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UNITED NATIONS: THE NEXT 40 YEARS

1985 is the year of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations. Occurring as it does in the midst of a crisis of multilateralism - some not recognizing their creature, others rejecting the very idea of international organization - this anniversary may offer an opportunity to think about possible ways to rejuvenate and strengthen the Organization.

Not only were the majority of the current 159 member-states not independent 40 years ago, but most of the four billion human beings now living on this planet were not yet born. Rather than looking back, can't we see this as an invitation to try and imagine the UN of the next 40 years?

It may be too early to discuss the role of the UN in a world which, assuming we avoid the nuclear and the famine holocausts, our stuttering imaginations find it difficult to figure out. The challenge is rather to invent and explore an institutional path enabling the real social actors, all of them, to tackle the problems facing humankind.

In the global sphere where the UN evolve, the Prince (or governmental power) and the Merchant (or economic power), which control most decisions, have proven unable to offer effective approaches to peace and development. The voices of the third power, that of the people and of the peoples - in whose name the UN Charter was promulgated - remain largely unheard. Could not the people and their associations, which we call the third system, or the Citizen - have a say in the Organization?

Utopian as it may appear today - as did so many ideas, now part of the conventional wisdom, before someone took the first step towards implementing them - couldn't we sketch out a possible UN of 2025? Redeeming its original sin of having been conceived, brought into being and grown up as an organization of governments, the UN of our children and grand children will probably reflect better the societies of the world and the actors who make them alive.

This could for instance be achieved through a three-chamber General Assembly of the United Nations. The Prince Chamber would represent the governments of the states (not likely to wither away). The Merchant Chamber would represent the economic powers, be they transnational, multinational, national or local, belonging to the private, state or social sectors, since at the same time we need them and need to regulate their activities - which is better done with them. The Citizen Chamber would, through some mechanism ensuring adequate representativity, speak for the people and their associations. At the very least, this would make it possible for citizens to hold princes and merchants accountable for the consequences of the exercise of their power.

This is a far cry from present arrangements under which, with one or two limited exceptions in ILO (presence of Trade Unions) and UNESCO (some

(continued on page 32)
# LOS CAMPESINOS ANTE EL EMBATE TECNOLOGICO

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**Resumen:** Si bien las tecnologías usadas en el campo son neutrales (ni buenas ni malas) no son inocentes, porque están al servicio de una estrategia agrícola global. Esta, a su vez, es el reflejo tecnológico y productivo de una opción social.

Estas páginas reconstruyen el proyecto socio-histórico implícito en la estrategia de la agricultura urbana de mercado, cuya arma de disuasión es su tecnología "avanzada" o "moderna". La resistencia campesina a esta tecnología no es un rechazo al desarrollo, sino su autodefensa contra el modelo urbano de desarrollo rural, en un contexto social de guerra entre ciudad y campo.

En estas circunstancias, quién pretenda "ayudar" al campo debe resolver primero por qué bando quiere optar: desarrollo sí, pero cuál? y para quiénes?

**PEASANTS FACING THE TECHNOLOGICAL STORM**

**Abstract:** Technologies utilized in the countryside may be neutral (neither good nor bad) but they are not innocent since they are at the service of a global agricultural strategy which, in turn, is the technological and productive reflection of a social choice.

These pages re-construct the socio-historical project implicit in the strategy of market-urban agriculture, the deterrent weapon of which is its "modern" technology. Peasant resistance to this technology is not a denial of development, but a form of self-defense against the urban model of rural development in a social context of war between city and countryside.

In such circumstances, whoever pretends to "help" the countryside must first choose his/her camp: development yes, but which one, and for whom?

*(résumé en français à la page 11)*
Andrés Aubry

LOS CAMPESINOS ANTE EL EMBATE TECNOLOGICO*

Nos permitimos hablar porque la respuesta campesina nos alienta, pese a las proporciones modestas en que se desarrolla nuestro proyecto ambicioso, pluridisciplinario, de antropología aplicada.

Aludiendo a esta disciplina desprestigiada, no damos a entender que aplicamos con "arte" en la práctica las dudosas "leyes" científicas de la teoría antropológica. Al contrario, quienes la ejercemos entre tzotziles, tzeltales, tojolaballes y ladinos de Chiapas, la entendemos como la ciencia teórica de la práctica antropológica.

Este aviso para advertir que nuestra práctica nos responsabiliza. Nuestras búsquedas no constan de pesquisas de escritorio con averiguaciones de campo; son un proceso de investigación-acción (que, por supuesto, no elimina el estudio) cuyo jurado final es el campesinado involucrado en la investigación.

EL LUGAR ESTRUCTURAL DEL CAMPO EN NUESTRA SOCIEDAD

1. Se suele identificar al campo por el lugar que le asigna la división internacional del trabajo en el modelo transnacional de nuestra sociedad.

En este contexto, el campesino se enlista con toda naturalidad en las filas del ejército de reserva de trabajo, aprovechado en prioridad por la agro-industria y por las empresas familiares urbanas de la agricultura de exportación que, en Chiapas, llamamos "fincas".

Esta ubicación estructural en nuestra sociedad, convierte al campesino en uno de los principales productores de divisas. En Chiapas, después del petróleo, las divisas grangeadas se deben al café (y a otros productos tropicales) cosechado por el campesino, y al turismo para quien el campesino-indígena vale oro.

2. Sin negar el aspecto anterior, quisiéramos recalcar que el campesino es, sencillamente, el hombre del campo. No del agro ni de su opúncro capital, sino de la periferia del imperio urbano. Aparece como la vergüenza de nuestras sociedades: ni urbanizado ni modernizado. Es el hombre del

* INAREMAC documento N°023.VI.84. Esta ponencia se había elaborada en un seminario campesino en San Cristóbal de las Casas. El documento completo incluye también seis cuentos campesinos que son la memoria de dicho encuentro cuyo objetivo era la captación y la sistematización del saber popular.
"hinterland" de las "ciudades rectoras" de provincia, el burdo provinciano de las grandes y cultas metrópolis, el villano subdesarrollado que estorba los planes de desarrollo, la víctima de la dialéctica centro/periferia.

Como todos los que sobran en la sociedad, es asocial: ignorante, analfabeta, "haragán", "flojo" y además y por supuesto aparece somo un subversivo potencial. Por lo tanto, es la primera víctima de la represión. Las cárcel no dan abasto para hospedar a los campesinos-indígenas detenidos. Estos conforman más del 95% de la población penitenciaria de Chiapas.

La lógica de la relación imperialista centro/periferia es la entropía. Energía y alimentos se sacan del campo para abastecer la ciudad, y la ciudad regresa al campo lo que no le conviene. El campo viene a ser el basurero-físico y social de la ciudad. Allí quedan los desechos químicos del petróleo que nunca beneficia al campo, allí las presas descargan su contaminación ecológica en poblados nunca electrificados, allí se envían los funcionarios incapaces pero también los capaces indeseables. Cuanto más se modernizan las metrópolis, más se ensucia físicamente y socialmente el campo.

3. En este contexto social, el campesino no es un agricultor. La sociedad urbana le ha dado un nuevo estatuto institucional: aquel de la marginalidad, expresión mexicana de la acumulación de pobreza.

Así, sucede que el principal proveedor de divisas es el más pobre, que el principal productor de alimentos es el más hambriento, que el trabajador de la tierra queda sin tierra.

Este fenómeno no es solamente descapitalización. Los acumuladores de capital han propiciado un salto cualitativo que llamamos acumulación de pobreza. Desde la construcción de una aula para la escuela hasta la electrificación de los poblados, cualquier servicio cuesta más en el campo que en la ciudad. Al campesino le toca "cooperar" con más dinero que su homólogo de la ciudad, y además con trabajo y con obsequio de materia prima: cascajo, piedras, madera, hasta con terreno.

Con esta pobreza acumulada, el campesino es no sólo analfabeta y hambriento, sino también es quien se enferma más y quien muere primero. Deja de existir antes que cualquier otro ciudadano. Fuera de la práctica clásica y efímera del acarreo político, el campesino es físicamente y socialmente expulsado de nuestra sociedad 1/.

Si así se plantea el problema, la parca producción campesina no es la consecuencia de un atraso tecnológico sino la continuación lógica de su expulsión social. Por lo tanto, la estrategia alternativa que pretendemos desarrollar será una respuesta a nuestra preocupación socio-agro-alimentaria.
Esta opción tiene por supuesto su vertiente tecnológica puesto que eliminará o seleccionará las alternativas técnicas que chocan o congenian con nuestra posición social del problema de la producción campesina. En otros términos, los criterios que nos llevan a una opción tecnológica siempre son sociales.

Por falta de tiempo, nos conformaremos con una rápida nomenclatura de nuestros pasos estratégicos, cuyo orden no tiene otra justificación que la claridad de la exposición.

**DOS ESTRATEGIAS AGRÍCOLAS**

**Empecemos por el criterio demográfico**

Al campesino chiapaneco que no alcanza resolver sus problemas económicos, no le quedan sino tres salidas engañosas: i) el éxodo a las ciudades, donde engordará las filas de los desempleados y desadaptados, ii) la migración estacionaria a la finca, comparable al presidio, iii) y la migración definitiva a la selva en donde el estatuto de nacionalero lo designa otra vez como blanco de la expulsión por parte de los ganaderos o madereros y por parte de las empresas de desarrollo (petróleo, presas, etc.).

Optamos por una cuarta solución: la de quedarse en su poblado o, si intervenimos demasiado tarde (por ej. entre nacionaleros) la de convertir el "nuevo centro de población" en verdadero pueblo.

Por lo tanto, nuestra estrategia agrícola se apoya en el ejido: en la parcela ejidal y en la organización ejidal de los productores.

Para la agricultura moderna - calificativo que disfraza su herencia capitalista - el minifundio es el enemigo. Al contrario, para nosotros el "parvifundio" (cuyas parcelas no se cuentan siquiera en hectáreas sino por cuerdas, tareas, surcos y brazadas) es una eficiente gestión campesina del espacio y de sus recursos, y la mejor garantía contra el hambre. Nuestros éxitos agrícolas se apoyan en ello.

**Otro criterio es el económico**

Entre ciudad y campo no existe solamente una relación asimétrica de socios desiguales, sino una verdadera guerra: económica por la presión sobre la tierra y por los términos del intercambio comercial, ideológica por las agresiones de la "modernización" del campesino y por la "mexicanización" del indígena, política por cuestionar o por neutralizar la conquista revolucionaria del ejido, y militar por las frecuentes incursiones del Ejército en el campo.

Entre ciudad y campo existe la misma relación que entre primer y tercer mundo, entre Norte y Sur. La alimentación, por
las mediaciones de la mundialización del mercado, por aquellas de la presión política, se ha vuelto un arma 2/.

Replicamos por el control campesino de la producción campesina. La estrategia agrícola que le corresponde es la lucha por la autosuficiencia, hasta que se superé o se termine la beligerancia entre ciudad y campo.

