et judiciaire sont assumés par le collège des anciens que préside le Chef du clan. Ce dernier accomplit des rites et reçoit les serments en forme d'ordalies (le serment du mil, par exemple, "si ce que je dis n'est pas vrai, que le mil que je mange me tue") avant d'exercer ses fonctions. Le pouvoir de la presse est détenu par les griots et les troubadours.

Dans la société traditionnelle, le statut des biens économiques n'apparaît pratiquement pas. Il fallait satisfaire les besoins biologiques, sociaux et religieux. "On acquiert les biens en vue de chasser la honte". Les principaux facteurs de production n'ont pas de valeur marchande. La répartition des tâches est en fonction du sexe, de l'âge, du statut social et des besoins. C'est ce qui a fait avancer le terme de "communisme primitif" par opposition au communisme moderne qualifié de scientifique. Cela permet d'organiser un certain contrôle sur les riches, sur ceux qui ont une prédéminence religieuse, politique, morale et sociale. Ainsi les structu-
res du groupe sont organisées pour éviter les comportements économiques individuels excessifs. L'épargne se faisait en investissements animaux, dans la thésaurisation des cauris, du sel et dans le stockage des produits vivriers. Les échanges de biens portaient sur des denrées vivrières, des objets artisanaux et des biens de prestige.

Le capital des techniques possédées par le paysan peut s'analyser selon les événements constitutifs essentiels suivants: la pêche, la chasse, l'agriculture, l'élevage, les techniques artisanales, etc. L'intervention des valeurs importées, en particulier celles de l'école et des religions étrangères dans la société traditionnelle, a créé de nouveaux groupes sociaux. Ils forment de nouvelles classes sociales encore mal structurées. Ces groupes gardent, sociologiquement parlant, des rapports étroits avec le monde paysan dans lequel ils répandent, à un moindre degré, les habitudes du modèle importé.

Tendances actuelles

Nombre de nos valeurs sont de plus en plus mises en question. L'animisme est minimisé, et avec lui ses divinités. Mais les religions auxquelles on adhère parfois avec calcul semblent pratiquées avec foi. Le principe de la famille nombreuse est remis visiblement en cause et l'autorité traditionnelle contestée. La solidarité, l'honneur, l'amitié, la recherche de la vérité, les relations parentales et l'hospitalité sont agressées et sont de moins en moins solides. On constate la naissance et le développement de l'individualisme au détriment de l'esprit communautaire.

L'émancipation du jeune et de la femme, la violence de la technologie importée sur nos techniques, le développement des cultures de rente, du commerce, des transports, des moyens de communication, des techniques éducatives, la naissance de la valeur économique et de nouveaux besoins, forgent et modèlent une nouvelle société. Les méthodes réfléchives et l'initiative privée mettent en doute l'efficacité du fatalisme. Il s'agit désormais de substituer à l'organisation traditionnelle, qui avait pour objectifs et pour limites la vie et la sauvegarde du clan, une organisation qui dégage des excédents de ressources en vue du développement; de substituer à la discipline collective qui exigait de chacun une tâche anonyme et impersonnelle, le sens de l'effort individuel, le goût de l'initiative, la recherche du profit, le refus de se soumettre à des règles restrictives et à des limitations.

La prudence impose de proposer des méthodes à la mesure de l'homme concerné, de trouver des compromis, entre les habitudes anciennes et les nécessités modernes, d'agir avec persévérance, de convaincre et ne jamais imposer.

Nous voici donc en face d'une société déculturée, prise dans un processus d'acculturation diffuse. L'orientation de son
développement pose des problèmes aux chercheurs. Si nous suivons la voie tracée par Albert Meister, selon laquelle il faudrait "attaquer les structures traditionnelles de l'extérieur, et en force, afin de briser l'architecture le plus vite possible pour aboutir à la situation de table rase et trouver donc le terrain déblayé pour construire du neuf", nous ne sommes pas sur la bonne voie. Si, au contraire, nous partons des valeurs et des structures des populations concernées en vue d'un développement harmonieux, thèse défendue par Colin 1/, nous devons au plus vite réorienter nos recherches en vue de proposer des projets et des méthodes en fonction de ce que "le paysan est, de ce qu'il sait, de ce qu'il vit, de ce qu'il veut" afin de créer une endo-mobilisation, une dynamique sociale à l'intérieur des groupes concernés.

En application de ce principe, nous avons inventé au Yatenga une association précooperative, construite par et pour les intéressés à partir d'une association traditionnelle de jeunes, dont les qualités n'envient en rien celles d'une coopérative moderne: égalité entre les membres, démocratie, répartition des tâches en fonction des compétences de chacun, équité dans les partages, sécurité du groupe, exercice collectif des responsabilités, self-control, etc.

C'est le thème que nous essaierons d'exposer dans cette étude de cas.

II - LE GROUPEMENT NAAM

Dans le souci d'enraciner le groupement paysan dans le milieu, nous avons choisi une association traditionnelle de travail communautaire et à forme coopérative qui servira de structure d'appui, le Naam 2/. Car si la destruction progressive et créatrice des structures traditionnelles en vue du développement est critiquable, leur destruction systématique comporte plus d'inconvénients que d'avantages. Le Naam, association traditionnelle, résume les conditions exigées par les principes directeurs de notre action: "Développer sans abîmer, à partir de ce que le paysan est, de ce qu'il vit, de ce qu'il sait et de ce qu'il veut".

Pour mieux cerner les raisons qui ont présidé aux choix de cette association, essayons de l'étudier.

Le Naam. Les jeunes du même village ou d'un groupe de quartiers (20 à 25 ans pour les garçons, 15 à 20 ans pour les filles) se mettent d'accord pour organiser le Naam, en général pendant la saison des pluies.

Fonctions et titres des dignitaires du Naam

Le Kombi-Naaba (Kombis = jeunes) est le Chef des jeunes. C'est le responsable suprême du Naam. Au Yatenga, il est également désigné sous le nom de Mogho-Naaba, ce qui l'identifie au Mogho-Naaba, Empereur des
Mossis. Des discussions préalables situent la personnalité à proposer aux élections. Elle est choisie en général pour ses qualités humaines: honnêteté, intelligence, patience, générosité, abnégation, esprit de tolérance, etc. La vie et les activités du Naam déterminent ses fonctions. Il organise les réunions, les séances de culture, les fêtes, veille à la bonne entente entre les Nakomsés. De nombreux dignitaires le secondent dans ses activités. Ce sont:

Le Togo-Naaba, ou porte-parole du Kombi-Naaba, chargé de transmettre les ordres de ce dernier aux Nabisi. Il est aussi le directeur technique des séances de culture. Au champ, c'est lui qui indique à ses camarades par où il faut se diriger. Il cultive à l'une des ailes de l'équipe, délimitant ainsi l'aile géographique sur laquelle il faut évoluer. Cette orientation se fait selon la position du soleil. Les travailleurs cultivent le dos tourné à l'astre pour éviter les réverbérations. Le Togo-Naaba est aidé dans ses fonctions par le Ganganaaba, son messager. Le Ganganaaba (Gangan'hogo = tam-tam) est le chef tambourinaire, le "Yuma".

Le Soré-Naaba (Soré = chemin ou route) est le chef du chemin, l'escadron de reconnaissance et guide routier ou, plus précisément, le responsable de la marche, du voyage, dont il détient le secret. Il précède le groupe des Nakomsés en déplacement pour se rendre au travail ou à la fête. Chemin faisant, il peut immobiliser le groupe au soleil, y compris tous les autres responsables, uniquement pour s'en amuser, pour marquer la signification de sa fonction. On n'a pas le droit de lui désobéir. Aussi, on ne le fait jamais. Il faut le supplier par le canal du Ben'Naaba, ou lui faire un cadeau (une noix de cola par exemple) pour être autorisé à continuer la route.

Le Tilb-Naaba (Tilb = laisser, tolérer, ici pardonner) détient le pouvoir incontesté du pardon. Les jeunes gens ou jeunes filles membres du Naam, pris en infraction, jugés et condamnés par un jury présidé par le Kombi-Naaba, peuvent être graciés par le Tilb-Naaba si l'infraction est jugée erreur ou peccadille. C'est l'avocat-défenseur.

Le Bassi-Naaba (Bassé = laisser, ici l'expression prend le sens d'abandonner, expulser, expatrier, sortir de). Les fonctions du Bassi-Naaba sont à l'opposé de celles du Tilb-Naaba. Ce dignitaire entérine et sacre la décision de condamnation des délinquants par le tribunal coutumier.

Le San-hamba-Naaba est le responsable des étrangers. Ce dignitaire est chargé de protéger les filles contre les ravisseurs. Les San-hamba viennent généralement des villages voisins. Pendant toute la durée du Naam, 4 à 5 mois environ, ils sont privés de la visite de leurs amies Nabisi. Alors, ils viennent rôder la nuit autour des lieux du Naam. Si l'occasion s'offre, on kidnappé son amie et on rentre chez soi. Les voleurs capturés par le San-hamba-Naaba sont dépouillés de leurs habits. Ils peuvent, pour mériter leurs amies, payer une amende, ce qui enrichit la caisse de l'association.

Le Manem'Yam-Naaba (manem = faire, yam = intelligence, astuce, ici "faire ses quatre volontés"). Ce dignitaire a le droit et le pouvoir de faire et de dire tout ce qui lui plaît au sein du Naam. C'est ainsi qu'il cumule plusieurs fonctions. Il est à la fois: le Chef dormeur: on a l'impression qu'il dort toujours. Au champ, il cultive paresseusement,
baille longuement, souvent et bruyamment. C'est une manière de stimuler les paresseux; le Chef vaniteux: pendant les fêtes, il s'habille bien. Il adopte une attitude fière et fait le paon. Tacitement, il voudrait demander à tous les Naabisi de s'habiller correctement; le Chef buveur: lorsqu'il aperçoit un alcoolique, il se fait passer pour un ivrogne. Il titube pour se moquer de lui.

Le Limbé-Naaba (limbé = goûter) est le Chef des profiteurs, le pique-assiette. Après le travail, le Limbé-Naaba goûte tous les repas qu'on doit prendre en commun. Ceci a une profonde signification. Il aurait le pouvoir de déterminer les repas empoisonnés. Il veille ainsi à la sécurité du groupe.

Il existe beaucoup d'autres fonctions à titre. Nous ne citionsons ici que celles dont le rôle est prépondérant dans le fonctionnement du Naam.

Les Naabisi-Filles ont, elles aussi, des fonctions à titre, correspondant à celles des garçons. Le Naaba et la Naaba y correspondent peuvent "se marier". Monsieur devient Naamsida et Mademoiselle Naampaaga. Les relations sexuelles sont absolument interdites dans ce "mariage". C'est plutôt l'école où les jeunes des deux sexes apprennent à vivre ensemble, en société. En même temps qu'ils s'éludent, ils sont observés et surveillés par leurs parents. Si le couple fait preuve de réciprocité et de loyauté dans ses relations sociales (cadeaux rituels, protection de la Naampaaga par le Naamsida contre tous les autres et tout danger, attention mutuelle particulière, sagesse, respect de l'interdit des rapports sexuels), des amitiés plus profondes s'établissent au niveau de leurs parents. Il pourrait s'ensuivre des échanges matrimoniaux plus tard entre les familles respectives. Mais si les relations "Naamsida-Naampaaga" survivent au mariage blanc, les rapports sexuels restent à jamais interdits.

Ces considérations étaient autrefois effectivement respectées. Mais il arrivait aussi que certains jeunes résistaient difficilement au charme de leur conjoint du Naam. Dans ce cas, le couple s'expatriait loin de la terre natale pour "aller y noyer sa honte". Ces jeunes ne pouvaient plus vivre au milieu des parents et de leurs camarades du Naam. Les rapports sociaux étaient aussitôt coupés.

A l'heure actuelle, cette coutume perd de plus en plus de sa valeur. Les mariages du Naam sont des occasions de mariages réels, de mariages d'amour. La Naampaaga et le Naamsida se concertent, s'organisent pour réaliser leur rêve. Les parents protestent au début par tradition peut-être, mais finissent par se rallier à la décision de leurs enfants.

L'apprentissage, par le couple du Naam-traditionnel, de la future vie en commun, n'est pas d'un moindre degré dans la hiérarchie des méthodes pédagogiques traditionnelles de la société Yadéga. C'est un "couloir de la tentation", une épreuve, un test.

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Caractéristiques coopératives du Naam

Tout au long de notre étude du Naam, nous constatons:

. le caractère démocratique des élections des responsables dans un souci d'efficacité. C'est ainsi qu'on rencontre des dignitaires issus de la strate des minorités (forgeurs, silmi-mossi, etc.) et même du groupe des hommes de condition servile (anciens esclaves);

. une discipline rigoureuse mais librement consentie. On a l'impression que les jeunes se plaisent à cette rigueur organisée par, pour et contre eux-mêmes;

. l'efficacité de la présence de certains dignitaires du Naam, représentant des institutions, permet d'éviter les éclatement possibles, le Bassi-Naaba, le Tilb-Naaba et le Maanem-Yam-Naaba, par exemple. Le Tilb-Naaba atténue la rigueur de la punition prononcée par les juges du Naam dont le rôle est de sévir contre les délinquants. Cet assouplissement permet de garder la cohésion dans le groupe.

Le Naam nous apparaît comme un organisme de formation morale, technique et civique. L'éducation morale est assurée par le Maanem-Yam-Naaba, caricaturant des qualités ou des défauts, corrigeant ainsi les travers de ses camarades en se moquant d'eux. Nous avons enfin remarqué le caractère évolu-tif du Naam. Les anciens le tolèrent et l'utilisent à des fins diverses. Les institutions traditionnelles, politiques, confessionnelles ne se sentent pas agressées. Elles le perçoivent sous l'angle de la participation de fait, alors qu'en réalité il est révolutionnaire.


Bref, tout Naabiqa a des attributions précises. Elles conviennent à son caractère, à son comportement et à sa compétence, ce qui lui permet de remplir correctement, avec foi et efficacité, son devoir.

L'ensemble des valeurs et des fonctions reflétées dans les structures hiérarchisées, discipline paradoxalement souple et rigoureuse, attitude évolutive, esprit coopératif, contraintes de fait, d'une part, le principe de la répartition
des tâches dans le Naam - nous voudrions écrire l'exercice collectif de la responsabilité, chacun remplissant correctement ses fonctions - d'autre part, trouveraient-ils leur emploi dans la coopérative moderne? Il est difficile de le dire; les groupements précoopératifs du Yatenga s'expérimentent. Le Naam n'est qu'un instrument, un moyen pour réaliser leur installation psychologique.

Définition et fonctionnement du groupement

Le passage du Naam au groupement est une stratégie pacifique selon laquelle l'association sera en action avec l'assentiment général, graduellement, pour qu'aucune formation politique ou confessionnelle, qu'aucun membre de l'association ne souffre du changement qui doit en résulter.

La présence des filles aux séances de culture est un stimulant, un levain puissant. En même temps qu'elles travaillent au même rythme que les garçons, elles épongent les fronts des plus courageux, disent des proverbes d'admirations à leur adresse. Par des pointes acérées, elles rallument le courage des autres. Il en va de même pour les tambourinares de l'association. Ils savent, au moment où la fatigue et la soif envahissent les travailleurs, sortir la note juste pour les exhorter à se mettre avec plus d'ardeur à la besogne. C'est alors qu'on peut entendre des chants de bravoure et de courage, composés en leur temps à l'intention des âieux. Les besoins (faim, soif, sommeil) disparaissent, semblant-il, dans un concert de voix et de tam-tam. La rémunération varie: mil, arachide, ou encore quelques paniers de coton.

Les contraintes nées de l'évolution du groupement imposeront bientôt des changements de fonctions et de titres aux dignitaires. Ils cesseront d'être des Naabas pour porter des titres modernes. Le Kombi-Naaba, en plus de ses fonctions de coordinateur, doit s'efforcer d'établir des relations avec les autorités administratives et judiciaires de la région: mandaté par le groupe auprès de tous, il doit parler au nom de l'association. Ses responsabilités s'accroissent. Dans la société actuelle, ce personnage se nomme Président.

