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**PAGES DE JOURNAL**

**Yokohama, 26-30 mars.** Séminaire de l'Association asiatique de recherche sur la paix, à l'invitation du Gouverneur de Kanagawa. La préfecture compte 7,2 millions d'habitants. Kazuji Nagasu, le gouverneur, socialiste, est un ancien professeur d'économie politique. Il croit à des solutions locales aux problèmes globaux et à une diplomatie immédiate entre citoyens ('people to people diplomacy'). En marge du séminaire, discussions avec Yoshikazu Sakamoto et Saul Mendlovitz sur leur idée d'un comité d'intellectuels et de militants qui, se mettant à l'écoute du vaste mouvement populaire, préparerait un manifeste pour une paix mondiale juste à l'occasion de l'année internationale de la paix (1986).

**Penang, 31 mars-3 avril.** Visite à l'Association des consommateurs de Penang (CAP) et à Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM - les amis de la terre); brève rencontre avec Anouar Fazal, président de l'Organisation internationale des unions de consommateurs (IOCU) et, surtout, longues conversations avec Mohammed Idris, président du CAP et du SAM. Le génie de Monsieur Idris, comme ils l'appellent respectueusement, et des jeunes gens dont il a su s'entourer, c'est de partir des problèmes tels que les gens les ressentent dans leur vie quotidienne, de chercher avec eux des solutions et de relier leur vécu à la problématique nationale et globale. Et dire que certains croient encore que la défense des consommateurs et la protection de l'environnement sont luxe de riches. (cf. pp.60 et 77).

**Nyon, 25-27 avril.** Passage de Céline Sachs. Discussion et mise en route d'un mini-projet avec l'Université des Nations Unies sur les associations urbaines de 'self-reliance' (cf. p.84)


**Colombo, 6-12 mai.** Séminaire de l'Institut Marga sur l'identité nationale dans une société multi-ethnique; modeste collaboration de la FIPAD. Même dans l'atmosphère aseptisée du séminaire, difficile de ne pas sentir la tension entre les communautés. Dehors, violences se nourrissant les unes des autres: violence provocatrice des jeunes terroristes tamils à Jaffna; violence structurelle de l'Etat à travers une armée qu'il semble mal contrôler; violence, comme en juillet dernier, de foules sinhalas manipulées par des apprentis sorciers fascistoïdes haut placés.

(suite à la page 22)
ASHOK OR NERO?
GOVERNMENTS CONFRONTED WITH THE MILITARISATION OF OUTER SPACE

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Abstract: The first special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament (1978) called for negotiations to prevent an arms race in outer space. What started, during these six years, was not negotiations but the militarisation of outer space, and if it remains unchecked, it will soon reach unmanageable proportions. The risks are terrifying: the necessarily global nature of this new kind of militarisation implies the possibility of an equally global nuclear holocaust. So-called 'defensive' weapons are in fact also offensive. They negate the concepts of both superiority and parity and will only open the floodgates of an unprecedented arms race both in space and on earth. Boosting superpowers supremacy, they will fundamentally change the international security situation and the world will revert to the bi-polarization of the 50s. Their cost will be so enormous that it will cripple recovery in the North and growth in the South. The technological nature of these weapons will make any verification impossible. Action is required now, said the representative of India in a statement to the Conference on Disarmament on 26 April 1984, and it is urgent to explain the catastrophic implications of the situation to the peoples of the world.

ASHOK OU NÉRON?
LES GOUVERNEMENTS FACE À LA MILITARISATION DE L’ESPACE

Résumé: La première session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies consacrée au désarmement (1978) a appelé à des négociations pour prévenir la course aux armements dans l'espace extra-terrestre. Ce qui a commencé, pendant ces six années, ce ne sont pas ces négociations, mais la militarisation de l'espace, et si les gouvernements n'agissent pas maintenant, elle échappera bientôt à tout contrôle. Les risques sont terrifiants: le caractère nécessairement global de cette nouvelle étape de la militarisation implique la possibilité d'un holocauste nucléaire également global. Les armes dites défensives sont en fait simultanément offensives. Elles rendent encore plus illusoires les concepts de supériorité ou de parité; elles ne peuvent qu'ouvrir les vannes d'une course aux armements sans précédent sur la terre comme dans

(suite à la page 12)
ASHOK OR NERO?

GOVERNMENTS CONFRONTED WITH THE MILITARISATION OF OUTER SPACE

It has indeed been very gratifying for my delegation to have you, the representative of our close neighbour, Sri Lanka, as the President of the Conference on Disarmament for this month. With Sri Lanka, India has enjoyed centuries of fraternal ties based on history, culture, spiritual values and temporal philosophy. In this Conference, it is pertinent to recall that both our countries are the inheritors of the glorious tradition of Emperor Ashok who, 2500 years ago, renounced war as an instrument of statecraft, disarmed his army and devoted the rest of his life to preaching peace and non-violence. Our countries thus learnt the lesson of disarmament not today or in this century, but thousands of years ago.

The perils of the extension of the arms race in the outer space were clearly seen at the first Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament. The Final Document that emerged from that session called for appropriate international negotiations in order to prevent such an arms race. It took four years after that to get an item on this subject included on the agenda of the then Committee on Disarmament. And during the last two years that this item has been on the agenda, in spite of the overwhelming desire of the international community reflected in various General Assembly resolutions to commence negotiations on this subject with a view to reach an agreement or agreements, this body has not been able to commence any work at all on this crucial issue. During this period, the situation on the ground with regard to the arms race in the outer space, has undergone a rapid and alarming transformation. Developments of catastrophic implications for the fate of mankind are taking place in this field. And yet, the Conference on Disarmament remains paralysed for want of a mandate for the ad hoc committee to be set up to discuss this subject.

Some two thousands years ago, there was an emperor in Italy who was fiddling when Rome was burning. Today, there are forty distinguished representatives of sovereign Governments members of the Conference on Disarmament and entrusted with perhaps the gravest responsibility of modern times, quibbling over a mandate for their work on this subject while the outer space is on the way to being militarised to the point of saturation. The difference, however, is that whereas in spite of the Roman emperor's fiddling, the city of Rome survived, the consequences of our quibbling might
very well deny the human race of the last chance of its survival.

There is more than adequate evidence to show that the militarisation of the outer space has already begun in a big way and that if unchecked, it is soon going to acquire unmanageable and uncontrollable proportions. While it is true that since its very inception in the 1950s, advance in space technology has contributed to enhancing the force, accuracy and sophistication of the weapon systems of the nuclear weapon powers, the last few years have seen the development of directly and clearly identifiable military activities borne out of space technology. What is more is that this increasing military orientation of the space technology has led to the development of the war machines of the super powers containing some of the most dangerous weapon systems, such as the thermo-nuclear warheads, the strategic and intermediate range missiles and bombers and the space-based means to manipulate a total planetary war. The latest to enter in the field are the anti-satellite weapons and the space-based Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABM) system.

These latest weapons are no longer confined to science fiction; they are fast becoming a reality. Pronouncements have been made at the highest level indicating intentions to develop these weapons. Sizeable amounts of resources running into billions of dollars have been allocated for the purpose of research and development of these weapons. One of the Anti-Satellite (ASAT) systems is already in place, whereas tests have been carried out for the development of a more sophisticated one. The repeated attempt to find loopholes in the existing legal instruments in order to go ahead with the development of these weapons is yet another proof, if proof is needed. Moreover, we find that already the language of rationalisation, so far associated with the nuclear arms race based on the doctrine of parity or deterrence, has begun to be used in the context of the arms race in the outer space also. A highly placed official of one of the super powers has recently stated that his Government has decided to develop its ASAT system because the other side is also engaged in the race making it necessary for his country to catch up and deny the other side, the unilateral control of outer space.

In this background, it is naive to believe that the programme already launched will remain confined to the stage of research and development. Technological developments of military significance have a momentum of their own that creates a forward drive for the deployment of the weapons once they become technically feasible. The technological problems that remain to be solved also do not constitute an insurmountable hurdle because the past experience of the development of sophisticated weapon systems have shown that given the commitment of governments, such problems can be overcome and also because it has been publicly stated that these weapon
systems are worth developing, even if it may not be possible to solve all the technological problems.

It is, therefore, not too soon to examine the serious implications of these new weapon systems and explain these implications to the people of the world. It is my intention to devote most of the remaining part of my statement to this purpose.

A relatively less serious, but more talked about, implication of the deployment of these systems is that it will render the doctrine of deterrence redundant, and would on the whole have a destabilising effect on the international security system. Many of us here would not shed tears on account of this consequence because of our belief that nuclear deterrence provides no stability and that, on the other hand, by virtue of being the principal justification of the nuclear arms race, it has already created a situation of extreme instability. The use of the word "stability" in the current inherently unstable situation is a cruel joke. Can one really think of security or stability in the presence of massive and ever mounting accumulation of nuclear weapons?

There is also a concern about the development of these new weapon systems resulting in a decoupling of the security of the alliance partners and rendering impotent and obsolete, the nuclear deterrence systems of the nuclear weapon powers among these nations. It is also feared that no ABM protection will be able to save Europe - either Eastern or Western countries - from the devastations of a nuclear war with low flying cruise missiles, short range missiles, tactical nuclear weapons dropped from aircraft or used as artillery munitions. In response to these concerns, assurances have been given recently that the new weapon systems will be so designed as to deal not only with intercontinental missiles, but also with tactical missiles and other nuclear or conventional missiles which might be used on the European theatre.

There are, however, more serious implications of the development of these weapons which are less talked about. If the present trend is not reversed and the development of these weapons not banned, by far the gravest consequence will be 'total armament', culminating in a 'total' nuclear holocaust. There is no justification for the claim that the possession of ABM system by the two Super Powers will make nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete. These weapon systems will make the world more dangerous than any weapon has hitherto done.

For, it is just not true that these weapons are merely defensive. The fact is that they can neither remain merely defensive nor can fully defend. In this context, the use of the term "Star Wars" in relation to the development of beam weapons, is dangerously misleading. This term erroneously underlines the exotic nature of these weapons and seeks to
convey a sense of remoteness about the impact of these weapons. The fact is that what happens in the outer space is intimately connected with our fate on earth. The use of the new ABM weapon system would not trigger a Stellar War light years away from our planet, but a war on this good earth. In fact, even with the present day technology, it would be only a matter of hours before a war in the outer space would turn into a holocaust on earth.

These so-called defensive weapons will, at the same time, be offensive, or weapons of first strike. This is clear from the fact that laser and particle beams can not only intercept and destroy missiles in flight, but also have the potentiality of destroying them in their silos. There is absolutely no guarantee that these dual purpose weapons will remain only defensive.

Moreover, these weapon systems will open the floodgates of unprecedented and potentially uncontrollable arms race, both in the outer space and on earth. The development and deployment of ABM system by one super power would naturally be sought to be matched by the other super power. Even the other nuclear powers, finding that their independent nuclear deterrence has been rendered obsolete, may go in, either singly or jointly, for their own ABM system irrespective of the cost it may involve.

Moreover, in spite of the hundreds of billions of dollars to be spent on them, the new weapon systems will not provide full protection. And to quote the words of the Italian Nobel laureate, Eugenio Montale, in a somewhat different context, "it is not only the small fishes that would escape from the net". As already pointed out, some categories of missiles, such as the ground hugging cruise missiles and stealth bombers are unlikely to come within the targets of the new ABM weapon system. Taking into account even the lowest percentage of leakage, enough nuclear weapons will escape the ABM weapons to reach their targets and wreck havoc with human civilisation. Moreover, the new system would be vulnerable to counter-measures which can acquire a variety of forms. In spite of these loopholes, the development of these weapons is being sought to be justified on the cynical ground that it would destroy the first strike capability of the other side to the maximum extent possible and impose on it an intolerable financial and material burden in the process of developing its own ABM system.

Moreover, there are strong reasons to believe that development and acquisition of these new weapon systems will trigger nuclear war in the process. Taking the ASAT system first, the destruction of an adversary's satellite is not an event lost in the wilderness of the outer space. It would be an attack on one of the most advanced components of the war machine of the other side, which will most likely provoke retaliation.
As regards the new ABM system, a very dangerous situation will arise when one of the super powers is able to deploy its system and the other is still in the process of catching up - a situation which may prevail for a long time.

One can visualise two scenarios in that event. In the first scenario, the former may decide that it can take out the missile force of the other side in a first strike and it can protect its own force from retaliation. The new ABM technology thus makes resort to nuclear weapons relatively easier and safer for the power enjoying superiority in this field. In the second scenario, the latter super power, which has still not caught up, may be provoked into a panicky pre-emptive nuclear attack.

When both the super powers deploy their own space-based ABM systems, it will fundamentally change the entire international security situation and international power relations. The world will revert to the bi-polar era of the early 50s under conditions aggravated by immense increase in the force and efficiency of the weapon systems. The reversal to the strategic bipolarity of the world will have such serious consequences as much strengthened technological, economic and political hegemony, reducing all other nations to security dependence, resort to limited or protracted nuclear war in localised theatres free from any worry that such wars would engulf their own territories and even encouragement to surrogate powers to develop their own nuclear weapons to be used for the strategic purpose of the Super Powers. Disarmament will be the first casualty in such a situation.

Finally, the basic motives which will lead the super powers or other technologically advanced nations to develop the new weapon systems and the attitude that the possession of these systems would foster, will be antithetical to the objective of the establishment of a new international economic or political order. The whole attitude behind such an arms race is that of gaining absolute power and dominance irrespective of the price to be paid for it. Such an attitude militates against the spirit of cooperation to bring out equity, justice and fair play. This will change the very character of the North-South dialogue and other global negotiations.

Considering the colossal ressource implications of these weapon systems, their competitive developments might very well shatter the very foundations of the world economy. No type of weapons and no field of their application will be as resources-consuming as the development and deployment of weapons in the outer space. The estimates for the development of a complete new ABM system by one super power vary from 120 to 500 billion dollars. The current world economic problems will be multiplied manifold and aggravated if the massive resources required for the development of the new space weapon systems are to be mobilised.
Moreover, the diversion of skilled manpower and material resources involved in the process would have a crippling effect on activities in the social and economic sectors. This may very well result in a setback for the recovery process, a continued stagnation of the economies of the industrialised countries, or at best their just limping forward during the remaining part of this century. The impact of these developments on the already beleaguered economies of the Third World countries would indeed be devastating. Such a bleak economic prospect may frustrate the very purpose, i.e. gaining a position of absolute dominance and hegemony, for the attainment of which these weapons are being developed.

In an article in 'Le Monde' of 27 March 1984, Michel Tatu has quoted Mr. Keyworth, Scientific Adviser to the White House and a supporter of the new ABM system, as having said: "It is difficult to have stability under conditions of parity". From there to say that the programme for developing ABM systems will permit the establishment of a superiority is but a small step. On the other hand, when an exhortation for developing the new weapons system was made at the highest level by the United States Government early last year, the response of the USSR, again at the highest level, was: "All attempts at achieving military superiority over the USSR are futile. The Soviet Union will never allow them to succeed". The net result is going to be, as in the case of the nuclear weapons arms race, neither superiority nor parity, but a new level of escalation of the arms race, both in the outer space and on earth, with all the grave implications which I have tried to outline.

A key question before this Conference is: Are these weapons verifiable and if not, is it feasible to ban them?

The expert opinion on whether the control or elimination of these weapon systems is verifiable or not is by no means unanimous. For example, the National Council of the Federation of American Scientists has stated in its November 1983 report that "further deployment and testing of USSR's ASAT system will be easily verifiable. If there is a verification problem, it is with the far more sophisticated US system". On the other hand, some experts have stated that the more sophisticated US system is easier to verify. Another expert view is that an absolute ban, including the development of ASAT system, would certainly pose verification problems, but such a ban is not critical. The banning of testing and deployment could really be monitored and will achieve the key objectives of preventing the further development and proliferation of these weapons.

In any event, the way military technology, including that for the outer space weapon systems, is developing, most of the new weapon systems are likely to become unverifiable sooner or later. According to one expert opinion, the new arms will be based on a technology that has been
miniaturised to an extent which will not make them amenable to verification. To develop weapon systems which could beat verification, has now become a principal challenge of the nations engaged in the armament race in the mistaken notion of seeking security by this means.

What is going to happen in that event? Will there be no arms limitation or disarmament simply because such measures cannot be verified? In the opinion of my delegation, that will only demonstrate how mistaken this absolute emphasis on verification has been and how this has been used as a pretext for not engaging in serious and genuine negotiations for halting and reversing the nuclear arms race.

When we take all the implications of the recent developments into account, the conclusion is obvious and it is that the present is the moment to act. If we can succeed in urgently negotiating an agreement or agreements, we will have prohibited the newest round of build-up of futuristic weapons which will take us to a point of no return. We should not be misled by the argument that there is no urgency because the new weapon systems are still at the phase of development and research. It is precisely at this phase that it will be feasible for us to ban this new arms race. If we miss this opportunity, these weapons will already become another frightening reality of our life and may be so integrated with the weapon systems as a whole and with the security doctrines of the powers possessing these weapons that negotiations for controlling or banning them will become as intractable and frustrating as the negotiations on nuclear disarmament. In fact, in some respects, particularly in the case of the ASAT system, it already seems to have reached that hopeless stage.

In such a situation how can we afford the luxury of a non-negotiating mandate for an ad hoc committee on this subject? How can any of us, in all honesty and sincerity, suggest that we should be content with merely identifying those space weapon systems which could have a destabilising effect, or the issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in the outer space, or by analysing the lacuna in the existing international agreements having a bearing on the arms race in the outer space, or adopt a progressive approach starting first with the question of the immunity of satellites and later on going to new weapons systems? The latter suggestion could have been all right when it was made in the early 60s, but not now. As regards our making an analysis of the existing relevant international treaties as a point of departure, such an exercise could have been of some value a few years ago, but not today. We now know that in spite of these treaties, the new weapon systems are being developed and tested. Our first and foremost task is to reverse this trend.

All the conditions for starting serious negotiations on this subject are present. There is first of all the grave
implications of the recent developments staring at our face. These developments have taken place in spite of and by means of a transgression of the existing legal regimes. Nothing short of a new regime will do in these circumstances.

There is also a draft treaty submitted by USSR on the subject. Practically every delegation which has commented on this draft treaty has drawn our attention to its positive features and the tremendous improvement that it represents over the proposals submitted by USSR on the same subject in 1981. Its provisions for banning not only the deployment of space-based weapons but also their testing and development, banning new anti-satellite systems and the elimination of the existing ones, and for verification are its particularly welcome features. Some questions have been asked about the adequacy of its provisions on verification. We have, here, the assurance of the leader of the USSR delegation that these provisions are negotiable with a view to being elaborated and improved upon. Draft legal instruments are not supposed to be only generally commented upon in the plenary statements in this Conference; the whole purpose of submitting them is to take them up as a basis for serious negotiation.

Since the dawning of the space era, we have had occasions to exult in successive human achievements in the conquest of the outer space. In this we have shared with the nationals of the countries concerned, their excitement at each successful mission of the US space shuttle, USSR's Salyut and Soyuz and the European Space Agency's Ariane, as though these were our own achievements. Very recently, our whole nation became, through the TV network, an active participant in the glory of the achievements in outer space of two Soviet cosmonauts and the first Indian cosmonaut, Rakesh Sharma.

We, therefore, shudder even to think about, let alone accept the fact of, these great adventures of the human spirit being turned to use for destructive purposes, having the potentiality of triggering a nuclear holocaust. We urge with all the force and conviction at our command that we must arrest this trend and prevent the development of these outer space weapons. We must without further delay commence negotiations for elaborating a new instrument, or instruments, the need for which is established beyond any shred of doubt.

Space technology fortunately does not as yet carry the stigma of a Hiroshima and the world still cherishes Yuri Gagarin's first space exploration and Neil Armstrong's great leap for mankind. By arresting the militarisation of outer space and preventing the arms race there, we will not only be able to pull the human race at least a few inches away from the brink of disaster, but also we will contribute to disarmament and to man's continued exploration of the peaceful potentialities of the outer space.
vannes d'une course aux armements sans précédent sur la terre comme dans l'espace. Renforçant la suprématie des super-puissances, ces armes modifieront radicalement les données de la sécurité internationale et ramèneront le monde à la bi-polarisation des années 1950. Leur coût sera si énorme qu'il paralysera la reprise dans le Nord et la croissance dans le Sud. Leur nature technique rendra en outre tout contrôle impossible. Il faut agir pendant qu'il est encore temps, c'est-à-dire maintenant, dit le Représentant de l'Inde en lançant le 26 avril dernier à la Conférence de désarmement un véritable cri d'alarme. Il faut expliquer d'urgence aux peuples de la terre les dangers catastrophiques qu'i les menacent.

¿ASHOK OR NERON?

LOS GOBIERNOS ENFRENTADOS A LA MILITARIZACIÓN DEL ESPACIO

Resumen: La primera sesión especial de la Asamblea general de las Naciones Unidas sobre el desarme (1978) hizo un llamado hacia negociaciones tendientes a prevenir la carrera armamentista en el espacio. Durante estos últimos seis años, lo que se ha puesto en marcha no son estas negociaciones sino que, por el contrario, la militarización del espacio, que de continuar, sin que se produzca una reacción inmediata, alcanzará rápidamente proporciones incontrolables. Los riesgos son aterradores: el carácter necesariamente global de esta nueva etapa de militarización, implica la posibilidad de un holocausto nuclear también global. En realidad las denominadas armas "defensivas" son al mismo tiempo armas ofensivas. Ellas hacen aún más ilusorios los conceptos de superioridad o igualdad y podrán sólo abrir las compuertas de una carrera armamentista sin precedentes tanto en el espacio como en la tierra. Reforzando la supremacía de las superpotencias cambiará fundamentalmente la situación de la seguridad internacional y llevará al mundo a la bipolarización de los años 50. Su costo será de tal envergadura que paralizará la recuperación en el norte y la producción en el sur. La naturaleza técnica de estas armas hará imposible cualquier tipo de control. Durante la última conferencia sobre el desarme, 26 de abril de 1984, el representante de la India lanzando un verdadero grito de alarma, dijo que es necesaria una acción inmediata y que es de suma urgencia el explicar las catastróficas consecuencias que esta situación implica para los pueblos del mundo.
WHITHER THE WELFARE STATE?
SWEDEN RE-THINKS CARE IN SOCIETY

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Original language: English

Abstract: The welfare state is confronted by growing problems. There are reasons to ask whether its main goals, such as equal entitlement to care and welfare regardless of income, full employment and sexual equality, can be sustained or whether economic forces are leading Sweden into an inescapable process of social disarmament. A study of future care by the Swedish governmental Secretariat for Futures Studies shows that it will be possible to preserve the goals of the welfare state in the future. However, this requires serious re-thinking on many issues. More of the same will lead to unemployment, ever-increasing taxes and poor results of care. Instead, the forces of industrialization can be used for shortening working hours, thus making it possible to share the work of care. The following article, written by the project director, sums up its main findings.