Por lo tanto, equilibraremos el monocultivo capitalista con el multicultivo parcelario, buscando ganar etapas progresivas: primero pasar de la infrasubsistencia a la autosuficiencia; luego de la autosuficiencia al autoconsumo decoroso; y por fin de éste último a la producción de excedentes alimentarios.

Antes de liquidarlos en el intercambio comercial ciudad/campo, o sea en una lucha desigual, proyectamos un reparto intercomunitario de campesino a campesino, hasta que el equilibrio de la correlación de fuerzas o aquel de la negociación comercial cobre un poder de disuasión. En las circunstancias campesinas actuales, estimamos que el único freno a la guerra de precios (o sea al desequilibrio entre venta barata y compra cara) es la holgura alimentaria, porque le quita sus argumentos a la ciudad y a sus "coyotes".

Un tercer criterio es el tecnológico

La sociedad dominante ha desviado la virtual revolución roja de los campesinos en revolución verde. Esta se salda con créditos, deudas y descapitalización del campo para: abrir la frontera agrícola, tractorizar o tecnificar al campesino con fertilizante y pesticidas químicos costosos, con semilla discutiblemente llamada mejorada o con ganaderización.

Esta opción de la "modernización" genera dependencia, impide por su sofisticación el control campesino, amarra al exterior, desestabiliza la organización ejidal, en suma es el mejor aliado de la acumulación de pobreza.

Nuestra opción parvifundista nos prohíbe afortunadamente este casino. Nuestra estrategia alternativa prefiere ir aprendiendo del campesino su saber agrícola.

La pericia del campesino no se manifiesta tanto en sus rece tas agrícolas cuanto en su posición del problema socio-agro-alimentario; se ajusta atinadamente con el combate contra el hambre.

Lo aprendido, lo sistematizamos. Una vez sistematizado, lo experimentamos y, si resulta - lo que es las más de las veces - lo comunicamos.

Esta fina tecnología tiene la ventaja de ser eficiente (hasta con plagas) y gratuita. Facilita el control campesino, no genera ninguna dependencia y repele el hambre. Además, por sus méritos ecológicos, preserva el porvenir.
Un cuarto criterio es el político

La guerra ciudad/campo, cuyo vehículo es la llamada modernización de la agricultura, apunta con sus armas la conquista campesina de la Revolución, al desestabilizar el ejido.

En la primera y ya vieja etapa de esta guerra, se instaló el caciquismo. En la etapa actual, se privatiza el trabajo ejidal agrícola, al arrebatar su carácter comunitario: se crean facciones para partir la solidez ejidal y el patrimonio ejidal de tierras.

Muchas veces, la llamada organización de los productores aspira a fortalecer una que otra de estas facciones. La llamada capacitación selecciona los "mejores elementos". Los que "saben" no tardan en mandar: son semilleros de caciquismo. Su saber se transforma en poder, y su poder no tarda en conseguir un tener escandaloso. Las autoridades ejidales, por supuesto, vienen a ser de puro adorno, y se esfuma el control campesino.

Nuestra estrategia agrícola no busca otro apoyo que aquel del ejido revolucionario. Al universalizar el saber, evita el caciquismo y aumenta la producción comunitaria. Nuestra capacitación tiene dos lugares de predilección: la parcela ejidal y la asamblea ejidal.

Para facilitar el control campesino, así como para ahorrar riesgos al productor, nuestras experimentaciones (las innovaciones) se hacen en terrenos comunitarios chicos, para que cada ejidatorio pueda informarse y evaluar los resultados del ensayo, discutidos ulteriormente en asamblea. Nos apoyamos no en facciones ni en los "mejores" sino en la fuerza colectiva del ejido.

Un penúltimo criterio es el educativo

La mayoría de los campesinos, indígenas o ladinos, tienen todavía una estructura mental de tipo pretécnico. El éxito o el fracaso agrícolas se atribuyen a una causa externa: el clima, la plaga, una recompensa o un castigo sobrenaturales.

La minoría de las facciones, nacidas de la penetración de la ciudad en el campo, matizan su mentalidad mágica culpándole al ingeniero: falló su receta, el fertilizante "se picó", su semilla era mala.

En ambos casos, el pensamiento campesino está fuera de operación.

Nosotras, preferimos dar los pasos progresivos que permitan transitar de una mentalidad pretécnica a un reflejo crítico. Decimos: "si querés comer, tenés que sufrir con tu azadón y también con tu cabeza". Pensamos que los frutos de éste método irán mucho más allá de lo agrícola.

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Nuestra estrategia vincula la cosecha con todas las operaciones anteriores: barbecho, selección de semillas, siembra, limpieza, tapisca, uso de desechos ulteriores. O sea, vinculamos estrechamente producción y trabajo.

Este trabajo ("no sólo con azadón sino con pensamiento") está orientado hacia operaciones no agropecuarias muy benéficas para la agricultura: observar, chequear, contar, apuntar, evaluar.

En estas circunstancias, la parcela se convierte en laboratorio experimental que permite sistematizar o criticar los conocimientos botánicos, climatológicos, ecológicos y geológicos del campesino y conocer, más allá de su vocabulario o de su experiencia empírica, su fabuloso saber popular.

Por fin queda un sexto criterio: lo ecológico

La ganaderización, al desforestar masivamente, eliminó la población de fauna visitadora de los cultivos campesinos; desestabilizó un equilibrio ecológico entre los cultivos y sus huéspedes; y le quitó al ejidatario su ración de proteína animal puesto que nunca come el ganado que cria.

La agricultura moderna y la revolución verde, al revolucionar solamente la ecología, desertificó suelos, secó o contaminó arroyos, esterilizó la tierra, y castigó la alacena silvestre del campesino, en sus muchos usos: curativos, alimenticios, repelentes de plaga, auxiliares naturales de la producción, y otros más, todavía poco estudiados por no ser ni comerciales ni urbanizables. El monocultivo (café, cacao, piña, palma cambedor etc.) ha mermado los rendimientos alimentarios fabulosos de la selva, en no más de una sola generación. El cambio de una tecnología a otra casi siempre recompensa... a corto plazo, y por esto engaña, se trate del paso del monte selvático a la parcela o de la tecnología ancestral a la moderna. Pero el medio plazo ya revela estragos. El inevitable efecto "secundario" del agrónomo resulta en carencia primaria del temporalero. El largo plazo es aquel de la desertificación.

La apertura de la frontera agrícola ofrece tentaciones antiagrarias a los propietarios vecinos del ejidatario; y elimina un poderoso auxiliar de la producción campesina.

Nuestro ecologismo no es romántico, no se nutre en el cariño idílico por lo verde. Nuestra experiencia constata que el deterioro ecológico no aparece sino con la agresión urbana de la agricultura de mercado. Es la ruina más visible de la guerra ciudad/campo.

Por lo tanto, nuestra estrategia agrícola estima que lo que no se come no deja de ser productivo. El bosque tiene tanta importancia como la parcela cultivada. Cuando se opera un cambio en la parcela campesina, siempre hacemos contemplar el después. Le decimos al ejidatario: "no te olvides de tu
hijo". Nuestra preocupación ecológica es garantía del futuro ejidal, expresión de su soberanía agraria, y la condición de su autosuficiencia. Asegura contra los "accidentes" sociales o contra los efectos "secundarios" de la innovación tecnológica.

Nuestra enseñanza predilecta se enfoca en las técnicas de regeneración: de suelos, de bosques, aguas y fauna 3/.

La falta de espacio no permite ejemplificar ni demostrar. Mas allá de la comprobación de nuestra práctica campesina, fuimos descubriendo que tenía el respaldo de experiencias históricas: con esta estrategia agrícola, Algeria consiguió los excedentes clandestinos que necesitaba su lucha de liberación 4/, con ella los campesinos de Vient Nam lograron vencer al gigante de la tecnología. Otros la siguieron usando en el monte donde se decide el porvenir de Centroamérica.

Por lo tanto, este esbozo se conforma con enunciar dos estrategias agrícolas que tienen presupuestos sociales encontrados. Aún con poco tiempo será suficiente para hacer entender que ni agricultura ni producción campesina son neutrales. Revelan dos procesos socio-históricos en lucha, sin negociación posible.

Pero, antes de concluir, quisieramos evitar una ambigüedad: la antinomía consta de estos dos proyectos sociales, no de dos tecnologías.

No satanizamos la mecanización ni el esfuerzo científico aplicado a la tecnología llamada de avanzada, sino su con-fiscación por la economía de mercado en el campo.

No existen una tecnología mala y otra buena. Lo que existe, es la guerra entre la ciudad y el campo, que damnifica al campesino con armas tecnológicas. Esta guerra, desgraciadamente, no es coyuntural; es un indicador estructural de nuestra sociedad.

En este contexto (subrayamos) - que no se puede prescindir - una tecnología es el arma de la ciudad, y la otra es la defensa del campo. La una es la herramienta de los pudientes, la otra la de los pobres; la una es privada, la otra es social. La una apunta a ganar, la otra a comer. La una genera dependencia, la otra el control campesino. La una descapitaliza y acumula la pobreza, tal una fuerza urbana de disuasión, mientras la otra construye la soberanía agraria y alimentaria.

El problema no es tanto optar por una tecnología cuanto escoger su bando.
Dans ces circonstances, quiconque prétend "aider" doit d'abord choisir son camp: développement oui, mais lequel? et pour qui?
SOME NOTES ON PARTICIPATORY TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT

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"The whole of science is nothing more than a refinement of everyday thinking (Albert Einstein)."

"Science is trained and organized common sense (Thomas Huxley)"

* * *

I. INTRODUCTION

A major question involved in technology transfer is the "proper" procedure of doing it in a given community. The history of technology transfer indicates that outright transfer of foreign technology brought about numerous problems such as labour displacement, the necessity of importing skilled workers and sophisticated management, and extremely unaffordable financing, transportation and education. Even some appropriate technology groups here and abroad have fallen into this trap. Technologies, declared to be appropriate by international technology societies, are indiscriminately transferred to the communities they work with. Benefits are enjoyed mainly by the village elite who use them to further their position. In some cases, the technology is not used at all because it does not answer people's needs. Thus, it often occurs that small "cooperative" rice mills are dominated by very few influential community leaders or grain dryers abandoned.

Realizations with respect to the above have triggered the gradual search for novel methods of technology transfer which seriously take into account the socio-cultural factors, adaptability to traditional technology structures and availability of resources. One of these efforts is ACES' strategy called "Participatory Technology Development". This reflects the agency's firm belief that technology must evolve from the people's own experiments and that they are most capable of judging whether a specific technology is appropriate for them or not.

II. DISTINCTION BETWEEN PARTICIPATORY TECHNOLOGY AND APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY

PTD is a strategy to stimulate technology development. It differs from the concept of AT. It is a systematic approach of evolving or adapting technology among the people of a community involving the CO process which is described below. Note that to date this approach has been tried only in the rural setting particularly involving crop technology and basic agricultural processing. It is imperative to validate this strategy under urban conditions and using other types of technology.
The main idea behind PTD is that:

The knowledge and possession of these appropriate technologies is not enough to uplift the conditions of the poor, nor can it guarantee their liberation from relationships of dependency, oppression and control. Each technology and its development has to undergo a process of evolution through the active participation and experimentation of the people who would use it.