Le Togo-Naaba, qui seconde le Président, se voit contraint, quant à lui, de consigner les principales idées débattues pendant les réunions. Elles sont si nombreuses et si importantes qu'aucun effort de mémoire ne peut les retenir. Il devient secrétaire général.

Le gardiennage du Trésor du roi revenait, autrefois, au Rasam-Naaba. Maintenant, ce dernier s'occupe de la gestion des trois caisses (menues dépenses, réinvestissement et compte bancaire); recettes, dépenses, bilan, bénéfices, pertes... Ces nouvelles charges obligent à une nouvelle nomination. Si le Rasam-Naaba du Naam traditionnel n'a pas les compétences nécessaires, il est souvent dégrossi par un stage.
Le Maanem-Yam-Naaba, cet éducateur par excellence, au rôle si utile et si efficace dans le Naam traditionnel, sent que ses fonctions sont de moins en moins appréciées. Elles sont désuètes. Il est envoyé en stage chez le Conseiller de la Formation des Jeunes Agriculteurs ou l'Organisme Régional de Développement (ORD) d'où il reviendra animateur bénévole.

C'est de cette manière que les fonctions des dignitaires du Naam traditionnel s'actualisent et leur permettent de nouveaux titres. De nombreux titres, comme le Tansoba, disparaissent; ils ne sont plus fonctionnels. J.M. Kolher l'a remarqué à Toessé, dans la Sous-Préfecture de Yako, où de nombreux dignitaires ont changé de titres. C'est ainsi que le Mogho-Naaba (ou Kombi-Naaba) est devenu commandant de Cercle, le Tensoba, Commandant Adjoint et le Yako-Naaba Député 3/.

Que faire, en effet, d'un chef de guerre à notre époque? Par contre, les réalités de l'évolution de l'association créent de nouvelles fonctions. Citons les organisateurs du football (capitaine et entraîneur de l'équipe) et ceux de la troupe théâtrale (le compositeur et le metteur en scène).

Ainsi, nous obtenons un comité de gestion composé d'un président, d'un secrétaire, d'un trésorier, d'un ou de plusieurs responsables aux activités. Ce comité de gestion est soutenu, au sein de la communauté villageoise, par des responsables coutumiers. Ils servent de trait d'union entre le groupement et le conseil des anciens, l'incontestable "pouvoir de décision" dans le village. Le responsable coutumier est souvent un ancien combattant. Il a beaucoup voyagé et connaît beaucoup de choses. Il comprend le français et appartient de ce fait au groupe des "intellectuels" du village. A ce double titre, il est le meilleur des témoins. On lui fait confiance.

**Les activités des groupements Naam**

Une ou deux fois par semaine, les Naabisi vont travailler sur les champs des villageois qui en font la demande. Ils sarclent, binent ou récoltent au son du tam-tam. Le sarclage et le binage réalisés par le Naam s'appellent le "Naamkobo", la récolte, le "Naam-Kihimbogo". Le "Naam-Tukuré" est le transport de mil du champ au village par les Naabisi.

Les activités sont plus ou moins importantes selon les centres. Une fois implanté, le groupement doit prouver son efficacité. Au départ, c'est la vente des récoltes d'arachide et de sésame de ses champs collectifs qui lui permet d'acquérir le matériel de culture (charrettes, char-rue, décortiqueuse, animaux de trait, etc.).

En saison des pluies: les travaux des champs collectifs (culture de mil, coton, sésame, arachide) ont lieu un ou deux jours par semaine, de préférence le vendredi et le lundi, jours de repos du paysan.
En saison sèche: théâtre, sport (football, volley-ball, danses, autres jeux), cours d'adultes et cours par correspondance INADES, des activités lucratives comme le jardinage, le petit élevage, la gestion d'un magasin de vente (produits de première nécessité: savon, sel, pétrole, sucre). Le but de cette dernière activité est de permettre aux membres du groupement post-scolaire d'apprendre la comptabilité (achats, ventes, recettes, dépenses, bilan, bénéfices ou pertes, solutions pour l'avenir en fonction des échecs ou des succès).

La fabrication de briques, la location des charrettes et les autres activités se font selon la demande de la population. Les produits de vente de la production des champs collectifs, du jardin, du petit élevage, de la boutique et les recettes à l'occasion des diverses activités sont réparties en trois parts qui pourraient être inégales. Ces dernières sont fonction des besoins du groupement. La première est placée à la banque pour servir à la constitution d'un fonds de roulement. La seconde constitue la caisse de menues dépenses. La troisième servira au réinvestissement pour élargir l'ampleur des possibilités économiques: acquisition de facteurs de production, achat ou renouvellement des animaux de trait fatigués, réparation des outils cassés, etc. Ces deux dernières sont confiées aux responsables coutumiers du groupement.

Les fonctions du groupement

Le groupement est en réalité une cellule d'éducation permanente. Les jeunes y appartenant sont placés à une époque charnière: ils sont les héritiers d'hier et les agents actifs de l'actuel développement d'aujourd'hui. A ce double titre, ils forment au niveau du village une équipe polyvalente qui est en fait:

- un instrument d'éducation fonctionnelle; les activités du groupement sont décidées après des discussions exhaustives auxquelles participent les responsables coutumiers de l'association et dans lesquelles on tient compte de l'environnement humain et physique: relations "jeunes-vieux", cohabitation "tradition-modernité", reboisement d'un bois sacré grillé par la sécheresse, aménagement des places publiques et des marchés, construction de ponceaux et pistes d'intérêt local. C'est également un laboratoire de recherche;

- un instrument d'éducation traditionnelle: les jeunes "partent" des structures et des habitudes traditionnelles encore fonctionnelles et utiles. Celles qui sont désuètes disparaissent imperceptiblement;

- un instrument d'éducation permanente: cours par correspondance INADES, cours du soir, conférences, réunions d'informations, séances de recherches etc... par les encadreurs ORD et les formateurs;

- un instrument d'éducation coopérative: produire, vendre, acheter et réaliser ensemble des "investissements humains" par des méthodes Sosoga et Songsongtaaba 4: un CETA (Centre d'Etudes de Techniques Agricoles). Les jeunes cultivent des champs collectifs dans lesquels ils appliquent les méthodes culturelles enseignées au Centre d'Education Rurale et par
Les membres du groupement possèdent également des charrues, des charrettes et des animaux de trait.

Ainsi les activités du Naam et celles introduites par les groupements s'interpénètrent, se juxtaposent et se complètent harmonieusement. La méthode, semble-t-il, n'est valable que lorsqu'elle est inspirée par le milieu. Elle ne s'apprend pas. Elle se sent. Elle est plus poétique que mécanique. C'est par cette recherche perpétuelle que peuvent se créer des attitudes qui conduisent au progrès et que l'homme prend conscience de ses nouvelles possibilités. Les transformations des structures et des habitudes traditionnelles s'imposeront de plus en plus en profondeur, inévitablement, avec le consentement tacite et implicite du groupe gérontocratique de la communauté villageoise.

Cette phase de l'installation des groupements précooperatifs est psychologique. Elle se situe à plusieurs niveaux:

- acquérir les jeunes paysans à l'idée qu'il faut désormais essayer de procéder à l'évolution socio-économique de leur pays, évolution dont ils peuvent et doivent être des artisans efficaces;
- leur apprendre les méthodes de recherche, des techniques culturelles adaptées, leur suggérer une foi, une doctrine de développement;
- amener le jeune à accepter l'échec après l'effort, à assumer l'in-succès sans se décourager et à être prêt à recommencer, compte tenu des leçons de l'expérience, permettre à tout associé, une fois marié et propriétaire de terre, d'emprunter à la banque par le canal du groupement pour s'installer (boeufs de labour, ânes de traction, charrues, charrettes, petit élevage etc.). Il sera responsable envers l'association et cette dernière envers la banque. Plus tard, lorsque ces fermiers seront suffisamment nombreux et que le besoin se fera sentir, ils organiseront des coopératives réelles (de crédit, de production ou de commercialisation) pour résoudre leurs problèmes communs.

Voyons maintenant SIX S, qui emprunte sa philosophie et ses méthodes aux groupements Naam.

III - L'ASSOCIATION SIX S

L'Association SIX S est une association internationale, créée en 1976, dont l'effort porte essentiellement sur les régions touchées par la sécheresse, notamment le Mali, le Sénégal, le Nord Togo, la Haute-Volta et bientôt le Niger et la Mauritanie. C'est un organisme d'appui, dont les sources de financement sont la Coopération Technique Suisse, l'Action de Carême Suisse, Misereor (Allemagne Fédérale), Cebemo (Hollande) et le CCFD (France). Son siège social est à Genève et le siège exécutif à Ouahigouya.

Son rôle essentiel est de former et aider à réaliser. Pour cela, elle coopère avec les institutions et les organismes publics ou privés qui agissent dans le même sens.
C'est donc un projet à la fois d'éducation, d'organisation sociale, d'investissements et d'amélioration immédiate de revenus.

Pour atteindre les objectifs assignés, SIX S met à la disposition des bénéficiaires les moyens humains, financiers et matériels pour:

- assurer la formation des membres des groupements agricoles;
- fournir aux groupements le matériel indispensable à la réalisation des travaux dans les villages;
- assurer la rémunération des membres des groupements agricoles pour le travail qu'ils auront à effectuer.

L'Association SIX S intervient dans les domaines suivants: agriculture, élevage, forêt, équipement, petites industries, artisanat, infrastructures, santé, culture. Ces activités se répartissent en:

- activités communautaires: retenues d'eau, conservation des eaux et du sol (CES), ralentisseurs d'erosion, puits, reboisement, etc... Elles sont subventionnées;
- activités lucratives: maraîchage, élevage, artisanat, moulins à mil. Elles sont remboursées et réinvesties sous forme de "projets-filles" ou "projets-fils";
- activités sociales: pharmacie villageoise, santé primaire, jeux, lutte, théâtre, etc... Elles sont subventionnées.

Sa méthode d'intervention respecte le principe selon lequel il faut "partir de ce qu'est le concerné, de ce qu'il sait, de ce qu'il sait faire, de ce qu'il vit et de ce qu'il veut".

D'abord, des paysans volontaires, hommes ou femmes, 30 environ, sont reçus dans un chantier-école, pendant 2 ou 3 mois selon les besoins de leur formation (élevage, maraîchage ou artisanat).

Des animateurs spécialisés élaborent, avec et pour les intéressés et d'après leurs suggestions, un programme d'activités et de formation conséquent, compte tenu de leurs besoins et des indications du plan de développement du pays.

Ensuite, les stagiaires qui le désirent sont installés comme éleveurs, maraîchers ou artisans. Les travaux d'installation sont exécutés par les intéressés, avec l'appui financier de SIX S remboursable avec deux ans de différé. Les sommes remboursées constituent un fonds de roulement qui assure le financement d'autres actions dans les mêmes zones.

Au niveau de la zone, un agent, recruté et formé pour la circonstance, surveille la gestion des femmes, potagers et
ateliers. Cet animateur, recruté sur place, est capable de vivre le niveau culturel de l'ensemble de l'environnement.

L'écoulement de la production est assuré par les coopératives avec l'appui des autres services de développement en place.

CONCLUSION

SIX S n'est ni un projet (qui vient de l'extérieur) ni une banque (non formatrice) ni une coopérative (tendance étatique et égoïste). SIX S est un système qui se définit comme un ensemble d'unions de groupements de paysans autonomes. Il a pour objectif de rendre les paysans responsables de leur problèmes, pour une prise en charge du développement du monde paysan par les intéressés eux-mêmes.

Le changement est exogène, mais les institutions et les systèmes éducationnels importés, les méthodes appliquées aboutissent difficilement aux résultats escomptés.

Pourquoi, enfin, n'essaierait-on pas de partir du dedans traditionnel? Ce dedans évoluera vers une dynamique intérieure d'abord, extérieure ensuite. Ce serait un fil conducteur de la racine aux extrémités, un moyen de sensibilisation et de motivation des masses rurales en vue d'une mobilisation volontaire pour le développement.

2/ Ne pas confondre Naam pouvoir avec Naam association traditionnelle de travail communautaire. En effet, le Naam, ou pouvoir, est détenu au Yatenga par l'Empereur du Yatenga, secondé par quatre ministres: le Togo-Naba, le Widi-Haaba, le Baloum-Naba et le Rasam-Naba. Le Naam, association traditionnelle de jeunes, est l'image du Naam-Pouvoir.
4/ Associations d'entraide.
LOKAYAN, DIALOGUE OF THE PEOPLE

Lokayan,
Exchange Building
13, Alipur Road
Delhi 110054, India

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Abstract: More than two years ago (IFDA Dossier 28) we introduced Lokayan, which is now in its fifth year of work. The first experiences of this truly alternative movement are of general interest. In this paper, Lokayan provides a preliminary statement on its context, objectives, organizational structure and process, as well as its output and feedback on its working. Continuous involvement in the process of Lokayan and coping with the unexpected response to it, say the authors, have not permitted us to put out a comprehensive account — beyond the brief and cryptic "What is Lokayan?". This statement attempts to fill the gap.

LOKAYAN: LE PEUPLE DIALOGUE

Résumé: Il y a plus de deux ans (IFDA Dossier 28) nous avons présenté Lokayan, qui entame sa cinquième année de travail. Les premières expériences de ce mouvement authentiquement alternatif sont d'intérêt général. Dans cet article, Lokayan présente une description préliminaire du contexte, des objectifs, des structures et du processus Lokayan. L'engagement dans ce processus, disent les auteurs, et les efforts pour répondre au mouvement créé ne leur ont pas permis de rédiger un compte rendu complet qui dépasse le bref et quelque peu cryptique "Qu'est-ce que Lokayan?". Cet article s'efforce de combler cette lacune.

LOKAYAN, DIALOGO DEL PUEBLO

Resumen: Hace más de dos años (Documentos FIPAD 28) presentamos a Lokayan, que actualmente se encuentra en su quinto año de trabajo. Las primeras experiencias de este verdadero movimiento alternativo son de interés general. En este artículo, Lokayan entrega una descripción preliminar del contexto, de los objetivos, de su estructura y proceso organizativo y de los éxitos obtenidos. Dicen los autores que absorvidos por el proceso y por la inesperada respuesta que este ha tenido, no les ha sido posible entregar un balance completo más allá del breve y críptico "¿Qué es Lokayan?". El artículo trata de llenar este vacío.
Politically, India presents an interesting paradox. Following centralization of the political process and erosion of intermediate institutions like the party system, legislative and judicial bodies and the federal structure, there has taken place a decline in democratic values and practice and the rise of authoritarian tendencies. And yet at the same time there is a large spurt in democratic consciousness and activism, both at the grass roots and in respect of national movements e.g. the civil liberties movement, the rise of independent trade unionism, the movements of the peasantry, a new genre of independent and forthright journalism, a socially sensitive judiciary and the forging of new intellectual-cum-activist coalitions cutting across party and ideological allegiances.

Socially, India is in ferment. The new social differentiation is occasioned by a growing caste and class consciousness among the underprivileged and oppressed strata and their organised expression through various forms of struggle against the dominant sections of society and against the state apparatus. This is caused, on the one hand, by the failure of the development process and the steep rise in poverty and inequality and, on the other hand, by new democratic stirrings based on a widespread sense of injustice, a strong perception of the gap between promise and performance and a feeling that the system is inherently unjust and that nothing can be achieved without struggle. There is a growing polarization at the bottom of society which has given rise to a great deal of turmoil, unrest and violence. A large part of this violence is perpetrated by the upper castes and corrupt sections of politicians, middlemen and the police, often aided by "lumpen" elements that have been fostered by the rise of an informal economy (ranging from black money to illicit dens of liquor, gambling and traffic in women) and the political vacuum created by the decline of the party system. Driven to the wall, however, some of the highly exploited and oppressed strata, encouraged by the "extremist" fringes of the political spectrum, also take to violence. But the former type of violence far outweighs the latter and in large measure provokes it.

It is under such socio-economic conditions of the people that public opinion in general, opposition and dissident opinion in particular, and the values and opinions of a large spectrum of activists and intellectuals are turning against the prevalent power structure and, to an extent, against the present system which is seen to be systematically weighted against the poor, the historically oppressed caste and ethnic strata, the minorities, the rural areas and the regional peripheries and lower reaches of the
political and administrative structures. It is from the throes of such basic discontent and dissent that a new Democratic militancy is gradually emerging and is likely to provide the basis of a new regeneration of Indian democracy.