LA SUÈDE EN QUÊTE D'UNE AUTRE SÉCURITÉ

Résumé: Les problèmes auxquels est confronté le 'welfare state' sont tels que l'on peut se demander si ses grands objectifs, par exemple l'égalité d'accès aux soins de santé quel que soit le revenu, le plein emploi, l'égalité des sexes, peuvent encore être atteints ou si la logique économique conduit inéluctablement à une sorte de désarmement social. Le Secrétariat des études prospectives du gouvernement suédois a étudié à fond la question des soins de santé et conclut que les objectifs de la sécurité sociale peuvent toujours être atteints, à condition que l'on repense sérieusement nombre de question. Continuer sur la lancée du passé signifierait chômage, impôts supplémentaires et médiocres résultats des soins de santé. En revanche, l'accroissement de la productivité peut être mis au service d'une réduction du temps de travail, elle-même permettant de mieux répartir les soins de santé. L'article ci-après, rédigé par le directeur de l'étude, en résume les principales conclusions.

(Resumen en español a la pag. 22)
A study of future care must start with social developments: the economy, employment, working hours, housing and social structure. Technical development and changes in views and attitudes will also do a great deal to determine the shape of future care.

**Slower economic growth**

Economic developments are a vital factor determining future care. In this respect Sweden is closely dependent on the world at large, especially the Western world. Most observers agree that the whole of the Western economy, of which Sweden forms part, will probably grow at a very moderate pace during the next few decades. This means that Sweden too, with its large volume of international trade, must be prepared for a much slower growth rate during the remaining decades of this century.

Slow growth in itself need not be a problem in a relatively wealthy country, but it inevitably intensifies competition for resources. New needs can no longer be catered for out of new resources. Moreover, a great deal of future growth has already been pre-empted by international borrowing, inadequate investment and pension undertakings based on belief in continued rapid growth. Consequently the scope for increased consumption will be heavily circumscribed in future, and in this way competition between private and public consumption is thrown into sharper relief. The harder the times, the greater will be solidarity required if disadvantaged groups are not to suffer.

**The growing workforce**

The future scope of the care sector obviously depends, among other things, on the workforce available. Forecasts show that between now and the turn of the century, the workforce will increase by about half a million. This increase is connected with increased female participation in employment. The increase will continue until the turn of the century, by which time women will have attained the same employment participation rate as men.

**Fewer jobs in enterprises**

The growth of the workforce, however, requires the existence of jobs. The question therefore is where these jobs are to be found in production, in the care sector and the rest of the public sector, or not at all?
During the past 20 years, 830,000 new jobs have materialized in the public sector, and 410,000 have disappeared in the production period. This decline is due to the fact that industrial output has grown less rapidly than productivity, i.e. the amount of goods produced per hour worked. This gap between the increase rates of production and productivity will probably persist because of computers, microprocessors, robots and other automatic systems. Production, on the other hand, is being inhibited by slackening markets and growing competition. As a result, between 100,000 and 300,000 jobs can be expected to disappear from enterprises by the year 2000 - assuming the same division of labour between the private and the public sector remains the same.

Shorter working hours

Average working hours have declined in recent decades, falling between 1965 and 1979 by an average of 1.5 per cent per employed person. There are several reasons for this:

. reduced statutory working hours;
. increased holidays and legal possibilities to be absent from work due to studies, care of children, etc;
. increased part-time employment.

In Sweden today, one economically active person in four is employed part time, which is the highest figure in the world. Nearly half of all women employees but only five per cent of the men are employed part time. Part-time employment is particularly common in the public sector.

Shorter working hours generate a demand for additional personnel strength in the care sector, because this work cannot be rationalized in the same way as industrial operations, for example. Care is fundamentally a question of time.

Everyday care outweighs public care

The feasibility of care between individuals, or everyday care, is a very important factor in assessments of the future need for public care. By everyday care, we mean the care which people devote to their children, elderly persons, relatives or neighbours. The time devoted to everyday care is naturally difficult to measure, but we have made the attempt and have arrived at the conclusion that everyday care occupies more time than care in public sector. This time, however, is very unevenly distributed throughout the population; certain categories, such as parents of infant children are overburdened while others are completely unutilized.

Single living on the increase

The feasibility of everyday care is closely connected with social structure and dwelling patterns. Households have grown smaller in recent decades. It has become more and more
common for people to live alone or together with one child; 40 per cent of all households today are composed in this way. The typical family comprising two parents and one or more children exists today in only one household out of every four. The improved economic conditions for the elderly have also had the consequence that very few elderly persons live with their children nowadays in Sweden.

Small households are vulnerable because they tend more often to need outside help. In many cases, help and support are provided by relatives, contrary to common belief and survey reports show that contacts between the generations have not declined in recent decades. To a great extent it is women who preserve social links and keep family life and kinship links going. But this takes time, and the future of social links with less and less women outside gainful employment, is an open question.

Health: an important yardstick

Care requirements are to a great extent referable to ill health. There is overwhelming evidence that general living conditions are the crucial factor where ill health is concerned. Health can therefore be regarded as a criterion of whether people are leading a good life - a yardstick of the country's well-being.

In appraising the health situation in Sweden, we have to rely to a great extent on subjective pronouncements, on what people say concerning their own health. There are no health surveys conducted by medical personnel and founded on objective criteria, concerning the population as a whole.

Mortality, however, is a dependable indicator of ill health. During the past hundred years, a number of serious illnesses have practically disappeared in Sweden; TBC and poliomyelitis are two such examples. Infant mortality has fallen drastically, as indeed mortality has done for almost all age groups. But the trend is not unambiguous, for in certain groups, e.g. among middle-aged men, mortality has levelled out or even increased since the 1960s. It is noteworthy that this unfavourable development coincides with a very substantial expansion of the health care services during the last two decades.

In its recurrent surveys of living conditions (the ULF surveys), the Central Bureau of Statistics has studied Swedish people's subjective experience of their health. In 1975, 40% of all respondents stated that they were suffering from some prolonged ailment or disease. In a third of these cases the illness inhibited the ability to work. As one might expect, the proportions rose with advancing age.

Health is affected by physical factors such as working environments but also by mental and social factors such as unemployment, crises, divorce, deaths in the family, migration
Diseases influenced by these factors include, for example, cardiac infarctions, cerebral thrombosis, hypertension, gastric ulcers, allergies and mental problems.

There is also no doubt today that one's way of life has a crucial bearing on one's health. It is estimated that between one-third and half of all morbidity is in some way related to alcohol. Likewise the harmful impact of smoking on health - which has fallen quite drastically in recent years due to successful information campaigns - has been amply documented.

The technology of the future

Technology occupies a modest position in this study, because care is not primarily a technical question, but it cannot be completely disregarded. There are several trends which have an important bearing on social developments in general and care in particular. I shall here list a few:

. **New drugs**: It is becoming more and more expensive to develop genuinely new drugs and improvements seem to be growing increasingly marginal. Nevertheless, new drugs can alter the scene very dramatically in special areas and also have a profound impact on the development of care costs in both directions.

. **Ethical problems and new ways of thinking**: Developments in the medical sector may also generate ethical problems, new ways of thinking and a demand for new legislation. Foetal diagnosis constitutes one such example. Many hereditary abnormalities can now be discovered during gestation by examining the amniotic fluid. The easier such diagnosis becomes, the more obtrusive will be the ethical problems surrounding abortion.

. **Electronics in the service of care**: For many years now, the medical profession has been using highly advanced electronics. The electronic components - the hardware - have been made smaller, more efficient and less expensive. This trend will continue, opening up new opportunities in many fields, e.g. aids for the disabled, and also make it possible in future for people to be cared for at home instead of in hospital. Computerization will also present great opportunities of decentralizing health care. For example, small but efficient data units can collect a great deal of information from larger central data banks.

Summing up, technical progress will bring great changes in a host of different areas. The powerful nature of the forces behind this development call for a critical evaluation of the progress made. Whose interests are being served? What are the implications for recipients of care and for society?
Care in crisis

Care costs a great deal of money. Given today's adverse economic situation, this aspect is very liable to become paramount. But it is too one-sided an approach to discuss future care solely in terms of ways of restraining or reducing expenditure, because this would be to ignore profounder and perhaps more important problems within the care sector. The crisis concerns the results of care as well as its costs.

Requirements of good care

The results of care must be appraised in relation to what can be required of it. Good care, founded on democratic and humanist values, should meet the following requirements:

- it must be available on equal terms to everybody who needs it;
- it must lead to the desired result, i.e. cure, relief, comfort, support, assistance or adjustment;
- it must respect patients as human beings and must utilize their inherent resources.

Requirements are poorly met

In our opinion, the way the professional care services meet these requirements is open to serious criticism.

The differences in Sweden regarding the availability of care to different categories are small compared to most other countries. However, the situation might be described as lack of positive discrimination. The differences in care received do not reflect the different needs associated with social class, sex, etc.

It is hard to show in figures whether care leads to the desired results or not, because society has many defects which are beyond the scope of care. The fact remains, however, that in spite of the tremendous growth of the care sector during the post-war era, improvements in public health are small and there are even some developments in the opposite direction.

Criticism of the care sector for not utilizing people's own resources must inevitably be subjective, but the volume of testimony to this effect by patients and others seeking help is so great that this criticism must be taken seriously. Applicants for care are often given an impersonal reception by staff. With many people involved in every care situation, contacts are superficial and of brief duration. On the other hand, care in institutions often is over-protective, thus creating an artificial need for care.

Some of these shortcomings may be due to insufficient resources. Others can be remedied by means of better manage-
ment and organization, e.g. changes of sponsorship. But many of the shortcomings are inherent in the system and can be related to deeper factors such as a technical ideology of care, a passivating concept of man, and the excessively powerful influence of professionals.

Other approaches in future?

Many people, not least among professionals themselves, have shown concern regarding the poor performance of care and are trying to develop new approaches. One reason for this change of attitude is growing disappointment at the inability of the technical approach in health care to overcome the diseases which predominate in today's disease panorama and mortality figures. This disappointment has led to the rise of what is called "alternative medicine".

The renewed interest shown by laymen in health questions, natural medicine etc. can be seen as a manifestation of the same thing. In social rehabilitation and child welfare too, there is an attitude of scepticism towards conventional forms of treatment which to a great extent have proved to be fruitless. In addition, the persons receiving care resent being treated like objects, one possible reason being that social inequalities have diminished and educational standards risen. Besides, care has become so expensive that closer control of resources is becoming more and more imperative. Politicians are having to assume a larger share of responsibility for deciding on who should receive what care.

Expenditure crisis - and afterwards

Most of the organized care services in Sweden are public responsibilities. Health care is organized by the county councils and the care of children, elderly, handicapped persons, etc. by the municipalities. These authorities enjoy a considerable freedom and have the right to raise taxes to cover these expenses. Privately organized care is limited to a number of private practitioners and a few nursing homes. Even here, the public sector bears the brunt of expenditure.

The total yearly expenditures of the care services amounted, in 1982, to 75 billion Swedish krone (almost US$10 billion). The figure has risen rapidly during the past few decades and has come in for a great deal of attention in recent years in connection with the current economic crisis.

Public care expenditure in Sweden more than sextupled in fixed prices, i.e. allowing for inflation, between 1960 and 1980. This in turn has led to rising local taxation rates. In order to keep these taxation rates down to something like a reasonable level, the State has intervened to defray an increasing share of the rising costs, which in turn has led to heavy budgetary deficits.
Labour costs most

Why have care costs risen? An analysis of cost development in the 1970s shows that only 15 per cent of the growth of costs is due to demographic developments, 17 per cent is due to increased level of services and the rest to increased labour input and cost for a given volume of services.

One reasonable premise of future care might seem to be that of trying to retain the level of service which we have today. This implies expanding care at the rate justified by changes in the age structure, but no faster. The figure below illustrates the consequences of such a moderate level of aspiration in terms of costs, personnel strength etc. for the next 20 years.

Development of gross costs, personnel strength, working hours and deliveries in public care, assuming a constant level of service, 1982-2000 (index 1982 = 100).

Assumptions:
- 1.1% annual reduction of working hours
- 3.4% annual growth of productivity in enterprise
- 1.5% growth of output in private enterprise
- net immigration 5,000 persons/year
- 1% decline in output of services per working hour in public care

This figure shows that, given a constant level of service, public care expenditure would double during the period referred to. By the year 2000 it would equal 20 per cent of GNP as against 14 per cent today. Staff would rise to 1.1 million. Taxation would rise from 52 to 61 per cent of GNP.
The future dilemma of care and how to solve it

The phenomenon that work of care is becoming more and more expensive per unit of time is inherent in the process of industrialization. Since care is a matter of devoting personal time which cannot be rationalized like industrial production, more and more people need to be employed because of shorter working hours. Furthermore the wages of care personnel follow the general level of earnings, which is rising because of increasing productivity in trade or industry.

Industrialization also creates a labour surplus. This surplus is greater than it appears, because part of it is concealed by a rising number of persons with disability pensions, the growth of part-time employment and increasing opportunities of leave of absence. Employment will remain in short supply in the future, partly because of rising productivity. The public sector cannot continue to receive everybody entering employment.

Unless this trend is restrained or suitably counteracted, two main categories will suffer, namely women entering the labour market in the future and young persons. Youth unemployment is already a problem today.

One solution to this problem is to share the job opportunities that are offered. We will have to accustom ourselves to shorter working hours, to flexible hours and to alternation between paid working time and other occupations. This will also open up other ways out of the dilemma of care, because we will have time to spare for unpaid inputs in this sector. These inputs can be made voluntarily or on a conscriptional basis.

Shorter working hours combined with community service and/or voluntary work in the care sector can thus provide a solution both to the future employment crisis and the future care crisis. If we reduce working hours, nobody will need to accept a meaningless job for the sake of employment. If we share the work of care, everybody will be able to obtain all the care they need. We will not need to keep the machinery of care going for the sake of employment, nor will we have to sacrifice an unreasonable proportion of our income paying others to do the work of care for us.

Further reading

- Care and welfare at the crossroads, abridged version of the report Care in society, 44pp. Available from the Secretariat for Future Studies (POB 6710, 113 85 Stockholm, Sweden).
SUECIA EN BUSCA DE UNA NUEVA SEGURIDAD SOCIAL

Resumen: Los problemas que enfrenta el estado como proveedor de bienestar social ("welfare state") son de tal magnitud, que cabe preguntarse si los objetivos establecidos como la igualdad de acceso a los servicios de asistencia médica independientemente de los niveles de ingreso, el derecho a un empleo y la igualdad de sexos pueden ser alcanzados, o si la lógica económica conduce, inevitablemente, a una especie de desarme social. El Secretariado de estudios prospectivos del gobierno sueco ha estudiado, a fondo, el problema de los servicios de salud y ha llegado a la conclusión que los objetivos de la seguridad social pueden ser alcanzados siempre que se reconsideren, seriamente, varios factores. Continuar en la línea seguida hasta hoy significaría cesantía, impuestos suplementarios y resultados mediocres en cuanto a los servicios de salud. Por el contrario, el aumento de la productividad puede ser puesto al servicio de una reducción de las jornadas de trabajo, permitiendo una repartición más adecuada de los servicios de salud. El presente artículo redactado por el director del estudio, resume las principales conclusiones.
THEATRE AS A TOOL FOR COMMUNICATION

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Abstract: Participative popular theatre is increasingly used in Africa as a tool for conscientization. On the basis of experiences in his country, Zambia, the author first defines the concept of popular theatre as it differs from other theatres and provides examples of its use in Zambia. He then defines the animateur and examines the methodology (research, dramatic and group dynamic techniques).

LE THÉÂTRE COMME INSTRUMENT DE COMMUNICATION

Résumé: Le théâtre populaire participatif est de plus en plus utilisé en Afrique comme instrument de conscientisation. A partir d’expériences dans son pays, la Zambie, l'auteur définit d'abord le théâtre populaire en tant qu'il diffère des autres théâtres et illustre son usage en Zambie. Il définit ensuite le rôle de l'animateur et décrit ses méthodes (techniques de recherche, techniques dramatiques, techniques de la dynamique de groupe).

EL TEATRO COMO UN INSTRUMENTO DE COMUNICACION

Resumen: En Africa, el teatro popular participativo está siendo utilizado, cada vez más, como un instrumento de concientización. Basándose en experiencias practicadas en su país, Zambia, el autor define en primer lugar, el concepto de teatro popular así como sus diferencias con otros tipos de teatros y da ejemplos de su aplicación en Zambia. A continuación define al animador y describe la metodología utilizada (técnicas de investigación, técnicas dramáticas y dinámica de grupo).
THEATRE AS A TOOL FOR COMMUNICATION

Theatre is being more and more used as a process of raising consciousness of the marginalized segments of communities. A number of seminars and workshops have been held in a number of countries in Africa and outside. Zambia held her first workshop, the Chalimbana, in 1979 and there was a follow up, the Natural Resources College workshop held in 1981 1/. In 1983, a regional workshop for extension workers was held at Namushakende in the Western Province of Zambia. All these workshops aimed at community animation. Other countries which are involved in using popular theatre are Botswana - since 1974 when the Laedza Batanani Campaign was started 2/, Nigeria has held three workshops organized by the Ahmadu Bello Collective 3/, Swaziland held her first national workshop in October 1981, which has been followed up by district workshops 4/. In 1983, African popular theatre workers from 25 African countries met in Harare to share experiences and participate in Zimbabwe's Campaign of community mobilization. There are similar community action oriented theatrical activities going on in Bangladesh, India, Latin America and the Caribbean. There have also developed cross-cultural linkages between those using theatre as a communication strategy in different parts of the world.

In 1982, at an international seminar held at Thunderbay, Canada, between popular theatre workers from Canada and seven Third World countries, two things came out (i) a newsletter to link up Third World popular theatre artists, (ii) a popular theatre alliance 5/. The newsletter is being edited on rotational basis and the alliance has linked up many popular theatre groups in Canada.

THE CONCEPT DEFINED

There are different genres of theatre which are used for different purposes. There is high theatre which caters for an elite group whose main objective seems to be entertainment and excludes many people. In elite theatre the focus is on creation of empathy between actor and spectator around themes of emotion and laughter.

Very often the themes that are chosen mirror undercurrents of feelings - love, marriage and sharing of power between factions of the same clique. In Zambia, elite theatre is theatre of play houses - the play houses were created to provide entertainment for the white enclave. Zambians have gone into them and are vying for leadership. They are likely to take over control but in terms of approach elite theatre will remain elitist - the black bourgeoisie will transplant
the white bourgeois. Thematically Zambian elite theatre is mirroring political problems of the Southern African (Soweto) region, Master-servant relationship (Do you love me Master) power struggles (Chaka). By choosing external themes, Zambian elite theatre is indirectly speaking to its own bourgeois class. In fact, the themes of the plays reflect political pre-occupation of the bourgeoisie. The communication pattern between the elite actor and audience is passive. The audience listens quietly while they absorb ready and polished theatrical pieces.

Popular Theatre - this is the kind of theatre that speaks to the majority - the left out people. Popular theatre uses the idiom and language of the poor people. We can distinguish different genres of popular theatre.

i) Travelling Theatre: since 1970 the University of Zambia's Chikwakwa Travelling Theatre has been involved in the project of taking theatre to the people. They have made tours to provinces producing plays written by university teachers and students. When on tour translations of plays were made, Chikwakwa aimed at breaking off the mystique that surrounded enclave theatre - where theatre was considered a monopoly of white theatre goers. In its work, Chikwakwa concentrated on development of theatre in schools and colleges. In villages and at provincial headquarters, Chikwakwa offered some form of entertainment. Chikwakwa theatre has been instrumental in the formation of theatre groups in schools and such theatres as Tikwiza Theatre, Bakanda, and the Zambia National Theatre and Arts Association (ZANTAA), which were formed later and owe their beginning to Chikwakwa.

In the choice of themes Chikwakwa repertoire consisted of plays with social and political themes e.g. in 1970 Chikwakwa produced Kabwe Kasoma's Fools Marry, Che Guevara by Mario Farrati, an adaptation of a play by Leroi Jones - they called it The Chief Banishes (his) Heir.

The entertainment part of theatre predominated the work of Chikwakwa. Audiences watched them perform but they did not take part in the performances. Though some traditional ritual stories were incorporated in some of the productions, no researches were carried out on life in the rural areas. Thus Chikwakwa did not truly reflect the realities of rural Zambian life.

Later in its development, Chikwakwa began to tackle plays with developmental messages e.g. Chifunyise's The Blood and also the District Governor. But over the years Chikwakwa has not deviated much from its primary function of taking theatre to the people. It qualified as a popular theatre in as far as it catered for many people and produced some of the plays which bore some meaning to the people.

ii) Theatre for Development: This is the type of theatre that aims at community animation for effective intervention
into socio-economic processes that govern their lives. It is theatre with an overt aim of popular education. It combines research work into many issues that affect a particular community, production of skits to reflect the problems to the people in the community, holding discussions with the people and making plans to start changing things in the community. We shall later illustrate how this methodology works but here we would like to analyse its work.

Theatre for development is also called popular theatre or theatre for community animation. Though there had been attempts to incorporate theatre in developmental issues in Zambia, it is in Botswana that adult educators popularized this approach. They began using it in a campaign called Laedza Batanani in the Bokalala District of Northern Botswana. Much more than just presenting entertainment, popular theatre incorporated concepts of human liberation from the socio-economic domination. There was a lot of similarity between Laedza Batanani approach and Paulo Freirian approach in literacy work. The main focus was on helping the marginals to start looking at themselves as people with ability to change things. Theatre mirrored socio-economic problems to the marginalized.

Since 1974, campaigns using popular theatre have become an annual event involving an inter-disciplinary group of community development workers, public health workers and adult educators. A National Popular Theatre Committee co-ordinates the work. In 1979, Zambia began to recognize the significance of the use of theatre for development. A workshop was organized at Chalimbana which was attended by 77 people from Community Development, Adult Education, Credit Organizations etc. The dominant group consisted of theatre artists. There were also invited resource persons from Botswana, Tanzania, Canada, Swaziland, USA and from liberation movements represented in Zambia such as SWAPO and ANC. Research and theatrical skills were shared.