PTD was conceived as a reaction to the prevailing practice of appropriate technology here and in other parts of the globe. The available literature and publication on AT deal primarily on the "hardware" stuff. The processes of technology evolution in poor communities where it is mostly needed, or the "software" aspect, is barely if at all mentioned. Furthermore, a significant number of appropriate technology groups around the world have put up their own R&D centers or tool sites where supposedly appropriate tools for rural communities are developed.

In this case, appropriate technology becomes another form of imperialism that may strengthen dependency, oppression and monopoly by a few. But, ACES asserts that "without people's participation in the development, evolution or delivery, and in the decision-making processes in most aspects of life that may affect them, such AT efforts will fail" or their benefits will not accrue to the intended beneficiaries.

Another component of PTD, which is not clearly spelled out when we speak of AT, is the consequential formation and/or eventual strengthening of a people's organization in the course of evolving technologies. New forms of relationships are expected to emerge as the people learn to be critical of existing technologies; realize the futility of tapping existing institutions which promote the use of inappropriate technologies; discover that they have the capacity to evolve or adapt their own technology; and in the process, develop their own alternative technology and institution which serves their interest and that of their entire social class. Evolving technologies and building people's organization are inseparable. This so-called twin thrust may be the key to self-sustaining and long-lasting people's organizations continuously effecting changes in the value system, relations and structures of the community.

PTD, differing from AT, consciously aims to raise the level of critical consciousness of the people. This consciousness is concretely manifested in the actions of the people geared towards lessening their dependency on outside oppressive and exploitative forces represented by the technicians and their respective institutions. The people directly and creatively take part in technology development through experiments in four areas, namely:

1) making the existing inappropriate technology appropriate (or scaled down);
2) safeguarding indigenous technologies, innovating and improving them;
3) testing technologies which have been proclaimed appropriate elsewhere, in order for the community to gauge their usefulness to them; and
4) technical discussion fora (TDF) broadening and increasing their critical consciousness through discussions of technological issues of national concern (e.g. effects of nuclear power and energy, high yielding varieties of seeds, etc.).

PTD should be viewed as a political tool to unmask the role of the existing inappropriate technology as a means of the oppressor, exploiters and the ruling elite to perpetuate their position of affluence and power. This is a method of developing alternative technologies and institutions which are genuinely evolved, controlled and managed by the people who benefit them.

The PTD and CO programs go hand in hand. While the CO strategies highlight the contradiction between the interests of the people and the abusers (as represented by established institutions), the weakness of the system of the latter and the inappropriateness of the product (technology) they deliver are progressively revealed. This phenomenon heightens the frustrations of the gradually becoming disillusioned people and facilitates their decision to cut-off their dependency relations on that system. PTD focuses/concentrates on the creation of the foundations of new value systems, community relationships and structures simultaneously evolving or adapting appropriate technologies and discarding the inappropriate ones. This idea is best appreciated once a community has gone through the whole process which is to be described in the next section of the paper.

The ACES CO participatory approach involves CO and PTD as two methodologies addressing the dual manifestations of the oppressive structures:

1) outside the individuals/communities represented by the system and technology of the institutions;
2) within the individuals/communities represented by lifestyle, values and practices as a whole.

III. THE PTD APPROACH

The participatory technology development approach consists of six major steps, namely:

1) problem identification and analysis;
2) prioritization of the people's solutions to their problems and the introduction of technology as a possible solution although it may not be within their realm of experience;
3) provoking of an experiment on one solution of their choice;
4) facilitation of the conduct of the experiment;
5) evaluation, and
6) replanning for use (then return to step 2; but if the result is rejection of the technology, start from either step 1 or 2, as the case may be).

Prior to undertaking any of the steps just enumerated, it is imperative that the CO/technologist concerned has fully integrated himself in the community he works with. This implies that he has met and known the
people after residing there on a full-time basis for a certain period of
time, living with them just like the rest of the members of that place.
The culture, habits, wants, aspirations and problems of the people have
become familiar to him. He must have gathered all data pertinent to his
particular task in that area.

Problem identification (step 1), as the name connotes, refers to the
process by which the CO/technologist gathers the people's opinions re-
garding the major problems they encounter and which can be resolved
through certain technologies. The problems pinpointed are then
prioritized. The one that greatly affects the most number of persons in
the community involved is tackled first, then on the second and onwards.

During the second step, the CO/technologist tries his best to gather all
the possible solutions to the problems which the community folks per-
ceive. This is done by engaging in conversations/small talks with the
local residents. It is assured that the people are allowed to think for
themselves. After exhausting all their ideas the CO/technologist injects
other types of technologies which may be beyond the experience and know-
ledge of the people. He simply informs them that they exist but may not
necessarily be the solution. In other words, he only broadens the range
of options open to the people. The people are still left to decide what
must be done about their problem given all the options. No further men-
tion is made regarding these technologies until the members of the com-
munity themselves ask for more information about them. In such instances
the technologist provides them with more information. He gauges the ex-
tent of each individual's interest in the appropriate technologies in
question. He makes sure that these technologies are well/extensively
compared with the rest of the other solutions they have already sug-
gested.

After all the data have been clearly laid down, the people select the
technology they deem best and most appropriate to their situation. Then
the CO/technologist provokes the pursuance of an experiment (step 3).
Those who have signified their interest and intention to join in are
motivated to meet formally and plan out the details of the said experi-
ment. Informal groupings are formed and assigned the task/responsibility
of conducting the actual experiment.

Facilitation (step 4) starts upon the commencement of the experiment
proper. The CO makes sure that everyone is aware of the reasons for the
exercise. As much as possible, the experimentors are guided to stay away
from readily available or packaged remedies as the experiment is going
on. The CO/technologist encourages the people to make realistic and
practical innovations along the way. All results are recorded,
systematized and synthesized for better understanding. They are dis-
cussed and carefully analyzed in a series of discussion culminating into
an evaluation session.

The main criteria for the people's evaluation (step 5) vary from one
technology to the other. Most technologies are evaluated from the eco-
nomic point of view. To illustrate, the small-scale fishpond was rapidly
accepted as appropriate since it proved to be a good source of ad-
ditional income and incurred very little expense. Moreover, already ex-
isting skills are tapped, fish food locally produced and always avail-
able, and low capital is required. This is contrasted to the experiment
on soil cement bricks which seems less appealing due to its lack of potential as a source of supplemental income.

Once the experiment succeeds and the people concerned decide to make use of the particular technology in question, careful planning for its use is done (step 6). Regular discussion fora are held to ensure that the further development of the technology is benefitting every individual involved and is not being monopolized by a few.

Intrinsic in this approach is the continuous stimulation of the people's imagination through dialogue with the CO. They are urged to think, analyze and be critical of whatever ideas are presented to them and accept criticism of their own ideas. This process of developing critical thinking is the basic component of their struggle towards self-reliance and liberation. This is the main object of the PT approach.

**Action - Reflection**

The six steps constitute the action component of the PTD. Equally important is the reflection component (though it is recognized that action and reflection are inseparable, reflection here is discussed as a distinct phase of a process. The following are expected of reflection sessions after a series of actions). This process develops the ability of the farmer to conceptualize and theorize from the actions he has undertaken. It focuses on the rationale behind the activities and how their particular attitudes, lifestyle, beliefs, fears, apprehensions have been enhanced or inhibited, reinforced or negated. It should give them a clearer understanding of the forces working in the environment and within themselves and be aware of what to enforce or negate. This is the time when they are made more conscious of the process used to provoke them to experiment. The rationale for each of the six steps is also elaborated and clarified. All these are related to the historical and broader situation of the national and international dimension.

What is important at this stage of this process is to make the people realize that they have the power within themselves to solve their own problems, that the experiences they have gone thorough and the processes which they have learned are their tools in solving any problem that may confront them. Developing attitudes and values of self-confidence and less dependency on outside forces is the primary concern.

Reflection summarizes the main ideals, principles of appropriate technology, and consequently ideas on inappropriate technology. A historical perspective is presented to ensure a through grasp of the reasons why inappropriate technology continues to proliferate. This provides a fuller understanding of the reasons why oppressive and exploitative conditions bring about their poverty. This should lead to more purposive actions on as many issues as strategically possible. These fronts may in:

1) reorganizing their cropping system in order to control their products and lessen exploitation;

2) making the existing technology more appropriate, lessening the cost and rechanneling their funds in favour of their landless community members;
3) seeking for better working relationship, structures, organizations and systems whereby they have more control of the importation and exportation of goods in the community and mutual benefit and interdependence within and outside the community is established.

Group formation and the building of a people's organization

The main vehicle for group formation is the technical discussion forum. In this forum, individual observations and abstraction of a particular experiment are discussed and shared with the other experimentors, and eventually with the rest of the community as the need arises. Their consensus points on the technology may be the people's own version or scientific interpretation which may deviate from the existing institutional norms or findings. In some instances, the TDF would show that a particular technology is not appropriate to the community and so it is set aside. In places where the case is otherwise, that is the technology is proven to be appropriate, actions may be taken for its wide-scale adoption. It may be treated by the CO as an issue. If by doing so an inappropriate technology is to be displaced, the more communities are involved the greater is the possibility for such an inappropriate technology to be totally replaced.

A concrete example is a farmer's organization in a rice-producing province who, after having found a number of traditional varieties of rice, scaled down inputs in new seeds crop diversification and fish pond as appropriate technologies for their land use take this up as an issue with other farmers in Central Luzon and their actions result in the adoption of said technologies and the downfall of the inappropriate technology of monocrop-monovariety-capital intensive high yielding variety of seeds. This issue may unite the farmers into a people's organization possessing both political (ability to politicize others through the spread of the issue) and economic power (ability to control their economic activities).

CO/professionals and their roles in social transformation

This paper advocates the learned/educated/aware professional to serve with caution the need of our society for a radical transformation. It must be recognized that along with the training as a professional are certain habits and lifestyle which unconsciously profess the proliferation of inappropriate technology. Nationalist historian Renato Constantino more aptly calls the situation the "miseducation of the Filipino".

Professionals find themselves serving the interest of transnational corporations or government bureaucracies more often contrary to the interest and needs of the Filipino masses. Furthermore, in a dominantly authoritarian society like ours, specialists or supposedly experts in particular fields of training tend to impose, rather than share, their knowledge/service with the people. Likewise the poor and uneducated, the more obvious victims in an authoritarian society, tend to be diffident as they come face to face with these "experts". It is time for professionals seriously intending to serve the people to rethink the present role of outside change agents, particularly that of the technicians, or those who have served, directly or indirectly, the powers that be.
Outsiders do not develop people per se. They may be catalysts for change, aiding in the removal of obstacles and providing initial access to resources and information which the people in a community can use to develop and liberate themselves.