Contributing to this questioning and mood of challenge to the dominant framework is a new search for alternatives to the Western model of development and worldview, a search for more indigenous solutions that can at once preserve the democratic spirit and transcend the limitations of the imported model of representative democracy, can at once absorb the achievements of the modern period and move away from its tendency to fragment and dominate and colonise. This provides the background for a new assertion of indigenous values, a rediscovery of the great Indian tradition and an attempt to find roots in a new religious consciousness that is at the same time non-sectarian and transdenominational. The Indian penchant for cultural pluralism and diverse paths to truth and diverse models of action is likely to make this into a search for a truly holistic framework of values.

The outlook on the future depends on judgement as to the outcome of this conflict between the existing non-functioning and oppressive structures perpetrated by the present world model of economic development and bureaucratic management and the process of regeneration - political, economic, ethical and religious - that are underway and striving for an alternative framework of both politics and society. One such view is that in the immediate future the entrenched interests in both the economy and the state will continue to prevent the forces of change and use the full force of the state for this, aided also by international agencies and militarism, but that the forces of change are so massive and basic that they cannot be held in check for too long. The time it will take for the latter to outweigh the former will depend on the capacity of both the grassroots processes and broader intellectual movements for system change to consolidate their ranks, evolve a workable coalition and acquire critical points of leverage in the social and political process.

Nature of Lokayan Initiative

It is precisely against this evolving socio-political and value encounters that Lokayan acquires its relevance. The issues raised in the earlier section have been dealt with at length in the writings and analyses of the scholars involved in the project, as well as in their interactions with activists and in conferences of different movement groups. Lokayan is, on the one hand, an effort to move out of traditional "scientific" studies which were by and large alien and distant from the emerging social process, to become responsive to it. It is, on the other hand, an effort to promote such intellectual interventions in the political process and such interactions with social groups as are
called forth for strengthening democratic and decentralized developments. Socially, this involves strengthening the poor and the oppressed through leaders and activists working among them.

Operationally, this has been carried out through (a) in-depth policy analyses on different segments of the people—the rural poor and the rural working class, the tribals, the dalits (i.e. the extremely depressed community of "untouchable" castes), trade unions working in the unorganised sector, the oppressed among the women; (b) evolving criteria for meaningful movements and strategies of action among these strata and orientations to larger problem areas such as ecology, science and technology and alternative ideologies; and (c) a process of communications and mutual learning between these strata, action groups engaged in them, macro theoreticians and opinion makers and public figures from government, administration and parties. This latter has been done through (i) field research in specific areas of inquiry, (ii) dialogues at various levels and across different segments, (iii) longterm task groups focusing on specific problems and (iv) a wide-ranging process of dissemination, exchange of personnel and communications.

Through dialogues, debates and focussed workshops involving a large network of concerned intellectuals, activists and opinion makers, the Lokayan programme has sought to explore the possibility of involving citizen groups and activists operating in rural areas and small urban clusters in the definition and planning of development. The assumption is that so many micro-movements to which the action groups are drawn, are a response to a larger malaise and provide the rudiments of an alternative model of development. There is need to articulate these various responses into a consolidated and systematic critique of the established models and frame of action towards an alternative. Simultaneously it has sought to explore institutional aspects of various modes of decentralization, particularly as they relate to the redistribution of resources and professional skills for a decentralized democratic order, and the role of non-governmental agencies in such designs of distributive justice.

Through its small research wing which engages in dialogues with a cross-section of the Indian people in various regions, Lokayan seeks to bring their thinking, values and aspirations to the centre of educational, economic and political institutions.

In order to facilitate this larger political process, Lokayan puts out and circulates as widely as possible the results of all these activities, as well as critiques thereof, so that gradually there emerges a new ideological crystallization that provides a basis for action at various levels and in various fields.
Finally, Lokayan seeks to contribute to ending the isolation and fragmentation that divides the various movements for change and to foster cohesion and unity in the ranks of those who would like to act together but are, for various reasons, unable to do so.

Organizational Structure

The organizational structure has three levels and two components at each level: national, regional and intra-regional networks.

At the national level there is a central team consisting mainly of honorary individuals and partly of professionals (editing, documentation, organization of dialogues and colloquia) guided by a national core group drawn from distinguished academics and activists from all over the country.

It is at the regional level (Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and the Union Territories of Delhi and Goa) that Lokayan activities are really carried out on a sustained and organized basis. In each region there is one Regional Coordinator (paid either full-time or part-time or honorary) assisted by two to four associates. The regional teams have been responsible for executing Lokayan activities; preparatory and follow-up work of dialogues, dissemination and research. In some of these regions a research institute or a voluntary organization has functioned as an organizational base for Lokayan. In others a fresh organization has been set up. In each region a Regional Core Group has been formed, consisting of distinguished academics and activists of the region.

The network

Through its programme of dialogues, dissemination and research, Lokayan extends in and beyond the above regions and has established a network of over 2000 academics and activists and about 100 activist and academic groups from all over the country. In the process many more institutions and organizations have been cooperating with Lokayan from the regions other than those in which it has set up the Core Groups. These include not only regional but also national level organizations.

More important than the organizational networks of voluntary associations, action groups and political groups are the networks of individual activists and academics with whom contacts are maintained through a programme of inter-change between activists from different regions, tours carried out by members of the central team for small groups, on-the-spot, discussion and the Bulletins. A large
cross-section of these individuals, along with key representatives of major action-groups, are brought together once a year in a national Lokayan meeting, to review its activities and to plan for the future.

In brief, Lokayan, through its various programmes, has created a body of literature and a network of individuals and organizations addressing the vital issues of social intervention and transformation.

Process

The Lokayan process and the networks are sustained and enlarged every year through two monthly bulletins, one in Hindi and one in English, through dissemination of literature generated through the project, through a national meeting of all the workers and academics associated with Lokayan and through a series of dialogues, workshops and colloquia and, at places, through participative research. In the process, a body of literature is created in English, Hindi and other Indian languages, focussing on the issues of social transformation. These efforts have stimulated greater interaction and exchange of ideas and experiences among the activist groups so that now in several regions initiative is taken by other organizations in the same direction. Also, in some states, new organizations and micro-movements have come into existence through the process initiated by the project. Mention may be made of Vishamta Nirmulan Samiti (Committee or Eradication of Inequality) in Gujarat, the Srisailam Action Committee in Andhra Pradesh and the Environment Protection Committee in Karnataka and the Fishermen Organizations in Goa. In the nine states and union territories Lokayan Sankalan Samitis (Coordination Committees) involving academics and activists, have been formed which plan a programme of dialogues and research on vital issues concerning their states and territories. In the next three-year period of the project, efforts will be made towards making these regional units self-sufficient by identifying local and indigenous sources for financing their activities. Already, a part of Lokayan activities are supported locally in some regions, e.g. in Andhra. Also, collaborative arrangements have been worked out with several research institutions and voluntary organizations in the regions for carrying out the project.

On the whole, Lokayan has moved towards achieving the following goals:

(i) Drawing the academics in the regions to study local problems in the national perspective in cooperation with the activists. The problems studied by such teams include problems of bonded labour, forest policy and tribals, ecological issues, approach to science and technology, human rights issues, effects of irrigation dams, the policy of protective discrimination, problems of organising the rural poor, problems faced by action-groups and micro-movements in their
relationship with political parties and government, the organizational problems faced by Dalit and Tribal movements, communal tensions, problems of women, especially from the oppressed strata, etc.

(ii) Raising an informed and intelligent debate on issues of choice of relevant models of social intervention.

(iii) Bridging the gap between academics and activists.

(iv) Greater communication and interaction among action groups through dialogues and other networks which hitherto have been suspicious of each other and subject to all kinds of miscommunication between them.

(v) Generating new forms of political action through short-term, low-budget, participative research, e.g. through investigation of a problem situation jointly carried out by academics and activists and the results discussed with the affected people and the concerned public officials leading to corrective action, including on the part of government. This has especially happened in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Gujarat.

All these efforts, put together, have shaped Lokayan as a modest but distinctive programme of research and action operating at the inter-face of academics, activists, opinion makers as well as generally concerned citizens on the one hand and members of the lay public (peasants, tribals, etc.) on the other.

Output

In the three years that Lokayan has been in existence, it has held 89 dialogues, colloquia and workshops in different parts of the country involving academics, activists and public officials. Through these Lokayan meetings, a network of about 2000 intellectuals and activists has been created. The network is sustained through two monthly bulletins, one in Hindi and one in English, through dissemination of literature generated in the Lokayan process and at places through participative research. Over 300 monographs, papers and reports have been created in English, Hindi and other Indian languages, focussing on a wide range of crucial issues (see Appendix).

Feedback

From whatever feedback we have received so far a mixed feeling of appreciation and apprehension has been generated by Lokayan. The appreciation is on account of the impact it has created in the field of development action, the debate it has raised on issues concerning models of social intervention, the bridging of gaps between intellectuals and activists in the regions, as well as the thawing that has
taken place among the action groups (through dialogues and networks) which were hitherto filled with mutual suspicions and subject to all kinds of miscommunication between them. There is also considerable satisfaction on account of the short-term, low-budget, participative researches that have been generated by Lokayan which in turn have generated new forms of political action, e.g. investigation of problem situations jointly carried out by academics and activists, discussion of the results with the affected people and the concerned public officials leading to corrective action, setting up of larger non-party peoples' organizations at state and lower levels which can respond on a continuous and sustained basis to local situations created by either local or national (and often international) factors.

The apprehension felt seems to be on two counts: firstly, it is feared that the pure research and academic aspects of what started as a project of a research centre (the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies) are being undermined due to its decentralized and participative nature. It is also felt that the character of Lokayan is being progressively determined by the activists associated with it through its varied networks. Although even in its project form Lokayan had been conceived from the very start as a research-cum-action programme (and not at all as pure research) aimed at changing the paradigm of both the generation and use of social knowledge through carrying out dialogues among academics and activists and although Lokayan activities so far have been conceived and implemented scrupulously in accordance with the original objectives, as the Project has grown organically its character has inevitably become different from usual research projects.

In brief, Lokayan, in the course of its existence, has acquired an identity and a character of its own. This has made the Lokayan enterprise appear in the eyes of some to chart a more "political" course that is different from other academic projects in the field of social sciences.

Although the grant from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation came to an end of our own volition, it was decided that from January 1983 Lokayan would operate as an independent entity relying on personal donations and voluntary help of individuals and groups associated with Lokayan or generally supportive of the Lokayan idea and programme of work. It will continue to operate through a decentralized structure of organizations and institutions in the various regions as many of them have adopted the Lokayan programme as part of their ongoing activities.

The efforts to move towards self-reliant development and an even broader base of affiliation and support than has already been achieved, will continue. Politically, the effort will continue to operate on the democratic process on behalf of the deprived and marginalised sections of society.
APPENDIX

PROBLEM AREAS ADDRESSED BY LOKAYAN

Lokayan's initiatives, which gradually evolved since its inception, were in the direction of forming study groups and coordinating action in specific problem areas. Two ends were in mind. First, to promote more sustained interaction and cooperation among action groups and academics and, second, to articulate macro-perspectives on local struggles around these issues. The problem areas so identified were:

1. Politics of oppression - The nexus of crime, corruption and casteism in local politics and its effects on the vulnerable groups - the Harijans, the tribals and religious minorities - were the few specific issues of concern that were taken up.

2. Social tensions - Communal tensions, tribal/non-tribal conflicts and caste Hindu-Harijan conflicts received specific attention for study and ameliorative action.

3. New trade-unionism - Action-groups working in the 'informal' or 'unorganized' sector of labour, addressing themselves to their organization at the residential rather than at the production point, an area largely left out by political parties and established trade-unions.

4. Forest policy and tribals - Effects of the forest policy, especially the new Forest Bill of the Government of India, on the lives of the tribals living in and around forests.

5. Big irrigation dams - Issues of displacement of population, cost-benefits, growing socio-economic inequalities and ecological implication.

6. Women's movements - These were taken up in the context of declining rates of women's employment in organized sectors, growing rates of female infant-mortality, obfuscation of the women's question by other movements, the phenomenon of dual oppression (traditional and modern) of the poor women, etc.

7. Science, technology and the power structure - The issues taken up under this pertained to decentralization, peoples' science, indigenous science, appropriate technology and the role of action groups in all these, as also armament policy and the arms race in the subcontinent.

8. Ecology - The point of departure under this was politicization of ecological issues. Attention was given not just to rapid and rapacious and non-regenerative exploitation of natural resources, its sources, mode of operation and effects, problems of deforestation and reforestation, but the human and political consequences of all these from the point of view of the affected populations.

9. Education and health - The issues pertaining to the emerging school and hospital systems in the country which demonstrate how large public resources are used for the benefit of the elites, in the process incapacitating the vast majority of the poor, both socially and physically.
This has led to explorations in class structure of the school system and its implications in terms of the denial of avenues of social mobility to the vast majority of the poor. Also, how health care is denied to the poor through a hospital system catering to the privileged. An attempt has been made to explore the indigenous and decentralized alternatives in the area of medicines and health care in cooperation with action-groups working in the field.

**DIALOGUES**

The conception of Lokayan was first outlined to a diverse group of intellectuals and activists from all over the country. A core-group and planning team emerged from the first National Dialogue Meeting, held in May 1980. Subsequently, 14 preparatory meetings of field workers and activists were held in Tamilnadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Bihar, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh to acquaint them with Lokayan and to plan the regional dialogues. About 350 political and voluntary activists, academics, professionals (communicators, doctors, engineers etc.) from different parts of the country and representing different ideological streams participated in these meetings.

**During the first year,** two colloquia were also held:

(i) Communicating and development: about 25 participants from all over the country, representing various groups of development communicators, participated. Besides the broad Lokayan concerns, the focus of the discussion was on experimenting with the forms and processes of energizing local communities for decentralized action in development.

(ii) Ecology as an issue in development: about 20 young persons engaged in the ecology movement in different parts of the country for protection of forests, promotion of reforestation and conducting movements to influence policy making and building public opinion participated. The focus was on how to sensitize and organize local populations towards a larger ecological movement.

**During the second year,** 1981, thirty six dialogues, workshops and colloquia were held. The meetings encompassed a diverse spectrum, from state level to inter-regional to national; from discussions of the concrete problems faced by those engaged in organising the poor and the deprived sections to highly intellectual workshops on science and technology, Gandhian philosophy etc. It was widely felt by the participants that the regional and decentralised nature of the project had enabled each unit to form a nucleus of intellectuals and activists drawn from a wide spectrum of ideological positions and issue orientations. Formation of such nuclei in different regions had given rise to a process in which activists and academics of diverse backgrounds could work together in identifying issues for research and action - issues which, though vital for the people and for society, usually did not attract the attention of a large majority of social scientists on the one hand and party politicians on the other.

The main conclusion of the deliberations was that whereas the regional and decentralised nature of the project should continue - essentially by enabling each unit to develop its programme in response to local needs,
in consultation with the project staff— it was also desirable to form more macro units around specific themes. These macro units would undertake continuous and intensive work by way of necessary research that was needed to fill the gaps in knowledge and understanding and, through the communication media already set up during 1981, disseminate their work. The specific form of doing this would be through a set of Task Groups, consisting of academics, activists, policy makers and technical experts, which would meet three to four times a year with a view to evolving a shared perspective and plan of action on a specific problem area. They would spell out the issues, ask the project secretariat for specific research inputs in areas identified by them, and publish a yearly report based on their papers, deliberations and research.

During the third year, 1982, a much wider canvas of issues was covered:

(i) A sustained effort was made in the area of the Forest Policy and Tribals. Meetings were held in Goa, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. The objective was to draw national attention to the problems of rapacious deforestation by both transnational and government agencies in collusion with entrenched local interests in the form of forest contractors, corrupt forest officials and local politicians, leading to massive displacement and pauperization of the tribals.

On the whole these dialogues generated a variety of studies, reports and papers on the tribal situation in these states and activated the voluntary organizations and action groups which themselves took up the programme of training tribal youth for leadership roles in the movement for preserving their rights over forest resources and countering the oppression and exploitation of the tribals by local power structures.