After the workshop, follow up provincial workshops were started in Lusaka, Copperbelt, Southern and Luapula Provinces. One of the follow up projects was Mufuchani in the City of Kitwe. The idea of using theatre for communication received some limited support but the contact with the people of Mufuchani stimulated other things: the people made demand for a bus service; the spirit for community development is higher now than ever before. The community has continued looking for ways to solve the problems of health and education with proposals for training of their children to be responsible for pre-school education and public health.

EXAMPLES FROM ZAMBIA

After Chalimbana, popular theatre has gradually found increased use in small community based projects. Oxfam is promoting its use in nutrition, education and public health
in Kitwe and Southern Province. An organization called BAM (Brothers of All Men) works in Chief Chungu's area in Luwingu District.

Theatre has been used to develop local leadership and has increased community participation; Bakanda Theatre of Kitwe has used theatre in a public health campaign in Kamakonde Shanty Compound. During 1982, World Health Week - a group of old people from different wards of Kitwe District Council - presented a play Koloboi in which they demonstrated the lack of care for the 'aged'. The play was followed by a long discussion.

We see a lot of discrete efforts going on where theatre is an effective means of communication, but we have not made an effort to co-ordinate this kind of work into a well sustained campaign. Those using theatre by and large remain compartmentalized - they have not yet developed a multidisciplinary approach similar to what has been going on in Botswana. Without broadening the base for participation, first by local communities and movements and in collaboration with similar groups interested in helping the marginal intervene in the processes that govern their lives popular theatre can be accused of being spongy or manipulative.

Popular theatre can also absorb local initiative and weaken local solidarity. A clique can use popular theatre to domesticate instead of liberating. This is why the role of the animateur needs to be defined and spelt out.

DEFINING THE ANIMATEUR

Those using popular theatre for community animation see themselves as allies of the marginalized. They differ from philanthropists whose approach is one of giving out 'alms' to the starving masses or bringing ready-made projects for the acceptance by local communities. Popular theatre artists believe that local people have ability to solve their own problems. What they do not have is the voice. They have been pushed to the periphery and absorbed what Freire calls 'culture of silence'. They become passive or conformist. They are made to believe that thinking can only be done for them. A popular theatre community animateur aims at restoring lost confidence and enabling the poor to liberate themselves. The animateur should not see himself as a messiah of the poor; rather, he should consider himself as just a catalyst for social change. He is to help push up the process of conscientization. After he has gone, things should work even without him. The poor should be able to work together and confront all forms of oppressive phenomena - physical, social or economic.

It is quite difficult after one has meaningfully interacted with the poor to remain the same as before. Popular theatre's methodology of participatory research changes also
the thinking of the change agents. It actually makes one look at his/her social class position with different attitudes. Thus, the kind of animateur needed for conscientisation is a person who has strong commitment and respect for the marginal. He can be a dramatist, an adult educator, community worker etc. The methodology used in popular theatre is for communication. The theatre artist needs more than just theatre skills in order to be a popular theatre artist. He requires some knowledge of adult education - to have respect for adult experiences and feelings and, at the same time, he should persuade them to see their own state of under-development and the prospects that they have to change their own lives. This kind of relationship between the animateur and the marginalized does not always please forces that look at the marginal in a negative sense - children who must be tamed, and fended for. The demolition of Kamiirithu theatre organized by Ngugi Wa Thiongo in Kenya is a good case in point.

At Kamiirithu, the poor learnt to understand the world around them. Further, they were involved in literacy work - they learnt to read and write and above all read the world around them.

Thus, the animateur should learn to link popular theatre as a tool for communication with some project or movement. Without this kind of link popular theatre is bound to be just another one of those interesting things. Animateurs should constantly aim at reactivating the communities where they work for greater improvement of their lot and bringing greater justice to them. In short, we should use theatre to break the culture of silence.

EXAMPLE OF THE METHODOLOGY

We would like to give an example of the method or techniques used in theatre for educational purposes. The method described below is the one common to both Botswana and Zambia. Because the whole method ranges from information gathering to performances, we can divide its techniques into:

i) Research techniques
ii) Dramatic techniques
iii) Discussion or group dynamic techniques.

i) Research techniques: The research techniques employed are participatory research techniques. These techniques have their grounding in some of the philosophical ideas associated with Paulo Freire. They involve both animateurs and local people. The format is as follows:

a) Meeting leaders - animateurs from outside and representatives of the local community meet and talk about local problems. Outsiders have to make it clear that they are interested in knowing something about local
concerns and difficulties but they need to work with the local leaders or representatives of the people.

b) **Information gathering** - once rapport is established between outsiders and local leaders, this team shares some information about the local area e.g. customs, histories, problems etc. Later they divide into working pairs. They go round the settlement to interview people. One person in a pair asks questions while the other records answers. The questions are pre-planned. They must be non-leading, non-suggestive. Rather, they are probing and problem centred. They are about the entire society in general and about the interviewees in particular. The time devoted to this stage differs according to the size of the area and the size of the group involved in research. People are interviewed wherever they are - it is not adviseable to carry out group interviews. The pace at which interviews proceed depends on the size of the community and personality of the interviewers. Interviewers should aim at creating a non-threatening free atmosphere.

c) **Problem analysis** - the group comes together and tabulates all the problems. The common format is use of a flip chart. Where a flip chart is not available, a movable blackboard can be used. Problems are classified into those which can be solved by the community and those that need help from outside (e.g. central or local government). Problem analysis requires a deep understanding of the problems.

ii) **Dramatic skills**: Dramatic skills involve creating a plot, choice of the media and performance presentation. Creating a plot is an important part of the process. Different versions have been used. The first involves talking about sequence of events in the dramatic presentation. Each member of the group talks about what he/she considers the main actions, the likely thing to be said. The dialogue does not matter as much as the sequence of events. As the discussion progresses all what is said is jotted down on a flip chart. The actions are divided into short scenes. Effort is made to build up the plot to some climax. The contents of the plot are problems generated in the research stage. The second format involves scripting. Here actors create a non-written plot. They practice it over and over again using their own words. When confident of what they are supposed to do, they sit down and collectively write down a complete dialogue. Both the free style and scripted style have been used in Zambia. The choice of what medium the group should use to convey the message would depend on what skills are available in the community. It is important that some of the media come from the community because it is the local media which make meaning to the people.

In Zambia, three media have been used: drama, song and dance and puppetry. Drama lends itself easily to the people. As
Aristotle observed, man is a very imitative animal. Most people, with little prompting can act. What they need to learn are movements which contribute to building up of a mood and give form to the presentation. Song and dance require some training. As far as possible, local tunes should be used. The developmental message is infused in the tune. Puppetry is a new medium. In some areas, puppetry - as used in both countries - is an importation from its popularized western form. A lot of puppets are needed. Part of the workshops are devoted to imparting the necessary skills involved in puppetry.

Performance presentation is done at some central place of the community. The event is given enough publicity. There is no elaborate stage used. Usually actors are surrounded by the audience. They may need a small screen for puppetry. Local people are allowed to participate in acting at any point they feel they have something to contribute. A drama should not last more than 20 minutes and a song should take at the most five minutes.

iii) Discussion or group dynamic skills: At the end of all the performances, the audience breaks up into small discussion groups to analyse the message content of the dramas, songs, etc. One of the people in the group chairs the meeting and the other records people's reactions. It is important that the leaders of the discussion have some basic skills in leading group discussions. The tendency among some of the leaders is to dominate. As part of preparation the actors are also given skills in leading discussions. They are also helped by a set of pre-prepared questions common to all the groups.

One of the purposes of group discussions is to agree or refute the problems presented and solutions offered and also to see if people can agree on some programme of action. The group assembles into a plenary session to get feedback from small group discussions. At the end, more concrete decisions binding on the community are collectively made. Leaders make their individual reactions and wind up the meeting.

The rest of the process involves evaluation by the actors and follow up. Evaluation is done through discussion on things done well or badly and how they could be avoided in the future. Follow up is entrusted to either government functionaries in the community or the complete group of animateurs. They come to the community to find out what work has been done and to participate in the activity.

IMPACT

Popular theatre has achieved the purpose of sparking off discussion of local problems but has not led to dramatic changes. Villages have not been transformed into cities but changes have taken place. In some, practical solutions have
been found, e.g. construction of latrines, increased attendance of clinics for treatment of V.D. The people are, to a limited extent, taking part in and influencing matters that affect them.

Popular theatre is an innovation and, like all innovations, it affects power relations. In this case, the poor are being helped to gain confidence to make decisions. It has been noted in Botswana that popular theatre can be used for domestication rather than liberation of the people. Most of the themes presented are those chosen by government functionaries or local leaders. Serious political issues which keep the poor in the state of poverty are not being honestly tackled. In the case of Botswana, migrant labour is the most central issue. There are alternatives to it which would stop it but it suits the state because some money is gained through remittances individual labourers send to their country, also recruiting companies stand to gain by it. In both countries the approach is technicist - concentrates on information providing a way to intervene in issues of under-development. Some plays have presented stereotype characters and problems etc. The problem of drunkenness as a cause of poverty has been a recurrent theme of plays in most projects in both countries. Drunkenness could be a result of deeper social and emotional problems. The limitation of time precludes deeper investigation into some problems. On the other hand, some plays which reflect a deeper understanding of social issues have been presented.

The impact of theatre on local communities varies. It has been used for resettling the Basarwa (or Bushmen) in Botswana. It helped a small community solve problems of water supply by sinking wells (Zambia). There is some insidious change too: the poor are beginning to speak their minds and forge some kind of solidarity among themselves. Given favourable atmosphere and goodwill of both governments, this methodology is likely to create greater change than has been seen so far. Its continued use in Zambia and Botswana is a demonstration of the recognized catalytic potential of this method.


2/ R. Kidd and M. Byram; Popular Theatre and Participation in Development (Gaberone: Bosele Baswarangana Publications).

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AHIMSA (NON-VIOLENCE)

Shri Jamnalal Bajaj Institute of Studies in Non-Violence, a multi-disciplinary research institute of the Gujarat Vidyapith have undertaken to prepare a first of its kind, Encyclopedia of Ahimsa (Non-Violence), giving a comprehensive documentation of the evolution of Non-Violence from the earliest times to the contemporary age. It is scheduled to be published on 18 October 1985 in commemoration of the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Gujarat Vidyapith by Mahatma Gandhi.

The encyclopedia will be published in three volumes, each of about 500 pages of Royal Octavo size. The first volume will feature the views of world renowned scholars on the philosophical foundations of non-violence along with abstracts of researches in this field. Articles of outstanding authors on various aspects of non-violence in its relation to science, technology, ethics, social sciences, society etc. will be included.

The second volume will contain an annotated glossary of all words and names related to studies in non-violence with authentic accounts of programmes and movements of all types of application and practice of non-violence in individual and social life.

The final volume will contain a chronology of the evolution of non-violence along with a comprehensive bibliography of books and journals.

Pre-publication price: US$160 (including air mail).
Further information from: Registrar, Gujarat Vidyapith, Mahatma Gandhi Campus, Ashram Marg, Ahmedabad 380014, India.
Resumen: El texto que se presenta a continuación no ha sido concebido como un artículo. Constituye, en realidad, la exposición de las bases de un proyecto de apoyo a la autoconstrucción independiente en el gran Buenos Aires. Sin embargo, el alcance de esta exposición sobrepasa el marco del proyecto. Dice el autor: es necesario ocuparse en forma positiva de la autoconstrucción independiente porque ella recoge el esfuerzo y los anhelos de miles de personas; porque de esta "construcción hormiga" nace la ciudad; porque el movimiento continuará con o sin ayuda exterior; porque la autoconstrucción es una elección "sabia" que proporciona seguridad, es causa de satisfacción personal, permite una vivienda "viva", es económica, es para el autoconstructor una buena inversión; porque los autoconstructores no tienen acceso a un asesoramiento técnico eficaz; porque carece de proyectos apropiados; porque la técnica utilizada es básicamente buena pero arriesgada; porque la autoconstrucción constituye el embrión de un sistema abierto de colaboración social, y porque ella contribuye a resolver el problema de la vivienda. El texto completo está disponible solamente en castellano (29pp.).

WHY ATTEND INDEPENDENT SELF-CONSTRUCTION

Abstract: The following text was not written as an article. It constitutes, in reality, the rationale for a support programme to independent self-construction in the greater Buenos Aires. But the scope of this rationale goes beyond the project it intends to justify. The author lists 9 reasons for independent self-construction: it represents the efforts and the desires of thousands of people; these ant-like constructions create the city; the movement will go on, with or without support; self-construction is a wise choice: it provides security and personal satisfaction, a dwelling which is alive and economical; it is a good investment; however, independent builders do not have access to technical assistance; they have no appropriate blueprints; their technologies are good but risky; it constitutes the embryo of an open system of social cooperation; and it helps to solve the housing problem. The full text of the proposal (29pp.) is available in Spanish only.

(resumé en français à la page 44)
Jaime Nisnovich

POR QUE ATENDER A LA AUTOCONSTRUCCION INDEPENDIENTE

INTRODUCTION

Enfocamos nuestra atención en los autoconstructores independientes, en aquellos que sin más apoyo que el de sus personas cercanas, al margen de todo sistema organizado de ayuda mutua y de todo plan oficial, construyen sus viviendas en el Gran Buenos Aires con su propio trabajo o contratando a otros. Su producto visible son esas casas pobres, casi siempre inacabadas, que crecen en la periferia de la ciudad como brotadas de semillas esparcidas por el viento.

Enfocamos en ellos porque nos importan esas casas que van habiendo, nos importa la ciudad que esas casas van habiendo, pero por sobre todo nos importa esa gente que las hace. Lo que quieren conseguir, lo que les pasa, su impulso, sus esfuerzos, sus penas y sus alegrías.

Para colaborar con esa gente, para que puedan construir más felizmente mejores casas y un entorno mejor, hemos programado un servicio de apoyo y de asistencia técnica que les brinde conocimientos, datos y organización.

Pero ¿por qué una propuesta de ese tipo cuando desde hace decenios se viene desarrollando y utilizando distintos métodos y organizaciones de trabajo basados en el esfuerzo propio? Porque a pesar de lo realizado la gran masa de los autoconstructores independientes sigue haciendo sus viviendas casi aisladas, y carentes del apoyo y del asesoramiento que necesitan.

Sucede que la autoconstrucción es un fenómeno negado o rechazado por quienes marcan las políticas de vivienda. Los especialistas, empresarios y funcionarios vinculados a la construcción, formando parte del sector que detenta los bienes materiales y culturales de la sociedad, compartimos supuestos ideológicos tácitos de "como deben ser" y "como se deben hacer" las viviendas. Aunque esas suposiciones corresponden a nuestros hábitos, anhelos e intereses, son dadas como normas universales, y esas normas marcan a la autoconstrucción como una anomalía inmaleable, como un defecto de la realidad que es mejor olvidar. Se tiende sobre ella un manto de humo que nos desdibuja su presencia y pasa a ser una realidad marginal, una semi-realidad que no existe ni para los estudiosos ni para los planes de gobierno.

Muchos han superado esa manera de no verla y han producido o ayudado a producir realizaciones muy importantes utilizando procedimientos tales como "lotes y servicios", "vivienda progresiva" o "esfuerzo propio y ayuda mutua",
procedimientos todos que deben ser apoyados y promovidos. Pero algo hay en ellos que restringe su acción a grupos reducidos.

Pensamos que en parte se debe a que todos, de una u otra manera, han modificado las características espontáneas, naturales, de la autoconstrucción, apartándose de motivaciones y modalidades importantes para los autoconstructoros, y perdiendo la posibilidad de utilizar las propias fuerzas de esa experiencia social, su dinámica y su inercia, para difundir y brindar el servicio propuesto.

El Programa que planteamos procura trabajar con esa realidad cruda, digamos que sin cocinarla para que no pierda sus vitaminas, sus potencialidades. Asumir esa realidad tal como se dá y usando sus cauces naturales y su salud, ayudarla a realizar sus propias correcciones, a construir mejor, a ser más eficaz.

* * *

Para que el contenido de la propuesta sea claro comenzaremos enunciando algunas consideraciones que han orientado nuestro trabajo.

Posiblemente digamos cosas ya sabidas, pero su ordenamiento y enunciación pueden ayudar a ver de otra manera la misma realidad. Un mismo objeto visto desde otro ángulo y con otra iluminación, puede provocar imágenes nuevas.

Como dijo Marcel Proust: "El camino del descubrimiento no consiste en buscar paisajes nuevos sino en tener nuevos ojos".

1. ATENDERLA PORQUE RECOGE EL ESFUERZO Y LOS ANHELOS DE MILES DE PERSONAS

Marcamos una escena que nos describió un autoconstructor:

"El fin de semana están laborando... Ve ahí están laborando... uno levanta pared... otro está techando... Al final uno siempre ve que siempre están haciendo algo. Toda la familia, inclusive la señora. Le da vuelta el material, le alcanza los baldes, el esposo arriva... los chicos cargando ladrillos. Todo ese tipo de... La familia"

Y esa escena aislada, al repetirse cada fin de semana y un poco cada día en miles de lotes dispersos en el Gran Buenos Aires, moviliza multitudes.

No podemos quedar indiferentes ante el doloroso hecho de que tanta gente que vuelca sus esperanzas, su tiempo libre y sus
ahorros en la construcción de su vivienda, malogre sus esfuerzos incurriendo, por falta de un asesoramiento adecuado, en errores técnicos y de proyecto insolubles.

2. **ATENDERLA PORQUE ESA "CONSTRUCCIÓN HORMIGA" VA HAVIENDO CIUDAD**

¿Cuántos son los autoconstructores del Gran Buenos Aires? ¿Cuánto construyen? No hay cifras exactas pero entendemos que el número de viviendas que han producido supera lo construido por los sistemas organizados de vivienda económica. Esas casas, que han de durar decenas de años y serán la vivienda de un par de generaciones, van formando el paisaje construido que se densifica en el perímetro de nuestra ciudad, y podemos ver como la ciudad va creciendo a manchones por la explosión lenta de esa "construcción hormiga".

La autoconstrucción forma la corteza urbana. Si miramos hacia el centro, hacia donde la ciudad crece en altura, quedaría a nuestras espaldas y no la veremos, pero es en esa corteza donde la ciudad crece radialmente, donde se expande. Alguien dijo que en esa zona de contacto entre lo urbano y lo rural es donde se desarrolla el drama de la gran ciudad contemporánea. Teniendo en cuenta que en el Gran Buenos Aires ya se han vendido unos 2.000.000 de lotes, y que hay casi 1.200.000 lotes en fraccionamientos ya aprobados que aún no han salido a la venta, tememos que ese drama se transforme en tragedia. De ahí que nuestra preocupación por la autoconstrucción se refiera no sólo a la calidad actual y futura de la vivienda autoconstruida sino también a la calidad de nuestro entorno urbano, al cercano Buenos Aires del año 2000.

3. **ATENDERLA PORQUE SE SEGUIRA AUTOCONTRUYENDO CON O SIN NUESTRO APOYO**

Esa actividad masiva es un hecho espontáneo y constante que se desarrolla al margen de toda acción social planificada. Sin esperar apoyo ni pedir permiso, sin redes de infraestructura ni créditos ni legislación protectora, renace cada día vitalizada por las necesidades y los deseos de millares de personas que así reivindican su derecho a la vivienda, con un impulso que es más fuerte que nuestro acuerdo o desacuerdo, que nuestro gusto o disgusto, que nuestros planes.

Justamente los más oprimidos, los más "dependientes", muestran el caudal de sus posibilidades en una acción autónoma creadora y productiva como hay pocas en nuestra sociedad.

Entonces, si asumimos que la autoconstrucción independiente va a seguir existiendo lo queramos o no, con o sin nosotros, y que su resultado hace también a la ciudad, resulta absurdo no ayudar a que se haga de su mejor manera posible.
4. **ATENDERLA PORQUE LA AUTOCONSTRUCCIÓN INDEPENDIENTE ES UNA ELECCIÓN "SABIA"**

Como la autoconstrucción de la vivienda en lote propio se inscribe dentro de la estrategia de supervivencia de las familias de escasos recursos como la manera más adecuada de resolver el problema de la vivienda, pensamos que debe tener valores propios muy importantes para que su difusión sea tan masiva a pesar de implicar esfuerzo personal físico, mental y monetario.

Se puede pensar que es un procedimiento al que se recurre cuando se queda fuera de la acción de planes oficiales o grupales, o por desconocimiento de otras alternativas, y tal vez haya algo de eso, pero lo cierto es que al evaluar sus ventajas e inconvenientes parecen primar algunas características atractivas y tal vez fundamentales para la familia obrera.

a) **Da seguridad**

. Permite tener en poco tiempo "un techo", la tranquilidad que brinda una vivienda propia, la familia protección.

. Excepto por el compromiso que se toma si se compra un lote, no obliga a contraer obligaciones a largo plazo o de dinero, evitándose así aumentar los "riesgos de futuro" en familias que viven al día.

. Resulta más seguro que colocar recursos de tiempo o dinero en obras grupales que pueden tardar en terminarse.

. Se evita la ansiedad que provoca inscribirse en un "plan" y quedar a la espera del sorteo de adjudicación y/o ubicación.

"-¿Cómo se le ocurrió el terreno y hacer la casa? Por qué hizo eso y no buscó otra manera de..."

- La verdad es que... me pareció más directo comprar el terreno y hacerme la casa... y menos tramite... y seguridad también. Porque a veces uno no tiene seguridad. En cambio comprando el terreno... ir pagando y tener pago y decir bueno, voy y hago la casa y listo. Me pareció más... La prueba está ahora que en diez días ya tengo dónde vivir. Algo precario pero... ya para empezar a vivir. Creo que... la verdad... no voy a tener problemas. Y no es mucho gasto."

b) **Causa satisfacción personal**

En un sistema productivo enajenante, en que la persona trabaja a las órdenes de otros (cumpliendo decisiones de otros)
haciendo cosas para otros, la autoconstrucción le permite al obrero hacer algo para él y los suyos libre, voluntaria y creativamente. Es una satisfacción de sus necesidades y deseos a través de sus capacidades. Y si bien se hace para satisfacer una necesidad y significa esfuerzo, parece tener algo de deportivo, de hazaña, en que el esfuerzo queda compensado por el orgullo del logro, por el éxito y el triunfo.