In order to achieve his goal, a catalyst must have a critical analysis of his society, a thorough knowledge of the conditions affecting the values and attitudes of the community he works with, and a grasp of the historical factors that bring about these conditions. As he enters into the community he observes if these realities are articulated by the people. If not, he waits for the timely situation to pinpoint them.

It is very important for the people to act on their felt need (which is often not their real needs) in order for the more fundamental contradiction (real needs) to be unearthed, acted upon and reflected on. Tackling the felt needs affirms the principle of starting where the people are and it is the main strategy to break the culture of silence. This phase is a necessary exercise in preparation for the confrontation of more fundamental contradiction in the community and society as a whole. Without this preparatory step, any attempt may alienate or be mystifying.

The main task then of a catalyst using the CO and PTD methodologies is to rid the people of their blocks of dependency, paternalism and exploitation. This way, the inherent abilities of man for organized common sense and refined thinking may be redeemed. Consequently, they must gain control over their conditioned environment. The myths and mystical environment as a whole would then be overcome and the people's experience of evolving technologies can be rightly/aptly called "people's science and technology". (see also pp.88 below).

TO OUR READERS IN THE US AND CANADA

On 19 November, we wrote the following letter to you:

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Some of you have contributed to the cost of its printing and mailing. Most have not.

Receiving the Dossier is not necessarily linked with the payment of a subscription fee. There are many cases, especially in the Third World, where low income and foreign exchange problems make it just impossible for readers to participate financially. This not being the general case in the US or in Canada, we suggest that you participate in our current drive toward self-financing.

There is no set subscription fee, but we are inviting donations of 30 dollars a year, or more. If you consider that the dossier is worth it, and can afford it, kindly send a cheque to IFDA, 1260 Nyon, Switzerland.

Thank you for your understanding.

We wish to thank those who have already responded and invite the others to join them. Thanks again.
Another Development

Communitarian Alternatives for Brazilian Crisis

by Carlos Aveline
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This is a summary of certain aspects of the book "From the bottom upwards - utopy in Brazil", published in September in Brazil by Editora Vozes Ltda., and with a Foreword by Dom José Mário Stroeher, auxiliary-bishop of Porto Alegre.

* * *

On the brink of bankruptcy: so is the whole Establishment in Brazil. There are no alternatives from a conventional point of view, and this is a national situation typical of Latin America nowadays.

Annual inflation rate of 230% is the third in the world. An external debt of almost 100 billion dollars is the biggest in the planet. Internal public debt also is astronomical: approximately 20 billion dollars in July 1984. The situation is not controllable through centralized decisions any more. A moratorium of external debt could not change the reality much, although it would improve certain possibilities. On the other hand, change towards a democratical regime with a center or center-left administration, something important indeed, does not mean by itself solving problems. After eight months under democratic Presidency of Raúl Alfonsín, inflation rate in Argentina had jumped to 500%.

In Brazil, the National Bank for Housing (BNH), one of the biggest and most centralized institutions, lives a complete failure with a deficit of approximately 500 million dollars, roughly similar to that of Health and Social Welfare Institute (INPS), whose thousands of workers were on strike last July for more than 40 days. Big public enterprises have debts which they won't be able to pay in any kind of seeable future. National, provincial and local government budgets are nearly torn to pieces. Governments are paralyzed because most part of their budgets go out in paying their badly payed workers.

Side by side with this long paralysis of nearly all institutions, and at the exact moment when ecological crisis - floods and droughts! - gets worse and worse, something entirely new is silently being born. It's not difficult to see it's going to result in a new economical, social and political structure, based on self-management, decentralization, local alternatives, mutual help and popular participation.

A model of local administration with popular participation, put in practice by ex-mayor Dirceu Carneiro in Lages City, Santa Catarina State, between 1977 and 1982, has been spreading all over the country under a hundred different forms and almost as fast as the crisis.
effects. Lages experience of course was not the only one in the seventies. There were Boa Esperança, Piracicaba, Curitiba, São Luís Gonzaga and many others. But it was the main one.

One of the facts which made Dirceu Carneiro experience become so well-known, was the organization of mutirões da habitação, a housing communal work program, in which people built their houses in solidary groups, using old materials and at a very low cost. Nowadays dozens of City Halls all over Brazil organize construction of popular houses through communal work (mutirão). In Goiás State, in October 1983, Government invited to a huge "mutirão" which built in just one Sunday exactly one thousand houses, together with their water and electricity networks. It's now called "Mutirão District".

Inspired by this and other examples, National Bank for Housing (BNH) launched last April with a great publicity on the mass media a national program for self-construction and communal construction of popular houses. It's called "Projeto João de Barro", after the name of a bird who builds a quite solid clay house to live in with his female. Maybe it's not going to be very effective, because of BNH being a too centralized institution with almost no resources left, but it does show in which direction the wind blows: decentralization, popular participation and communal work.

Another achievement of Dirceu Carneiro's in Lages City was communitarian vegetable gardens and family-size individual backyard gardens to improve nourishment of population in poorer areas of the city and develop its local self-reliance. Nowadays, public institutions of every size - national, provincial and local - stimulate a great current of gardens and communal gardens. In Porto Alegre, for instance, 52 families of Vila IAPI Section work in common in a big vegetable garden with assistance of several institutions. In cities such as Taquara, Gramado, Cachoeirinha, Novo Hamburgo and dozens more in Rio Grande do Sul State (RGS), City Halls have programs stimulating families to grow their own vegetables.

One of the biggest problems in Brazil is the lack of health assistance. The National Health Secretary declared recently that Health Programs will increasingly depend on direct community participation. This point also had a previous development in Lages.

Section after section, the population elected Health Agents among those neighbours who already used to help people with injections or teaching them the use of medical herbs. After the elections, each Health Agent were trained and received practical resources to serve people better. This alternative medicine gave a certain importance to herbs and other natural methods of healing, which are cheap, and independent from trans-national companies selling chemical medicines in Brazil.

Everywhere by now the daily process of social and economical crisis multiply the communitarian alternatives. In Ijui City (RGS) a group of rural unemployed got together in a co-operative movement and offered their labour force to the plantation owners to clean the weeds out. Then the owners discovered something very important. Cleaning the plantation with human work was cheaper than using intense chemical products - and it had one advantage more: the food wouldn't have dangerous toxic substances in it.
In many towns and cities unemployed form co-operative associations. In São Leopoldo (RS), 25 needlewomen work together with the support of Co-operativism professors of the local University Unisinos. A smaller, similar co-operative group works in Taquara regardless of the difficulties. In Vacaria (RS) Mayor Marcos Palombini organized some 60 unemployed women in a co-operative society producing jeans. In Teutonia (RS), an important shoe-factory went bankrupt. The workers took legal possession of the building and machines and transformed the factory into a self-managed co-operative society belonging to its workers.

Around Santa Maria City, a region with 20 municipalities, catholic bishop Dom Ivo Lorscheider, who also is President of National Conference of Brazilian Bishops (CNBB), stimulates the creation of small co-operatives and home-industries, as alternatives for the social crisis.

Using public lands, State Governor Jair Soares intends to organize peasant families suffering from unemployment in the cities in "Solidary Granges" producing vegetables mainly. The first experience began in February 1984 in Canoas, near Porto Alegre, with 43 families. If it succeeds, says the Governor, it will be put in practice on a large scale.

In Paraná State, Toledo City, there is a group of "communitarian enterprises". A great number of poor people take part in them buying shares at a very low price. These little communitarian factories produce soap, plastic soccer balls, vegetable cans (with excess from vegetable gardens) and so on. By the end of April, journalist Joelmir Batting, whose daily column on Economy is published in the main Brazilian newspapers, dedicated five days in a row to Toledo's experience. Joelmir also revealed that in several other Paraná municipalities, mayors have decided to govern with the direct participation of the population in the process of decision-making. It is the case of Campo Mourão, Cornéllo Procópio, Arapongas and other towns where public groups help to decide where and how to use the scarce financial resources of the commune.

Besides all this, Paraná Governor José Richa decided that the directors of some 3,500 public schools in the State would be elected by the direct vote of students - children included of course - parents of students, teachers and school-workers. Elections nominated a list of three names from which education authorities chose one.

All over the country, schools are not only adopting direct elections to decide who is going to be their directors; they also cultivate vegetable-gardens. Teachers and students work in the school-yard to grow vegetables used in their lightmeals. Every Brazilian student has a right to have a meal during classes and this is important in attracting poor children to school, such is the poverty in the country. Since some years ago, a kind of fever has begun about growing vegetables in schools - and not only schools in poverty-stricken areas. There are some examples in upper middle class schools in São Paulo.

In Santa Catarina State, Governor Espíritu Amin, who gives top priority to home-industry, has organized four co-operative schools in rural areas. In these schools students learn how to produce (while they produce) in co-operative form. Students elect leaders among themselves
to coordinate economic process in the school under the supervision of teachers. This experience, too, is intended to be put in practice on a larger scale later. Here, beside the conventional subjects present in most schools, the rural students also learn to love and to improve their work in the land, while getting used to collective control of the means of production.

All these examples of local responses to crisis are intimately related to the strong claim for autonomy we hear nowadays from marginalized States such as Rio Grande and almost every other. They are dependent from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, a region which is itself utterly dependent on international economic centers. Yet São Paulo and Rio are no exceptions. There, too, communitarian alternatives grow fast.

In Rio, Governor Leonel Brizola created in 1984 a Program for Supporting Informal Markets. Its main object is to organize people in small self-managed co-operative societies, within the process of improving conditions in poor "favelas" (slums). The plan includes: support to home-industries; one co-operative factory with one hundred needlewomen; a "popular shopping center" in which will be sold the products of home industries, a co-operative society of repairmen will offer its services, independent producers will offer whatever they have for sale, etc.

In São Paulo, Governor Franco Montoro takes several decisions in the same direction. Among them, communitarian vegetable-gardens, financial support to small enterprises, co-operative societies for construction of popular houses. There are interesting experiences taking place near Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais State. After a terrible flood in 1983, the population of a slum (favela) was transferred as a great surprise by Governor Tancredo Neves to the housing complex of Vespasiano, which had been recently built and had not been inaugurated yet. Helped by government officials and technicians, the poor people planted a big vegetable garden. Then the women created an all-feminine co-operative society for production and sale of vegetables, and planted over five thousand banana trees for a future orchard.

The awakening in different states of a new consciousness about the importance of their autonomy runs in parallel to the awakening of many local autonomies within each one of these states. This double process springs as the most natural road to a new economic and social structure, based on local creativity and mutual help. This is not a theoretical scheme but mere reading from facts. These same kind of alternatives have been undergoing hundreds of rehearsals in countries all over the world during a time long and difficult to measure.

Examples are countless. In this end of century, it seems possible that they will only be got together to turn life in this planet durable and nice again. There's no grandeur about that, but mere reading the facts.
IN SEARCH OF AN ALTERNATIVE FUTURE FOR THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

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Abstract: Following a one-year pilot study, the Norwegian Parliament is discussing the possibility of launching a 10-year comprehensive study of an alternative Nordic society in cooperation with one or several Third World countries. This was initiated by representatives of the ecological, women and peace movements and supported by the Churches and the Trade Unions.