(ii) In the area of health, the first meeting was held on Herbal and Folk Medicines: Towards People's Science at Karjat, Maharashtra. It was organized in collaboration with the Academy of Development Sciences, Karjat and the Tribal Conscientization Centre, Pune. Practitioners of indigenous medicines, tribals knowledgeable in herbal medicines and activist groups working on indigenous resources for development were brought together in the meeting. A dialogue was held by the Karnataka Lokayan, in collaboration with VHAI (Voluntary Health Association of India) on Alternative Health Care which was also attended by the author of the well-known book, Where There is No Doctor, besides many activists in the field.

(iii) In the area of politics of oppression a meeting of leaders of various caste organizations and activists working among the Christian and Hindu Harijans was held in Tamilnadu where, due to oppression of the upper and middle castes, the Harijans were being converted to Islam and violent communal conflicts erupted for the first time between the Christian and Hindu fishermen. The meeting, however, proved to be a non-starter for no dialogue could be established. People only reiterated their conventional positions.

The other dialogues on the politics of oppression and the role of action-groups were carried out at two levels: (a) Colloquia focussing on the macro-level theoretical issues of social transformation, in which university academics and the upper rungs of the leadership of the action-groups were involved, and (b) Workshops for the young and
middle-rung activists of voluntary organizations and action-groups de-
signed to sensitize the workers to the wider problematique of social
transformation, on the one hand, and the leadership of voluntary
organizations to the problems of the middle and lower rungs of workers
working at the grass-roots, on the other.

The initiative taken by the first meeting on Science and Technology,
held in 1981 in Delhi, was followed up by a major workshop in Hyderabad
and another in Madras. The emphasis was more towards formulating an ac-
tion programme to sensitize public opinion on the anti-people activities
of the science and technology establishment both in the country and at
the global level. A variety of intellectuals and activists were involved
in the dialogues. This included socially concerned scientists and
technologists, science writers and activists of people's science move-
ments, etc. The dialogue focussed on specific issues like science
policy, nuclear pollution and exploitative uses of science and
technology. While the Hyderabad workshop focussed on the policy issues,
the workshop in Madras held in collaboration with the PPST (Patriotic
People's Science and Technology) group of Tamilnadu, took up concrete
problems like the role of transnationals, impact of green revolution,
nuclear arms race, etc. The crucial point of debate in both was whether
and how can a movement address itself to bringing fruits of modern
science and technology to the people of the world and yet remain
pro-science. Is the oppressive and exploitative nature of modern science
and technology due to the intrinsic nature of science or due to the
power structure and establishment that controls its institutions and
appropriates its advantages for itself? While this still remained an
inconclusive debate in the dialogues and workshops, there emerged an
operative consensus on an action programme addressed to formulate
survival strategies for the poor and oppressed in the face of various
encroachments on their lives by the science and technology
establishment.

(iv) The fourth and related area in which a dialogue and a consultation
were held was ecology. A major colloquium was held on the problem of
deforestation and desertification of Rajasthan which had direct rele-
vance to the situation of persistent droughts and famines there. This
colloquium was widely attended by the faculty of the various departments
of Rajasthan University, Sarvodaya workers, struggle-oriented activists
and officials of the Rajasthan government. A major consultation and on-
the-spot investigation was carried out on the problems of fast ecologic-
al deterioration of Karnataka by well-known ecologists, B.B. Vohra and
Sailen Ghosh with the assistance of Karnataka Lokayan coordinator, him-
sell an ecologist and a well-known economist, Dr. B.V. Krishnamurthy.
The Karnataka Government, with whom Lokayan had maintained cordial
relations since 1981, was appraised of the findings of the Group.

Another related area in which one colloquium and one workshop were held
was the Political Economy of Irrigation Dams. The colloquium, held in
collaboration with the Centre for Social Studies, Surat, analyzed the
effects of dams on the population submerged areas. The experience of
activists in Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat working for
the rehabilitation of the displaced populations was analyzed. A workshop
in Andhra Pradesh, as the follow-up of Lokayan experience of study and
action on Srisailam Dam, addressed itself to designing a study of the
problems associated with the new Pollavaram Dam.
In the area of Women's Movements, two major dialogues were organized, one in Rajasthan and the other in Gujarat. The Rajasthan dialogue brought together women activists from different parts of the country and focussed discussion on the dual exploitation of poor women by the traditional social structure and the modern economy. The Gujarat colloquium, organized in collaboration with SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association), brought together women activists from Gujarat and Maharashtra. The Lokayan initiative in Gujarat gave rise to a permanent Working Group of Women activists in Gujarat. A committee was formed which planned to organise more such dialogues and bring out a journal in Gujarati, highlighting issues of women's movements in Western India. Papers contributed to the colloquium were subsequently published in major Gujarati newspapers, a prestigious academic journal of a research institute and as Lokayan booklets.

RESEARCH

Two studies were initiated by Delhi Lokayan - one in the area of politics of oppression and the other in the area of education.

The first study was aimed at identifying the interrelationships of crime, corruption, casteism and local politics in contributing to mass murders of Harijans in three villages in Uttar Pradesh. The possibilities of dialogues among the local caste Hindus and Harijan leaders and influential social notables were explored with a view to building up measures of village self-defence and security of the vulnerable groups.

Among the other studies prepared were:

1. Two monographs on the negative impact of development schemes on local populations in Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh and Banda in Madhya Pradesh.

2. Three monographs in the area of ecology, (i) on dams, (ii) on land-use patterns and (iii) on urban-slums, with the collaboration of the Centre for Science and Environment (CSE). These now form part of a larger published Citizens' Report on the State of Environment in India: 1982.

3. Three monographs in the area of politics of oppression. These were sponsored, one to a leader of backward classes movement in Tamilnadu, one to a renowned investigative journalist and the third to a leading Sarvodaya worker in Tamilnadu. The first two pertained to oppression of the Scheduled Castes and the issue of religious conversion in Tamilnadu while the third was on conflicts between Hindu and Christian fishermen in Kanyakumari, Tamilnadu.

4. One major research monograph was prepared on Micro-level Planning and Decentralization in collaboration with the Academy of Development Sciences, Karjat. The monograph, among other things, identified action-groups involved in micro-level planning for local populations.

5. Another small monograph on the prohibition (anti-alcohol) movement among the tribals of Bihar, written by an educated tribal leader.
Besides these monographs and a number of papers contributed to the Lokayan dialogues, specific studies in the various problem areas were commissioned to small teams of activists and academics or to individual experts. A number of monographs in English, Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu and Ka-nada were prepared. A comprehensive bibliography on the Environment and an inventory of Action Groups in Gujarat were also prepared. The various research materials generated by the Lokayan programme of participative research is now being prepared for publication.

On the whole, Lokayan research has generated a distinctive literature on the problems of democracy, decentralization and social change that is pertinent to action programmes of the voluntary organizations.

**DISSEMINATION**

The dialogues, besides consolidating the networks of individual activists and organizations and of social researchers, generated a substantial amount of literature in the various fields which was reproduced and widely disseminated among the academics and activists in different parts of the country. Nineteen issues of the Lokayan Bulletins (Hindi and English) were brought out and a number of booklets and pamphlets were published in various languages. The Bulletins also provided regional windows to the evolving national situation as seen by activists and intellectuals in different parts of the country. It also carried an on-going debate on intellectual and ideological issues, commentaries on the concept as well as the actual work of Lokayan and information on relevant literature through a section called "Access". Activists were provided any of the items listed under "Access" upon request.

The response to this facility was encouraging and revealing. It showed that conventional social science was of little use to people grappling with problems of social intervention in the field. The latter were more in need of research and analysis that was sensitive to emerging power relationships and social structural features that marginalised several ethnic groups by making their position in society more and more vulnerable.

**Interchange** - The Interchange programme was conceived to expose activists from one region to spend an extended time with activists and organisations in another area. The conception behind this programme was to expose and sensitize activists and students to the grass-roots situation obtaining in different parts of the country through a first-hand experience of observation and participation.

Among those who participated in this activity were a group of civil liberties activists who visited Bombay and studied the nine-months old textile strike. Their report, based on interviews with workers, union leaders and members is ready for publication. Small teams of activists also visited tribal regions in Madhya Pradesh and prepared detailed reports on the Chattisgarh Mukti Morcha (an unique working class-peasant organization) and on the problems of mine workers. Another team travelled extensively in Kerala to study the work of Kerala Shashtra Sahitya Parishad, a leading popular science movement comprising young activists from the fields of science, literature and culture.
The biggest lake in the Philippines is located in the Southern Tagalog region – Laguna de Bay. It lies in the middle of the province of Rizal, Laguna and some parts of Metro Manila. The lake comprises some 90,000 hectares and its shore line extends up to 220 kilometers. It breeds some 23 different kinds of fish, and until now, various experimentations continue to produce more varieties of fish that can be cultured in fishpens.

The lake teems with fish. In 1976, the total catch in Laguna de Bay reached 36,678 metric tons, excluding the output from fishpens. The milkfish (bangus) caught from the fishpens in 1977 totalled 47,102 metric tons, excluding those caught outside fishpens.

The lake is famous not only for fishing but also for duck-raising, an industry that sustains the livelihood of the people in lake shore communities. Small shrimps caught from the lake are used as feed for the ducks. Because ducks subsist in the lake shores, it is also here that "balut", a Filipino duck-egg delicacy, is produced.

Thousands of fishermen and duckraisers depend on the resources of the lake for their livelihood. According to the Laguna Lake Development Authority (LLDA), more than 70,000 small fishermen directly depend on the lake as the main source of income.

The lake is rich in aquatic resources. However, despite such an abundance, untold sufferings of the fishermen communities continue unabatedly. The small fishermen cannot utilize the wealth of the lake that should rightfully be theirs. Only a few local and foreign elite exploit the marine resources of this lake.

The lake and the fishermen

Old folks called Laguna de Bay "mala-paraiso" (semi-paradise) because of its clean, deep waters teeming with fish. From 1927-1955, there was an abundance of big varieties of fish. The fish caught then were as big as the human arm.

The fishing implements then were simple. The majority did not even own fishing implements. They used their bare hands in shallow fishing and in deep-fishing. With simple or no fishing implements, the people had an abundant supply of fish.
The beauty and bounty of the lake did not last long. Problems started to arise when the Marikina River was closed to give way to the construction of the Montalban Dam. Fish lay their eggs in the Marikina River. The river closure adversely affected the breeding habits of the fish, reducing the quantity output of fish. The fishermen were naturally first to be affected because their catch was reduced substantially.

Still after a few years, factories sprouted along the Pasig River, a tributary of Laguna Lake and other lake shore towns. Effluents from these factories flowed to the lake, resulting in irreversible water pollution. The formerly clear waters became murky and polluted. The fish fry began to die. Fish species that breed in shallow waters moved farther away from the shore, out of the reach of small poor fishfolk with no adequate implements for fishing in the deeper parts of the lake.

Aside from pollution, the lake was also destroyed by illegal methods of fishing, such as trawling, the electrocution and poisoning of the fish. All these hastened the extinction of even the smallest of the fish species of the lake. The small fishermen faced harder times with the disappearance of the fishes.

One of the recent big changes in Laguna de Bay is the proliferation of fishpens and cages, which under the management of LLDA multiplied many times over. The promotion of fishpen culture is one of the unique projects of LLDA, supposedly to improve the conditions of the fishermen economically. Sad to say, these fishpens and cages constituted some of the factors that limited and destroyed the very source of livelihood of fishermen.

Fishermen's problems

I. Fishpens

Fishpens were first set up in 1973 in the laketowns of Cardona, Baras and Taytay. Because of high returns, the idea and practice spread to other towns in Rizal province like in Jala-jala, Binangonan and Pililla.

LLDA records show that only a dozen of the estimated 680 fishpens in the lake legally acquired permits. Of these, ten have already expired, leaving only two issued by LLDA in 1979 which are valid. LLDA records also that there are about 135 corporate fishpens out of the 680 recorded, occupying 5,488 hectares or 58.3% of the total fishpen area. Some 54 fishpens are owned and operated by multiple, related and interlocking corporations, covering an area of 2,574 hectares or 27.3% of the fishpen area.

How did the fishpens affect the fishermen? Fishpens have drastically limited the fishing area open to small fishermen. This in the face of a rapidly increasing number of small fishermen who have to contend with a decreasing area for fishing. The wide expanse of the breakwaters of the fishpens, which are sanctuaries of the fish, cannot be reached by the fishermen because that would be considered illegal being within the concession area. Besides, security guards of the fishpens ward off the fishermen who dare go near them, often firing at them.
Proliferation of illegally-constructed fishpens has increased the fishermen's operating costs because it entails more gasoline and other expenses for them to go farther out to the deeper parts of the lake just to be able to fish.

Although the fishpens have provided employment to some lake shore people, the wages are very low. Aside from brazenly disregarding the minimum wage set by the government, the fishpen owners deny the rights and benefits due to fishpen workers.

The fish traps at the side of the lake shores no longer are able to catch fish substantially, and those in the deeper parts of the lake have been victims of the fishpen expansion. These are forcibly being made to be abandoned or destroyed, or forcibly caused to be transferred elsewhere.

The duckraisers who get snails from the bottom of the lake have exhausted the shallow waters. If they do wish to get snails from the abandoned fishpens, they have to pay an amount dictated by the fishpen owners. Because of the high costs, only the rich fishermen can afford to do so.

II. Pollution

According to the LLDA report, there are 424 factories constructed around the lake. Of these, 60% or 224 are directly dislodging their waste materials into the lake. For example, the Grand Span, an asbestos factory in Binangonan, poisons not only the water but also the atmosphere. The waste coming from these factories settles down and poison the shallow waters, driving the fish away. Fishermen could only catch fish in small quantities, and sometimes these are no longer safe for consumption. From time to time, the highly polluted waters of the Pasig River pour into the lake resulting in the killing of fish in big quantities.

The forced use of fertilizers and pesticides in 48,200 hectares of agricultural lands around the lake adds to the pollution and has resulted in fishkill in the lake time after time.

III. Destructive Methods of Fishing

There is a big number of rich fishermen who use small trawlers, and who are usually armed. This has limited even more the areas of small fishermen. Because of these limitations, the small fishermen cannot hope to compete with them.

The small trawlers scrape the deepest portions of the lake, thereby destroying natural fish sanctuaries. These trawlers also indiscriminately catch the small fish and fries. This has resulted in the decrease of fish in the areas as well as the income of the small fishermen, not to mention ecological imbalances resulting from it.

These small trawlers frequently ram through and destroy small fishing nets. Oftentimes, even the small bancas are hit resulting in accidents, losses and injuries to fishermen.
Other Problems of the Fishermen

The ordinary fishermen do not have, or lack, enough fishing equipment and implements to be able to fish in competition against capital and power. Because of this, they are forced to borrow from the usurer at exhorbitant rates to be able to buy fishing necessities like gasoline, food and the like. In return, the fishermen would give all his catch to the usurer who easily dictates the price of the catch. The usual usurer's price for the catch is lower than the prevailing market price. More often, it is also the usurer who owns the big barrio store where the fishermen buy goods on credit.

There are big usurers who lend bigger amounts of money for the purchase of bancas or nets. The system used is 5/6 or 20% interest rate on the amount borrowed which is computed on the equivalent cost of the catch. There are cases where onerous conditions are imposed wherein all the fisherman's catch within 3 months (usual time frame given by the usurer to pay the debt) will be "sold" to the usurer who again dictates the price. If the fisherman fails to pay in full within the set period, the usurer gets all the catch until the fisherman can fully repay the loan, even if it takes months or years.

The Government's Role vis-à-vis Fishermen's Condition

Since 1972, several laws have been enacted and many agencies have been created to "improve" the industries with export potentials. Fishing is one such export-oriented industry. Since then, in order to profit more from the sea/lake waters of which 92.41% are untapped (DAP 77-03 report), the Philippine government concluded with Japan a Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation. A few years later, Presidential Decree 704 was issued to encourage the export of fish and other aquatic products.