"- No sabe qué linda me está quedando la casita.
- ¿Es grande?
- No. Pero no sabe qué linda me está quedando.
- ¿Y su familia qué dice?
- Están contentísimos, y aparte que están viviendo ellos... están trabajando ellos también. Y los chicos... mojan ladrillo, me alcanzan ladrillo... y otra cosa es que no me veían trabajar casi nunca a mí. Ellos sabían que yo era albañil pero muy rara vez me veían... Las nenas, por ejemplo, nunca me vieron trabajar... y ahora al ver que estoy haciendo... y estamos... Cada día se ponen más contentos porque ven la casa que está creciendo.
- A usted supongo que también le debe dar mucha alegría... ¿no?
- Sí. La verdad... y... Aparte el domingo me paraba y miraba y no podía creer que eso era mío. Es una doble satisfacción, también. Yo miraba y me costaba creer que ese terreno y esa casilla eran míos... Toda la vida alquilando... Si no era en hotel en casa ajena y..."

Toda la satisfacción que expresa este autoconstructor podría hacernos modificar una conocida frase y enunciar como programa de vida: "Tener un hijo, plantar un árbol, hacer una casa".

c) Permite una vivienda "viva"

. Como generalmente la autoconstrucción se realiza gradualmente, progresando sobre un planteo elástico que se modifica según las necesidades y deseos que aparecen al ir viviendo, la casa se va adaptando al crecimiento y a los cambios de la familia, a nuevas actividades laborales, a nuevos hábitos.

. Los trabajos pueden realizarse respetando los impulsos de cada época, de cada uno y de la familia.

. El terreno propio permite usos externos "ecológicos". La huerta, el gallinero, comer y estar afuera, jugar en la tierra, y tantas otras cosas que se trata de
recuperar en la vida urbana y que son tan propias de quien vino del campo a la ciudad.

Ese espacio exterior, al recibir "usos internos" y desahogar el espacio interior, da comodidad y expansión. Y da más "aire libre" a cada uno.

d) Es económicamente

El autoconstructor cuida su tiempo, su rendimiento y no desperdicia sus materiales.

Permite utilizar elementos usados u otros que por sus características no sería admisible en otros tipos de construcción. Se presta al "rebusque".

No existen los costos generados por los trabajos de dirección, administración, etc. ni la ganancia de empresa.

e) Es para el autoconstructor una buena inversión

Permite la inversión gradual y adecuada a los recursos disponibles en cada momento.

Capitaliza el esfuerzo familiar transformando en valor agregado la actividad de tiempo libre.

La inversión rinde fruto rápidamente por la pronta disponibilidad para el uso de la "casilla" o primera habitación, permitiendo liberarse de alquileres o disponer del dinero de venta de otra casilla para seguir la construcción.

Si la construcción es buena, el dinero invertido está seguro.

No hay riesgo de que lo invertido se pierda o se desvalorice en caso de interrupción por enfermedad o por no tener trabajo.

Por ser una construcción de plan "abierto", permite agregar locales productivos (taller, comercio, alquiler, etc.).

La formación adquirida o reforzada al construir utilizando el sistema corriente puede ser utilizado para trabajos remunerados.

5. ATENDERLO PORQUE LOS AUTOCONSTRUCTORES NO TIENEN ACCESO A UN ASESORAMIENTO TÉCNICO EFICAZ

Sucede que negados o marginados por el Estado en sus planes, ignorados por la Empresas Constructoras por no serles rentables, y no pudiendo significar para el Profesional un honorario compensatorio, quedan huérfanos de ayuda.
Su dispersión geográfica y la prolongada duración de las construcciones hacen que el asesoramiento directo prestado por técnicos voluntarios o voluntarios sólo pueda llegar a pocos autoconstructoros o a zonas reducidas. El mejor nivel de asesoramiento al que puede recurrir actualmente el autoconstructor independiente es el brindado por un albañil o por un constructor de escasa formación, servicio que es al diseño de la vivienda lo que el curanderismo es a la medicina.

6. ATENDERLA PORQUE CARECE DE PROYECTOS APROPIADOS

Habitualmente la construcción crece por adición improvisada de locales a partir de una "casilla" o de una primera habitación. Puede existir un plano, en el mejor de los casos realizado por un Maestro Mayor de Obras con firma en la Municipalidad. Este plano, poco frecuente, suele ser un proyecto ambicioso, costoso y deficiente que hace más a la fantasía que a la construcción posible. En general el autoconstructor se guía por "dibujo" propio, por una imagen que tiene "in mente" o por el "proyecto" de un albanil.

"- Y este dibujo... ¿lo hizo usted?
- Si. Soy medio aficionado al dibujo.
- Y el proyecto... este dibujo... ¿lo fue pensando mucho tiempo?
- No. De un día para otro, me puse a pensar como podía ser. Un viernes que llegué más temprano a la noche me puse a pensar... como voy a hacer... ah, bueno, dije... y resulta que fui directamente al otro día, planté los palos de acuerdo a la idea mía... y listo... y para arriba. Una vez que planté los palos ya empecé a darle forma... Fue de un día para otro... No fue muy pensado que digamos."

Ese déficit de proyecto y la construcción casual aumentan los costos, los esfuerzos y los inconvenientes a la vez que producen defectos frecuentemente insalvables.

- Problemas por violar reglamentaciones municipales.
- Mala ubicación en el terreno dificultando o impidiendo crecimientos.
- Mala orientación.
- Mala ventilación.
- Mala circulación interior.
- Inconvenientes al adicionar locales, tener que voltear o romper paredes, mala conexión, paso a través de locales, ventanas que quedan tapiadas, etc.
La dimensión de los locales y la ubicación de las aberturas dificultando la colocación de muebles y elementos (roperos, heladera, lavarropas, televisor).

Y muchos otros defectos habituales.

Lo resume un autoconstructor que dijo:

"- Me da pena por mi vecino. Tendría que ver la casa... No la va a servir para nada. Le está poniendo azulejos y mesada de acero inoxidable... pero la casa es una porquería... No le va a servir para nada."

7. ATENDERLA PORQUE LA TÉCNICA UTILIZADA ES BASICAMENTE BUENA PERO RIESGOSA

La técnica constructiva habitualmente usada por los autoconstructores del Gran Buenos Aires es simple, y muy adecuada al tipo de obra y proceso constructivo en que se emplea, pero arriesgada. Como las viviendas son generalmente de una sola planta levantadas en terrenos planos de buena consistencia con un clima sin variantes extremas, su construcción puede resolverse apilando y trabajando ladrillos para formar las paredes que recibirán la cubierta de elementos livianos. El sistema aparece tan simple que uno puede atreverse, pero sucede que sin datos técnicos fundamentales y sin asesoramiento, el autoconstructor cae en errores elementales y graves.

No obstante el sistema es básicamente "sabio", con características que marcan lo decantado por su prolongada "elaboración colectiva" y el acierto de su uso masivo.

a) Es una técnica fácil, conocida y aceptada

. Por ser simple la puede utilizar cualquier persona conociendo algunos datos básicos.

. Por ser conocida permite el intercambio de ayuda dentro de la red y su utilización como trabajo remunerado.

. Por ser aceptada en su imagen y resultado ofrece seguridad y la vivienda conserva buen valor de mercado.

b) Tiene provisión fácil y conveniente de materiales y elementos

. Todo lo necesario para la construcción se puede adquirir en cualquiera de los innumerables corralones dispersos en el Gran Buenos Aires.

. Dada la profusión de fabricantes y proveedores se puede elegir precio y calidad.
c) **Los materiales y elementos son "standard"**

. Por ser de uso corriente, pueden ser prestados o canjeados.

. Permite la utilización de materiales y elementos usados.

. Los elementos (palas, baldes, carretillas, etc.) y muchos materiales sirven para otros usos.

d) **Los materiales y elementos son livianos**

. Casi todo lo utilizado puede ser desplazado por una persona. Solo las biguetas de la losa cerámica y los andamios pueden requerir dos personas sin elementos especiales.

e) **Los materiales y elementos son no-perecederos**

. Excepto los granulados embolsados (cal, cemento) todos los materiales necesarios para la obra gruesa pueden ser acopiados al aire libre. Esto permite graduar el esfuerzo comprando los materiales según se va pudiendo para ir construyendo "de a puchos".

f) **Permite la construcción gradual**

. Dado que la mampostería se autosostiene y no se degrada, se puede ir avanzando por trozos de pared. La etapa mínima es el ladrillo.

. Como el ladrillo permite ser golpeado y roto de a poco, y los remiendos con mezcla son fáciles, se puede hacer ajustes y corregir errores, hacer canaletas y agregar empalmes para nuevos crecimientos.

g) **Permite mejoras progresivas**

. Dados los tipos de revoques, enlucidos y revestimientos usuales, que se pueden aplicar en capas separadas en el tiempo manteniendo sus capacidades adhesivas, se puede ir mejorando paulatinamente las calidades de terminación de las paredes a partir del ladrillo desnudo hasta las terminaciones más finas deseadas. Cada etapa permite corregir progresivamente los defectos de la superficie anterior.

h) **Hay una coordinación modular elemental**

. Los marcos de las puertas y ventanas standard (nuevas o viejas), los depósitos embutidos de inodoro, canerías, cajas, etc., están dimensionados para los espesores comunes de paredes y tabiques de ladrillo con su terminación, lo cual evita desperdicios de material y trabajo.
i) Se aprovechan los sobrantes

. Como los mismos materiales sirven para muchísimos usos, el material cuyas dimensiones o calidades ya no cumplan determinadas exigencias requeridas por un uso, puede ir pasando a otros usos donde estará menos exigido.

. Planificando bien las secuencias del trabajo, la construcción no deja residuos.

8. ATENDERLA PORQUE TIENE EN EMBRION UN SISTEMA AMPLIO Y ABIERTO DE COLABORACIÓN SOCIAL

No autoconstruye un individuo aislado sino una familia inscripta en una red de relaciones informales de intercambio y ayuda mutua. Esa red, que se estructura con vínculos de parentesco, vecindad y amistad, es un micro-sistema de acción social al que el individuo y la familia recurren en busca de ayuda y seguridad en muchísimas situaciones de su vida cotidiana. En el caso de la autoconstrucción de la vivienda esta red se hace presente a través de ideas, consejos, dinero, herramientas, y también como ayuda personal directa. Posiblemente sin la presencia de ese sistema "marginal" de seguridad la familia pobre estaría muy desprotegida para lanzarse a la larga y esforzada tarea de construir su casa.

Esa modalidad espontánea de "ayuda mutua" es de por sí una escuela abierta de autogestión y solidaridad a través de la cual los individuos se ven inmersos en lo colectivo. Como estas estructuras informales no son cerradas y sus límites son imprecisos, suponemos que pueden ser expandidas, que tienen posibilidades de vínculos (valencias) disponibles, y que su elasticidad puede permitir entrelazarlas en una red más amplia que refuerce su acción, permita hacer mejores viviendas, y alímente una mayor conciencia colectiva de solidaridad.

9. ATENDERLA PORQUE PUEDE AYUDAR EN LA RESOLUCIÓN DEL PROBLEMA DE LA VIVIENDA

Es sabido que ninguno de los procedimientos sociales empleados para producir viviendas económicas podría por sí solo cubrir la totalidad del problema de la vivienda, y también es sabido que carecemos de los recursos económicos necesarios para encarar una solución global.

Hoy, cuando ese desequilibrio entre recursos y necesidades se ha agravado por la crisis que padecemos, y aún puede acentuarse por los efectos económicos y sociales de las inundaciones, se hace imprescindible movilizar y utilizar todos los recursos humanos latentes, todas las fuerzas desaprovechadas que puedan generar más viviendas y una vida mejor.
CONCLUSION

Por esto y por todo lo dicho sostenemos que la autoconstrucción independiente debe ser alentada, asesorada y apoyada. Su gran empuje como procedimiento social espontáneo y autónomo, su propia inercia y su potencial latente nos permiten pensar que con pocos recursos se puede mejorar sus resultados, afirmarla como propuesta valiosa, legitimarla como alternativa, difundirla. Hacia eso apuntamos.

(suite de la page 33)

POURQUOI S'OCCUPER DE L'AUTO-CONSTRUCTION INDÉPENDANTE

Le texte qui suit n'a pas été conçu comme un article. Il constitue, en fait, l'exposé des motifs d'un projet tendant à appuyer l'auto-construction indépendante dans le grand Buenos Aires. Mais la portée de cet exposé dépasse le projet qu'il justifie. Il faut s'occuper positivement de l'auto-construction indépendante, écrit l'auteur, parce qu'elle représente l'effort et le projet de milliers de personnes; parce que de ces efforts de fourmis naît la cité; parce que le mouvement continuera avec ou sans appui extérieur; parce que l'auto-construction est un choix "sage": elle donne sécurité, satisfaction personnelle, un logement vivant, économique; c'est un bon investissement; parce que les bâtisseurs n'ont pas accès à des conseils techniques efficaces; parce qu'ils ne disposent pas de plans appropriés; parce que les techniques utilisées sont bonnes mais risquées; parce que l'auto-construction constitue un embryon d'un système ouvert de collaboration sociale; et parce qu'elle contribue à résoudre la question de logement. Le texte complet du projet (29pp.) est disponible en espagnol seulement.
SUPERPOWER INTERVENTION IN THE THIRD WORLD: THE US CASE *

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In October 1983, while I was in Hong Kong for a few days at a meeting of Asian lawyers and judges, the United States invaded Grenada. My conference colleagues, prominent men and women of moderate political persuasion, had gathered to establish informal coordination of human rights activities in their region and to find ways to curb the worst abuses of their own governments. But in certain respects, they were naive.

They couldn't understand, for instance, why the United States, which they continue to associate with the defense of democracy and human rights, should be using its great influence to encourage repression throughout the Pacific. They had invited me to dispel their confusion by addressing them on the topic, "Why does the US support repressive governments in the Third World?" Even without jet lag, not an easy assignment.

But the Grenada invasion was something else. Perhaps reasoning from their domestic circumstances, these Asian jurists, who had never heard of Grenada and could not find it on available maps, at first thought that Reagan, with the connivance of the media, was playing some kind of geopolitical joke on the American public. Quite seriously, they supposed that Reagan having been frustrated throughout Central America, bogged down indefinitely in the Middle East, and challenged by anti-American outbursts in the Philippines, had feigned the invasion of Grenada. These Asian friends, who thought it inventive of the United States to attack a non-existent country, and were prepared to applaud the Hollywood bravado, which they - preoccupied with America, not unrealistically - regarded it as the stuff and substance of Reagan's presidency. I doubt that their fictional rendering of these events was much more of a distortion of reality than their presentation in the American press.

* / Introduction to Intervention, a collection of essays originally published in The Nation magazine, to be republished as a book by Holmes and Meier, in 1984.
True, the mainstream media in the United States did report upon an actual military campaign. They eventually, though reluctantly, gave some passing attention to the aerial bombardment of a mental hospital, showing that even the smallest war is a dirty enterprise. The media, even its liberal elements, went along with the official view that here at last was an American military victory worth celebrating. As if an elephant stomping on an ant could be construed as proof that the mighty beast's prowess was, despite recent doubts, undiminished. America's Wild West sensibility had been so wounded by defeat in Vietnam and humiliation during the hostage crisis in Iran that any instance of non-defeat could now be presented to the American people as an occasion for national celebration.

When the reality of the invasion finally sank in, my friends' responses were harsh. In the Third World, there is rarely any discussion of the nuances of a particular intervention, and there is no willingness, even among conservatives, to weigh carefully the pros and cons of an action in the spirit of a New York Times editorial. Superpower intervention in the third World is almost always perceived as imperial diplomacy, that is, as a continuation of colonialism by contemporary means. And really, when one removes the various veils of justification our political leaders offered us as explanations for the invasion of Grenada, the underlying reality has a stark simplicity - here, at last, was a chance to prevail in the Third world. In Grenada - unlike Vietnam, El Salvador and Lebanon - the US goal of restructuring the internal politics of a Third World country could be achieved. Despite the gratitude that most people in Grenada apparently felt toward the invaders, it looked to Third World observers like one more instance of rich, powerful, white capitalists imposing their own military solution on a poor, outgunned, pathetically weak, non-white nation.

Well, not quite. When it comes to intervention, generalizations don't always hold, and even expert knowledge of a particular country is not always enough to understand a special case. It is important not to identify intervention in the internal affairs of foreign states altogether with machinations that start on Pennsylvania Avenue. The Soviet Union is also a power intervening in the Third World, and assuredly not always on the side of liberation and national revolution. When Moscow's "assets" are threatened by popular discontent, as in Afghanistan or Ethiopia, its willingness to intervene with military force has been demonstrated (and is fully consistent with its counter-revolutionary relations with Eastern Europe and with large segments of its own population). There is a useful exchange on this in the December 1983 issue of the Journal of European Nuclear Disarmament between Mary Kaldor and Fred Halliday about Soviet behaviour in the Third World. Kaldor accuses Moscow of being "opportunistic", while Halliday insists on indicting the Kremlin for being "principled" in a geopolitical sense, that
is, prudently supporting aligned Third World regimes regardless of the surrounding human and political circumstances. Both characterizations are, of course, correct. The essays in this volume can be read as parallel dialogue among American intellectuals seeking to identify the basis of US interventional diplomacy.

At the same time, it is important to distinguish between the Soviet and American roles in the Third World. Ever since World War II, the natural affinities of Soviet selfish interests have been with the peoples of the Third World, not with their colonial oppressors. Moscow had no foreign investments or privileged status to protect. The Soviets back then possessed no foreign bases, nor did they have a backlog of involvement on any level with the colonial order.

In a way, outside of the Western Hemisphere and with the important exception of the Philippines, the United States also had a fairly clean slate back in 1945. Even in its "backyard", its interventions were viewed favourably compared with European colonialism. They were generally temporary, with the notable exception of Nicaragua. The governments on the scene were generally abusing their own people, often shockingly, and the US presence often produced a respite from domestic repression. The United States tolerated formal political independence in Latin America (except, of course, for Puerto Rico) which was the preliminary goal of national liberation struggles for the rest of the Third World. The American anti-colonial image was further enhanced by voluntarily pulling down the stars and stripes in Manila in 1946 (although the process was speeded up to counter the appeal of the Huks, a formidable threat in the hills).

As the post-war world began to take shape, the United States was respected more than feared. Although the most militarily powerful and economically predominant country in the world, it remained associated with ideals that included support for the right of self-determination. The first generation of Third World leaders, including even Ho Chi Minh, actually looked to the United States before it turned to the Soviet Union for ideological support and inspiration. I was startled to discover that children in North Vietnam were required to memorize the Declaration of Independence at the very time American planes and warships were devastating the country.

It is important to realize that in the early post-war years there was a definite opportunity for the United States to take the side of the peoples of the Third World. Why did our leaders choose, almost immediately and without encountering any serious dissent, to join the forces of reaction that were committed to stemming the rising tide of revolutionary nationalism? The explanation is both ideological and geo-political. Our leaders regarded US economic and diplomatic
interests as jeopardized by the success of Third World na-
tionalists.

In addition, the American elite swallowed whole some ques-
tionable European geopolitical ideas, especially the notion
that with colonialism on the run a "power vacuum" would
emerge. Non-Western countries would almost automatically
turn Marxist-Leninist, aligned with the Soviet Union, if
they didn't instead become liberal capitalist, aligned with
the United States. This contention flies in the face of the
reality of nationalism that dominates the Third World. This
nationalism if left alone, leads naturally in the opposite
direction, toward the politics of non-alignment.

For many sectors of influential opinion in this country the
inevitability of bipolar alignment provides a pretext for
avoiding the loss of control associated with non-alignment,
or the risk of jeopardizing positions of economic and stra-
tegic advantage. The need to mobilize public support for
costly overseas military adventures also encourages distort-
ing the true character of conflict in the Third World. The
susceptibility of the American public to arguments favouring
intervention to offset the Soviet challenge was a temptation
too great to resist. This justification was particularly
persuasive when "the Munich lesson" remained vivid for the
body politic. Lyndon Johnson and Walt Rostow worked overtime
to sell the public the analogy of Vietnam to World War II.
They argued that resisting Communist "aggression" in Vietnam
was far better than waiting until the Soviet tide swept
across the Pacific to Hawaii or California.

Now that the memory of Hitler's exploits has dimmed and the
"loss" of Vietnam has failed to produce the predicted domino
effect, the interventionist argument has become more can-
didly imperial. Following a short period of withdrawal,
American wound-licking after Vietnam and Watergate, the OPEC
1973–74 oil embargo and the revolutions in Iran, Nicaragua,
and Angola revived the spirit of interventionism. By the
mid-1970s alarmists in high places were warning of America's
decline and imminent fall. In this period, the United States
planned and proclaimed its so-called Rapid Deployment Force,
ostensibly for intervention in the Persian Gulf, but poten-
tially available anywhere. The chief rationale for such
intervention was no longer Soviet-inspired aggression, al-
though the Soviet action in Afghanistan in late 1979 helped
American militarists immeasurably to swing the public mood
back to a pro-defense direction. The new rationale was the
threat to Western access to oil, including the need for con-
trol of the sea lanes used to transport it to consumers.
Similarly, in Central America, the main interventionist ra-
tionale became "strategic" in the vague sense of insisting
that US dominance be maintained to protect wider
geopolitical interests in the face of a variety of revolu-
tionary challenges. To be sure, the Soviet threat had been
invoked all along to drum up support and to deter opposi-
tion, but the real drive of this policy is to reassert the

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primacy of American control in regions of growing geostrategic importance. (In the last six years, US imports of crude and refined oil products from the Persian Gulf region have risen from 17% to 45% of the US total; rich deposits of several scarce strategic minerals exist in Central America).

The United States particular type of imperial power, still committed to an ideological posture that disavows imperial practices and designs. Ronald Reagan routinely claims that Marxism-Leninism is the real colonizing force in the hemisphere, and that the US role should be appreciated as anti-colonial. The United States pretends to be poised on a tightrope, balancing its strategic imperatives off against a passionate mission to promote democratic pluralism. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity with which this belief is held. However, it is tied to a dogmatic insistence that the left can never be the bearer of democratic values, while the right can somehow be coaxed toward moderation. By this logic, aiding the Somocista Contras to destabilize the Sandinista government becomes a reasonable policy, as does massively aiding brutal regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras.