The project should develop a feasible model of a future society in which social and environmental goals are given priority over - but not instead of - economic goals which implies that changes are required far beyond the economic sphere.

The underlying rationale for devising a model is that if change is to occur in a democratic manner, it must be preceded by a broad public debate over a concrete alternative. It is also assumed that visions of alternative societies play a decisive role in social change.

A LA RECHERCHE D'UN AUTRE DÉVELOPPEMENT DANS LES PAYS NORDIQUES

Resumé: A la lumière d’une étude préalable d’un an, le Parlement norvégien examine la possibilité de financer une étude complète, qui durerait 10 ans, d’une autre société nordique en coopération avec un ou plusieurs pays du Tiers Monde.

L'idée de ce travail revient à des représentants des mouvements écologistes, féministes et pacifistes et elle a été appuyée par les Eglises et les Syndicats. Le projet est de développer un modèle opérationnel d'une société future dans laquelle les objectifs sociaux et écologiques auraient priorité - sans toutefois les remplacer - sur les objectifs économiques, ce qui impliquerait des changements allant bien au-delà de la sphère de l'économie.

On a décidé de préparer un modèle sur la base de l'hypothèse que si le changement social doit intervenir d'une manière démocratique, il doit être précédé d'un vaste débat public sur des alternatives concrètes. Une autre hypothèse est que la vision d'une autre société joue un rôle décisif dans la démarche qui s'en approche.

(resumen en español, pag. 31)
Jan-Evert Nilsson

IN SEARCH OF AN ALTERNATIVE FUTURE FOR THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

BACKGROUND

In the autumn of 1982 the Norwegian Parliament granted some US$150,000 to a one-year pilot study in preparation for a comprehensive study of an alternative Nordic society in cooperation with one or several Third World countries. The call for this project was raised by representatives of the environmental movement, the women's movement, and the peace movement. It received broad support from the public and from several leading representatives of the trade unions and Christian organizations, among others.

The preliminary project was completed in the spring of 1984, when an application was submitted to Parliament for a grant of US$12.5 million for the main project, which is to be carried out over a ten-year period. At present the work that was done in the pilot study is under evaluation. The Parliament was expected to reach a decision on the matter at the end of 1983 (when this paper went to press).

My intention is to present a brief orientation on the above-mentioned study. Attention will be focused on: 1) the view of the current situation that gave rise to the demand for this study, 2) the questions that the project initiators want the study to answer, 3) the content of the proposal for the main project, and 4) the different types of challenges that such a study entails.

THE PROBLEM

We will no longer accept that the development must necessarily continue toward a society that frightens us. We feel that it is not human goals, but competition among the industrialized countries that determines our development. In order to ensure Norway's competitive strength, the politicians are forced to give preference to the demands of industry and commerce instead of the desires of their citizens. This has put everyone who is working for a more human society in an impossible situation.

A growing income gap has become necessary in order to turn us all into competitors. The sharing of the goods of society and consideration for the weak must give way to the demands of competition. The result has been a society where more and more people are not able to stand the pressure. Fear for the future, loneliness, stress and emotional problems, youth crime, and alcoholism are all on the rise. Irreplaceable wilderness areas must be destroyed in order to satisfy the growth economy's insatiable energy needs.

The above quote is taken from the call for a study of an alternative future society. Thus, the basic idea that lies
behind this report is that a society tied to a gradually intensifying international competition in order to achieve economic growth, cannot simultaneously attain solidarity and cooperation with Third World countries, nor can it exercise any long term responsibility for its natural resources and environment. This implies that the current attempts in all industrialized countries to regenerate economic growth through improved competitive strength merely worsens the situation. International competition is further intensified, which ultimately reduces the possibilities of realizing social and environmental goals. From this point of view, the demands of the economy represent a stronger and stronger imperative. It is with this background that the call for a study of an alternative social development was raised.

THE RESEARCH TASK

The main task of the project, as formulated in the mandate for the study, is to analyse and develop a feasible model of a future society in which social and environmental goals are given priority over, but not instead of, economic goals. In order to realize this kind of model of an alternative society, changes are required that reach far beyond the economic sphere. Hence the task is to construct a comprehensive model of an alternative society.

The pronounced focusing on a model of future society is based on the conviction that if a sweeping change of course in the social development is to occur in a democratic way, it must be preceded by a broad public debate over a concrete alternative. Such a debate requires that a concrete alternative to the current model of society has been prepared.

Behind the preceding priority on working with a comprehensive alternative model of society lie two assumptions. First, it is assumed that visions of alternative possibilities play a decisive role as a motivating force in social development. The vision of a possible future model of society is more important as a historical motivating force than concrete experiences of the current situation. The gap between what seems possible and the current situation is expected to inspire many to act. It is these still unfulfilled dreams that govern our actions. This point of departure is not self-evident. One might just as well argue that it is the perceived shortcomings of current society, rather than the future possibilities, that constitute the primary motivating force behind political actions. Perceived realities prompt actions to achieve alternative solutions. If this is the case, greater interest should be devoted to the current social crisis than to a possible alternative model of society. The interest in the alternative is stimulated by managing to show various ways out of the current situation.

The second assumption is that it is possible through conscious decisions to steer the social development in a desired direction. If the majority supports a goal of
realizing a particular future society, it assumes that it is possible to achieve that goal. Whether this is really the case is an open question. One can argue that the planning possibilities are limited to measures, approved by the decision-makers, whose primary short-term effects are in line with the formulated goals. It is theoretically possible, however, that secondary effects of various kinds will obstruct the fulfillment of certain goals. In addition it is conceivable that combinations of decisions, each with its desired primary effect, counteract one another in such a way that they make it more difficult to achieve the desired goals. In other words, the complexity of the social system makes it difficult to predict, a priori, the collective effects of a number of approved measures.

The other important research task in the mandate is to evaluate the consequences of realizing the alternative model of society in practice. Among other things it is assumed that estimates will be made of the probable material standard of living after an alternative model of society has been realized. Particular attention is expected to be given to how much an alternative model of society can help reduce the society's social costs and the individual's economic needs. To what extent, for example, will the altered social conditions make room for non-institutionalized solutions in the local community for the care of children, the sick and the aged?

Finally, it is assumed that the project will evaluate the requirements for realizing an alternative model of society. Two types of requirements are thought to be important.

First there are the political requirements for a democratic evolution toward the alternative. It is one of the guiding principles of the mandate that an alternative society be realized only on the condition that the majority of people support the proposal. Therefore, the project's instigators expect those whose work on the main project to try to map out the requirements dictated by public opinion that are necessary in order to realize an alternative society.

Secondly it is assumed that the researchers will study the possibilities of a trade and foreign policy that will give the Nordic countries the necessary freedom of action to realize the social model they aspire to. Special attention will be paid to an evaluation of the possibilities of freeing the Nordic countries from the type of international competition that the current liberal trade policy involves. As an alternative to this policy, the Nordic countries might try to achieve the goal of maximum possible self-sufficiency among themselves, combined with alternative bilateral trading ties with one or several specially selected Third World countries. The possibilities of realizing, through this kind of bilateral trade agreement, a "MININEO", i.e. a model of a new and just world economic order, is expected to be one of the goals of the study.
THE PROPOSAL

The research tasks described in the preceding pages were those that were presented to us when work on the preliminary project began. Our task in the project secretariat was to formulate these desired goals more precisely in a ten-year research program.

As we attempted to precisely formulate these research tasks, we discovered that many of the goals expressed in the mandate could not be studied in a way that we, as researchers, found justifiable. Hence, we did not find it justifiable to carry out a detailed analysis of the consequences of realizing an alternative model of society. The available knowledge does not give us any basis for saying anything relevant about the probable material standard of living, the magnitude of public sector social expenses, the individual's economic needs, etc. after an alternative model of society has been realized.

There are two reasons for this. First, the relationships between the above-mentioned dimensions and a model of society are not unequivocal. A particular model of society does not necessarily give rise to a definite material standard of living, a definite magnitude of social expenses, etc. Secondly, the fact that the realisation of an alternative model of society must necessarily be a process that takes place over a long period of time makes the relationship between the dimensions in question - standard of living, social costs, etc. - and the model of society even weaker. During the process, a number of parallel changes take place - technological development, changes in the pattern of demand, changes in attitudes, etc. - which may have a decisive influence on the concrete consequences of realizing the alternative model of society.

Neither did we find it justifiable to propose an analyses of the consequences of a trade policy that involves maximum possible self-sufficiency. Our point of departure here was that the increase in the degree of Nordic self-sufficiency occurred parallel with the realisation of the alternative. Thus, in this case too we are dealing with a process that will last for many years, so that parallel processes - technological development and changes in the pattern of demand - may also have a decisive influence on the consequences.

The work on the preliminary project resulted in a proposal for a research program that includes three main areas of research:

1. A model of an alternative society.
2. Nordic freedom of action to realize an alternative development.
3. The first step in the transformation process.
A MODEL FOR AN ALTERNATIVE SOCIETY

The classic way to design an alternative model of society has been to start with the existing society. From this basis, an alternative has then been outlined as a negation, i.e. a direct opposite of the existing society. The fact that alternatives are a negation of the current society illustrates the research dilemma.

The fact that we belong to a particular culture limits our ability to identify feasible alternatives. Our reality is created by our culture. Thus, a given set of ideas and premises traps us in a situation where we have no choice. We have only these ideas and concepts at our disposal, when we try to understand our own situation. How can it be possible to break out of the current reality by means of them?

One possible way of breaking out of a given situation is to make use of ideas and premises from other cultures. Through the eyes of others, light can be shed on aspects of our culture that are usually concealed. This method of attack provides information that helps us to understand our own situation. Other's views of our situation however, are not sufficient by themselves to create an alternative model of society. Experiences from other cultures must therefore be utilized in some other way. Attention must be focused on the results of the experiments with lifestyles that other cultures can show us. By utilizing those lifestyle experiments from the real world, an empirical basis can be obtained for constructing a model of an alternative society. Therefore, it is proposed in the preliminary project that a comparative analysis of various cultures be undertaken by researchers from different cultural backgrounds.

By letting this kind of analysis start from the concept of different cultures, it should be possible to create a comprehensive model of an alternative society. The cultural concept includes several different aspects, technical, economic, social and ideological. In analyses of cultures one can generally distinguish between two different levels. On the one hand, we are interested in the lifestyle of the individuals in a given culture. Important aspects of lifestyle are skills and opinions that characterize the members of that society. Lifestyles are expressions of people's experiences. On the other hand, an analysis of cultures also includes a society's structural characteristics. The social structure helps adjust and integrate people's lives into a functioning social whole. The intention between individual lifestyles and society's structure defines a culture.

The aim of the comparative analysis of cultures is primarily to acquire empirical knowledge about relationships that can strengthen or weaken hypotheses about structural conditions in an alternative model of society. Based on this knowledge one can create syntheses. Structural models can be developed. One gets a picture of how an alternative society might
look. Feasible alternative social structures can be presented, which taken together are probable consequences of the given system of values - social goals together with resource and environmental considerations are given priority over economic and material goals.