LLDA was created in 1966, and Presidential Decree 813 strengthened the LLDA by widening its scope of operations. It was placed under the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA). LLDA has mandate over all plans and programs of the lake. Until now, it continues to supervise all government activities and projects in Laguna Lake.

Today, LLDA has several projects whose funds, borrowed from the World Bank-International Monetary Fund and Asian Development Bank, underwritten by foreign banks and corporations. Some of these are in agriculture, transportation and infrastructure, and research studies on further uses of lake waters. The main feature now is the fishpen belt project in the lake.

There is also the Bureau of Fish and Aquatic Resources (BFAR), now the target of most fishermen's complaints regarding unjust policies. Oftentimes, those from the agency itself, are the ones breaking the policies and laws on the use of the natural sanctuaries of marine resources.

The government has been responsible for the worsening pollution of the lake. As a result of the government policy to attract more foreign investors, there now proliferate big multinational factories along lake shore areas. These multinationals violate anti-pollution laws but the
government has not done anything to stop this. But every time the people complained, like what the fishermen did regarding their plight, there are only empty promises with no concrete action or implementation — as for instance when the government issued in October 1978 Letter of Instruction (LOI) 769 regarding the demolition of illegally constructed fishpens. Since then, instead of resolving the problem at hand, the government condoned the increase in the number of illegal fishpens. In May of 1982, when more and more fishermen were organized to counter this, the only "concrete" action done was the issuance of a Letter of Instruction (LOI 1239) which ordered the Chairman of LLDA to strictly enforce the dismantling of illegal fishpens and directed the Ministry of Labor and Employment, through the Bureau of Rural Workers, to form associations for livelihood programs. Yet, two months after the issuance, not one illegal fishpen has been demolished. The fishermen ask: "If it were the foreign and local elite who complained, would the stance of the government be the same?".

Another government project which has apparently been outdated was the Biyayang Dagat '79 (Sea/Lake Resources Project). It provided for a loan/credit program to fishermen. Aside from the high interest rate, most of the small fishermen are disqualified because of lack of collaterals to offer. And one again, the old promise is replaced by a new name ... KKK project (Movement for Livelihood and Development), a socio-economic venture supposedly to uplift the economic plight of the masses in the depressed areas.

Because of these harsh experiences, the fishermen often ask: "For whom is the government — is it for us the Filipino poor or for the few local and foreign elites?". And the next question usually would be: When will the lakes, rivers and seas be truly for the fishermen of the Filipino masses?

United Action — Answer to Improvement

"We can never recover the lake if we do not organize and unite". This is the frequent answer to the persistent question. "Nothing will ever happen to us if we will not act in an organized manner. We should have proper planning, coordination and clear sets of goals and objectives. This is the only sure way that our struggle will bear fruit and our strength will not be dissipated. We have already started to organize and act. This resulted in our greater awareness regarding our problems as we did on May 1, 1982 and lately in the launching of the recent symposium for the fishermen. There we pointed out that our problems are not isolated from the problems of the rest of the Filipino masses. As such, we declare our solidarity and unity with the other sectors of society".

These actions have compelled the government to open its eyes after it has long chosen to close them to the masses. It has also been forced to make another promise, LOI 1239.

But we should not stop here. We must continue to act, to push anew the government to take concrete action towards a complete implementation and granting of our demands. We have made a decent start. What we need more is to raise to a higher level our struggle and our unity. This is the only assurance that the fishermen of the Filipino masses will recover the seas, lakes and rivers that are but ours to utilize.
We, the participants in this Asia Partnership for Human Development (APHD) consultation on "Asian Women and the Struggle for Justice", coming from 14 countries in Asia and 7 countries from Europe, North America and the Pacific, have shared, reflected and analysed the experiences and situations of women in the most oppressed and exploited groups of society, namely rural, industrial workers, cultural and indigenous minorities, urban poor, migrants and prostitutes.

We have come to the realisation that these women suffer from triple oppression - as citizens of Third World countries in an unjust world economic system, as workers and as women. Women are treated as inferior in society, denied their rights to participate in decision-making and to develop as full human beings. The low status of women is derived from their relationship with the male members of their families. Often women are victims of rape and other forms of violence. As part of the most exploited and oppressed groups, industrial women workers suffer as cheap, docile and dispensable labour. Women in the sex industry, often related to tourism and military bases, are used as commodities and are considered as social outcasts. Indigenous minority women have been deprived of their ancestral land and cultural identity. Urban poor women live in constant threat of eviction and economic dislocation and are denied their basic rights to proper housing, facilities and services. Rural women are forced to work long hours at home and in the fields, often paid unequal wages, if not as unpaid labour.

After a careful study of these problems, we see the following important trends in Asia:

A. Most governments have opted for an urban-based development policy at the expense of rural people who comprise some 80% of the total population - thus widening the gap between the urban and the rural and between the rich and the poor. We are particularly concerned about the rate of rural exodus and the consequent mushrooming of slums in the cities of Asia.

B. Most countries have adopted the economic strategy of export-oriented industrialisation, which has resulted in increased dependency on foreign capital and unfavourable balance of payments - leading to further impoverishment of the people. We recognise that the economic strategies of the Third World countries are imposed on the South by the North and international institutions, in collaboration with the local elite. We see this as a neo-colonial policy of exploiting the resources of Third World countries for the sole purpose of profit maximization at the cost of human development. Women bear the brunt of this economic strategy.
C. To protect the interests of the economic powers, governments have resorted to the use of political and ideological military apparatus in the name of national security and which deprive people of their democratic rights. We see that the growing militarisation evident in Asia is encouraged, supplied and often financed by the two superpowers in pursuit of their own economic or political interests. Third World countries are further subjected to cultural imperialism, including consumerism, which is having serious impact on their value systems.

We are conscious of the role that culture and the misinterpretation of religious values play in maintaining the status quo and perpetuating patriarchy.

In the light of the above, it is clear that there is a need for far-reaching and radical transformation in Asia and the North towards a new international social and economic order. Such a new order should lead to a just and human society, free from discrimination on the basis of class, race, sex, religion and belief. Recognising the inadequacy of the responses of church agencies and non-governmental organisations, we commit ourselves to the following:

1. The struggle for the liberation of women should be a concerted effort at local and national level. There is also a need and obligation for international solidarity which will lead to different forms of action. We recommend the establishment of a process of forum. Such a process would enable Asian and non-Asian women involved in the struggle for full human liberation to meet one another, exchange experiences, discuss common problems, learn from one another and elaborate an international strategy to respond to the transnational exploitation of women.

2. Recognising that the liberation of women is not an isolated issue, we strongly recommend that organised programmes should be linked up with other movements for social transformation.

3. Although oppressed in their own country, women in the North are called upon to recognise the oppressive role played by the North towards the South. In this regard the following actions receive our support:

   1. development education and consciousness raising in the North;
   2. work with women's organisations, trade unions and other relevant groups to raise awareness of the North's oppressive role;
   3. pressure their governments so that policies - economic policy, official development assistance and military aid - are critically analysed;
   4. develop a simple life style that would challenge the unequal distribution of the world's wealth and resources.

4. Projects of development agencies should create conditions for women to participate at all levels and thus develop their self-confidence and self-image. Recognising that changes can only come from the most oppressed and exploited, the priority in terms of programmes should be geared towards conscientisation and organisation of these women.
5. With regard to projects we offer the following criteria:

a) we recognise the validity of entry points and stress that the project must meet the felt needs of the community. We stress, however, that socio-economic projects are valid only in so far as the project as a whole emphasises increasing awareness of their situation which is translated into collective action and organisation. Thus, entry points have to be placed in the context of the overall objectives (based on the analysis of the structure and mechanisms of society) methodology and time scale of the project;

b) we stress that conscientisation and organisation are key features of any women's project;

c) women should participate at all levels - planning, implementation and evaluation. This is true not only for women's projects but for all development projects. Mechanisms should be instituted to ensure such participation.

6. Bearing in mind that this is an APHD Consultation and that women are a priority target group for the APHD, we recommend to APHD:

a) each partner agency of the APHD should have a representative number of women at the executive and decision-making levels;

b) the APHD Executive Committee should have a greater number of women than at present;

c) that mechanisms be established within the APHD to ensure that action be taken on the report of this conference to keep alive the theme of Asian women's struggle for justice and that the recommendations of this conference be implemented.

Contact address: Eileen Sudworth
Asia Partnership for Human Development
154 Elizabeth Street, 4th Floor,
Sydney NSW 2000, Australia
Histories of science and technology which have so far been written do not adequately represent the interaction of science and technology with culture, social values and philosophical ideas on the one hand and the economic structure and economic development in any given social system on the other. Further, they are highly Eurocentric and leave out the development of science and technology of non-European culture areas and the latter's contribution to the world stream of knowledge and technological development.

Since 1945, Professor Joseph Needham's contributions to the understanding of the science civilization of China, and the studies in history of science and technology in Japan, have brought out the extent of development of science and technology in the respective countries. Recently, the work on science and technology in Islamic culture areas has brought forth the richness of contributions made during the medieval period.

Somehow or other, the development of science and technology in India throughout her history, however, has not been adequately represented. In the absence of the scientific and technological component, there has been an incomplete understanding of India's culture and civilization and their contribution to the enrichment of world culture. Further, the introduction of science by the British in India is considered to be the beginning of science and technology in India and there is much dependence on the literature produced in UK and USA on the historical and social perception of science.

In order to develop a proper historical perspective and bring to sharp focus the development of science and technology in India and their relations with society, her culture, social values, philosophy and economic development, the National Institute of Science, Technology and Development Studies has initiated a significant effort and is organising a major programme under the title: "Science and Technology in Indian Culture" which is divided into the following:

1) Science and technology in ancient India (from the earliest times to the beginning of AD 12th century)

This will trace the development of science and scientific thought in India in the perspective of the history of global science with the awareness of the complex interconnection of science with social organisation, technology, craftlore and belief system - the last as embodied in magic, folklore, religion, philosophy and jurisprudence. The purpose is not only to discern comparable contributions of Indian scientists with contemporary scientists in other civilizations but also to seek answers to the following queries. What did the scientists in India contribute to the mainstream of world science? What did the Indian scientists receive from this mainstream? Where and why did the Indian
scientists fail to be enriched by the scientific activities in other civilizations, with which India had relations through trade, commerce, political and religious missions? Other factors which caused the decline of science in India will also be studied. There is also a project to study in depth the Indian tradition of maritime activities, navigation and nautical sciences in ancient and medieval periods.

ii) Science and technology in medieval India (AD 1200-1800)

In this theme, particular interest is being taken as regards the impact of the Central and West Asian Science on the Indian sub-continent. In addition to the development of science and technology, which was part of the Indian tradition, the scientific ideas have percolated to the Indian society through Arabo-Persian scholarship. It is believed that this scholarship became a part of the Indian culture. How far this process has been successful will be investigated. The bulk of the historical literature for this period dealing with scientific and technological work is available in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit languages. A few important texts have been selected for critical examination. Historical reconstruction of the period will be made to highlight the interaction between the development of science and technology in the various sectors of society. It will include the study of science and technology subject-wise interdisciplinary development over different periods in medieval India.

Finally, it will draw a synoptic view of the development of science and technology as a component of the cultural system. As a part of this study an effort is also being made to study the introduction of Indian science and its impact on Arabic scientific literature.

iii) Science and Indian response in colonial era

The introduction of western science and technologies in India specifically with reference to the imperial motives and needs is being studied. While the establishment of various scientific surveys and explorations and introduction of steam navigation, electric-telegraph and railways, etc. had some positive effects, helped the British in the negative assessment of Indian science and educational traditions, created a socio-psychological tension on the Indian mind. Here the objective is to analyse the way in which the Indians reacted to the introduction of western science during the British rule, and to assess the impact it had on the emergence of scientific institutions, technological projects and industrial development. The study of this period will be spread over two phases covering the East India Company (1765-1857) and the Raj (1858-1946).

iv) Science and technology in post-independent India

The evolution of science policy in India is being subjected to an in-depth study. There has been a major effort to try to put together the information on science and technology development which is taking place in India since independence. In this respect, considerable work has already been done, particularly with regard to the evolution of science policy as seen from the speeches and policy statements on science and technology of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi.
In this programme, the main thrust is being given to the development of research capabilities for achieving the take-off stage for developing research themes and studies. Presently, there are two main difficulties in the development of research capabilities. Firstly, there are only a few scholars in the country who have the required expertise in the study of history of science and technology. The young historians are not much attracted to this field as it is not a traditional area of research. Two eminent historians, one conversant with the ancient period and the other with the medieval period, have been appointed as guest scientists to develop capabilities among the young scholars at Calcutta and Lucknow respectively. Secondly, the scholars are required to have a fresh look at the historical development of science and technology in India. Also, there are constraints as to the access to the basic sources for evidence. The opportunities for access to such resources are to be developed through translation from classical languages and sufficient bibliographical work. The sources in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic are being developed through translation of selected texts in English, Hindi and Urdu.

In addition, for the work on the history of science and technology in the Indian culture, a 'National Archives for Science and Technology' is being built up at the institute. It is intended to locate, identify and retrieve science and technology information contained in the hitherto unexploited archival sources of the country and keep them at one place so as to make them available to the scientists and technologists who would like to work on the development of science and technology in India as well as to the planners, policy makers, administrators, scientists and technologists through appropriate reference media.

TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSFER AND THE GROWTH PROCESS
IN THE THIRD WORLD - 'A MYTH OR A REALITY?'

by John E. Udo Ndebbio
Department of Economics
University of Calabar
Calabar, Nigeria

The statement that technological transfer and diffusion is a cultural, social and political process, and not just the imitation of manufacturers appears to be devoid of truth. Given the inherent difficulties associated with each of the above processes, no society can boast of technical change which, in this context, involves a process of invention, innovation and diffusion of new techniques by imitation and acceptance. Because of these difficulties, most Third World countries tend to develop a sort of in-built resistance to change as well as a strong inclination to maintain the status quo. Obviously no country can achieve increased productivity and growth without some measure of technical change. Therefore, technical change is capable of affecting the way people think and make their living, their social habits, their entire way of life and is inevitably disruptive of established attitudes and practices.
With the background, this write-up attempts to examine critically whether technological transfer in the growth process is a myth or a reality in tradition-bound Third World economies. After commenting briefly on the available forms of technological transfer, the essay goes further to identify likely problems and prospects of technological transfer. As far as this work is concerned, the problems constitute the myths while the prospects or conditions necessary to achieve technological transfer constitute the realities.

Forms of Technological Transfer

Technological transfer, no matter the form, has continued to be a complex matter even among the industrialised economies. But the essence of technological transfer is not doubted in view of the general opinion that it is a way of improving the efficiency of investment as well as the general effectiveness of the productive process. Being a complex matter, technological transfer takes several forms. The first is the classical form, and has to do with the export and import of capital goods embodying new technologies, supplemented by the sale of licences, patents and technical documentation. The second form involves the expansion of transnational corporations through the establishment and purchase of subsidiaries. This type of transfer is possible through direct foreign investment. These two forms of technological transfer are widely used in industrialised market economies, and may not be very suitable between economies at different levels of productivity. The problems inherent in the two forms of transfer will be discussed in the next section dealing with technological transfer as a myth in the Third World countries.

In the meantime, it is important to examine the general sources of new technology available in most Third World countries so as to appreciate objectively the problems of technological transfer. These sources are: (a) local invention and innovation by producers, scientists and inventors; (b) local research institutes formally structured to create new knowledge and (c) foreign technology imported from the industrialised countries and adapted for local conditions. Because of institutional constraints and lack of talents of the local people, sources (a) and (b) above have not been fully relied upon as major sources through which new techniques are introduced. Rather, source (c) which is similar in many respects to the classical form indicated earlier has been widely relied upon despite the low degree of local adaptation of imported technology in the Third World.

Technological Transfer as a Myth in the Third World countries

One cannot help but ask how can technological transfer be a myth in the Third World? To answer this question is to point at various problems encountered in the Third World in the course of technological transfer. These problems can be briefly identified as follows:

1. Irrespective of the form of technological transfer, the scientific communities in the Third World countries do possess passive posture in the application of science and technology to solve society's problems. What accounts for this passive attitude is the lack of pertinent information on and understanding of imported technology. It is not uncommon
to see imported techniques operated for a short while in some Third World countries, and then abandoned for any flimsy reasons.