Grenada signaled a brash new willingness on the part of the US government to intervene with military force and treat the Caribbean once more as an American lake, while the Kissinger Commission Report represents a brazen ideological attempt to reinvent the Monroe Doctrine for Central America. It invokes all the discredited half-truths of the Vietnam era in its search for an acceptable rationale for intervention, in defiance of the national rights of other societies. And it seeks, above all, to pacify mainstream liberal critics in the Democratic Party by producing "a package" that wraps an essentially reactionary and military approach to American interests in a thick layer of economic aid and a thinner layer of human rights concerns. The second layer is embarrassingly transparent even for true believers, given minimal familiarity with the political and human characteristics of the regimes we are bolstering in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, as well, of course, as of the gangster counter-elite of Nicaragua we are training, equipping and advising. Actually, it is quite sensible for Reagan to brush aside the conditionality requirements in the Report. The real choice in Central America is between fighting the revolutionary forces by siding with rightist militarism or withdrawing from the fray. To insinuate a concern for human rights into this setting is, as conservatives correctly insist, little short of ridiculous. Kissinger's dissent to his own report, based on the primacy of strategic objectives over normative ones, is an awkward revelation of the strains created by the consensus-forming compulsions of the commission process.

Henry Kissinger, one of the prime manipulators of the public mind in our time, orchestrated the process that produced his so-called bipartisan Commission's report. It is entirely appropriate that the report should be dedicated to an
arch-hawk, the late Henry Jackson, precisely the sort of Cold War liberal who would endorse such a document with great enthusiasm. What is disturbing beyond the predictable exaggeration of the threats to strategic interests is the Orwellian tenor of the document - it is full of assertions that need to be inverted to make any sense. For instance, the Commission asserts that "As a nation we are certainly not opposed to indigenous reform in Central America... nor are we threatened by indigenous revolutions that use local resources and appeal to local circumstances." (p.108). How are we to understand Mr. Kissinger's destabilization programme directed at Salvador Allende's constitutionally elected government in Chile or the CIA-sponsored coup against the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954, neither of which is mentioned in the Report? Besides, both international law and normal diplomatic practice acknowledge governments' right to get help from outside if they need it to survive. The Kissinger Report would inflict a cruel dilemma on progressive governments in the Third World - go it alone and be pushed over like a feather by CIA-directed covert operations, or seek help in Moscow if it is available and be treated as an illegitimate Soviet outpost in our hemisphere that can be attacked at will. This seems to be what is meant by accepting indigenous processes of reform and revolution.

On another level, it is nonsense for the Report to claim that truly indigenous revolutionary processes never threaten US strategic interests. The most threatening of all post-1945 revolutions to American interests and sensibilities was the Iranian Revolution, which happened to be both totally indigenous and militantly anti-marxist.

The Report's Orwellian analysis is pervasive. Consider, this remark about the situation in El Salvador: "If the shaky center collapses and the country eventually becomes dominated by undemocratic extremes, this will lead to increased pressures on El Salvador's neighbours" (p.113). What shaky center? Centrists in the region have long since joined the guerrillas, been killed or frightened into submission, fled the country or embraced the rightist regime. It is delusion or worse to suggest that a middle class, moderate alternative exists at this stage for these Central American countries. The pretense of preserving a democratic center justifies heaping billions in economic and military aid on a regime so as to avoid the triumph of extremes. But the fact is that one extreme has already triumphed. To send large-scale economic aid or supply military equipment in these circumstances is to join the struggle on the right-wing side. (Kennedy's Alliance for Progress also rested on the fallacy of the shaky center).

The Commission makes an interesting argument about spheres of influence. It argues correctly that the soviets "would welcome discussion about superpower spheres of influence, which would prompt Soviet assertion of primacy and the need for US abstention on the Soviet periphery, in such places as
Eastern Europe and Afghanistan. For the United States, however, such a concept of spheres of influence is unacceptable" (p.123). And yet, the whole report is a screaming proclamation of an American sphere of influence in Central America that Moscow is being warned to respect. In truth, the Soviet Union has been rather timid, considering the threat mounted against its friends in the region. And despite protestations to the contrary, the United States unabashedly claims all the prerogatives of a sphere of influence, including the right to use force Grenada-style to uphold its strategic interests if all else fails. To claim for ourselves what we deny the Soviets restructures the rules of the geopolitical game in a manner Moscow is sure to resist, as we would resist their effort to do the reverse. In the nuclear age such a double standard invites misunderstandings, provocations and even confrontations. Out of such confusion, the risks of World War III mount.

It should be noted in passing that spheres of influence have functioned to maintain world peace since 1945. Neither superpower dares intervene directly across NATO/Warsaw Pact Lines. The Soviet Union lends support to socialist regimes in Eastern Europe when they are in jeopardy, but it does not oppose directly American projections of military power within traditional zones of influence. These patterns of mutual assertion and forbearance, while facilitating interventions, also keep superpower conflicts within bounds. Neither side challenges the other in a dangerous manner.

As William LeoGrande notes, "the real issue in Central America is whether the United States is prepared to live with revolutions on its periphery, or whether it will continue to insist, as it has in the past, that Washington holds veto power over the right of Central Americans to govern themselves as they see fit" (World Policy Journal 1, 2, p.283, 1984). The Kissinger Report does its best to obscure this question, because the political requirement for a bipartisan consensus means behaving once again, as if outsiders could build a moderate future for these countries by providing dollars and guns. The good political news, of course, is that the American public is not yet swallowing this claptrap, although its elected representatives in Congress lamentably has largely gone along. Despite Reagan's surge of popularity after victory in Grenada, public opinion polls consistently show high levels of opposition to any military intervention (covert or overt, including manoeuvres) by the United States in Central America, despite evidence of acceptance by Americans of the Administration's claim that the rise of Soviet influence in the region poses a strategic threat.

There are several possible explanations for this reluctance. A stigma is still attached to the Vietnam experience despite neo-conservative revisionism. Also, the choice of sides in Central America has been complicated by right-wing attacks on religious leaders, priests and nuns, as well as by
religious participation in and support for the popular movements including the Sandinistas. The Catholic Church in the US leans as strongly toward the anti-interventionist side in the 1980s, as it did toward intervention during the Indochina years. Perhaps even more hopeful, there is emerging the general public and expert realization that intervention rarely works (except possibly in micro-states) especially when in a foreign country in the throes of revolutionary ferment. Whether we consider El Salvador or Lebanon or Afghanistan, the outcome after years of bloodshed and devastation is likely to be quite opposite to the goals and intentions of the intervening state. The only exceptions occur when the intervention happens to coincide with the historical tendency toward national self-assertion. In an essay written later than the one in this volume, Walter LaFeber claimed that: "...each time the United States has attempted to intervene militarily in Central America after 1920 it has, in the long run, worsened the situation it meant to correct" (Robert S. Leiken ed., Central America: Anatomy of Conflict, Pergamon, 1984, p.64). Either intervenors are short-run romantics, or they are plain stupid. Perhaps a better explanation is that the short run dominates the power-wielders' imaginations, nothing is worse than appearing to lose, or better than appearing to win (compare Carter's downfall during the hostage crisis with Reagan's ascent after Grenada).

The context of intervention has changed since 1979 when the Nation Institute and the Columbia University School of International Affairs held the conference that produced the essays that comprise this volume. Reagan is in the saddle. Different regions and countries have gained in prominence as scenes of intervention. And yet the forebodings of these writers on the subject seem even more pertinent today than when they were written. Indeed, their continuing relevance suggests some strong structural forces at work (some call this true bipartisanship). As Tom Farer has recently pointed out, Carter's approach to Nicaragua in the last stages of the revolution sought "to assemble an anti-Sandinista coalition, including the civilian apparatus of the Somoza regime with a sanitized National Guard as its chopping edge. The effort could only have produced war without end to defend Somocismo without Somoza" (in Leiken, p.283).

The consequence of treating the slightly sanitized right-wing as if it were the center is to polarize, and weaken, if not destroy whatever disposition for reconciliation exists among contending forces.

These Nation essays overwhelmingly suggest that progressive American values and the identity they reflect are inconsistent with an interventionary foreign policy. They also suggest that interventionism swings with the public mood and with the perceived requirements of capitalism for trade, investment and resources. Recent work by scholars on long cycles in international relations and foreign policy is
highly suggestive with respect to interventionary behaviour by leading imperial states. The United States has been generally expansionist throughout its history, but it has periodically relinquished interventionary claims as a reaction to the excessive costs of a prior intervention. In the rest of the decade, the pendulum could swing either further in the direction of showing "resolve" (Reagan reelected) or move back toward a posture of accommodation (Reagan rebuffed). International developments, especially Soviet behaviour in the Third World and perceived threats to the Western position from successful revolutionary action, also play their part in shaping national policy.

There is another side to the story forcefully told by Fouad Ajami. The weakness and various corruptions of Third World political leaders and governing structures invites intervention. Countries that securely seize the reins of their own destiny in ways that respond to human needs and are sensitive to national traditions have relatively little to fear from the outside. As Ajami notes, national elites inflict far more suffering on their peoples these days than do outsiders. It is well, especially for American critics on the left, to recall that not all the evil in the world can be laid at the door of the White House (or the Kremlin).

The Iranian Revolution illustrates both sides of our concern. The US intervention back in 1953 to help restore the Shah to power had, as its major consequence, the decisive weakening of the democratic center, as personified by Mossadegh's constitutional movement. Given social, economic and cultural realities in Third World countries, it is difficult for moderates to acquire legitimacy and retain popularity unless these loosen their ties to foreign powers. This effort at loosening makes the moderates seem extremist in foreign eyes. The only acceptable moderates are the ones who don't challenge foreign control over natural resources or foreign bases. these moderates are indeed shaky unless propped up by the military, in which case, they are no longer moderates. The counter-Kissinger truth is that the only kind of intervention in a revolutionary situation that partially succeeds is one carried out against moderate elements. Moderates make themselves vulnerable to intervention by trusting constitutional process, refusing to rely on extra-legal political violence, and fearing and opposing extremists on either end of the ideological spectrum.

Yet the Shah could not build a political base even with billions of dollars of oil revenues and a gigantic repressive apparatus. Nationalist longings eventually culminated in a massive fundamentalist thrust. Iran, free at last from intervention, has produced more lamentable results than Iran subject to intervention. Genocide is generally a far worse experience for a society than virtually any form of intervention. At the same time, genocide and intervention should not be treated as alternatives.
Interventions that disrupt a country and its traditions beget convulsive reactions that contain a potential for genocide. In this sense, the United States is deeply implicated in the post-Shah fate of the Iranian people. A similar analysis applies to Cambodia.

Of course, the world is interdependent and policies made or unmade in centers of economic and ideological power radiate across borders. Some degree of transnational influence flows directly from the unequal power of states. But the concern with intervention in this volume is something quite distinct. It concentrates upon the deliberate distortion and exploitation of the political destiny of weak states by strong ones. There are many instruments and forms of intervention, but its essential instrument is the direct and indirect (covert operations) use of military power and violence. There are grey zones where intervention might seem to be justified to liberate a people from acute repression or genocide (Hitler's Germany, Amin's Uganda, Pol Pot's Cambodia). But states are self-interested political creatures whose motives are only incidentally humanitarian, and it is notable how little is done from the outside just for the sake of alleviating real abuses of state power. More often than not, as in the Kissinger Commission Report, the humanitarian rhetoric serves to obscure geopolitical ambitions pursued with little regard for the well-being of the target society.

The authors of the essays in this volume are all troubled by US interventionary diplomacy. They share a rejection of an imperial foreign policy for the United States, although their reasonings differ. Some are convinced that intervention will fail, others that it ought to fail, still others combine the pragmatic with the normative. At stake, ultimately, is whether we will finally allow the peoples of the Third World to have the political futures of their choice—revolutionary or not, Marxist-Leninist or not—without going through hell to get there. History is on the side of nationalism, but imperial resistance, whether from the East or West, can slow the process down and increase the level of pain.

The wider security concerns invoked to enlist public support for intervention are far fetched. We risk nuclear war in Europe by preparing in menacing fashion to meet a Soviet challenge not in the making. Similarly, to suppose that Cuba or Nicaragua would dare interdict US shipping or challenge US power directly during an international crisis converts paranoia into foreign policy. Even to suppose such Soviet adventurism is to project a recklessness in the Kremlin that has never been evident—and if it were, we might as well all invest in survival training courses. There are no good excuses, geopolitical or otherwise, for US or Soviet intervention in the Third World. Not every instance is free from moral ambiguity, but a general policy of non-intervention by both superpowers would reduce levels of
warfare and militarism in the world, as well as improve the overall prospects for peace and justice.

This book of essays explores some of the continuing impulses to intervene abroad. It concentrates on intervention by military means undertaken with the central intention of structuring the political destiny of a Third World country in a manner at odds with what would occur if the dynamics of self-determination were allowed to run their course.

Intervention is a kind of contagious diplomacy at the level of superpower relations. As such, tensions tend to rise and peace is endangered. Non-intervention is not perfect. On occasion, foreign intervention, if unanswered, produces dreadful results. When liberal democracies in the mid-1930s hid behind the doctrine of non-intervention during the Spanish Civil War it was part of a wider refusal to resist fascism, a refusal that contributed to Franco's repressive rule in Spain and may have made World War II a more difficult and prolonged war. Also, as Khomeini's Islamic terror illustrates, refraining from intervention does not always lead to beneficial results for the country involved.

And yet, on balance, as these essays argue, a bias toward non-intervention seems beneficial, especially in relations between the United States and the Third World. It allows the peoples of the world the exercise of their political rights to struggle against oppressive structures, and it calms superpower relations. Until a different type of world order emerges in human society, non-intervention is best adapted to secure peace and justice in a world of sovereign states.
ADRIAN ROY PREISWERK (1936-1982)

A CONTRE-COURANTS - L'ENJEU DES RELATIONS INTERCULTURELLES

Gilbert Rist a réuni et publié sous ce titre* les derniers textes d'Adrian Roy Preiswerk. Les extraits suivants de sa "présentation" soulignent tout l'intérêt de l'ouvrage.

"Le combat que Roy Preiswerk engagea contre sa maladie, au cours des derniers mois de son existence, n'aurait pas été aussi pathétique ni aussi exemplaire s'il n'avait été sous-tendu par l'urgence d'une oeuvre à poursuivre, d'une conviction à faire partager, d'une lutte intellectuelle à mener. L'incroyable énergie qu'il mobilisa jusque dans ses derniers moments visait essentiellement à la sauvegarde de sa lucidité d'esprit, et son farouche refus de tout ce qui aurait pu adoucir ses souffrances physiques n'avait d'autre but que la préservation de ses capacités intellectuelles.

En pareilles circonstances, il n'y avait pas d'autre choix, pour lui rendre hommage, que de le laisser s'exprimer lui-même en rassemblant dans ce volume les textes encore inédits à l'instant de sa mort. Il ne faut toutefois pas s'y tromper: cette entreprise ne consiste pas à sauver de l'oubli des documents épars pour mettre fictivement - un point final à une oeuvre trop tôt interrompue. Elle consiste bien plutôt à montrer les divers prolongements que l'on doit donner aux travaux de Roy Preiswerk dans les domaines qui n'ont cessé de le passionner: l'épistémologie, les relations interculturelles, la critique des stratégies internationales de développement et la recherche pour la paix. Fait remarquable: chacun de ces thèmes exprime à sa façon l'engagement de l'auteur dans la pratique; on est loin du débat d'idées ou du jeu intellectuel lorsque l'enjeu consiste à combattre le racisme et l'arrogance culturelle, à affirmer le droit des populations à maîtriser leur propre destin, à chercher de nouvelles voies pour promouvoir la paix en dépit de la folie de la course aux armements. L'épistémologie elle-même n'échappe pas à cet enracinement dans le concret: elle l'exige au contraire et confère au reste sa cohérence en excluant la possibilité de connaître sans agir sur la "réalité" afin de la transformer.

Tels sont, brièvement indiqués, les grands axes de ce volume qui s'ouvre sur un auto-portrait, traduction française de l'entretien télévisé que Roy Preiswerk accorda à Frank A. Meyer, en mars 1981; on y découvre certains éléments très personnels de la vie d'un personnage qui, d'ordinaire, gardait sur ces sujets la plus extrême réserve. Outre les inédits de Roy Preiswerk (le texte sur L'Objet et les perspectives de l'étude des relations internationales, et le projet déjà fort avancé d'un livre sur La culture et le développement), on s'étonnera peut-être de retrouver ici un article déjà paru en 1983. La raison de ce choix est simple. Le texte de la conférence sur Les objectifs et les moyens d'une politique internationale pour la paix, n'a été publié qu'en allemand. Or il s'agit-là du dernier grand texte de Roy Preiswerk qui constitue, comme l'explique Rudolf Strahm, une sorte de "testament spirituel". Son immense intérêt, comme son actualité, nous ont donc convaincus de le traduire en français afin de lui assurer la diffusion qu'il mérite."

*/ Editions d'En Bas, 1984, 256pp. (BP 304, 1017 Lausanne, Suisse).
A study of The Impact of World Recession on Children has been prepared by UNICEF. The study, including ten country case studies, appears in the hard-cover edition of The State of the World's Children 1984 - available through Oxford University Press and from UNICEF offices. The following is a brief synopsis of its evidence and argument.

The world economy is now in its deepest and most sustained recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Yet in all the recent writings on recession, not a single study has looked at its impact on the most vulnerable half of the world's people - the children.

The main problem facing any such study is the lack of even elementary statistical information about changes in child well-being. For most countries, rich or poor, it is easier to find out how many dishwashers have been sold than it is to find out how many children have been immunized. What is needed, in all countries, is a child monitoring system to provide an early warning of any deterioration in the well-being of the rising generation.

Despite this deficiency, fragmentary evidence of the recession's impact on children is beginning to surface in different parts of the world. In Zambia, information from the poorer northern regions is indicating a fall in children's height-for-age. In Sao Paulo, the proportion of low-birth-weight babies is rising. In Costa Rica, the number of children being treated for severe malnutrition has doubled between 1981 and 1982. In the USSR, infant death rates have risen sharply. And in the United States, infant mortality rates have also risen in areas such as Alabama and Michigan, which have been particularly hard hit by recession.

As these examples suggest, it is usually the poorest members of society who are most exposed. In all countries, the poor spend a greater proportion of their incomes on necessities such as food or fuel or basic medical care. Any decline in that income, therefore, threatens not just material progress but the ability to maintain health and life. In such circumstances, the risk is greatest to the growing minds and bodies of young children.

Multipliers

This economic vulnerability is paralleled by the political vulnerability of the poor. Many of the mechanisms which link the international economic system to the poor neighbourhoods of the Third World are mechanisms which act like reverse shock absorbers - increasing the impact of recession as they pass that impact down the line. It has been estimated, for example, that a 1% fall in the rate of growth of the industrialised countries tends to produce a 1.5% fall in the average rate of growth of
the Third World. Within the Third World, an echo of that same process passes the economic shock-wave on to the poorest sections of its own society. A 2% to 3% decline in the average income of a Third World country, for example, can easily result in a 10% to 15% decline in the income of the poorest classes. Finally, this same process may happen again within the poor communities themselves: in many societies, females and young children depend on what is left - of the evening meal and of the weekly wage - after their husbands and older sons and brothers have met their needs.

By such mechanisms is the greatest burden of the world economic recession passed on to those who are least able to sustain it. The main protection for the very poor has been the fact that so many of them live in rural areas which are only peripherally linked to the world economy. Although many of the rural poor have escaped the full impact of the recession, drought and poor harvests have had a serious effect, particularly in the last two years.

Falling incomes

Family income is perhaps the main medium for the transmission of recession's impact to the children of the poor. And in many parts of the world, average real family incomes have fallen, often sharply and over several years, as a result of the recession and world-wide inflation. In the Latin American region, for example, average incomes have now been in decline for two consecutive years. Income per person in Brazil fell by over 4% in 1981 and by almost another 2% in 1982. In Chile, per capita GNP fell by 15% in 1981 alone and in Costa Rica real incomes have fallen by as much as one-third. These averages often disguise even steeper declines among the poor and unemployed.

Africa, the continent with the least to fall back on, has undoubtedly been hardest hit in recent years. Real per capita income in more than half the countries of Africa is less today than ten year ago.

Recession: The impact on children

With recession in many countries compounding the effects of drought, wars and the long-term set-backs of inflation and oil price increases, overall per capita GNP in tropical Africa fell by an estimated 2% between 1979 and 1980 and is expected to show another 2% decline for 1982.

Hardest hit of all are the countries dependent on raw material exports to the industrialised world. In 1982, for example, the world price of copper fell to its lowest level for 50 years: in copper-dependent Zambia government capital expenditure has been cut by two-thirds and average incomes have been almost halved in recent years. Least affected of all the regions of the Third World is Asia, where many countries are protected from the worst effects of recession either by their relative self-sufficiency (as with China and India) or by their past economic progress. Although recession's impact differs from country to country, most of the countries for which data are available are showing an increase in the number of children who are living below national poverty lines and a widespread and unambiguous deterioration in the quality of children's lives.

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Welfare cut-backs

Alongside falling family incomes, cut-backs in government services for children are the other main medium by which economic recession is transmitted to the lives of the young. Because social welfare programmes, and particularly those for children, are usually not protected by powerful interest groups and because they are often erroneously regarded as "un-economic", they generally suffer quickly and disproportionately from any forced cut-backs in government expenditure in North and South countries. Under the impact of recession the share of government expenditure devoted to basic needs programmes has declined in many countries. Overall, the economic recession has contributed to a decline in both the quality and quantity of services for children — from maternal and child health clinics and immunization programmes to supplementary feeding and primary schools.

Policies

Fortunately, economic setback and child well-being are not linked in a fixed ratio. Several countries have achieved levels of health and education for their children which are measurably higher than other countries where average incomes may be twice as high. The impact of world recession on children is ultimately more a matter of policy than of economic inevitability. Within the Third World, policies to protect children from recession should begin with the recognition that investments in the health and education of the young should be the last, not the first, to be cut back. Economic adjustment policies should be consciously designed to restructure in ways which protect children, the poor, and the vulnerable — not ignore them or sacrifice them in the name of economic efficiency. Whether judged by hard-headed economic calculation or by the elementary tenets of human welfare, protection of the physical and mental capacities of a people and a nation's future is the most fundamental of all investments. The maintenance of basic services, minimum standards of nutrition, health, education and household income, is therefore the first and most important line of defence for a nation's children. In practice, that defence will usually require a more equitable distribution of income.