THE NORDIC COUNTRIES FREEDOM OF ACTION

The analysis of freedom of action starts with the present. The participants' attitudes and established structures define the boundaries of what can be accepted. Thus, freedom of action is not an absolute quantity. The amount of freedom is determined by the situation at the moment: perhaps not so much how it actually is, but rather how it is perceived. Thus, freedom of action is just as much a question of what one dares to do - how much one is willing to gamble - than of what one actually can do. Given this background, the proposed aim of the analysis of freedom of action is to find out what can be done to increase this freedom. Four aspects of the freedom of action are emphasized as important - a political, an economic, an ecological and a national security aspect.

It is proposed that the analysis of political freedom of action be focused on the possibilities of finding solutions to social problems, medical problems, etc. that do not require growth. The public sector's demand for more financial resources generally acts to strengthen the demand for economic growth. It is characteristic of today's social structure that economic growth helps increase the political freedom of action, when it comes to finding solutions, at any rate short-term solutions, to pressing problems. Growth may also be required to solve social and environmental problems if they are to be solved within the framework of the formal economy.

The freedom of action to give priority to social and environmental goals increases, however, to the extent that the realization of those goals occurs outside of the formal economy. Thus, an important task in the main project will be to study to what extent, and within which areas an increased backing of "informal" solutions can help increase the political freedom of action to change priorities.

It is proposed that the analysis of the economic freedom of action be aimed at reducing the restrictions on freedom of action which arise because the Nordic countries are an integral part of the international economic system. An ongoing internationalisation of the production process acts to reduce the scope for a divergent macroeconomic policy. What can be done to increase the economic freedom of action, given that the Nordic countries continue to practice a liberal trade policy? To what extent can increased planning help increase the economic freedom of action? These are the two basic questions in the analysis of the economic freedom of action.
The ecological aspect of freedom of action focuses on whether a change of direction in the society's development, which is in line with the vision expressed in the mandate, constitutes a threat to the ecological balance. If so, what can be done to establish the necessary freedom of action?

In the case of the national security aspect, the interest is concentrated on the feasibility of gradually expanding the Nordic countries' possibilities of choosing alternative solutions in a world characterized by strong conflicts between established superpower alliances.

THE FIRST STEP IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGING DIRECTION

It is possible that we are already experiencing the first steps toward an alternative society. Here and there throughout the world, people are experimenting with alternative life styles, alternative forms of residence, alternative production, etc. The lack of interaction between these local experiments and the surrounding society at large can prevent these experiments from having any effect on society's development. A sweeping social change requires initiatives both from individual people and small groups and from established centers of power. The measures that are required to bring about a desired change of direction cannot be uniquely defined analytically. There is not just one, but many ways in which an alternative society can be realized. Given this background, we propose that the study of the first step in the process of changing direction takes the form of a community experiment. The idea here is to select several communities that will be given opportunity to try out alternative solutions in their forms of residence, production, health care, planning, etc. It is assumed that the communities that participate in the experiment will make contact with sister projects in communities in Third World countries.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD

A comprehensive research program on an "Alternative Future Society for the Nordic Countries in cooperation with one or several under-developed countries" presents many types of challenges.

First of all the research program amounts to a major intellectual challenge. The strength of the social sciences lies in describing, and to some extent explaining, the actual conditions or development tendencies. This kind of research is identical with acquiring empirical data about actual conditions. The main task of the research program on an alternative future society consists of constructing a realizable model of society that fulfills certain requirements. Knowledge about actual conditions is expected to be transformed into statements about the characteristics of an alternative model of society that are necessary in order for social goals and environmental and resource considerations to be given priority over economic growth. Where can one find a
theoretically acceptable basis for achieving this kind of transformation? One can get an idea of the size of the challenge by thinking back before the industrial revolution. Suppose at that time that we were given the task of constructing a model of an alternative society that gave priority to economic growth over social goals, as expressed in the social structure of that time.

In order to succeed a research group at that time would have had to be able to outline the structure of modern industrial society. That hardly seems realistic. The intellectual challenge consists of achieving something that is looked upon beforehand as unrealistic.

The research program also presents a major political and organizational challenge. An organization will be established around the research program and staffed with participants who represent various points of view. The project's instigators desire politically relevant studies, which in various ways help realize a model of an alternative society. The authorities require that those who carry out the research are representatives of various established research institutes. Whereas the main question of the project's instigators is to find out what is politically relevant, the authorities are more concerned that the research be possible on the basis of traditional criteria. The researchers involved are thus forced to combine traditionally possible research with that which is politically relevant so that a fruitful synthesis may arise. The political and organizational challenges lie in establishing a dialogue between the involved actors so that disagreements can lead to breakthroughs in the method of attacking the problem which make the politically relevant also seem possible. Hence, the research program must help push back the boundaries of what seems possible.

Finally, the research program poses a challenge when it comes to publicizing the research results. The task does not confine itself to simply developing an alternative model of society and studying the feasibility and ways of attaining it. It is also assumed that the research will engage many different kinds of people and stimulate a political debate over the alternative's premises. The acquired knowledge has to be publicized in such a way that an active engagement is created.

(Viene de la pagina 23)

EN BUSCA DE UN FUTURO ALTERNATIVO PARA LOS PAISES NORDICOS

Resumen: A raíz de un estudio piloto de un año, el Parlamento noruego está examinando la posibilidad de financiar, durante diez años, un estudio completo de una sociedad nórdica alternativa en cooperación con uno o varios países del Tercer Mundo. La iniciativa fue propuesta por los representantes de los movimientos ecológico, feminista y pacifista y ha sido apoyada por las iglesias y gremios.
El proyecto desarrollarla un modelo factible de una sociedad futura en la que se da prioridad a los objetivos sociales y ecológicos sobre aquellos de tipo económico, sin por ello reemplazarlos, implicando cambios que irán más allá de la esfera económica.

Una base razonable para la elaboración de un modelo es que, si el cambio se produce en forma democrática, debe ser precedido por un amplio debate público sobre una alternativa concreta. También se ha supuesto que la aparición de una sociedad alternativa juega un papel decisivo en el cambio social.

(continued from page 2)

national commissions), bureaucracies, on behalf of governments and on their own, run the place while maintaining the fiction of non-governmen-
tal organizations or 'NGOs'.

The concept of 'NGOs' is politically unacceptable because it implies that governments are the centre of society and people its periphery. Further, the hundreds of 'NGOs' in "consultative status" with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) do not "consult" on anything, and it may be just as well, constituting as they do a very mixed bag of groups ranging from, say, the International Association of the Soap and Detergent Industry to the Christian Peace Conference... Worse, however, is perhaps the situation of the 'NGOs' used by the Department of Public Information which, again with some exceptions, still considers them as conveyor belts of intergovernmental or bureaucratic wisdom distilled from above to a "public opinion" seen as a passive receptacle.

Perhaps some imaginative and innovative institution designers could start working and offer to the world community, as a 40th anniversary present, some ideas on how to move from the present state of affairs to something more apt to enable people to participate in the management of the planet.

It would be futile, at this stage, to direct the exercise at govern-
ments. Like most past re-structuring efforts (by far more modest), this one will, in the short term at least, strike the shelves of politico-
bureaucratic lack of vision and vested interests. The exercise should, on the contrary, not only be directed at, but carried out with, the social actors themselves, the women and the young, the peasants and the city dwellers, the producers and the consumers, the peace marchers and the ecological sit-in people, all those who are vitally interested in another development interwaving peace, justice and a better life for all and everyone.

The first result of such an endeavour may well be to give us a new sense of hope and confidence in the United Nations, a sense without which they may not be any United Nations or, for that matter, any nation in 2025.

Marc Nerfin
UTOPIA AND REALITY OF SOUTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC COOPERATION

LESSONS FROM THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CARACAS PROGRAMME OF ACTION

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Original language: English

Abstract: The author, who is an active protagonist in the process he is analyzing, briefly looks back at the history of economic cooperation among Third World countries and underlines the significance of the 1981 Caracas Conference of the Group of 77. He discusses the implementation of the Caracas programme of action, pointing to both successes and weaknesses. Seeing the moment of truth approaching, he outlines some guiding principles for future action, including a certain concentration on specific joint project among interested countries, an interregional effort to improve South-South communications, and the strengthening of the emerging support mechanism for the Group of 77 in New York.

UTOPIE ET RÉALITÉ DE LA COOPÉRATION ÉCONOMIQUE SUD-SUD

Résumé: L'auteur, qui est un protagoniste actif du processus qu'il analyse ici, rappelle brièvement l'historique de la coopération économique entre pays du Tiers Monde et la signification de la Conférence du Groupe des 77 tenue à Caracas en 1981. Il examine ensuite comment le Programme d'action de Caracas a été mis en œuvre et en signale les succès et les insuffisances. Voyant arriver le moment de vérité, il esquisse quelques directions pour l'action future, notamment une certaine concentration sur des activités spécifiques communes entre pays intéressés, un effort inter-régional pour améliorer les communications Sud-Sud, et le renforcement du mécanisme d'appui au Groupe des 77 à New York.

UTOPIA Y REALIDAD DE LA COOPERACION ECONOMICA SUR-SUR

Resumen: El autor, protagonista activo en el proceso que analiza, hace una breve resena histórica de la cooperación económica entre los países del Tercer Mundo y subraya la importancia de la Conferencia del Grupo de los 77 realizada en Caracas en 1981. Examina, al mismo tiempo, la puesta en marcha del Programa de acción de Caracas señalando tanto los éxitos como las insuficiencias. Viendo que se acerca la hora de la verdad, delinea algunos principios básicos para una acción futura que incluyen una evidente concentración sobre planes específicos comunes entre países interesados, un esfuerzo interregional para incrementar las comunicaciones Sur-Sur y el refuerzo de los mecanismos de apoyo al Grupo de los 77 en Nueva York.
I. INTRODUCTION

Cooperation among Third World countries is not a new experience. In centuries past, dynamic centres of civilization existed in the South, in many cases setting a standard for the rest of the world, or achieving unmatched progress (the Old Egyptians, the Arab and Persian empires, the Hindu and Mayan cultures, etc.). This was naturally accompanied by South-South interchange between such centres' areas of influence, through the movement of emissaries, students, merchants, explorers and military contingents.

The dynamic of history subsequently gave rise to European imperialism, the expansion of which frequently disrupted many of those South-South communication routes which had previously evolved. Today, in the midst of the hegemony of a "western culture" centered on the United States and Europe, we are witnessing an attempt by the South to recover its identity as an autonomous and forceful centre for culture and development. This endeavour has been catalyzed around such concepts as the "Third World", "Non-Alignment" and "South-South Cooperation".

It is an uphill struggle, in that it runs counter to the ruling order and while it cannot aspire to a romantic restoration of the South's past glories, since these as such will not be coming back, it has nevertheless raised an issue of historic importance. That is, the necessity of fostering through solidarity among Third World countries, their autonomous development which finds itself today once again jeopardized by the absurd radicalization of the East-West conflict. This endeavour can indeed be nourished by the Third World's historical legacy of cooperation.