2. Another major problem has to do with the fact that the new techniques are imported unaltered in terms of production methods and input ratios. In almost all cases, the machines used in industrialised countries are transferred intact to the Third World countries. As far as the imported techniques are not flexible to suit the different levels of productivity in these economies, the degree of adaptation to new technologies is bound to be low.

3. Furthermore, there is that problem associated with not only ignorant but reckless imitation and acquisition of advanced technology. This problem has the effect of impairing productive efforts and causing underutilisation of resources, especially labour resources. If, for instance, an advanced capital-intensive textile technique, which can hardly be operated efficiently and at full capacity, is imported, the effect will be as indicated above.

4. Failure of most Third World economies to have a strong private sector base increases the problem of technological transfer. This is so because most public enterprises in the Third World are considered as inefficient and technologically uninspired. Indeed it is only the private sector that can have the capacity to innovate, and achieve new and better production methods, hence improved output mix.

5. Because of the reduced influence of the private sector activities, coupled with the mad desire for already finished products from industrialised countries, a few private industries available in the Third World countries are not encouraged to have research and development (R & D) units. Without such units, advancement technologically can hardly be achieved as desired.

6. The improper ways of teaching science in secondary schools and universities militate against technological transfer. It is rather disappointing to see that science teaching even at the university level in most Third World countries tends to concentrate on deriving formulae rather than on practical application.

7. Technical progress in the Third World is also hampered by lack of love for, and strong commitment to, the cherished goals of the nation by the people in authority. In fact, even the educated elites in these countries have not fully developed that sense of commitment, let alone the sense of honesty needed for the well being of a nation.

8. Low rate of technological transfer also borders on the attitude of university authorities in the Third World countries. These men in authority tend to place emphasis on the number of publications rather than on the quality as the basis for promotion of instructors and research staff. This type of attitude goes deep to frustrate meaningful research, and encourage poor work which can hardly lead to improved skills and desired technical change.

9. It is an observable fact that individuals in the Third World do not only lack the spirit of risk taking but also the ability to stand disappointments basically because they are impatient. Therefore, another
attitudinal factor likely to impede technological development lies on risk taking and impatience of the people in these economies.

Technological Transfer as a Reality in the Third World Countries

Having identified some problems likely to impede a smooth technological transfer, we can assume here that the reverse of these problems constitutes the conditions necessary to achieve a smooth technological transfer.

Notwithstanding the above assumption, a part of the whole package necessary for technological transfer and diffusion to succeed in the Third World countries can be summarised as follows:

(1) Governments should create research centres and train experts to man these centres.

(2) Industries should be encouraged to have R & D units. This will help in the growth process as well as improve the strength of the private sector which has not been impressive in the Third World. Other forms of encouragement, including the provision of cheap sources of funds for small scale production, are necessary.

(3) Industries should be guided on what techniques to choose. In this respect, governments should set up agencies comprising of scientists, research technologists, industrialists, etc. to oversee and advise on the desirability of imported techniques.

(4) Governments and educational institutions within a country should work together to popularise science education in secondary schools and universities. This can be achieved by promoting science contests and competitions.

(5) At this point, it is important to add that media campaigns should be mounted against negative attitudes which tend to encourage greed, dishonesty, cheating, laziness, jealousy and reckless imitation.

Conclusion

The availability of financial capital to import finished equipment and other productive devices/resources does not suggest that technology has been transferred. Before technology can be properly transferred, it has to conform considerably with the cultural, social and attitudinal values of the recipient countries. Even though the heart of all new ideas lies in borrowing, adding, combining or modifying the old ones, it is a fact that technical change, which is the result of a smooth technological transfer, will not occur if these values are seriously encroached upon.

Having discussed the problems of, likewise the conditions necessary to achieve technological transfer, it is imperative to say that the problems are as serious as the conditions. Caught in the vicious cycle of working to overcome these problems on the one hand, and to implement new measures for a smooth technological transfer on the other, it will sound funny to say that technological transfer is a reality in the Third World countries. Rather, it is a myth considering the magnitude of problems inherent in the Third World.
EVALUATION AND PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION

by Matthias Wesseler
Center of Professional Studies
University of Kassel
Steinstrasse 19
3430 Witzenhausen 1, FRG

The dominant forms of evaluation reflect the underlying concepts and values of the dominant society. By applying those forms of evaluation we often unwillingly risk to reinforce and even reproduce the concepts and values of the status quo. Thus, as far as the status quo hampers social change, evaluation often may become an obstacle to development. As evaluators we generally contribute to the accumulation of knowledge and, hence, of power. That seems not to be very helpful to meet the crucial challenge of almost every development: the distribution of knowledge, of resources and of power.

Nevertheless, in our professional practice, we are often urged to participate or to direct evaluations in order to legitimate specific programmes or to improve the implementation of our projects. So the question is whether we can provide a way of evaluation without betraying our goals and becoming victims of our own procedures; if there is a way to transform evaluation from a tough tool of control and domestication to an instrument of cooperation and liberation.

1. Up to now, what are our experiences with evaluation?

Evaluation has become one of the most important tools to control adult learning programmes. It was supposed that evaluation would be able to identify specific programmes with proof and authority. Seen as a scientific or technological task, evaluation should serve to make management decisions more rational and hence apolitical.

The traditional pattern of narrowly input-output oriented evaluation over the years shifted to a model which primarily is concerned with process decisions taking into account various variables such as input-, process-, output- and context-data. Summative, goal-centered evaluation today seems to become an obsolete pattern whereas formative evaluation - trying not to prove but to improve - gains widespread recognition.

Both models, nevertheless, are based on a strong conviction about the feasibility of rational management, and both are supposed to work in a context of command. Furthermore, both models today have to cope with an increasing criticism: commissioners often find evaluation studies not useful, while evaluators complain that their messages are not used. To maintain evaluation as a central tool of control, the currently dominant attempt to overcome those critics seems to strengthen the rationality of evaluation approaches and to foster the reliability of their procedures and methods.

2. What are the effects of evaluation?

Obviously, there are so many different effects of evaluation, that I have to focus here only on some of the most important and critical ones:
generally the people (teachers and learners) to be evaluated try to adapt or to submit most efficiently to the sponsors of a particular programme; they therefore almost necessarily exclude any potential change to gain more or different things out of a programme; They probably will rather learn what the sponsors thought useful for them, and not so much what they themselves felt they needed;

- teachers and directors of programmes under evaluation try to avoid any modification of the original plan in order not to disturb the highly sophisticated evaluation design. Necessary changes and adaptations of a programme might be postponed or completely dismissed;

- quantifiable outputs strongly gain importance, because they are easily, with a relatively high reliability, assessed. Other goals or values of a programme even if essentially important tend to be discouraged; the evaluation procedures and instruments often seem to determine the concrete goals of a learning programme;

- the information accumulated goes directly to the headquarters and bolsters the established authority; thus the process of an ever growing concentration of knowledge and power will be supported and the gap between the few powerful experts who possess knowledge and wealth, and the great majority of poor and powerless people will be broadened.

3. What should we try to change?

Looking through the recent discussion on evaluation issues there is a new concept emerging: naturalistic or responsive evaluation (Stake) or - the result of the Stanford Evaluation Consortium - evaluation as a political institute (Cronbach et al.)

While the main function of summative and formative evaluation primarily seems to strengthen established authorities, the mission of this new evaluation pattern is "to facilitate a democratic, pluralistic process by enlightening all the participants". In this context decisions are not understood as impartial choices between discrete alternatives, to be made by authorities at a particular time. Decisions - within a context of pluralistic accommodation (instead of command) - rather emerge out of a never ending process of pushes and pulls of arguments and interests. There is no such thing as "correct" ways and "best" results. The aim of evaluation therefore, cannot be to produce authoritative truths but to raise new questions, to create new perceptions, and thus to contribute to a general process of clarification. Responsive evaluation is not a way to achieve the rationalist ideal of efficiency in decision making but to foster a process of enlightened participation.

To avoid misunderstandings: the issue is not at all systematic "hard nosed" evaluation vs. intuitive appraisal, but a specific dominant pattern of stereotypic evaluation (with all its connotations of superiority) vs. an emerging pattern of responsive, political evaluation; responsive to the needs of a pluralistic, increasingly crosscultural society.

Therefore, in my experience, some innovative goals of evaluation could be:
4. How could those goals be realized?

As the fourth question touches directly the specific cultural, social and economic reality of our work, it is almost impossible to draw some general guidelines. Statements like this one are often made to separate the writer or speaker from a narrow minded "how to" ideology in development. But in my eyes, that is only one (obviously necessary) face of the coin, the other is, that I very often experienced a deepening and helpful understanding of my own problems by listening to other people express their ideas and views. Therefore, my following answer does not at all pretend to be normative to anyone, I rather try to share what was meaningful in my work and thereby to open a sincere dialogue of mutually exchanging our experiences, including the bitter and frustrating ones.

First of all, I learned to be critically aware of the guiding questions evaluation studies generally try to follow. To me it seems increasingly important to ask different questions, such as for example:

. not so much how to measure specific goals, but rather how to understand the often unintended impact of a programme?
. not so much are the instruments reliable, but rather are they approaching the relevant issues?
. not so much, will the design be technically perfect, but rather will it be personally satisfying?
. not so much how to meet the criterion of effectiveness, but rather how to cope with a multifold balance of values?
. not so much, will the sponsor be happy about the results, but rather will the people concerned have learned something useful for their work and life?
. not so much will the study help to make the programme mechanistically perfect, but rather will it help to improve meaningful contributions to society?
. not so much will the evaluation focus on a guiding principle such as rational management and control, but rather will the study be geared to the liberation of people (including ourselves as evaluators).

By asking these or similar questions it became more and more clear that the whole problem of evaluation - at least to a certain extent - seems
to be determined by an underlying issue: participation. That means, how far it will be possible to share knowledge and power within the evaluation team, between the evaluators and the people whose work is under evaluation and - finally - between the evaluators and the commissioners or programme officials. Especially in adult education with its long paternalistic tradition, dominant still in so many programmes (at least in Germany) to let participation grow, there are multiple and sometimes discouraging obstacles, but in my experience it always was one of the rare moments of deep happiness and satisfaction when we discovered new channels of mutual understanding. Channels which truly allowed a reciprocal flow of personal experience combining knowledge and emotion.

Thus, evaluators may become a modest element within a process of redistributing knowledge and power. And, finally, I strongly feel that - beyond all the overwhelming sadness, we sometimes experience in view of the global crisis of our earth - there is an emerging joy of life which results out of the increasing participation at the grass-root level of our every day learning process.

Some final theses for further discussion:

1. The dominant evaluation pattern pretends to measure efficiency and impact of programmes, with high reliability and validity. It is predominantly geared to facilitate rational and, hence, apolitical decision making.

2. The underlying concepts of this evaluation pattern are based on a twofold idealistic hypothesis:

   . evaluation, such as any form of scientific research, reveals objective truth about reality;
   . decisions are mainly determined by the availability of rational information.

3. The overall effect of this evaluation pattern is the collection of authoritative truths and the accumulation of power for the central agencies. Thus, evaluation reproduces the dominant structures of the status quo.

4. As far as the status quo hampers social change, the dominant evaluation pattern becomes an obstacle to development.

5. The condition to shape an evaluation pattern for justice and democracy is increased participation. This implies - as any shift of "paradigm" - a shift of modes of life.

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This ICPE international research project, initiated at the request of a number of ICPE member countries interested in comparative studies in this field, includes three successive phases.

The first consisted of the preparation of national reports providing historical and descriptive analysis of the forms of workers' self-management and participation, and the political, social and economic conditions in which they have been introduced and developed. Ten national reports have been prepared and eight of them published.

The second phase foresees the preparation of a number of case studies on the actual functioning of workers' self-management and participation in industrial and agricultural enterprises.

The third phase is to encompass the comparative study of selected aspects of workers' self-management and participation, based on the experiences of various Third World countries.

The project is a cooperative one in the nature of its work and organization. The role of ICPE is primarily the coordination of research, while the national research teams of experts in participating countries constitute the research core of the project. In the framework of the Centre's international research project, they jointly adopt programmes of research, including the methodologies for the work, and are responsible for their implementation and the exchange of experience gained in research.

At present, the research is concentrated on the second phase and, during the last few months, three regional meetings of representatives of national research teams from participating countries were held to evaluate the field research pertaining to this phase of the project. Further, an Advisory Committee is being established to evaluate the results of this research.

Parallelly, the national research teams which have recently joined the project are working on the national reports of the first phase of the project.

At present, national research teams from twelve Third World countries are taking part in the project. The project remains open for other countries which may be interested in joining it.
DEVELOPMENT BY WHOM? FOR WHOM?

One day, a group of appropriate technologists met to discuss matters of vital importance...

Cooking with wood has become difficult for people since our wood resources have been depleted!

Perhaps a new technology is called for! Special stoves minimizing the use of wood!

Wood burns efficiently if there is enough, but not too much, air. One way of achieving high temperature is control of the flow of air to the fire, as seen here.

The IPA stove is ideal for farmers since it really is economical...

...and the Lorena stove whose basic technology can be adapted broadly to different conditions and traditions!

Meanwhile, in the countryside...

What will I feed my family tomorrow?

Plus we have the smokeless chula, singer stove, sawdusty cook stove... Blah... Blah...

LETTERS/LETTRES

FROM GERMANY:

Thank you for the continued mailing of Dossier, whose contents I find so fresh and superb.

Kindly find herewith a cheque of S.fr.24 to begin with. I am Indian national. I wish I had sent a higher sum.

Sebastian Devasia, Bocholt

FROM GHANA:

I will very much like to thank you for making Dossier available to me. I have found it most useful and I sincerely hope that you will be able to continue to provide this most useful service to colleagues who are privileged to be on your mailing list.

Emmanuel D.A. Asibeg, Accra

FROM INDIA:

Conscientization worker and peace activist, who has developed some tentative insights: looking for transnational contact and support, if possible. Contact:

John Alexander, 7 Oaks, Bala Hisar, Mussoorie (UP) 248179, India.

FROM INDONESIA:

Thank you very much for sending me IFDA Dossier regularly. As a social work educator I found it very useful bulletin with a difference.

Since I have completed my assignment in Indonesia, second week of March 1984 I will be returning to Sri Lanka (Sri Lanka School of Social Work).

Y. Ratnayake, Bandung

FROM MEXICO:

Thank you for sending the issues of the Dossier missed during the Rome interlude. We forgot to request Dossier 34 and will greatly appreciate a copy.

The Dossier is indispensable to us: operationally - and psychically. We have included in our next year's budget a request for funding our subscription.

Roberto Bernard C., Michoacán
FROM NIGERIA:

Thank you for the book you have been sending to us. It is through these books that we have been able to know your activities, and also use it to educate consumers in our country.

We have been able to see the effort of many organisations in bringing to our knowledge about the aims and activities of their organisations.

We are unable to have the exchange control form from the Central Bank due to Military take over. We are waiting to receive more from you, and will contribute towards your organisation.

We are therefore looking forward to your recommendation for help in order to use in the work of consumer's affairs. We always hold Research and Seminars.

We wish to let you know that our Organisation is now called National Consumers Nigeria (NCN).

We are looking forward to know more about your activities.

Isaiah Alfred Etim, Calabar

DU ZAIRE:

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser la présente en vue de solliciter de votre bienveillance de m'envoyer chaque fois un exemplaire des invendus, s'il y en a, des publications ultérieures de votre Dossier.

Je vous exprime la haute estime en laquelle je tiens votre revue. Elle m'est d'un grand usage pour diverses raisons d'information personnelle, d'enseignement et de recherche scientifique. Je regrette ne pouvoir, actuellement, m'en assurer l'abonnement.

Masumbuko Ngwasz, Kisangani

FROM ZIMBABWE:

Would you please be so good as to place my name on your mailing list for copies of IFDA Dossier.

I am a senior information officer in the Ministry of Information and recently came across one of your issues, which I found very informative and interesting.

Edward O. Mamutse, Harare
AFTER THE 6 MONTH SUSPENSION OF THE NESTLÉ BOYCOTT IN THE US

NEW ACTION CAMPAIGNS LAUNCHED ON BABY FOODS ISSUE

"The baby foods campaign is not over" was the clear message to emerge from an international conference held in Mexico City from February 2-5.