Internationally, protecting and improving the lives of children could be helped by ending recession and reviving economic activity through the lowering of interest rates, import duties, and trade restrictions by the industrialised countries. At the same time, the immediate policy of the main international financial institutions needs to be reviewed to stop the main burden of recession from falling on the poorest people and to protect high-priority social and health services. And although such appeals continue to echo emptily down the corridors of power, higher levels of development assistance, equivalent to only a very small percentage of the world's current expenditure on armaments, could and would improve the lives of the world's children.

The response

The evidence we have of a deterioration in the lives of children should be taken as a clear warning. For almost certainly, the worst is yet to come. The impact of recession takes time to work through the channels which lead to children. And our knowledge of that impact, in the absence
of any systematic and sensitive child monitoring service, also lags behind the event.

What we are now faced with is therefore a challenge to policy. All countries should review their national and international policies to assess their impact on children, the poor, and the vulnerable — and to see how that impact can be ameliorated. The fact of recession means that progress for children now will have to depend more than anything else on improving the ratio between resources available and results achievable. It is in this overall context that the 1984 State of the World's Children report is presented. For the high-impact, low-cost strategies which it draws together are examples of what can be done to streamline the effort to improve the lives of children so that progress may be maintained and accelerated even against the headwind of world recession.

1/ Tanzania, Sri Lanka, India, Zambia, Nigeria, Brazil, South Korea, Chile, Costa Rica and Cuba.

ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS IN ASIA - PACIFIC
DECLARATION OF THE SAM 1/ SEMINAR ON DEVELOPMENT, ENVIRONMENT AND THE RESOURCE CRISIS IN ASIA - PACIFIC

1. Environmental and natural resource problems in the Asian and Pacific region have reached critical and even crisis proportions. This situation is so serious that future development programmes in the countries of the region will be jeopardised if immediate steps are not taken immediately to reverse the ecologically destructive trends.

2. It is clear that at the present rapid rates of depletion, very substantial portions of the region's forest, fishery, oil and mineral resources would have vanished by the year 2000. Thus the natural resources foundation of the region is being eroded rapidly threatening the possibility of development in the year ahead.

3. It is ironical that these non-renewable resources are being exported at break-neck speed to the rich countries, namely Europe, America and Japan, instead of being conserved carefully for future generations. Good quality wood is shipped to the rich countries to be fashioned into expensive and exotic furniture sets adorning the homes of the wealthy, whilst rural folk now find it difficult to get wood to build their simple homes, whilst people have to cut down their fish consumption because of the skyrocketing prices of fish, the trash fish caught by trawlers are sent to the rich countries to feed their cattle whilst the best quality fresh fish land up in the restaurants of first-class tourist hotels. The world is growing short of oil, yet Indonesia and Malaysia are selling their fast-depleting petroleum to feed the industrial machines of Japan and Europe.
4. Pollution forms another major set of environmental problems in the region. It used to be said that pollution is a problem of the rich countries, and that for the Third World countries, development must come first and we can worry about the environment later. Pollution and the deteriorating quality of life caused by environmental degradation in our region has shown how fallacious this argument is.

5. The seas and rivers have become so polluted by industrial effluents, oil tankers and raw sewage that the health and even lives of hundreds of millions of people living along the sea-coast and rivers in Asia and the Pacific are being threatened. In the city areas, the pollution of the air by vehicles and industries is terribly injurious to health. Those who use the traffic-congested roads in Manila, Bangkok or Kuala Lumpur are breathing in huge quantities of toxic fumes; how much worse is the fate of the millions whose homes are located along the main roads. In these same urban areas, the housing, water, sanitation and road conditions are atrocious, especially for the many millions who live in squatter and slum colonies. Due to lack of access to shelter, one third of the population of Manila and Kuala Lumpur are squatters whilst in Jakarta and Bangkok, a quarter of the population are squatters. It could be higher for many South Asian cities such as Calcutta and Bombay. These people face horrible environmental conditions and a low quality of life.

6. Meanwhile, in the rural areas of Asia and the Pacific, a very destructive trend is taking place. Urbanisation and modernisation has displaced thousands of poor rural communities from their farmlands. Rice farms, fruit farms, vegetable farms and the residential quarters of the poor are acquired by government, private companies and international loan agencies which finance such projects. Their rich foodlands are destroyed and converted into dams, highways, airports, housing estates for those who are richer. Homeless and farmless, many of them have to drift to towns, joining the ranks of the unemployed or the semi-employed. There is also an increasing shortage of food and many of our countries have to increase their food imports as the farms have disappeared.

7. These environmental problems are not happening only after poor countries have become rich. They are happening to the poor countries condemning them to a state of stark poverty.

8. Environmental problems have their own roots in the unequal relations between poor and rich countries and also between the powerful and the poor majority within our developing countries. The rich countries with 20 percent of the world's population are consuming and using 80 percent of the world's resources. People in Asia and the Pacific, like others in Africa and Latin America, are using our best resources for the benefit of the rich countries - exporting to them our energy, our fish, our raw materials and using our labour resources to extract and export these materials and all at low prices and poor terms of trade.

9. In many Asian-Pacific countries, the bulk of government expenditure plus development projects, are either being channelled to urban areas or to benefit a commercial and administrative elite. There are always funds for multi-storey office buildings, shopping complexes or even car parks and highways for the rich and well-off. But when the people request for proper sanitation and sewage system, for low-cost housing, for public
transport, the answer seems to always be: "Sorry, we don't have enough money." When a timber tycoon wants to chop down acres of valuable forest, he easily gets the concession. When a poor farming community requests a 100 acres of land to extend their farms, the country is suddenly short of land and, within a short span, it is quite likely that even the existing land of that community will be acquired, taken away from the farmers and converted into a highway.

10. Given this situation, environmental issues should not be divorced from development issues and other priorities. Development and the environment are intertwined issues. Unjust economic relations whether at international national or local levels lead to ecological disturbance, resource depletion and environmental degradation. These environmental crises in turn have a disastrous effect on the development efforts of the Third World countries. When we look at the scenario of the global environmental crisis, we realise that it is already reaching an irreversible end.

11. People's movements and non-governmental organisations have a crucial role to play as they are in the forefront in the region in the struggle for a better environment and they are the most important component for change. On the other hand, the media has a critical role to play in highlighting environmental issues and to make the public and policy makers aware of the problems. Both the NGOs and the media should strive to play this critical catalyst role in mobilising and conscientising the broad masses of people in Asia and the Pacific about their right to a rational use of their countries' resources, to an equitable share of the benefits of these resources, and also to a clean and safe working and living environment.

12. On the other hand, governments and planners have the power and thus the responsibility to ensure that development plans, projects and policies are in harmony with ecological principles. Since most of the environmental problems are in one way or another traceable to environmentally short-sighted policies, we urge the governments of the region's countries to re-examine all major aspects of their development strategy and devise new strategies which are ecologically sound, and emphasise the fulfilment of the people's basic needs. NGOs and other interested bodies should be given sufficient priority notice of proposed development projects so that they can provide the necessary feedback concerning environmental impact, social and cultural effects, etc...

13. We urge all our fellow Asian and Pacific peoples to join in the defence of our region's environment. We also pledge to intensify our own efforts in carrying out research, raising public consciousness and mobilising people on environmental issues. Although the present situation appears critical and even desperate, there is room for optimism if the people in the region become aware of the problems and of what should be done.

1/ Sahabat Alam Malaysia (Friends of the Earth Malaysia, 37 Lorong Birch, Penang, Malaysia). See also News from the third system, p.77 below.
THE 9TH SIVARD REPORT:  
WORLD MILITARY AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURES 1983

In World Military and Social Expenditures 1983, the ninth annual report on world priorities, Ruth Leger Sivard graphically portrays "a world dangerously overarmed and undernourished. Two superpowers, locked into Cold War antagonisms, are the driving force behind an arms buildup without parallel in history... An arms race no country can afford crowds out social needs. Government budgets give lower priority to deep-seated, debilitating problems than to military solutions and the latest technological advances in weapons."

Military Growth

"Reduced to numbers, the world's arms race and its effects on human life easily lose touch with reality" Sivard points out. "The most fertile imagination will boggle at:

- a current world military budget of $660,000,000,000/year (an increase of 10% from the preceding year);
- a stockpile of over 50,000 nuclear weapons;
- 25 million men and women under arms;
- 1 billion people living under military-controlled governments;
- more than 9 million civilians killed in 'conventional' wars since Hiroshima."

Buttressed by colourful and handsome graphs, charts, tables and maps, World Military and Social Expenditures 1983 presents the facts and figures on the arms race, and effectively illustrates the real military madness of today's world.

With a graph comparing current military expenditures to pre-World War II levels, Sivard shows that the enormous military establishments that exist today are a comparatively recent development. Since the 1930's the world's military spending (in constant prices) has increased 13 fold, vastly exceeding the increase in population to be protected and the economic base to support it.

Total US military spending in 1982 was 20 times the pre-war level (in equivalent prices), increasing in per capita terms from $75 prior to World War II, to $855 per capita in 1982. The Soviet Union reels under an even larger military burden: while the US uses 6.5% of GNP for military spending, Soviet military outlays consume 10-12% of GNP.

The growing militarization of the world is illustrated by an unusual map, The Long Arm of Military Power. It details, by location and number, the 1.8 million military forces operating beyond their own national borders. The US, with 461,000 forces overseas, and the USSR, with 700,000 forces (514,000 in Eastern Europe) dominate the global reach of today's military power.
Two additional global maps capture the prevalence of repression and war. One on military-dominated governments shows that half of the Third World countries have governments under military control, and four in five of those governments use violence in the form of torture and brutality against their own citizens. The other map, on wars fought since 1945, shows that the frequency of major wars (over 1,000 deaths) is on the rise. Although fought only with "conventional arms", Sivard finds that wars since 1945 have taken over 16 million lives.

Nuclear weapons, "morally repugnant, unusable in war, and unthinkable in their effects on human life", have nevertheless increased in numbers from 3 in 1945 to 50,000 in 1983. A special section of the report is devoted to these weapons and the incredible power that they represent. The proliferation of both weapons and nuclear facilities is shown on a map of The Nuclear World 1983.

Social Neglect

"Social neglect grows out of excessive militarization... an intensive arms buildup also kills whether or not the weapons are put to use... The military-social connection reaches deep into the world economy".

The evidence presented by Sivard reveals that the world's priorities reflect a "persistent slant toward military strength to the neglect of other needs that are vital to society's well-being and its security". Richer countries continue to invest far more in military power than in the development of their poor neighbours. Between 1960-82, military expenditures of industrialized countries rose by more than $400 billion, but foreign aid by $25 billion. In 1982, their military expenditures were 17 times larger than aid budgets. In these terms, the USSR was lowest of all aid givers. The biggest military spenders are also, on the whole, poor achievers in Sivard's test of economic-social performance.

Sivard also finds that large appetites for imported arms in Third World countries have aggravated their external debt situations. Among 25 countries which since 1981 have had to negotiate to reschedule their debt,

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**WORLD PRIORITIES 1983**

- The cost of a single new nuclear submarine equals the annual education budget of 23 Third World countries with 160 million school-age children.
- Among 20 Third World countries with the largest foreign debt, arms imports between 1976 and 1980 were equivalent to 20% of the increase in debt in that period.
- Every minute 30 children die for want of food and inexpensive vaccines, and every minute the world’s military budget absorbs $1.3 million of the public treasure.
- The US now devotes over $200 billion a year to military defense against foreign enemies, but 45% of Americans are afraid to go out alone at night within 1 mile of their homes.
six of them had spent more than $1 billion each for arms imports in the 5 preceding years. All 25 rang up a bill of $11 billion for arms imports in that period.

The diversion of financial resources to military rather than to social development, according to Sivard, leads to an underutilized labour force, neglect of education investments and consequent poor productivity. The enormity of unmet human needs, in sheer numbers, is staggering:

- poverty: 2 billion people live on incomes below $500/year;
- jobs: 600 million people have no jobs or are under-employed;
- health: 11 million infants die before their first birthday;
- sanitation: 2 billion people do not have safe water to drink;
- food: 450 million suffer from hunger and malnutrition;
- education: 120 million young children are without a school.

This is only a sampling of the statistics and analyses on the comparisons between military expenditures and today's social conditions offered by this internationally-renowned report. The 9th edition also includes a statistical annex on military and social figures for 142 countries, notes on sources and methodology, over 20 graphs, charts and tables, and four world maps. 46pp.


DE LA MEDINA A LA VILLE

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La Médina est-elle en train de péricliter sous les assauts des nouvelles villes dont elle ne serait qu'un quartier marginalisé, dégradé, folklorisé? Ou au contraire, reste-t-elle, par sa vitalité, un espace aux frontières centrales, aux valeurs de références? Telles sont les deux questions qui méritent d'être épinglées et sur lesquelles j'aimerais centrer cette intervention.

1. La Médina: une logique d'organisation

La Médina répond, sur le plan de la conception du bâti, à une logique d'ordre, ou plutôt à un ordre logique. Les observateurs européens
pressés, qu'ils soient géographes ou sociologues, ont surtout relevé le "désordre inextricable" des ruelles, des impasses, des dédales et attribuaient ce "désordre" à l'absence de pouvoir municipal et la non-utilisation de la roue, puisque le portage à dos d'animaux était suffisant pour l'écoulement des produits. On devine facilement les conclusions abusives qu'on pouvait tirer de telles interprétations erronées, puisqu'on en arrivait à voir, dans un tel désordre, "l'incapacité de la société musulmane à secrèter les pouvoirs nécessaires à une gestion ordonnée de l'espace urbain".

Beaucoup d'urbanistes se sont cependant insurgés contre de telles interprétations, insistant davantage sur l'adéquation de la forme et de ses fonctions dans les médinas; sur la notion de "zoning" entre l'espace résidentiel et l'espace réservé aux activités d'échange et de production (M. Naciri, p.240), bref, sur la logique d'organisation aux multiples espaces de référence.

Les espaces de référence

La rue (derb) et le quartier (hawma) constituent deux espaces essentiels de référence. Le derb constitue l'espace de convivialité et le hawma l'espace relationnel. Dans le derb et le hawma, le contrôle social est si étroit que "les règles de comportement et de conduite intérieures constituent un ciment suffisant pour régler les antagonismes qui naissent entre les habitants" (M. Naciri, p.242). La conscience d'appartenance au derb et au hawma est si forte qu'elle dispense d'institution spécifique pour régler l'administration du quartier.

Sur le plan économique, la médina a développé des métiers productifs et des marchés d'échange. Les premiers occupent l'espace productif. Ils se localisent aux portes des médinas, à la périphérie de l'espace bâti. Les marchés d'échange, par contre, les sougs, s'installent dans une aire continue; c'est l'espace transactionnel. Cet espace est double, articulé avec le monde extérieur: le monde rural et les autres cités, par le flux de marchandises, des produits et des matières premières nécessaires à l'activité productive de la médina, mais aussi avec les foyers de chaque rue.

L'espace culturel constitue, lui, un pôle d'attraction; c'est la mosquée, doublée quelques fois d'une université (comme c'est le cas de Karawine de Fez). Le rôle de cet espace consiste à mettre la population en conformité avec le modèle citadin.

Mais la médina a besoin de se nourrir, de respirer. Elle a donc besoin d'un espace de réserve: espace nourricier (jnane: les jardins) et d'agrément (n'zaha).

Enfin, il n'y a pas de ville sans pouvoir central. Souvent d'origine étrangère, le pouvoir central s'est rétréci un espace de commandement (kasba) à la lisière de la médina; ce qui atteste les rapports conflictuels entre la ville administrative et militaire (médina jadida).

Ainsi donc, chaque médina, par la multitude de ses espaces, constitue une structure propre, faisant co-habiter un habitat dense avec une concentration de micro-entreprises.
En tant qu'espace idéologique, elle est "l'expression d'un certain accord tacite pour une mode de vie en commun par l'appropriation des espaces et des relations" (J. Pegurier, p.81). Chef d'œuvre d'urbanisme, la médina révèle "une parfaite adéquation entre son espace physique et sa société". Elle est le cœur d'une "rythmique équilibrée entre l'urbain et le rural, l'homme et son travail, le signe et la chose" (F. Stambouli, pp.37-38), le dedans et le dehors, le privé et le public.

2. La Médina face à la colonisation

La mise en relation de la médina avec une formation sociale dominante, du fait de la colonisation étrangère, non seulement a transformé son contenu sociologique, mais aussi son écologie; l'économie traditionnelle se désagrège, s'affaiblit, mais résiste péniblement. Certes, la culture nationale dépréciée demeure un foyer de sauvegarde de l'identité collective. Mais l'habitat se délabre, la cité est devenue un champ traversé par un double courant migratoire: immigration des ruraux et émigration des élites bourgeoises dites "évoluées" vers les quartiers de la nouvelle ville dénommée ville "européenne". Ce changement de résidence est perçu comme signe de promotion sociale (J. Berque, p.228).

Jouxtant la médina, et à partir d'un plan en damier, la ville européenne projette les signes de la culture occidentale (cathédrale) et de la domination (statues des champions de l'ordre colonial). La rupture est totale entre médina et ville européenne, les deux se plaçant dans un rapport de défi. La ville européenne est strictement séparée (F. Fanon).

Dans ces conditions, l'urbanisation liée au système social colonial ne saurait être considérée comme l'expression d'un processus de modernisation, mais essentiellement "la manifestation, au niveau des relations socio-spatiales, des rapports de dépendance et de domination" (F. Stambouli, p.41).

La médina après l'indépendance

Dans le Maghreb indépendant, on assiste à un changement des politiques urbaines dans la mesure où on assiste à une modification de la stratification sociale dans un sens d'étalement et de différenciation plus grand. Sur le plan urbanistique, la ville éclate en zonages et en nouveaux quartiers d'habitation aussi nombreux que variés. On met plus l'accent sur le développement des domaines négligés par l'urbanisme colonial (éducation, santé, culture).

Mais la nouvelle urbanisation ne va pas sans poser de graves problèmes. En effet, on assiste à la translation des activités dynamiques de la médina, extra muros, la désertion de cet espace "déclassé" par les élites locales, et son ouverture à la migration rurale désordonnée. La construction d'un nouvel espace, ville nouvelle, l'opposition de deux systèmes urbains aux contenus culturels si contrastés, créent un état de déséquilibre psycho-spatial, amplifié par la crise urbaine. Celui-ci se traduit par l'inferiorisation de la médina transformée en un espace social prolétaire et un espace urbain dégradé (D. Benjelloun, p.23). Seuls témoins de la production de la citadinité musulmane, la mosquée, le four, le hammam restent.
Mais la médina, sauf exception, a perdu tout pouvoir d'intégration et de transformation des campagnards en citadins culturellement accordés au cadre bâti (D. Benjelloun, p.27). Le paysage urbain de la médina ne transmet plus de message culturel (c'est le cas de la médina d'Azemmour)

Le conflit entre la ville et la médina n'est pas seulement socio-économique. Il s'étend à la conception même du bâti.

Dans la médina, l'élément de base de la structure urbaine est la parcelle entièrement construite. La texture est serrée, les maisons sont mitoyennes sur trois de leurs côtés, le seul contact avec la rue est la porte. Les ruelles y sont tortueuses et étroites avec impasses. La vision y est bloquée par un obstacle proche. Le tissu urbain n'est pas appréhendé en grandes portions. La circulation occupe à peine 15% de la surface totale.

Dans les maisons, l'agencement au niveau des terrasses est tel qu'il permet aux femmes de circuler dans une partie de la ville sans entrer dans l'espace public; c'est là "le lieu de déploiement de tout un réseau relationnel". La maison elle-même est fortement structurée par la verticalité avec une position stratégique pour la cour centrale (Wast Eddar) qui commande les espaces de la construction.

Dans les villes modernes, rien de tout cela. On est passé d'une structure nucléaire à une structure annulaire. "A un cœur structurant s'est substitué une périphérie, lieu de prédilection aussi bien des activités économiques les plus dynamiques que des catégories sociales les plus aisées" (M. Belfquih et A. Fadloulah, p.197). Dans les villes modernes, tout devient ostentatoire: décor, luxe, alignement des villas. Cette séparation s'apparente à une affirmation de la personnalité qui se substitue à la notion de solidarité si typique des médinas. Le désir de s'autonomiser par rapport au groupe social devient tenace. Mais la disparition de la cour centrale et la prolifération des fenêtres dans les constructions attestent la volonté de s'ouvrir sur le monde extérieur. L'horizon n'est plus bouché grâce à des voies longues et rectilignes. Quant à la circulation, elle occupe désormais 30 à 40% de la surface.

Ainsi donc, les villes modernes du Maghreb évoluent vers un cosmopolitisme formel de couleur technologique et idéologique d'emprunt, relayant les activités des médinas à un rôle périphérique et folklorique. L'urbanisme communautaire s'en trouve ainsi amoindri, appauvri et étonnamment déprécié, au profit d'un urbanisme officiel décidé en haut lieu et exécuté sans le concours des bénéficiaires et souvent sans tenir compte de leur mode de vie. Rien d'étonnant, dès lors, que les planificateurs aient trouvé tant de difficultés à "recaser" les habitants des bidonvilles à Tripoli, à Bagdad, au Kuwait ou à sédentariser les Bédouins comme ce fut le cas en Arabie Saoudite (Dr. Abdallah Abou Ayyach, p.25). L'attrait du nouvel appartement, offert par des régimes nantis, était de loin inférieur au sacrifice d'un mode de vie communautaire (neighbourhood concept).

Vers une réhabilitation de la médina?

Faut-il condamner la médina au bulldozer? En faire de somptueux monuments historiques? Ou les bazarmer pour appâter les touristes à l'affût du pittoresque et en quête d'exotisme?
Une véritable politique de réhabilitation doit éviter les écueils de la folklorisation excessive ou de la nostalgie passéeiste. Le seul souci qui devrait guider l'action des urbanistes doit être celui de valoriser un patrimoine national, en revitalisant la médina.

Pour ce faire, ne faut-il pas penser à la rénovation des habitations dégradées, à l'adduction d'eau, au déblaiement des ruines? Mais aussi à suggérer une résurrection de certaines activités de production (broderie, tannerie, poterie, tapisserie, etc..) tout en développant des équipements d'accueil pour touristes (Monastir par exemple).

L'aménagement doit procéder certes par des destructions et par réhabilitation du bâti ancien, mais avec la conservation, autant que faire se peut, de l'organisation traditionnelle de l'espace urbain et des solidarités communales. A défaut, on agirait comme celui qui met un emplâtre sur une jambe de bois.