In recent times the most dynamic expression of South-South cooperation has probably been that of "economic cooperation among developing countries" (ECDC). During the 1970s, trade among Third World countries grew more rapidly than that between them and the industrialized world (at an average
rate of 22% per annum). Today, however, such trade still constitutes only a bare 4% of world trade as a whole, which shows how much still remains to be done.

The basic premises for ECDC were laid down within the Movement of Non-Aligned countries whose inception dates back to the Bandung Conference of 1955. This movement, consisting of some 100 Third World countries, has been the principal embodiment of the Third World's political self-awareness, and driving force behind the Group of 77, which in turn has become the main negotiating expression of the South in negotiations with the North over international economic issues. Owing to its involvement in economic matters, the Group of 77—now comprising 126 countries, or the entire Third World—has become increasingly concerned with economic cooperation among its member countries, to such an extent that it has now become the major forum in the South for the promotion of ECDC.

II. THE CARACAS PROGRAMME FOR ECDC: AN IMPLEMENTATION BALANCE-SHEET.

The Caracas Programme for ECDC, adopted by the Group of 77 in May 1981, marked the high point of the lengthy series of endeavours by the Third World to promote ECDC, by providing such efforts with an operational content, and thus marked a historic milestone in the process. In fact, since Caracas, it has become commonplace to talk about the start of the crucial transition from ECDC programming to operation, from theory to practice.

The Caracas Programme did not only outline a set of concrete and interrelated activities in fundamental areas of economic cooperation (trade, technology, food and agriculture, energy, raw materials, finance, industrialization and technical cooperation); it also made provision for a system of mechanisms to foster the implementation of these activities (a programme of implementation and follow-up meetings, as well as specific implementation mechanisms such as the "Action Committees", the Financial Account and a "Core of Assistants" to support the Chairman of the Group of 77).

On balance, what has been the result so far of implementing the Caracas Programme? Nearly 30 technical meetings for follow-up action in various areas have been held in the three continents of the Third World; in New York the Financial Account and the Core of Assistants to the Chairman have been put into operation and a world-wide consciousness-raising campaign has been conducted to stress the importance of implementing the ECDC Programme. All of this has depended fundamentally upon the Third World's own efforts, which has conferred upon ECDC a certain political dignity it had previously lacked, since earlier efforts had depended unduly upon support from the United Nations, where there has been increasing reluctance on the part of industrialized countries, to approve measures to assist ECDC.
These achievements are still at a fragile stage, however, and are jeopardized by some disturbing shortcomings: feeble attendance at technical meetings (of which about 6 are currently pending); insufficient contributions by member countries to the Financial Account (which currently holds some $300,000, thanks to contributions from a minority of approximately 30 countries) and to the Core of Assistants (which at present consists of only 3 officials, instead of the planned minimum of 6); lack of serious follow-up by countries at the national level to meet the requirements of the ECDC Programme. (More than two years after the adoption of the Caracas Programme only some 90 countries have designated the "ECDC national focal points" foreseen in the Programme, and in most cases these bodies have not gone much beyond their designation).

Ultimately, the main problem at present can be summed up as a lack of resources (on the part of the countries themselves, or of the multilateral central support mechanisms) to cater to an extremely heavy programme of activities to implement ECDC, many of which are mandated for completion within specified time frames. This shortage of resources has coincided with the growth of a widespread feeling that the ECDC Programme is not producing "benefits", that it is failing to "deliver the goods". These two factors are closely inter-related, and both constitute two sides of the same coin, in a vicious circle which is tending to hold up implementation of the Programme.

This situation in turn reflects either a lack of awareness on the part of Third World countries of the scale of the challenge which they have set for themselves with ECDC - with the corresponding allocation of efforts which this requires if results are to be obtained - or a lack of the political will to put ECDC into practice, stemming from a preference - through inertia or deliberate choice, of North-South rather than South-South links.

In any event, the initial enthusiasm generated by the Caracas Programme has diminished, and we appear to be approaching ECDC's "moment of truth", since the specific nature and self-imposed time frames of the ECDC Programme cannot be ignored without serious consequences to its integrity and credibility.

III. IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION: GUIDELINES FOR ACTION

The crisis looming over the implementation of the Caracas Programme seems to cast doubt on the feasibility of the ECDC Programme as conceived up to now. The Caracas Programme fundamentally centers on inter-regional activities (Africa-Asia-Latin America), where the geographical setting is perhaps too vast, and the economic atmosphere still too thin, to bear the burden of excessive expectations over the short and medium term.
Behind the feeble attendance at technical meetings may lay a legitimate perception from governments to consider these meetings as too costly exercises in terms of too wide-ranging or premature topics for any significant inter-regional action. What would appear to be at issue, therefore, is the desirability of a retrenchment from the universal, general and broad-ranging inter-regional setting to ones where practical action is more feasible, particularly at a limited inter-regional level concerning only interested countries, or at the subregional and regional levels, where more substantial foundation exists on which to build ECDC (oil apart, nearly 70% of trade among Third World countries takes place at the inter-regional level).

Universal action at the inter-regional level could be reserved for emphasis on the information sector, which has clearly constituted a basic stumbling block to the promotion of ECDC activities. Improving the flow of information in the Third World would not require considerable resources, whereas it could lead to greater awareness of the possibilities offered by ECDC. Over the short and medium term it could enable interested countries to become partners in specific projects (through mechanisms such as the ad-hoc "Action Committees" foreseen in the Caracas Programme for this type of activity which may lead to more permanent bodies such as multinational companies or producer's associations) while over the long term more multilateral or universal activities would be possible (such as the envisaged Generalized System of Trade Preferences). An effective information system, functioning throughout the Third World, such as the "Multi-Sectoral Information Network" planned by the Group of 77, could also make it possible to obtain greater benefits from already ongoing efforts through facilitating coordination of these (joint action by sub-regional and regional associations; joint action by the research institutes of the Third World; joint action by the United Nations agencies which are providing support for ECDC, etc.). Likewise, this would not call for considerable resources, yet it could yield major results.

Far from detracting from the importance of the two existing central support mechanisms - the Financial Account and the Core of Assistants - emphasis on information and coordinating activities at the universal inter-regional level would instead make it all the more necessary that they be effectively granted the minimal operational capacity required if they are to properly and reliably perform their new, more restricted but more concrete and hence more demanding task. In fact, the mandate of the planned Multi-Sectoral Information Network mentioned above, stipulates that its operations must be coordinated by the Chairman of the Group of 77 in New York, yet his present resources rule out the proper performance of such a function. The Core of Assistants which up to now has been performing an heroic task to keep the implementation of ECDC going would definitely have to have the minimum of six officials for it to
do an effective job in the suggested new scheme of activities. Furthermore, the uses to which resources in the Financial Account may be put, which currently focus on information activities, should be expanded to cover pre-investment studies. It is, indeed, already implicit in a certain fashion in the current mandates which empower the Chairman of the Group of 77 to use funds for the conduct of technical studies and temporary use of consultants; it would be a matter of giving more explicit attention to pre-investment. In any event, the Account has to have sufficient resources and the fund-raising procedure must be improved accordingly (at present, this is based on $1,000 minimum voluntary contributions by governments).

On the other hand, all the governments of the South must have adequately equipped and truly effective national ECDC focal points, to handle the systematic and vigorous promotion of ECDC at the national level.

Focal points have to go beyond general policy-making bodies in their promotion action to become indeed an effective mechanism to facilitate the involvement of operational agents - including the private sector - in ECDC projects without the participation of which ECDC will not ultimately reach the practical stage.

IV. CONCLUSION

In sum, if a crisis in implementation of the Caracas Programme is to be avoided, the following may be necessary:

(i) Universal inter-regional efforts over the short and medium terms should focus on the establishment of an effective information system which would be supplied by the already-envisioned Multi Sectorial Information Network (MSIN), which would provide a broad information medium on existing ECDC possibilities.

The functioning of the MSIN would permit interested countries to become partners in potential specific projects identified via the information flow. These projects could be concretised through ad-hoc mechanisms such as "Action Committees", envisaged in the Caracas programme for this type of action, which in turn may lead to the formation of permanent bodies such as producers' associations, multinational companies or the proposed South Bank.

This would constitute a desirable departure from the general and universal projects which presently dominate the ECDC Programme, and which are not getting very far towards more viable, specific projects involving only interested countries. The MSIN, by providing greater knowledge about ongoing ECDC activities, would make it possible to take greater advantage of such activities through a pooling of efforts. Better use could thus be made of the experience and
activities of bodies such as the research institutes and the sub-regional or regional associations existing in the Third World (the number of relevant research institutes is today in the hundreds, while there are some 45 sub-regional and regional associations scattered throughout the Third World). Better use could also be made of the work performed by the various United Nations agencies currently supporting ECDC.

(ii) In close association with the preceding objective, the central support mechanisms, i.e. the Core of Assistants and the Financial Account, should be strengthened. The Core of Assistants must have a minimum of six officials, and the Account requires a fund-raising procedure such as to bring in an adequate supply of resources. The Account would embark upon selected pre-investment studies to promote the identification of specific ECDC projects in important fields.

(iii) The prompt designation of truly effective national focal points by all Third World governments to look after the systematic and vigorous promotion of ECDC at the national level. Focal points have to go beyond general policy-making bodies in their promotion action to become indeed an effective mechanism to facilitate the involvement of operational agents - including the private sector - in ECDC projects without the participation of which ECDC will not ultimately reach the practical stage.

As has been suggested, however, these measures would focus primarily on averting the impending crisis in the implementation of the ECDC programme, while maintaining possibilities for wider action opened. Obviously, ECDC needs to go beyond this and have a more positive, wider-ranging and long-term focus if it is to ensure continuity and to constitute the option for structural change in the international system it intends to be. As long as the Third World countries' economic relations remain oriented so much towards the North (nearly 80% of the South's trade continues to be with the North, in an interchange characterized by inequity and overwhelming dependency), ECDC will continue to be a programme of wishful thinking. In this regard there is no substitute for the attainment of far-reaching South-South progress in substantive fields such as trade and finance, along the lines suggested in the Caracas Programme of Action.

The lack of a real South-South economic front, or of an economic community of the South, is of course also bound to have an impact on the North-South negotiations, through which the South is seeking to negotiate with a group of countries which by contrast is indeed organized in an economic community.

Unlike the South, nearly 70% of the North's trade is with the North, let alone the multiplicity of existing technical and communications links among the industrialized countries. These, moreover, possess their own organization, the OECD,
made-up of a staff of 600 officials - compare this with the Group of 77's modest "Core of Assistants"! Historically speaking, the trade unions only began to achieve success in their struggles with the employers over their claims when they were able to show an adequate minimal coherence and internal infrastructure (strike funds, consumer cooperatives, their own operating quarters), which gave them a sense of community in the face of the existing community of employers. The strategists of the Third World in the North-South negotiations do not seem to have really valued in all its decisive importance the impact which the lack of an effective economic community in the South has had on their own negotiating strength vis-à-vis the North.