Organized by the International Nestlé Boycott Committee (INBC) and the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN), the conference called for lawsuits or reparation campaigns against companies whose inappropriate marketing of baby foods leads to the unnecessary illness or death of infants. This was part of an overall strategy to put pressure on baby food companies to abide by the International Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes which was adopted by the World Health Organization in 1981.

These recommendations came in the wake of a decision by the conference to suspend a 6 1/2 year-long consumer boycott of Nestlé, the world's largest manufacturer of baby milks. Nestlé reached an agreement late last January with the INBC, in which the company stated that it was now prepared to substantially comply with the provisions of the International Code.

Chairperson of the conference, Patricia Young, said the decision by Nestlé was a "clear indication of the power of people's organizations to force corporations to give priority to social and human needs in making commercial decisions".

The conference recommended an intensive "international compliance campaign" to hold Nestlé to its promises. This will involve careful monitoring of the companies marketing practices over the next six months. At the same time, discussions will resume with Nestlé in an attempt to achieve Nestlé's full compliance with the International Code.

Conference participants also recognized the need to sensitize health workers to the problems related to the promotion of bottle feeding, and called for the establishment of a network of committed health workers to exchange strategies and support. Additional action plans called for the de-commercialization of health care institutions and the reduction of commercial influence on individual health workers.

Jeanine Velasco, IBFAN's South American coordinator, said the conference "helped to establish solid links between the concerns of groups in the Third World and those in industrialized countries. It has helped to build a solid foundation for future action together to press for changes that will make better infant health a reality".
The conference participants came from every region of the world - South Pacific, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Africa, Europe, North, Central and South America and the Caribbean. In all 125 people were present, representing 40 organizations from 24 countries.

(More information from IBFAN/INBC, Room 566, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115, USA).

AN IOCU "PROFILE FOR ACTION"

THE PESTICIDES HANDBOOK

It is estimated that 375,000 people in the Third World are poisoned yearly by pesticides and 10,000 of them die. To help citizens groups working on this issue the International Organization of consumers' Unions (IOCU) launched last February in Holland and Malaysia a new publication called The Pesticides Handbook, Profiles for Action.

In launching the Pesticides Handbook, the President of IOCU, Anwar Fazal, said that "IOCU has compiled this handbook to help groups working on the pesticides issue to stop the violence associated with a technology that is causing a terrible toll in human lives, incalculable damage to the environment and even real financial loss through needless misuse and dependence".

Fazal added that the handbook "is a continuing commitment by IOCU to help citizen groups, especially in the Third World, with information and resources for campaigning locally and globally to challenge the powerful vested interests involved".

IOCU, which represents a federation of over 120 consumer organisations from 50 countries, operates from its headquarters in The Hague, Netherlands, and the Asia-Pacific Regional Office in Penang.

Background Information

The IOCU Pesticides Handbook is divided into five sections:

Section 1 contains a guide to data, presented in the Pesticides Data Sheets, glossary of terms appearing on the data sheets, the data sheets and an index to some of the more common trade names.

Section 2 describes the hazards of pesticides, chemical classification of pesticides and symptoms of pesticide poisoning in each class, and steps to be adopted in the event of pesticide poisoning.

Section 3 comprises selected articles to form an overview of global pesticide problems and three typical Third World case studies.

Section 4 provides a list of groups actively engaged in pesticide issues that are associated with PAN.
Section 5 carries a bibliography of relevant reading materials for people interested in gathering more information on pesticides.

Criteria for the selection of the 44 pesticides profiled in the IOCU Pesticides Handbook is based on their harmful effects and extent of usage.

IOCU does not see the handbook as an end in itself, but rather as a dynamic working tool. The format of the Handbook allows constant updating.

Although there exist several publications on pesticides, most of them contain specific information on particular issues. The IOCU Handbook was designed to provide easy access to information commonly sought after by concerned groups and individuals interested in the pesticides issue in general, thus saving a considerable amount of valuable research time, effort and money.

(The Pesticides Handbook is available from the IOCU Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, PO Box 1045, Penang, Malaysia, at US$12 for non-profit public interest groups and US$25 for others).

MEETING THE CORPORATE CHALLENGE

A TRANSNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND NETWORK

At the beginning of 1983, the Institute for Policy Studies launched a project on transnational corporations. It marked the ten year anniversary of Richard Barnet's pioneering studies on global corporations that resulted in the publication of Global Reach. The project's goal was to study the remarkable growth and shifts of corporate power since Global Reach, and their impact on workers, consumers, women and Third World countries. Such study was motivated by a desire to help inspire, plan and coordinate counterstrategies to corporate power.

In this undertaking, the Institute does not walk into a vacuum. A variety of unions and social action groups in many countries have responded to corporate expansionism with initiatives to fight back, reform or replace the global corporations. Some of these counterstrategies have succeeded, others have failed, and many are unknown outside small circles of participants. What are lacking, however, are systematic attempts to share strategies, learn from others' experiences, and build networks.

In this context, the Institute for Policy Studies, in collaboration with many of these groups, plans:

a) to convene a major conference, in June 1984, of unions, social action groups and TNC research groups, to evaluate the efforts of the last decade and plan appropriate strategies for the future. To make this conference as productive as possible, The Institute for Policy Studies will first:
... compile an inventory and self-evaluations of major campaigns and research efforts launched by unions and social action groups over the past half decade; and

... prepare readable and comprehensive analysis of the major global corporate strategies for the next decade (in such areas as investment, high technology, the economic crisis, etc.) and what they mean for unions and social action groups;

... at the conference, these ideas will be exchanged and critiqued. We hope it will lead to:

b) a network of research groups, social action groups and unions concerned with corporate power, to facilitate future collaboration and action.

Conference Preparations

Conference preparations, the actual conference and the networks will involve unions, consumer groups, women's groups, church organizations, environmental groups, indigenous peoples organizations, research groups and other organizations working on global corporations. This includes organizations in both North and South.

In addition to preparatory meetings to discuss goals, participants, agendas, etc. two series of papers are being commissioned for the conference: one set on future strategies of the corporations, and one set on activist campaigns to counter corporate power.

A. Studies of Corporate Strategies

Vital to any effective action program towards corporations is knowledge of corporate output, marketing and technology strategies and how they are evolving. Technological revolutions for conquering distance and fragmenting production processes have transformed the international division of labor over the past 25 years and the ways in which large corporations entered into novel forms of collaboration with both industrialized and Third World countries. Under the impetus of a global economic crisis since 1979, the "new protectionism" and new technological breakthroughs in several high technology fields, corporate strategies are presently undergoing far more rapid change. Counterstrategies by action groups which are effective today could well be obsolete five years from now.

In order to fill the gap of knowledge in this area, papers are being written on each of the following three categories of corporate strategies:

1. High technology strategies:
   - microprocessor-related technologies
     i) communications technologies (fiber optics, etc.)
     ii) automation in manufacturing and service industries
   - biotechnologies
   - materials technologies
2. Overseas sales strategies (exports, barter, investment, licenses, sub-contracting, etc., particularly in light of the "new protectionism"; how these strategies can undermine national policy

3. Transnational political strategies: the role of business councils (CED, CFR, Trilateral Commission, etc.).

B. Self-evaluations of Corporate Campaigns

Numerous unions, consumer groups, women's organizations, church groups, indigenous peoples organizations and environmental groups around the world are being asked to complete self-evaluation for major actions or campaigns they have launched against global corporations. Such a self-evaluation is meant to be useful for both the organization carrying it out and other organizations which have launched similar actions.

In particular, groups are being asked to evaluate: goals, strategies, other participants, strengths and weaknesses of the campaigns, and corporate reactions.

With this kind of comprehensive background work, the conference should go far beyond other conferences on corporations by offering information on corporate strategies to those who need it most. It should also serve as a fertile ground for exchanging experiences on corporate campaigns and help launch networks to facilitate future action.

(Further information from: John Cavanagh, Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Que Street, Northwest, Washington D.C. 20009, USA).

POLICIES TOWARDS A JUST, PARTICIPATORY AND SUSTAINABLE SOCIETY (JPSS)

In The Netherlands, several attempts have been made to design a sustainable economy by limiting growth and consumption, by a fair distribution of labour and income and by introducing the concept of sufficiency into economic theory and practice 1/.

One attempt is the scenario of the Centre for Energy Saving, which is a contribution to the nationwide public debate on energy, recently organized by the government acting on a proposal from the churches. This scenario shows that it is possible to achieve the goals of saving energy, diminishing pollution and decreasing unemployment, provided certain conditions are met.

Another example is the report of the Scientific Council for Government Policy (an institution advising the government on long-term problems) in which, beside other approaches, ideas of a sustainable society are
elaborated for several domains. Designs have been made for social-economic policies, for culture, for environment and for foreign policy.

Thirdly, the Multidisciplinary Centre for Church and Society (MCKS) invited scientists, mainly economists, to make an elaborated design of the JPSS concept. They wrote a first report, *Economie van het Genoeg* ("Economy of enough/sustainable economy")

Now, the MCKS and the Ecumenical Research Exchange (ERE) are organizing a conference on policies towards a just, participatory and sustainable society, to be held from 27 to 29 September 1984 in Driebergen, The Netherlands. Its purpose is to present and discuss plans and proposals for the transition towards this goal. Until now, there have been many pleas for a better world, but few research reports about possibilities to achieve this are available.

The scope for a JPSS is broader than pure economics: it also embraces political, social and cultural aspects. Christian researchers in other countries are engaged in similar endeavours. There is a growing conviction that the rich nations must prepare themselves to revise their economic policy of maximizing growth.

For the conference, the organizers want to concentrate on Western Europe, and within that sub-continent, they consider the European Community (EC) as an emerging power bloc. What kind of Europe would Christians work for? For a start, the organizers would like to bring together researchers already engaged in the questions raised. A further reason to look abroad is to enlarge the research community involved in these matters.

**Outline of Programme:** What is envisaged is a three-day international workshop, during which papers will be discussed and plans made for the continuation of the work in the national and international spaces. Working sessions will be devoted to such themes as the protection of the environment, Third World, technology, work and income, social ethics and the chief relationships between them.

The idea is to share the progress that ecumenical institutions and scientists have made in elaborating questions like:

- What measures can help diminish pollution?
- How can depletion of natural resources be avoided?
- In what ways should we decrease our abundance for higher standards of living in the Third World?
- In which ways can adequate standards of living be obtained by the poor in the EC and in the Third World?
- What policy mixes for technology, employment and income would suit social and human development better than the policies currently pursued?
- How can present technology and new technological developments be influenced?

In the papers to be submitted concrete elaborations should be made and their advantages and drawbacks as well as their (unintended) effects should be stated as far as possible.
Language: The conference language will be English. Papers should preferably be in English too, although if needed, papers in other languages will be circulated, provided a summary in English is attached.

(Further information from: MCKS, Postbus 19, 3970 AA Driebergen, The Netherlands).


2/ A study centre of the Dutch churches, established in 1982 by six protestant churches and the Council of Churches. The staff consists of two scientists, a chemist and a political scientist, and a secretary. The Centre is trying to pool the capacities of christians active in natural and social sciences and in technical occupations who feel themselves responsible for ethical and human dimensions of their work.

RURAL LIFE CONFERENCE: LESSONS FROM RURAL EUROPE

A national conference for representatives of rural development organisations will be held from 13 to 15 September 1984 at Canterbury, Kent, UK, under the auspices of the British National Council for Voluntary Organisations.

The conference has places for about 150 participants, from England and other European countries. An exchange of experience in social and economic development problems and methods will be the theme. The participants will seek "lessons from rural Europe" in six study groups, selected from these eight proposed groups: Parish-based action and local initiative; farm diversification into other businesses (such as tourism or craft manufacture); local development agencies (both social and economic development); catalysts to self-help (such as grants or competitions); the role of the churches in rural areas; transport (especially public transport which is locally organised); schools in rural areas, and co-operatives.

We write to seek your help in widening our range of European contacts. Can you suggest people or organisations whose interests and practical rural involvement are relevant to the conference theme?

(Contact: Rhys Taylor, NCVO, 26 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3HU, UK).
EUROPEAN INSTITUTE OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT
AND DECENTRALIZED PLANNING

The International Research Center on Environment and Development (CIRED) has been requested by l'Association ACTES I/ to work on the project design for a European Institute of Local Development and Decentralized Planning, which is expected to be established in Northern France.

The purpose of this Institute will be to consider the many different dimensions of local development (cultural and ecological, as well as economic and social), placing particular emphasis on its relationship with development actions and strategies conducted on a wider territorial and institutional scale (regional, national, European and international), especially by large industrial groups and by governments.

Gauging the impact of European and national policies on local development (e.g. energy policies or industrial branch strategies) will be as important as determining the required conditions for establishing autonomous local development, which should be confused neither with autarky nor with the refusal to belong to wider economic and social contexts.

One of the characteristic features of this Institute will be to adopt a systematic, comparative approach to the French, European and international levels, with particular attention being paid to Third World countries.

Far from wishing to take the place of existing associational or academic institutions, the Institute will aim to encourage the exchange of experiences and to put the different actors involved in local development in touch with each other. Its operations will be based initially on the establishment of a network of interested institutions, groups and individuals, who would benefit from its support in return for their active cooperation.

The Institute will engage in four closely-connected activities:

. the direction and realization of studies and research with a largely socio-economic bias;
. training of French and foreign development executives and agents;
. gathering and diffusion of information;
. supporting local development initiatives.

As far as possible, these activities will be pursued in cooperation with relevant institutions already existing in the area where the Institute is established.

With these aims in mind, the CIRED would much appreciate the support of IFDA Dossier readers: you could help to get the project started in any of the following ways:

1. by expressing your interest in joining the proposed network; in which case, please indicate your name, address, institution, type of activity, interest, form of possible cooperation, particular requests and suggestions;
2. by informing the CIRED about local development experiments and projects which are known to you or which you are involved in, and which could contribute to the study of endogenous local development strategies and of their relationship with policies and actions carried out on other levels;

3. by indicating bibliographical references concerning particular experiments or local development issues, especially where local development is part of research on new forms of development in answer to the present crisis;

4. by sending notes, working documents, studies and reports which you have produced and which deal with actual experiments or with theoretical aspects of local development.

The CIRED would like to thank readers who respond to this appeal, and who agree to participate in the preparatory phase of the Institute's foundation. Readers will be kept regularly informed as each stage in the creation of the Institute is reached.

(Please write to: Jean-Paul Ceron, Local Development Project, CIRED, 54 Bvd. Raspail, 75270 Paris Cedex 06, France).

1/ Association ACTES is an inter-regional association consisting of elected officials at local, departmental and regional levels, representing the Avenois, Cambresis, Thiérache and East Saint Quentinois areas. The project design is being funded by the North-Pas de Calais and Picardie regions, by the Employment Delegation at the Ministry of Employment, and by the Territorial Planning and Regional Action Delegation (Datar).

AHAS - ENABLING PEOPLE

Further to the paper by John Turner and the notes on 'the role of people's associations in housing improvement' and 'AHAS: enabling people' (IFDA Dossier 39, pp.15-22 and 79-82), we reproduce below a note received from AHAS.

* * *

John and Bertha Turner of AHAS were commissioned by Habitat International Council (the Non-Government Organizations' Committee on Human Settlements) to carry out the first stage of a programme leading up to the United Nations International Year of Shelter for the Homeless 1987 (IYSH '87).

From existing and acquired case materials illustrating projects or programmes of home and neighbourhood improvement where maximum use has been made of scarce and under-used resources (both human and material) a
selection of between 20 and 25 projects will be made, for more detailed
documentation; shorter profiles will be prepared for a larger number of
cases. These materials will be used for events leading up to and during
IYSH '87, and will be for use by the media as well as for publications,
exhibitions and various workshops and meetings.

Anyone knowing of cases illustrating key issues which should be more
widely known and could be fully documented - whether they illustrate
what should or should not be done and not limited to those drawn from
very low income populations or emergency situations - is invited to sub-
mit them for consideration to the HIC Steering Group by sending them as
soon as possible to:

AHAS, PO Box 397, London E8 1BA, UK.
(Please note new address)

The next Congress of the International Union of Architects (UIA)
will not be held in Manila later this year as announced, but in Cairo in
January 1985. Information from: UIA, 51 rue Raynouard, 75016 Paris,
France.