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Dr. Abdallah Abou Ayyach: "Les aspects 'behavioristes' dans la planification urbaine des pays du Golfe" (en arabe), in Majallat Dirasât Al-Khalîje wal Dîjazîrah Al-îrâbiyyah, janvier 1979.

In Présent et avenir des médinas:


Jacques Peguvier: "La médina de Marrakech entre son présent et son avenir" pp.73-83.

M'hammed Belfquih et A. Fadloulah: "Réorganisation spatiale et reclassification des médinas de Rabat-Salé" pp.147-201.


India is a complicated country, even for Indians! With its subcontinental size, population, some 16 languages and hundreds of dialects, subcultures and several religions, sometimes it leaves the impression of a society co-existing in time.

As Shah points out in his introduction, there is a view of India and its significant achievements in development and growth, with slow but still rising well-being of people. Also the view is that the changes over the last three decades 'have essentially been designed for and have subsequently delivered substantial gains to the affluent sections of the rural and urban population'. Both views have some factual basis.

In judging India's performance, against the background of the crisis in the world economy, it is not insignificant to note that the World Bank (World Development Report 1983), in its low case scenario, envisages India (with China) as having 'some protection against the adverse impact of global economic deterioration' because of their large and relatively closed economies. This cannot be separated from India's development path and its polite ignoring of the World Bank's advice and its successful efforts in building basic and capital goods industry and a technological base.

Yet with all this, there is the evidence of the growing impoverishment and marginalisation of the poor and specially the rural poor, and the rising numbers of those living below the absolute poverty line and, as Shah puts it, 'a deteriorating quality of life' for the majority of the population. Can India, with the significant changes in its economy, make any new breakthroughs in the immediate future? Can it break out of its present 'unbalanced enclave economy' and become a self-sustaining industrial country, with a decisive impact on ending absolute poverty of its masses?

The two volumes, selections of contemporary analysis (mostly of the second half of the 70s, except for the piece by Prof. Kosambi, 1954) largely from the Economic and Political Weekly of Bombay, have tried to provide an understanding of the problems and causes, and policy changes needed.

There is still considerable dispute among Marxists whether the Indian castes, a part of Hindu ethos but one that has pervaded even India's Christian and Muslim communities, are classes based on relations of production, or super-impositions on class relationships - whether the castes are based on ancient division of labour or as the untouchables leader B.R. Ambedkar (the architect of India's Constitution) called it 'division of labourers'. There is even less agreement in Marxist writings on the interplay of the vast changes that have taken place in post-independent India and the underlying and still dominant social structures.

The essays in the two volumes have tried to look at the changes that have in fact taken place, the caste system and its class meanings, the agrarian situation in India and the 'modernization' if any, and the impact of industrialisation - with two different societies, not having a clear nexus with each other.
The economics/politics dichotomy is present even in these two volumes, despite the largely Marxist background to the analysis. But some of the essays do attempt to point out the economically desirable but politically infeasible (under the present Indian political system) solutions - as in S. Guhan's 'Rural Poverty - Policy and Play Acting'.

The need for mass mobilisation, particularly of the rural people, on class lines for class struggles, is the underlying basis of many of the essays, but this is more easily said than done. Even the two Communist Parties of India, holding power in West Bengal and Kerala, have not been able to fight caste and religion via class, and like the bourgeois parties have not been above exploiting caste and religion for political power. Despite the rising secular base in the country - as a result of industrialisation, at least in the enclave metropolis and the urban centres - the hold of caste and religious exploitation in politics has not lessened, but in fact grown, though weakening socially.

Part of the inability to understand, and evolve suitable answers, lies in not going to basics and trying to evolve a theory of class formation and struggles in India, based on facts, and not blindly using Marxist theory, fitting in convenient facts and ignoring inconvenient ones. As some of the essays show, there is now an effort in this direction in India, though much more remains to be done. Sharad Patil's 'Dialectics of Caste and Class Conflicts' and three others try to grapple with this basic problem while nine others look at the agriculture economy, and the various classes of peasants and their relationships, and their organisations. Five subsequent essays deal with industrial development and 'degradation', while the last addresses the macro issue of exports of manufactures by the NICs (Newly Industrialising Countries).

Sharad Patil in his essay concludes '...caste being basically a manifestation of even pre-class social inequality, vestiges of caste will remain even after the disappearance of classes. Out of the fire of the final fight against these vestiges of caste-class system will emerge a new man, the builder of communism in India. All our energies, therefore must be bent in conducting the present revolutionary movement against the class-caste rule with this final goal in view'.

Apart from this abiding faith in the 'final fight' and its success - almost like the promise of bliss in heaven - how is the class consciousness to be promoted and class struggle accentuated? Historian Kosambi (the first essay) writing in the 50s spoke of socialism as the only solution for India, and cites China's example in fighting backwardness. But the Chinese themselves, after all the twists and turns of the Mao era and its efforts at building the Socialist Man, have a more sober view of what they have done and failed.

Shah in his introduction notes that the (classic Marxian) 'feudal' and 'semi-feudal' modes of analysis have 'simplistically frozen the reality of India's social dynamic and reduced all social relations to crude class categories'. He underlines that industrialisation in India has been mainly catering to the needs of the ruling classes' and emphasises the need for a breakaway from the transnational process of industrialisation - where technology and trade are the 'contemporary means of control and domination' - towards a reoriented industrialisation for mass producer/consumer goods and building and strengthening 'intra-developing
country ties of trade and aid'. But can 'intra-developing country ties' come through Indian efforts alone, and without social revolutions elsewhere? Is this merely a political issue or a basic issue of politics and economics on the world scene?

Chakravarthi Raghavan

1/ S.A. Shah (ed.): India, Degradation and Development, 2 vol., (published by M. Venkatarangaiaya foundation, 80 Road No3, Nehru Nagar (West), Secunderabad 300 026, India). Also available from: S.A. Shah, 4103 Grand Boulevard, Montreal, Quebec H4B 2X4, Canada.

INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY CONTROL - A CONTEMPORARY HISTORY AND APPRAISAL 1/

If the Wall Street Journal, and some of the other current economic myth makers like Professors Hayek and Bauer are to be believed, most of the world's ills started with the abolition of the free market economy by Keynes. Everything was so beautiful in the world prior to the 1940's. In commodities, Professor Bauer would look back upon a halycon age of free enterprise based on small-scale production. This excellent book by Fiona Gordon-Ashworth, an economist with the Bank of England (her views are personal and not to be attributed to the institution) and formerly a lecturer at the University of Southampton, in reviewing the history of the international trade in commodities over the last six decades, proves empirically that the likes of Hayek and Bauer are wrong. There was never that kind of international free trade.

A 300-page information packed book, it should be extremely useful for commodity policy makers in national governments and international organizations, and to researchers to obtain a mass of relevant material for further analytical work. The author's coverage of a broad area does not enable her to analyse in great depth the problems of each International Commodity Agreement, of which there have been forty over the last half-century. But there is a bird's-eye-view of almost all of them. Apart from the appraisal of individual commodities, and the 39 agreements connected therewith, and the six commodities in which cartels operated, the book contains general chapters which provide the backdrop to the evolution of the contemporary international commodity economy, the features of commodity control common to most circumstances, and a general appraisal of the past and the prospects for the future.

International commodity trade issues over the last two decades have been closely linked with UNCTAD, the Group of 77 and the controversy over the terms of trade (Prebisch-Singer thesis), and the price and earnings stabilisation themes that previous actions in another world milieu have
been lost sight of. However, in historical perspective, UNCTAD is only the heir to the legacies of the British Empire. As the leading trading block prior to the Second World War, the British Empire had developed the requisite machinery to regulate most of the world’s commodity trade by concerted policies within its own territories. If increased tea production was felt unnecessary, the colony of Kenya was told to stop new plantings. Global production was planned through the Colonial Office. As the author states, a major post-war problem has been the "fragmentation of pre-war patterns of commodity trade, dominated as they were by developed countries with the UK playing the leading role, and their replacement by a growing number of often newly independent countries". The new institution of Producer Associations - of which the members are sovereign governments of Third World countries - has so far failed as an effective substitute.

It is intriguing that international commodity agreements, except in the case of tin, have been negotiated only in the case of agricultural commodities. However the practice of cartelisation is most evident in minerals and metals. The author's view is that cartelisation was "not more successful than international commodity agreements in meeting their objectives".

The support of rich countries is crucial to the negotiation of international commodity agreements. The volume discusses this aspect in some detail and looks specifically at the policies of the EEC and the USA. "Although in general the US did not come out strongly in favour of international commodity agreements, it supported such agreements in cases where there was a strong US producer interest. The key examples were the wheat agreements of the 1950s. The US played an active role both within and outside these agreements by stock withdrawal at the national level. Another factor inducing the US to enter international commodity agreements was the overruling of economic by political considerations. The most notable case was the 1962 Coffee Agreement. US adherence, which had been withheld in strenuous terms during the 1950s, resulted from its new perception that Western hemisphere security would be improved by the stability of the coffee trade and prices". It might have been fascinating if this issue was investigated a little more in depth. The US government policies in these matters are shaped to a substantial extent by powerful business corporations, and the 1962 Coffee Agreement was endorsed primarily because it was possible "for the US State Department in the early sixties to secure the agreement of the large food-processing corporations to the conclusion of the International Coffee Agreement" (Albert O. Hirschmann, Essays in Trespassing). The US probably supported the International Rubber Agreement, partly because of its significance to the ASEAN region. The conclusion to be drawn is that the rhetoric of free markets is only to suit convenience and circumstance, and that regulation is desirable where it is in one's interest. It is important for international organizations and for Third World countries to study this aspect more carefully and in detail.

International commodity agreements, according to the author, have not been major success stories. "The success or failure of the agreements in their most common objective, the balancing of the supply of the commodity with the demand for it, may be measured, broadly, in terms of their ability to avoid large surplus and deficit positions. The evidence suggests that few of the agreements exercised a strong positive
influence in this regard". The agreements were no more successful in terms of their ability to stabilize prices, or bring about structural change through planned investment. Yet the author sees a future for these agreements, primarily as instruments for consumer-producer co-operation in stimulating orderly trading practices. She calls, among other things, for a "more integrated approach between international commodity organisations, the IMF and the IBRD for policy concerning the same commodities, for commodities covering similar markets (such as tropical beverages) or competing for similar land use (such as rice and jute). Such an approach could be applied at many levels including data collection and dissemination, promotion and the allocation of development finance".

A brief review cannot do justice to the rich assortment of historical information on tropical beverages, rubber, tin, wheat and olive oil, which are to be found in the individual chapters dealing with these commodities. The synoptic presentation of commodity trade issues in the League of Nations days is no less interesting. Above all, the book provides a fascinating glimpse into the infinite variety and baffling complexity of commodity trade issues. Much more has to be done, particularly by UNCTAD, to treat more specifically the distinctive and unique characteristics of each commodity and to address the special problems of each. That is probably the conclusion to be drawn.

Leelananda de Silva

LETTERS

FROM INDIA:

We have been receiving your periodical for a long time now. We appreciate you for adding VHAI to your exchange/complimentary mailing list. We thank you for sending us the materials regularly.

You will be glad to know that your materials are very educative, informative and useful for our work. My colleagues enjoy reading and refer them for their program activities. Kindly continue to send your materials and feel free to write to us, if you need any information in exchange.

A flyer on 'information service' is enclosed for your perusal. Let us continue to exchange information and strengthen the information network.

Chandra Kannapiran, Voluntary Health Association of India

Recently I came across one of your Dossier issues which was full of thought provoking ideas and insights. May I request you to send me copies of future Dossiers?

If there are other publications of interest to development work, please also send information about it.

Promod Kulkarni, Nagpur

FROM NIGERIA

Thanks for the regular supply of your Dossier and we would like to continue to receive it.

We started receiving the Dossier from N°35. Are there possibilities of getting all former editions? A number of the materials referred to in the footnotes will also make for good reading, how can we get them. I will be happy to receive regular information about your other publications and activities.

I am particularly interested in the Dossier and I wish to thank you for a good work and hope that you will continue.

R.O. Jibromah, Lagos

(Note from IFDA: Dossiers 1-20 are out of print. Materials mentioned in the footnotes section are not available from IFDA, but from the address mentioned).
FROM THE PHILIPPINES:

This will acknowledge the receipt of your latest *Dossier* No.40, for March-April 84.

I might mention in passing that this is one of the magazines which always arrives well on time. Truly, this is quite a compliment considering that sometimes we receive issues dated five months earlier.

Again, we are deeply appreciative for your courtesy in carrying us on your mailing list. I can assure you that each issue is very often referred to our trainees in rural development from 27 nations of Asia, the Pacific and even four from Africa.

On March 10th, we graduated our 20th group of trainees in the last 20 years, totaling 842 in all the nations mentioned above.

I myself frequently note a number of items of considerable interest to all of our efforts in a 10-unit complex of a multi-pronged integrated development approach.

Thank you again, then, for sharing the richness of your program with us.

William F. Masterson, S.J., Cagayan de Oro City

FROM TANZANIA:

I am writing to congratulate you most heartily for immortalising Prof. J.F. Rweyemamu (*IFDA Dossier* No.40 March/April 1984).

I had the privilege of knowing him closely as my Professor of Economics while I was an undergraduate student at the University of Dar es Salaam and later as my Principal Secretary when I was a junior officer at the then Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning.

Prof. Rweyemamu was a giant of an intellectual. He had a clear sense of purpose and direction. He was lavish with advice and guidance and a true teacher.

N.N.P. Shimwela, Dar es Salaam

Afro-Aid is a small, recently-established company set up to service and improve the efficiency of aid projects and programmes financed by government and NGO bodies.

We find your *Dossier* interesting and full of new ideas, and would be obliged if you could put us on your mailing list.

Dr. Brian Cooksey, Dar es Salaam
THE ASIA-PACIFIC PEOPLE’S ENVIRONMENT NETWORK

Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM) or Friends of the Earth Malaysia organized in Penang, last October, a regional seminar on 'problems of development, environment and the natural resources crisis in Asia-Pacific'. The seminar brought together many individuals, representatives from third system organizations, concerned planners in government and regional agencies, researchers and teachers as well as communicators. Participants came from India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, The Philippines, Hong Kong, Japan, Australia and several Pacific Islands. They represented, among others, the People's Science Movement India, the Sri Lanka Environmental Federation, the Society for Conservation of Nature and Environment from Bangladesh, the Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia, the Consumers' Association of Penang, Malaysia, the Asia Monitor Resource Center of Hong Kong, Jishu Koza of Japan, the Center for Labor Studies, Philippines, the Food Justice Center and the Antarctica and Southern Ocean Coalition of Australia, the Nuclear Free Pacific Movement, Pacific Islands, and the Environment Liaison Centre of Nairobi.

SAM has now published a 62pp. booklet comprising a preface by its president, S.M. Mohd. Idriss, the general declaration (which is reproduced in this Dossier, p.60 above) as well as specific action proposals related to land, forestry, water, fisheries, marine environment, energy, mineral resources, urban environment and tourism, food and agriculture, occupational health, toxic substances control problems, militarization and the nuclear industry as well as people's movements, media and government.

The seminar also established the Asia-Pacific People's Environment Network (APPEN), which is described below.

ROLE OF ASIA-PACIFIC: PEOPLE’S ENVIRONMENT NETWORK

The Asia-Pacific People's Environment Network (APPEN) was formed to bring together all diverse non-governmental groups and people in the Asia-Pacific region. Sahabat Alam Malaysia has been appointed coordinator of APPEN.

The Network aims to collect and disseminate information pertaining to environmental issues to the various NGOs in the other countries in the region. Information has been recognised as one of the main weapons in environmental campaigns.

APPEN also aims to liaise with groups outside the Asia-Pacific e.g. Latin America, Africa and other Third World countries. It intends to make demands in the name of Asian and Pacific environmental groups and peoples with regard to the environment. These demands could be made to governments, UN agencies, research and educational institutions, media, etc.
The network hopes to work with media groups, individuals, NGOs and people's movement, academics, scientists, researchers and tribal people. It hopes to set up specialised task forces to investigate and report on environmental issues in the region. Joint action could then be taken by members of the network to pursue action by governments.

APPEN also plans to carry out the printing of publications which can be disseminated at grassroot and regional level.

APPEN is not a substitute for real work at grassroot level with the people. It should allow for initiatives to come from the various individuals and groups which may want to join the network eventually. In other words, the network should act to serve the environmental movement in the region.

* * *

SAM PUBLICATIONS

SAM has published three editions of its State of the Malaysian Environment (1980/81, 'Development without destruction'; 1981/82, 'Deteriorating quality of life' and 1982/83, 'Towards greater environmental awareness'). It has also published Pesticide Problems in a Developing Country: A Case Study of Malaysia. All four publications are available in Malay and in English (prices are US$ 3.00, 6.50, 9.50 and 6.00 respectively). SAM has recently compiled a Directory of Environmental NGOs in the Asia-Pacific (257pp., US$ 15.00) and issues six times a year a magazine Suara Sam (Malay and English, US$ 12.00 per annum) and an Environmental News Digest (English only, US$ 30.00 per annum).

(Sahabat Alam Malaysia, 37 Lorong Birch, Penang, Malaysia).

THE CHINGLEPUT RURAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL EDUCATION CENTRE

Dear IFDA,

I am enclosing herewith a brief account of a rural women's group in Tamilnadu, India, of which I am one of the founding members.

I hope you will be able to publish this in your Dossier, which we hope would enable us to have an exchange of ideas and information from groups similar to ours in other countries.

Introduction: The Rural Women's Social Education Centre is an organisation by and for rural women involved in 15 villages of Chingleput District of Tamilnadu, S. India. The emphasis of our activities is not on welfare measures where women are mere recipients of services. Our goal is to set in motion a process by which rural women from the lowest socio-economic group will realise their potential and actively participate in improving their own status and constructively contribute towards social change.
Our main focus is on Women and Health related activities and issues. Those of us who started the organisation had shared the common experience of growing up as a female in rural India. We had been brought up to view our bodies with suspicion and contempt, and this had given us a poor self-image. Having never understood the way our bodies functioned, we were ashamed of and feared their functions. Learning about our bodies helped us women develop self-respect and gave us a sense of power over our lives, and the confidence to challenge and change things around us. This is why our first step in working with other rural women was about women and health - and this, we believed, could eventually encourage women to play an active role in their communities and work to change their oppressed situation.

Activities: The members belong to the villages of Chingleput. With the exception of just one, all of them belong to the 'Harijan' or untouchable caste which is on the lowest rung of the traditional caste hierarchy. Each of them works as an 'animator' in her own village, and is trained to perform a multitude of functions - health care, health education and advocacy, literacy teaching and organising women. A doctor and a co-ordinator assist them in their work.

The animators provide basic health care to the villagers, with special attention to women. Conscious of and sympathetic to the fact that village women belonging to the lowest socio-economic sections are too busy and preoccupied with survival to take the initiative for preventive health care, the animators visit them in their homes. They examine and advise pregnant women and lactating mothers, monitor the growth of children and arrange for their immunisation regularly. They administer simple home remedies as far as possible. They have teamed up with the traditional village mid-wife to conduct deliveries hygenically. They have helped village women understand their health problems and participate in their own healing, rather than being 'Messiahs' who can cure all illnesses.

The animators have set up a women's centre in each of their villages. It serves as a meeting place for women who get together late in the evenings, once the endless chores of the day are over. It is a place to meet, talk, relax, discuss and learn. One evening a week is set aside for learning about health related problems that concern women. They have learnt about how their bodies function, about menstruation, pregnancy, child birth and birth control. They have discussed for hours the validity of many of the myths and taboos surrounding menstruation and child birth that still prevail.

Discussions on malnourishment have led to talking about the need for higher wages for the difficult agricultural work they do, since what they now earn could scarcely feed one person adequately. When we examined causes of diarrhoea and dysentery - the common killers of children under five - it became clear that their prevention is impossible without protected drinking water. This meant petitioning to the authorities concerned - and we had to learn about procedures for this as well.

Another often discussed subject is birth control. The village women are keen to practise birth control and eager for information. One of their major problems, is the right to choose a method of their choice.
Contraception services are free in our hospitals, and in their anxiety to utilise their resources optimally, the hospitals tend to stipulate who can avail of what, to the extent that the woman concerned has hardly a say in the matter. The women from many of our villages brought this to the notice of the higher authorities. Health issues are thus inextricably linked to the social economic and political issues of the milieu, and challenging the one, means challenging the whole.

Apart from the health related discussions there are also other meetings through which the women are participating in a process of developing their critical consciousness about the structures that oppress them. Role plays that portray the reality of their existence are a great favourite. After a role play on, for example, the double standards applying to women in the village community, or the way the poor are treated by the bureaucracy, or the way landlords use their economic power over poor women from the Harijan castes for sexual exploitation, the women's centre comes alive with the voices of women. Everyone participates in talking about the characters portrayed in the role plays and eventually comes to see how it is related to her own life. At times the animator reads stories, anecdotes and case studies to the women, depicting lives of poor women like them or instances where they have actively confronted the system and tried to change it.

The women's centres have helped in the consolidation of women's groups in these villages and led to the creation of women's "sanghams" (associations) with the members paying a small membership fee of 50 paisa per month. This amount subsidizes the cost of medicines dispensed and a part of it is set aside as savings. The women's "sanghams" are taking an active part in the affairs of their respective villages. They have organised to demand higher wages in some villages, with success. Their untiring efforts to secure drinking water taps was rewarded in one village. They are alert, and take preventive measures against epidemics. They act as a pressure group to secure what is rightfully due to them from the powers that be.

Women from the different village "sanghams" meet in workshops organised thrice a year. Each of these workshops has a particular theme. A wide range of themes have been taken up so far - political parties and their ideologies, Panchayat (village council) elections, development plans of the government, group dynamics, public speaking, problem solving techniques - to mention a few. Armed with new skills and information, the women are beginning to challenge their oppression and to seek constructive solutions for the innumerable problems they face as the triply oppressed: as poor, as women and as untouchables.

We have made but a small beginning and have a long way to go. Our experiences so far make us hopeful. We have seen that "woman power" when unleashed, is a tremendous force capable of challenging the unjust system. We feel inspired to carry on:

"AND OUR BEGINNING TO RELATE TO OUR SOCIETY THROUGH THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS GIVEN A CENTRAL UNITY TO OUR LIVES. WE ARE NO LONGER DRIFTING RELATING PASSIVELY TO LIFE. RATHER WE ARE ATTEMPTING THROUGH AN INTENSIVE RELATIONSHIP TO SOCIETY TO AFFECT HISTORY, TO ACT INSTEAD".

(Rural Women's Social Education Centre, 15/1 Periya Melamaiyur, Vallam Post, Chingleput 603 002, Tamilnadu, India).
ISIS INTERNATIONAL*

A WOMEN'S INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION SERVICE

WHO WE ARE

Isis International is a Women's Information and Communication Service. Isis was founded in 1974 as a non-profit, non-governmental organization in Rome and Geneva to promote communication among women around the world.

Isis International has a network of over 10,000 contacts in 130 countries and a resource center with magazines, newsletters, journals, studies etc. from all over the world on women and health, development, employment, domestic work, child care, food production, new and appropriate technology, violence against women, sexuality, media, communication... and more.

Isis International is based in Rome, Italy and has an international staff of women. We have an office in Santiago, Chile which coordinates our activities in Latin America.

WHAT WE DO

SERVICES

Documentation and Information: We provide background papers, information kits, bibliographies and research facilities on request.

Technical Assistance and Training in communication skills and information management: We assist women's groups in setting up and improving resource centers, in the production of print media, and in networking. We also train women from different countries in these skills. This takes place both in our office in Rome, Italy and in the office of the requesting group.

We work with sending organizations in training volunteers going to developing countries.

Conference and Workshop Organization: We organize and cooperate with other groups in organizing conferences and workshops.

International Feminist Network: An international channel for mobilizing support and solidarity for women in all countries. (Coordinated jointly with Isis-WICCE in Geneva).

Women and Audiovisual Project: A channel for sharing experiences in making and using audiovisuals. We assist women's groups in finding audiovisual resources and in producing their own.

*/ Isis is the name of an ancient Egyptian goddess. Isis International has a sister organization Isis-WICCE (Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange) in Geneva, Switzerland.
Isis Women's International Journal

Through the Isis Women's International Journal (formerly the Isis Women's International Bulletin) women around the world share ideas, experiences and models for organization and action. The Journal provides an international communication channel, enabling women to make contact with each other and build up networks nationally, regionally and internationally.

Each issue of the Journal is produced jointly by Isis International and one or more women's groups in the Third World. Averaging 80-100 pages, the Journal appears twice a year.

The Isis Women's International Journal gives indepth coverage to the issues women around the world are working on: development, health, employment, child care, violence against women, media, communication, methods of organization, models for action and much more.

(Further information from: Isis International, 30 via S. Maria dell'Anima, 00186 Rome, Italy or Isis Internacional, Casilla 2067, Correo Central, Santiago, Chile).
1984 CENSUS OF "WORLD PROBLEMS"

The Union of International Associations in Brussels, editors of the Yearbook of International Organizations, has announced plans for a new "census" of world problems during 1984. Some 13,000 international organizations listed in this reference work are now receiving requests for information on the societal problems with which they are concerned. The results will appear in an updated version of the Yearbook of World Problems and Human Potential. First produced in 1976 on an experimental basis, the Yearbook then described 2653 world problems.

The first edition of this 1100-page publication required four years of research with contributions from organizations as varied as the World Health Organization, Amnesty International, the International League against Unfair Competition and the International Union of Air Pollution Prevention Associations. A unique feature was the registration of a network of 13,574 aggravating links between the problems described. The book also registered matching networks of organizational and conceptual resources which were available to contain the problem network and guide integrated action towards human development.

For the editors of the 1984 census, a "world problem" is a phenomenon recognized in a number of countries. It is one whose dimensions are usually not fully defined by any one discipline and whose deprivations are not yet contained by any one group of organizations acting together. A valuable feature of this compilation is that it portrays problems as they are described by international organizations themselves, whatever their ideological tendency. The aim is to confront divergent perceptions of world problems and of understandings of the different kinds of resources that could be brought to bear upon them. Controversial "problems" such as capitalism, communism and socialism are therefore included, with appropriate counter-arguments to reflect the nature of the ideological controversy.

Efforts are also being made for the forthcoming edition to increase critical awareness of the merits and limitations of specific disciplines, strategies and values. By placing the emphasis on networks of carefully documented statements, many of them conflicting, the aim is to make possible a more dynamic response to the crisis of crises into which the world is being drawn. It therefore suggests new ways of perceiving the challenge of the world problematic and of mankind's relationship to it in the light of different approaches to human development.

This project was originally carried out with funding from Mankind 2000 in collaboration with the Union of International Associations. Work on the new edition has been initiated by the Union with funds from the international publisher, K.G. Saur Verlag (Munich), as a complement to the other major reference books edited by the Union: Yearbook of International Organizations, International Organization Participation, Global Action Networks and the International Congress Calendar. The project is being undertaken in collaboration with the United Nations University (Tokyo).

(Yearbook of World Problems and Human Potential, UIA, 40 rue Washington, 1050 Brussels, Belgium).
The world urban population, which represented one third of the total in 1960, will outnumber the rural population at the turn of the century. Already today, in Latin America, two-thirds of the population live in cities, and cities of one million and over are likely to concentrate almost one half of the total urban population by 2000. The present crisis underscores the vulnerability of the cities, especially the large ones. The resources drained from the rest of the country are not sufficient anymore to ensure their functioning. The prospect of providing adequate housing and services to all becomes ever more remote. Unemployment is growing. Access to food and fuel is increasingly difficult for the urban poor.

The only alternative is in an increased urban self-reliance in food and energy. This implies identifying and mobilizing the latent, wasted and underutilized human and physical resources in the urban ecosystem.

Urban agriculture, waste recycling, energy recovery and conservation, self-help housing, self-help provision of social services, household crafts and industries, partial reconversion of idle productive capacities offer an opportunity to redeploy underutilized human resources and to start, from the bottom up, another urban development, socially desirable, economically viable and ecologically sustainable.

The remaking of the cities will, to a great extent, depend on the initiative and efforts of citizen movements - the third system. How much of this is already happening? What are the experiments? Where are they? How do they interact with government and organized business?

Further, more and better communication within the third system would certainly enable the actors to learn from each other, from their successes and failures.

In the context of its "Food-energy nexus" programme, the United Nations University has asked IFDA to identify existing efforts and actions and to promote networking for increased urban self-reliance.

As a first step, IFDA is inviting associations, movements, institutes, foundations and others engaged in alternative urban development in both the Third World and industrialized countries to share information on their experiences, results, problems.

It would be appreciated if interested readers of this note could send us copies of reports, articles and other materials on their activities and organization as well as suggest further contacts. This being a nascent project, comments and suggestions would be appreciated.

(Please write to: C. Sachs, UNU/IFDA Urban self-reliance project, c/o Cired, 54 bd Raspail, 75270 Paris Cedex 06, France).
N.B. Documents mentioned in the following section are not available from IFDA but, depending on the cases, from publishers, bookshops or the address indicated after the description of the document.

LOCAL SPACE

. Kirkpatrick Sale, *Human Scale* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1980) 558pp. "In the last half of the twentieth century", writes the author, "particularly in industrial societies, we are witnessing a series of crises beyond any yet experienced in the procession of Western civilization." Sale examines these crises and writes of their cause and potential cure. His subject is size: how "growthmania" has not only failed to solve the problems of modern society but has, in large part, created them. *Human Scale* is about a society whose institutions have outgrown their effectiveness because they have overshot the limits of control. It is not a call to return to the land, it is a reasoned demonstration of society's misconceptions about growth and examination of ways to scale down institutions to provide us with better housing, cities, food production, waste disposal, transportation, health care and schools, and to check government's movement from democracy to bureaucracy.


. Anne-Marie Gaillard, *Couples suédois - vers un autre idéal sexuel* (Paris: Editions Universitaires, 1983) 201pp. Cet ouvrage présente l'évolution survenue ces deux dernières décennies en Suède dans les domaines de la libération sexuelle et de l'égalité des sexes. Le discours féministe des années 60 et 70 a été quelque peu mis en sourdine et on essaie de mettre en place, par une politique voluntariste, les conditions indispensables à une réelle égalité des sexes. Nulle part ailleurs on a approfondi la réflexion et le débat à ce niveau. Ce pays, qui a été pionnier dans ce domaine comme dans de nombreux autres, bénéficie en effet d'un matériel d'observation unique. Il y a vingt ans qu'on parle de "libération de la femme", et le discours n'est pas marginal puisqu'il est soutenu par des mesures officielles d'ordre économique et social.


consommateurs de Penang (Dossier 18) et les campagnes de l'IOCU (Organisation internationale des unions de consommateurs) (Dossiers 41, 38, 32, etc.). Les militants de la défense des consommateurs trouveront dans cet ouvrage sérieux un outil de travail utile, même s'il n'a pas été conçu dans leur optique (il est paru dans une collection d'administration des entreprises). On regrettera cependant son titre, qui rappelle, plus que la défense des consommateurs, la manie de la consommation. Pourtant, la défense des consommateurs, dans le Nord en tout cas, ce n'est pas seulement consommer mieux, mais aussi consommer moins.

Olga Ojeda y Vicente Sanchez, La cuestión ambiental y la articulación sociedad-naturaleza (El Colegio de México, 1984) 28pag. (Camino al Ajusco 20, 10740 México D.F.).


Christopher D. Gerrard, Promoting Third World Agriculture - Lessons of Recent Experience (Ottawa: North-South Institute, 1984) 66pp., Can.$6. Beginning in the mid-1970s, international aid agencies decided to attack rural poverty in the Third World by launching new and innovative programs of agricultural development. These programs were meant to increase agricultural output and assist the rural poor to overcome the worst aspects of their poverty. After a decade of experience, it is obvious that these programs have not lived up to expectations, as this study shows. The task of promoting broadly-based agricultural development must now be viewed with greater realism. (Rideau 185, Ottawa K1N 5X8, Canada).

Vincent Aubelle, Discours réel, discours imaginaire. Étude sur les circuits de commercialisation de la noix de coco dans la région de Jacqueville, Côte d'Ivoire, juillet 1983, 58pp. (35 rue Voiture, 80 000 Amiens, France).


Catastro nacional de tecnologías campesinas: Cocina solar 9pp., Sistemas para el abastecimiento de agua 16pp., Sistema de molienda 16pp. y otras fichas técnicas, (Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Casilla 6122, Correo 22, Santiago, Chile).

NATIONAL SPACE


Denis Goulet, Survival with integrity - Sarvodaya at the crossroads (Colombo: Marga, 1981) 105pp. (see also p.90 below).

Randolf S. David et al., Political Economy of Philippine Commodities (Quezon City: Third World Studies Center, 1983) 310pp. With chapters on bananas, sugar, coconut and tobacco (Room 428, College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City).

Alexander R. Magno, Developmentalism and the 'New Society': The Repressive Ideology of Underdevelopment (Quezon City: Third World Studies Center, 1983) 45pp., mimeog.


P.M. Abinales, Militarization in the Philippines (Quezon City: Third World Studies Center, 1982) 35pp., mimeog.


M.A. Qureshi, P.S. Nagpaul, Lokesh Singhal, Suman Pangasa, V.V. Krishna, Transfer of Technology from National Laboratories to Industry (New Delhi: NISTADS, 1984) 85pp. (Hillside Road, New Delhi 110012, India).


F. Guerra García, Velasco: del estado oligarquico al capitalismo de estado (Lima: CEDEP, 1983) 119pp. En cierto modo, continúa y cierra El Peruano, un proceso abierto, texto escrito por el propio autor allá por los 75. Reflexiones producidas en dos momentos distintos de la historia reciente del país y desde dos posiciones igualmente distintas ante el poder, ambas expresan una misma actitud ante su objeto: descripción parsimoniosa de los hechos; auto-control de las explicaciones por la sujeción voluntaria a sus tendencias reconocibles; apertura, condicionada por el realismo, a sus posibilidades de desarrollo. En una y otra reflexión, la misma búsqueda de los significados históricos en la relación de la experiencia con el proceso político iniciado en los 20 y en el escrutinio cuidadoso de las resistencias y posibilidades inscritas en la situación del Peru de los 70. (6 de Agosto 425, Jesús María, Lima 11, Perú).

J.Ph. Antonio et al., Haiti briser les chaînes (Lausanne: P.M. Favre/CETIM, 1984) 179pp. Haiti est une synthèse de politiques erronées, de collusions d'une bourgeoisie nationale avec des intérêts étrangers, à
l'encontre d'un véritable développement. Le régime sert les intérêts d'une famille qui a pris le pouvoir et s'y maintient grâce à la répression et à l'appui d'organismes internationaux et des États-Unis. (29 rue de Bourg, 1002 Lausanne, Suisse). Fruit d'un travail d'équipe, ce livre présente une analyse globale de la réalité haïtienne, les témoignages d'auteurs de disciplines et d'horizons politiques différents, tous liés à la cause haïtienne et convaincus de la nécessité d'un changement radical dans ce pays pour une mise en valeur plus rationnelle et plus égaleitaire des ressources au profit de la majorité des Haïtiens. Les luttes internes au sein de la classe dirigeante, la multiplication des mouvements de résistance, la prise de conscience et la courageuse prise de position de l'Église catholique haïtienne en faveur des plus démunis sont des signes d'espoir et permettent de s'interroger non seulement sur les mécanismes de répression duvaliérisme, mais encore sur les possibilités de changer en profondeur cette situation.


THIRD WORLD SPACE


The authors weigh the social, political and economic consequences of current development strategies in terms of their human costs. They emphasize the importance of recognizing the values that underlie the decisions made by governments and the societies they serve. The contributors first develop a normative framework, embodying Asian cultural and religious traditions as well as other elements, against which to measure specific ethical problems and choices. They then provide detailed case studies of ethical dilemmas of central importance to the development of specific countries.

Development strategies will always be constrained by imperfect choices. Yet this book highlights three crucial factors upon which the quality of development depends. First, the system making a choice must be aware of its imperfection. Second, it must have a sustained concern for what is lost in human terms through its choice. Finally, the system must possess built-in motivations to restore what is lost. Through constant assessment and participation of all the social groups affected by the gains and losses, society can be directed toward human goals of development.

In addition to Clarence Dias' "The quest for equality: protective discrimination or compensatory justice" and Viswanathan Selvaratnam's "Intercommunal relations and problems of socio-economic development: the Malaysian dilemma", the central chapter by Gunatilleke, TiruchelVam and Coomaraswamy must be singled out "Violence and development in Sri Lanka: conceptual issues". Gunatilleke also contributed "The ethics of order and change: an analytical framework" and, together with Tiruchelvam, the conclusion of the collection. This book is a significant contribution to the search for another development. It should be read, discussed and taken further by people from other regions than Asia.

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GLOBAL SPACE


E. Philip English, *Canadian Development Assistance to Haiti* (Ottawa: The North-South Institute, 1984) 167pp. This is the third independent country evolution of Canadian aid (the first two being devoted to Bangladesh and Tanzania). Because of longstanding concerns over Haiti—the human rights situation and widespread corruption among the elite—this study is compelled to address the basic question of whether Haiti should receive any Canadian aid. Many critics, including some in the substantial Haitian expatriate community in Canada, urge the complete cutoff of aid. Donors, like the Government of Canada, have had to face a continuing, agonizing choice—whether to abandon efforts to help the people of the poorest country in the hemisphere, or to keep on trying, in spite of all the risks. This independent assessment concludes that, during the period under study, the Canadian decision to continue the program was a justifiable one. (185 Rideau Street, Ottawa, K1N 5X8 (Canada)).


André Gunder Frank, *Critique and Anti-Critique — Essays on Dependence and Reformism* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984). What are the lessons of Allende and Chile? Is communism a viable alternative in Western Europe? What is the significance of Reaganism and Thatcherism? Is Marxist theory in a state of evolution or dissolution? These are some of the questions the author addresses in his book, questions he views against a backdrop of today's economic, social, political and ideological crisis in the world in general and the Third World in particular.


**PERIODICALS**

*Alternativas* (N°2, 1984): "Proyecto, trayectoria y fracaso de los regímenes militares del Cono Sur: un balance" por Manuel Antonio Carreton; "Un Orwell diferente: totalitarismo y socialismo democrático" por Angel Flisfisch (CERC, Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Catedral 1063, Santiago, Chili).
Alternatives non violentes (N°51, avril 1984): "L'agressivité en question" (Craintilleux, 42210 Montrond, France).


Biogas Newsletter (N°1, March 1984): A new publication of the Tata Energy Documentation and Information Centre, Bombay (Tata Energy Research Institute, 24 Homi Mody Street, Bombay 400 023, India).

Boletín de medio ambiente y urbanización (N°5, Ano 2, 1983): con artículos sobre el habitat popular en Argentina, Chile y Perú (Diagonal Roque Saénz Pena 1110, 6to piso, of.3, 1035 Capital Federal, Argentina).


La Cacerola (N°1, febrero 1984): El primer numero del Boletín de la Fundación Ecuatoriana de Defensa del Consumidor. Co-editado con el Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas de la Universidad Central (Casilla 179-C, Quito, Ecuador).

Comercio Exterior (Vol.34, N°2, 1984): "La Conferencia de Quito: una respuesta latinoamericana a la crisis" por Jorge Eduardo Navarrete; "La evolución económica de América Latina en 1983" por Enrique V. Iglesias (Cerrada de Malintzin 28, Colonia del Carmen, Coyoacán, 04100 México DF, Mexico).

Contemporary Marxism (N°8, 1984): "Nicaragua under Siege" (Synthesis Publications, 2703 Folsom Street, San Francisco, CA 94110, USA).


Development & Socio-Economic Progress (special issue 3, 1983): International seminar on militarism and development (AAPSO, 89 Abdel Aziz Al-Saoud Street, Manial El-Roda, Cairo, Egypt).
The Ecologist (Vol. 14, No. 1, 1984): "Buddhist Economics - a lesson in self-sufficiency" (Worthyvale Manor Farm, Camelford, Cornwall, UK).

Economia e Socialismo (N°60, Janeiro-Março 1984): "Economia Política de África de expressão oficial portuguesa" (Rua do Borja, 57-3° cave Esq., 1300 Lisboa, Portugal).


Economie et humanisme (N°276, mars-avril 1984): "Habitat et développement, des politiques à l'épreuve des résultats" (14 rue Antoine Dumont, 69372 Lyon Cedex 08, France).


International Labour Reports (N°3, May/June 1984): "Coca Cola: the struggle is on again" (300 Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9NS, UK).


Multinational Monitor (Vol. 5, No. 4, April 1984): "In Guatemala, things go worse with Coke" by Jonathan Fried; "Bullets and Beans" by Nancy Peckenham (POB 19405, Washington DC 20036, USA).

Newsletter of International Labour Studies (N°21, April 1984): Special issue "Homeworking on a world scale" by Isa Baud & Anneke van Luijken, guest editors (Galileistraat 130, 2561 TK The Hague, The Netherlands).

Mershon Center Quarterly Report (Vol. 8, No. 2, 1983): "The local community in international education - assessing needs and opportunities" (The Ohio State University, 199 West Tenth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43201, USA).


MATERIALS RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION

LOCAL SPACE


. Joe Friend, 'A hall of mirrors': reflections of the brain on the government of society, (Centre for Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania, GPO Box 2520, Hobart, Tasmania, Australia), 5pp.


. Stewart MacPherson, Child care in Papua New Guinea (University of Nottingham, Dept. of Social Administration, University Park, Nottingham, NG7 2RD, UK), 18pp.

. Dominic M. Mutava, Community approach in development extension work (University of Zambia, Dept. of Adult Education C.C.E., POB 32379, Lusaka, Zambia), 9pp.
. Shashi Pandey, Role of voluntary action in rural India (1300 University Ave., N°110, Madison, WI 53706, USA), 32pp.

. Sarah F. Perkins and Margaret Burd Powell, Rural development strategies: understanding the role of process (Principia College, Elsah, Ill. 62028, USA), 9pp.

. Claudio Schuftan, Preparing food and nutrition/primary health care programmes: Experiences from Cameroon and Liberia, 42pp. Our technical, ethical and ideological responsibilities in public health, or public health: the missing link between technology, ethics and ideology, 50pp. The causes of hunger and malnutrition: an attempt to know who we are (results of a worldwide survey on attitudes toward nutrition policy), 11pp. Low intellectual performance: malnutrition or cultural deprivation?, 13pp. De-westernizing health planning and health care delivery: some lessons from Chile and Tanzania, 26pp. (All these papers can be obtained directly from the author: School of Public Health, Tulan University, 1430 Tulane Avenue, New Orleand, Louisiana 70112, USA).

NATIONAL SPACE


THIRD WORLD SPACE

. S. Dedijer, Arab intelligence for essential development knowledge transfer (University of Lund, Dpt. of Business Administration, P0B 5136, 220 05 Lund, Sweden), 10pp.

GLOBAL SPACE


. Kristoffel Lieten, Findings on Dutch multinational corporations in India (University of Amsterdam, Centre for the Study of Antropology and Non-Western Sociology, Sarphatistraat 106 a, 1018 GV Amsterdam, The Netherlands), 7pp.


. Hilkka Pietilä, Women's peace movement as an innovative proponent of the peace movement as a whole (Jussaarenkuja 5 N., 00840 Helsinki, Finland), 11pp.

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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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THEY HAD THIS TO SAY

ROBERT MC NAMARA: NUCLEAR WEAPONS SERVE NO MILITARY PURPOSE

"Having spent seven years as Secretary of Defense dealing with the problems unleashed by the initial nuclear chain reaction 40 years ago, I do not believe we can avoid serious and unacceptable risk of nuclear war until we recognize - and until we base all our military plans, defense budgets, weapon deployments and arms negotiations on the recognition - that nuclear weapons serve no military purpose whatsoever. They are totally useless - except only to deter one's opponent from using them.

This is my view today. It was my view in the early 1960s".


GEORGE KENNAN: WAR WILL HAVE TO BE RULED OUT

"I had always resisted the suggestion that war, as a phenomenon of international life, could be totally ruled out... I am now bound to say that while the possible elimination of nuclear weaponry is of no less vital import in my eyes than it ever was, this would not be enough, in itself, to give Western civilization even an adequate chance of survival. War itself, as a means of settling differences at least between the great industrial powers, will have to be in some way ruled out; and with it there will have to be dismantled... the greater part of the vast military establishments now maintained with a view to the possibility that war might take place".


THE US BISHOPS: THERE IS A SUBSTITUTE FOR WAR

"There is a substitute for war. There is negotiation under the supervision of a global body realistically fashioned to do its job... The hope for such a structure is not unrealistic, because the point has been reached where public opinion sees clearly that, with the massive weaponry of the present war, war is no longer viable".


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