The Architect as an enabler: a symposium will take place at the
International Housing Exhibition, West Berlin, 24-26 September 1984,
during which the winning entries to an UIA/UNESCO prize competition on
this theme will be presented and discussed (John Turner's paper in IFDA
Dossier 39 was prepared in this connexion).

(Suite de la page 2)

Les travaux peuvent être rédigés en anglais, arabe, français
ou portugais. Ils ne dépasseront pas 100 pages d'environ 250
mots, clairement dactylographiées. Trois exemplaires devront
parvenir au Secrétariats exécutif de Codesria (B.P.3304,
Dakar, Sénégal) avant le 30 novembre 1984.

Les travaux seront soumis à un jury présidé par Ismail-Sabri
Abdalla et comprenant Claude Ake, doyen de la Faculté des
sciences sociales de l'Université de Port Harcourt, Nigeria;
Bebiana de Almeida, Organisation des femmes angolaises;
Simon Mbilinyi, secrétaire du Ministère de l'Agriculture,
Dar-es-Salaam; Marie-Angélique Savane, présidente de l’Asso-
ciation des femmes africaines pour la recherche sur le déve-
loppement, ainsi que Abdalla Bujra, secrétaire exécutif de
Codesria, en sa qualité de secrétaire du Prix.

Le Prix consiste en un billet d'avion et une bourse, desti-
nés à permettre au lauréat de passer 2/3 mois dans une Uni-
versité ou centre de recherche africain. Le travail récom-
pensé sera publié par Codesria.

Le premier Prix Justinian F. Rweyemamu (1985) sera remis au
lauréat à l'occasion d'une Conférence de Codesria, prévue
pour le printemps 1985 à Addis Abeba.
Ce livre nous fait admettre que les médecines traditionnelles existent de manière vivante. Chacune des médecines de tradition savante (ayurvédique, chinoise, Unani gréco-arabe) ou populaire en Afrique, en Asie, en Amérique du Sud, en Europe, dans les Îles du Pacifique) est décrite dans son évolution diachronique. Il apparaît que, si ses principes fondamentaux n'ont pas changé, ses structures professionnelles et ses techniques thérapeutiques se sont modifiées avec l'influence de la médecine occidentale, devenue en fait cosmopolite. Ont été aussi cataloguées la médecine allopathique et la santé publique, l'homéopathie, la naturopathie, la divination et l'exorcisme, l'hypnose, le yoga, la médecine anthroposophique ainsi que d'autres thérapies individuelles telles l'aromathérapie, le shiatsu.

Les problèmes soulevés par l'intégration des thérapeutes traditionnels (devins, guérisseurs, matrones) dans les programmes de santé fondés sur les bases de la médecine cosmopolite sont bien cernés. Les principes d'hygiène élémentaire et d'assistance technique de l'accouchement sont en contradiction avec les coutumes d'excision rituelle dans certains pays d'Afrique; devant une tumeur cancéreuse où le chirurgien préconise l'intervention chirurgicale et où le "medicine-man" des Amérindiens propose l'extirpation par succion d'un objet médiateur; quelles sont les possibilités de coopération entre les deux soignants?

S'il faut croire à une "santé pour tous en l'an 2000" il faut, à partir de ce livre, aller au-delà de la compréhension de chacune des médecines traditionnelles. Le fait de reconnaître son identité ne permet pas cependant de juger de son efficacité sur des critères uniquement rationalistes et positivistes sur lesquels repose la science médicale cosmopolite. Il serait peut-être prudent de ne pas considérer la médecine traditionnelle comme une simple "ressource locale" et de ne pas l'intégrer comme telle dans un programme de santé fondé sur la science médicale cosmopolite. Elle est plus qu'une "technologie appropriée" avec son potentiel de thérapeutes et sa pharmacopée, car elle fonctionne au cœur d'un système de références où le langage de la maladie et les pratiques de soins sont d'ordre symbolique.

Ce livre sera très utile aux administrateurs et médecins désireux de connaître les besoins réels d'une population et d'élaborer avec elle son système de santé. Dépassant la dichotomie entre médecine traditionnelle et médecine cosmopolite, ce livre stimulera des études sur les médecines traditionnelles. Les innovations thérapeutiques émanant de la science médicale cosmopolite seront d'autant plus fructueuses qu'on saura les adapter à la population concernée et les insérer dans l'infrastructure médicale traditionnelle.

Dr. Nguyen Ngoc-Hanh

David Werner, Là où il n'y a pas de docteur (Dakar: ENDA, 1975) 442pp. Manuel de santé primaire, fruit de huit ans passés par l'auteur dans les montagnes de Sinaloa au Mexique où il a exercé: région montagneuse où, étant donné la pauvreté et les distances énormes, les paysans voient rarement un médecin. Ils utilisent les plantes de la brousse et les "remèdes de bonne femme" mais ils sont loin de posséder un large répertoire de remèdes efficaces. Existe en version espagnole, française, portugaise, guajiro (Colombie), arabe, tzotzil (Mexique), swahili. Pour plus d'informations, contacter: The Hesperian Foundation, POB 1592, Palo Alto, CA 94302, USA.

SOUTION DEL CAMPESINADO Y EVOLUCION DE LA AGRICULTURA EN AMERICA LATINA

Sous ce titre (Situation des paysans et évolution de l'agriculture en Amérique latine) le CEDAL (Centre d'études du développement en Amérique latine) publie un document de synthèse élaboré par les participants latino-américains lors de la rencontre de travail CEDAL 1983. Il s'agit d'un travail collectif résultant de neuf rapports nationaux, eux-mêmes rédigés par des collectifs dans chaque pays.


Sergio Gómez, Instituciones y procesos agrarios en Chile (Santiago: FLACSO & CLACSO, 1982) 167pp. Este libro examina los cambios que han ocurrido en la estructura agraria en la última década no sobre la base de datos secundarios o de meras especulaciones, sino sobre investigaciones empíricas de terreno. Ofrece una visión histórica del proceso chileno dentro de la evolución reciente de comunidades rurales, haciendas y organizaciones tanto campesinas como patronales. Es más, pretende entender lo que pasó y comprender cómo afectó a los distintos grupos sociales y cómo ellos vieron estos acontecimientos.


. Chris Reij, L'évolution de la lutte anti-erosive en Haute-Volta depuis l'indépendance - vers une plus grande participation de la population (Amsterdam: Institute for Environmental Studies. 1983) 84pp. (Free University, PO Box 7161, 1007 Amsterdam, The Netherlands).


. Susantha Goonatilake, Crippled Minds: An Exploration into Colonial Culture (New Delhi: Vikas) This book examines, from a South Asian perspective, the spread of colonial culture in the three continents of
Asia, Africa and Latin America. It describes the dynamics of this spread under the periods of mercantile capitalism, industrial capitalism and the present phase of transnational capitalism. It also describes the linkages of the socialist system with the colonial cultural system through principally the transmitting mechanism of technology.


André Gorz, *Les chemins du paradis - L'agonie du capital* (Paris: Editions Galilée, 1983) 249 pp. Nous arrivons au point précis qu'annonçaient les premiers visionnaire de l'après-capitalisme quand, au-delà de l'ordre industriel naissant, ils entrevoyaient une société différente: l'efficacité des machines y abolirait le travail, le règne du capital et de la marchandise pourrait faire apparaître le "temps disponible" comme mesure de la "vraie richesse". La révolution micro-électronique nous entraîne vers tout cela et pourtant nous continuons méprisamment d'attendre que l'avenir nous rende le passé, que le capitalisme se relève de son agonie, que l'automatisation procure plus de travail qu'elle n'en supprime. La gauche est sur le point de mourir faute d'imagination (9, rue Linné, Paris V, France).

NATIONAL SPACE

Alejandro Foxley, René Cortázar, Ricardo Ffrench-Davies et al, *Modelo económico chileno, Trayectoria de una crítica* (Santiago: Editorial Aconcagua, 1982) 606 pp. y *Reconstrucción económica para la democracia* (Santiago: Editorial Aconcagua, 1983) 348 pp. Los autores de este libro han escrito muchas páginas llamando reiteradamente la atención sobre los problemas económicos de estos últimos años. Un ejemplo de ello es la colección de artículos publicados en "Modelo Económico Chileno: Trayectoria de una Crítica". Es tiempo ya de proyectar la discusión al futuro, examinando los nuevos enfoques que serían necesarios para superar de raíz las debilidades del monetarismo neoliberal. Los ensayos incluidos en el nuevo volumen abordan algunos de los problemas económicos más relevantes que afectan a Chile. Lo hacen en una perspectiva de enfoques alternativos, válidos sólo en un contexto plenamente democrático. (CIEPLAN, Casilla 16946, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile).


Bichara Khader, La question agraire dans les pays arabes - Le cas de la Syrie (Louvain-la-Neuve: CIACO, 1984) 593pp. Étude monographique sur la question agraire en Syrie: évolution des structures agraires et des régimes fonciers, rapports de pouvoir dans les campagnes: paysannerie et État - paysannerie et partis politiques, réformes agraires, coopératives agricoles, agriculture et industrialisation, exode rural, etc...

Les questions générales auxquelles cet ouvrage tente d'apporter quelques éléments de réponse, peuvent être formulées de la manière suivante: pourquoi l'état national éprouve-t-il le besoin, à un moment particulier de l'histoire d'un pays, en l'occurrence la Syrie, de promulguer de nouvelles lois de réforme agraire? Comment s'y prend-il? Quels résultats obtient-il? Comment ces lois sont-elles accueillies par la paysannerie? (9 Av. Einstein, 1348 Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgique).


Tony Dodds & Solomon Inquai, Education in Exile - The Educational Needs of Refugees (London: International Extension College, 1983) 97pp. This "20th Broadsheet on Distance Learning" reports on a two-year study of the problems faced by refugees in seeking education. It is based on case studies in East and Southern Africa and in Latin America and ends with proposals for both formal and non-formal education for refugees. (42 Store Street, London WC1E 7DB, UK).


Eduardo Galeano, Las venas abiertas de América latina (México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1983) 487pp. Bajo una red de datos económicos y sociales, el autor empina anécdotas rutilantes en este reportaje-ensayo-mural-obra de artesanía admirable que ensambla géneros que andaban dispersos: la historia económica, el relato vital... (Hugo Neira, en Expreso, Perú) (Cerro del Agua 248, México 20, DF Mexico).

GLOBAL SPACE

Lester R. Brown et al., State of the World 1984, A Worldwatch Institute report on progress toward a sustainable society (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1984) 252pp. This "report card" is a new project from the Worldwatch Institute. To be published annually, it measures worldwide progress in achieving a sustainable society and monitors changes in the global resource base - land, water, energy and biological support systems. The analysis focuses particularly on how changes in the resource base affect the economy.

The report contains news on innovative or particularly successful actions to create a sustainable society; emphasizes global economic connections that policymakers often overlook; reviews national policies and programmes, including progress toward specific national goals; and surveys major financial commitments by governments and international development agencies. (500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10110, USA).


The Stanley Foundation, Strategy for Peace 1983. Rethinking US-Soviet relations; World economic recovery and growth; Preserving peace; the UN option; US Policy in Central America. 63pp. (420 East Third Street, Muscatine, Iowa 52761, USA).


North-South Relations, report of a seminar organized in Shangai, April 1983, by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and the Shanghai Institute for International Studies, 100pp. (Godesberger Allee 149, 5300 Bonn 2).


Le rapport souligne l'extrême gravité du drame humain qui se joue dans le Tiers Monde, et qui se trouve encore aggravé par la crise de l'économie mondiale. Il s'efforce de définir la perspective dans laquelle on peut analyser ce drame et ses péripéties les plus récentes, notamment celles de l'endettement.

Il dégage ensuite les exigences d'une nouvelle coopération internationale et nationale, pour un développement plus autonome du Sud. Il montre le rôle que la France peut jouer dans ce domaine, en organisant une co-réflexion avec les hommes d'Etat et les chercheurs du Tiers Monde, en décentralisant sa coopération, en mettant en œuvre les ajustements nécessaires à des échanges accrus.

E. Philip English, Canadian Development Assistance to Haiti (Ottawa: The North-South Institute, 1984) 167pp. (185, Rideau Street, Ottawa K1N 5X8, Canada).


rapports, le Dr. François Rémy l'illustre en racontant, avec des mots de tous les jours, ce qu'il a fait depuis 1949 au Maroc, en Côte d'Ivoire, en Algérie, au Viêt Nam ou au Liban. Un livre qui touche juste parce qu'il exprime l'expérience d'une vie.

PERIODICALS


. Comunidad (Vol.40, N°1, 1984): Chile: Tesis sobre la situación actual y sus perspectivas (PO Box 15128 104 65 Estocolmo, Suecia).


. IASSI Quarterly Newsletter (Vol.2, N°3/4, 1984): "Learning Capacity of a Society" by Soedjatmoko, "Food Aid and Development" by Tarlok Singh (Sapru House, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi 110001, India).


La lettre de Solagral (No.24, 1984): "Spécial aide alimentaire - un cadeau empoisonné" (5, rue François Bizette, 35000 Rennes, France).


Multinational Monitor (Vol.5, No.3, 1984): "High on Technology - high tech, brought to you by IBM, GE, Hitachi and others, is drastically changing the way we work, play and communicate" by John Cavanagh and Michael Goldhaber (PO Box 19405, Washington DC 20036, USA).


Public Enterprise (Vol.4, No.2, 1983): "Conflicts between Employment and Output Growth Objectives of Public Enterprises in Developing Countries" by Frances Stewart (PO Box 92, 61109 Ljubljana, Yugoslavia).


MATERIALS RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION

LOCAL SPACE


THIRD WORLD SPACE


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TO OUR READERS

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NOTE TO READERS IN SWITZERLAND

The practice of including a 'bulletin de versement' in each issue is yielding positive results and we thank those who have already used it. For practical reasons, however, it is impossible to be selective in enclosing the 'green bulletin' and we apologize for its continuing inclusion to those who have already contributed.

NOTE AUX LECTEURS EN SUISSE

Le fait d'inclure un bulletin de versement dans chaque dossier a donné jusqu'ici des résultats positifs et nous remercions ceux d'entre vous qui l'ont utilisé. Cependant, pour des raisons pratiques, il nous est impossible de procéder à cette adjonction d'une manière sélective; aussi, nous nous excusons auprès de ceux qui, ayant déjà contribué, trouvent chaque fois un 'bulletin vert' dans leur dossier.

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CHANGEMENT D'ADRESSE

En cas de changement d'adresse, veuillez nous retourner l'étiquette figurant sur l'enveloppe de ce Dossier. Cela nous facilitera la tâche. Merci de votre coopération.
The international fora are full of excuses - a dialogue of monologues. And resolutions passed are in fact passé right from the outset.

Yet, our news media communicate a far from despondent mood from many places. The thunderous "beating of the casseroles" is heard all the way from Chile and two days ago also from Uruguay. The chorus of hundreds of thousands of demonstrators are scanning their demands in The Philippines. Given a chance to voice their opinions in elections, the majority of Argentinos and of Turks in front of the world tell the generals to step down. The people of Poland clench their fist in the pocket, and we can all see it. The peace marchers in the West form their human chains to make their governments think once more in the arms race, and continue negotiating. In South Africa, the black majority creates a United Democratic Front against a white dictatorship which is arming its legions to the teeth to defend the slave-state against the enslaved.

"United Democratic Front" - isn't that the proper name for a fresh mass movement of people for people's right to be heard - and to be respected?

We have heard of masses on the move before - but have we ever seen such massive ones as now? It seems to me that the drummers and the scanners and fist-clenchers now on the move are physically simply too many to be routed or eliminated even by riot-police and troops. More visible today than before is the population explosion of the sixties, which has not been so much spoken about in the last decade; more people than ever preparing for their entering ill-prepared societies and non-functioning megalopoles. That is an explosion that is indeed repeated year after year - adding a record 83 million people to the world population in the year of 83, to be surpassed by further 84 million in 84, and so on for several years to come.