In the final analysis, the South-South option is closely linked to the national view of development which the countries of the Third World choose to select. Third World countries have to decide whether they want to continue to live with their uncertain and painstaking ties of dependency upon powerful countries - which persist in considering the Third World as a marginal economic "partner" - or whether they prefer to develop self-sustained national economies, based both nationally and in their more diversified external economic relations on greater association among weak countries with similar interests.

Ultimately, the most powerful argument in favour of South-South cooperation boils down to this: it is the union of the weak against the strong. The weak countries uniting to face a profound world economic crisis of which the powerful nations are the principal cause, and the Third World countries, on the other hand, principal victims. The union of the weak countries to help each other, acting in solidarity in order to build a new, viable and just international order, where they can develop in an authentic, independent and dignified way.
GIKUYU NOVEL RECEIVES NOMA AWARD IN ZIMBABWE

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The 1984 "Noma Award" for the best book published in Africa has been awarded last summer in Harare jointly to Kenyan journalist and novelist Gakaara Wa Wanjau, and South African poet, critic and short story writer Njabulo Sikahle Ndebele.

Wanjau's prize winning Mwandiki Wa Mau Mau Ithaamiro Ini (Mau Mau author in detention) written in Kenya's Gikuyu language, is the first book written in an African language to win the Award.

The book was cited as "the single most significant document of the entire resistance literature from Kenya". It was published by Heineman educational books, East Africa in 1983.

Wanjau, who spent seven years in detention during the "Mau Mau" struggle against British colonialism in the fifties, said in his acceptance speech that he had promised the book to his fellow detainees. Speaking in Gikuyu, with an English translator, the 63 year old writer said the success was not his own, but that of "those who struggled for Kenya's independence".

Wanjau has written over thirty titles in Gikuyu, and now runs his own publishing house, Gakaara press. He also produces a monthly cultural magazine titled Gikuyu Na Mumbi (male and female symbols respectively in Gikuyu tradition).

Wanjau was described as "an older brother" by one of Africa's most renowned authors and fellow Kenyan, Ngugi Wa Thiongo.

Ngugi, who was in Zimbabwe for the second international book fair, broke with tradition when he vowed in 1978 never to write in English again. He now writes in Gikuyu too, and has done much to popularise the use of indigenous languages by younger, well educated African authors.

Ndebele's collection of short stories, Fools and Other Stories, won the Award for its "gentle humour and subtle observations, and its detailed evocation of township life and white brutality".

It is the first time a South African writer has won the five year old Award. The Noma Award selection committee explained that although considering South African publishers was contrary to the United Nations cultural boycott on the white government, there were publishers who have struggled against enormous odds to give resistance literature a voice. The Johannesburg-based Ravan Press, which published Ndebele's book in 1983, was cited as one such exception.
Accepting the prize, Ndebele, who lives in exile in Lesotho, said black South African literature has tended to be descriptive, rather than definitive. Yet to "describe is to observe, while to define is to understand" the 36 year old writer argued.

Writing about oppression was "demonstrating the obvious" he contended, adding that what was more important was to "explore how and why people continue to survive under such conditions". That, he said, "is a cultural autonomy that the oppressor can never get at". Ndebele wrote in a recent critical review of South African literature that works which "do not clarify the tragic human experience of oppression" became grounded in the very "negation" they sought to transcend.

The Noma Award is a 100,000 dollars endowment made by the late Japanese publisher, Shoichi Noma. Interest from this sum is made available each year for the book prize. Noma's aim was to encourage local publishing by local authors, to reverse the situation pervading in most Third World countries, where books are mostly written by foreigners, and published abroad.

In 1974, Noma was the first recipient of the international book award for "outstanding services for the cause of books". He also founded the Tokyo Book Development Center. The Noma Award, now considered one of the most prestigious on the continent, is administered by the African publishing book record based in Oxford, England. Selection, however, is done by a committee of six African academics, chaired by Eldred Jones, principal of Sierra Leone's Fourah Bay College.

NGUGI WA THIONGO
ON WRITING IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

Ngugi Wa Thiongo, one of Africa's best selling writers, who was also in Harare on the occasion of Zimbabwe's second international book fair, gave a three-hour public lecture on "literature, culture and democracy in Africa". He argued that Africa is caught up in the vicious poverty cycle of selling its raw material at unstable international prices, and importing finished products for much more.

But the tragedy, as he sees it, is not so much the former colonial Western powers that take more than they give, as it is the African elites who are willing partners. Singling out Kenya, the Kenyan author - who now lives in exile - said the country had gone as far as to offer the United States military bases "without any debate in parliament".

Colonialism bequeathed three types of literature which, directly and otherwise, contributed to the colonisation of the mind, Ngugi argued.

One form he called "downright racist", taking as an example Ridder Haggard's King Solomon's Mines in which Africans trying to prevent diamond mining by outsiders are described in demeaning terms, while those who assist come out the virtuous.
The second Ngugi called "liberal literature" which, like South African author Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country*, extols the reconciliatory and compromising African.

Thirdly, there was the "democratic humanist literature", like the celebrated works of William Shakespeare, which Ngugi sees as "progressive" in content, but twisted in interpretation.

Instead of raising the issues in Shakespeare's plays, colonial education dwelt on character sketches, Ngugi charged. And Shakespeare himself was portrayed as "a gift to the world", which Africans could never match. It is again this background that Africans started writing.

Ngugi is best known for his two novels *A Grain of Wheat* which centers on the struggle for Kenya's independence, and *Petals of Blood*, considered one of the most biting indictments of neo-colonialism. But Ngugi called these "Afro-European novels", or works dealing with the African reality, but in a foreign language. He recalled that he went through one of the "most agonising" periods of his life after writing *A Grain of Wheat*, when he failed to reconcile writing about the peasants and working class in a language not accessible to them.

It was only 10 years after he started writing, during eight months in detention in 1978, however, that Ngugi made a clean break with writing in English (his arrest stemmed largely from a grass roots theatre project he had involved himself in as a way of placating his dilemma) 1/. In "cell number 16", as "prisoner k677", Ngugi felt more than ever before the need to fully reconnect himself with those roots.

Thus started his first major Gikuyu novel *Caitaani Mutharaba Ini*, later translated into English as *Devil on the Cross*. That, Ngugi recalls, was no mean task.

His first problem was paper. Fortunately, the prison offered coarse toilet paper which "though bad for the body, was good for the pen". Pen and paper in hand, Ngugi realised just how handicapped he was by not having much written in Gikuyu to refer to. The written form of the Kenyan language alone was ill-developed, and Ngugi found he had to invent ways of bringing out its many tonal variations. The problem of how to put across his message to an audience with little formal education loomed even larger. Ngugi eventually decided on satire as the literary form closest to oral tradition.

Thus, *Devil on the Cross* tells of seven robbers on their way to a competition organised by the Devil, at which the smartest robber is to be selected. There is an observer delegation of "international robbers", headquartered in New York, and loans are available from one member with initials "IMF". Anyone who steals out of necessity is automatically disqualified. The task, in Ngugi's book, is to acquire as much as possible out of plain greed.

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Ngugi is visibly proud of his pioneering effort. The book sold 15,000 copies upon publication in 1980. It led, in Kenya, to a "mutual learning process" in which young literates who had lost touch with their mother-tongue read the book to older illiterates, who in turn explained the language, Ngugi says.

In spite of much pessimism, the idea of prominent African writers writing in indigenous languages, or having their works translated, is also taking root.

The Trial of Dedan Kimathi, a play co-authored by Ngugi and his compatriot, Micere Mugo, has been translated into Zimbabwe's main Shona language.

Asked during question time whether writing in Gikuyu does not limit the universality of his work, Ngugi responded that by the same token it might be asked whether books written in European languages aren't insular.

Universality is expressed through particularities, Ngugi contended. "And no particularity is more particular than other particularities".
ADJUSTMENT VIA AUSTERITY: IS THERE AN ALTERNATIVE?

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Abstract: Having examined the limitations and contradictions of austerity and adjustment programmes unilaterally imposed on African countries, the author lists the criteria which alternatives should fulfill and examines four interrelated issues:

i) the allocation of investment, especially the relative importance of export-oriented vs. domestic market-oriented activity, agriculture vs. industry, and rural vs. urban development;

ii) the role of the market and the price mechanism in the required resource reallocation vs. that of planning and the public sector;

iii) in the achievement of the desired external balance (however defined) the relative contribution of (a) compression of consumption/imports, (b) export expansion and (c) increased net resource transfers from abroad;

iv) insofar as reliance is placed on iii)(a) above, the 'distribution of sacrifice' between different groups and sectors of the society.

The author, a former director of national planning in Jamaica, under Michael Manley, was a key participant in the South-North conference on the international monetary system and the new international order, Arusha, Tanzania, July 1980. (cf. IFDA Dossier 19 and Development Dialogue 1980:2).

L'AJUSTEMENT PAR L'AUSTÉRITÉ: Y A-T-IL UNE ALTERNATIVE?

Résumé: Après avoir examiné les limites et les contradictions des programmes d'austérité et d'ajustement imposés aux pays africains, l'auteur fait la liste des critères auxquels devront satisfaire les solutions alternatives et examine plus en détail les quatre questions suivantes et leurs relations réciproques:

i) l'allocation des investissements, en particulier l'importance relative des activités servant l'exportation comparées à celles destinées au marché intérieur, l'agriculture comparée à l'industrie, le développement rural comparé au développement urbain;

ii) le rôle du marché et du mécanisme des prix dans la réallocation des ressources comparé au rôle de la planification et du secteur public;

(suite à la page 54)
ADJUSTMENT VIA AUSTERITY: IS THERE AN ALTERNATIVE?*

NATURE OF THE PRESENT CRISIS

The present crisis is, of course, more than one of severe balance of payments disequilibria aggravated by an acute shortage of external financing. It is also a crisis of growth and development. Since 1981, the majority of the countries on the African continent have been experiencing negative per capita income growth; and the process of economic and social development, for which such high hopes had been held in the decades of the 50s and the 60s, has been at a virtual standstill since the mid-1970s.

Indeed, it is more and more becoming a crisis of survival: of people and of states. More than half of the African countries are now threatened by famine, due to severe shortages of imported foodstuffs in a context where mushrooming urbanization together with lagging domestic food production has given rise to food-dependency. And in more and more countries, the viability of the state systems established in the aftermath of decolonization is being undermined, as governments encounter difficulties in meeting monthly payrolls, paying for critically needed oil supplies, or maintaining essential social and public services.

ADJUSTMENT VIA AUSTERITY

In their single-minded pursuit of the necessity of dealing with external imbalance, the austerity programmes that are the subject of this meeting are, if anything, worsening the growth-development crisis in Africa through their heavy reliance on deflationary adjustment which, as has been pointed out, is a disincentive to investment 1/. And we do not even have the consolation of knowing that they restore balance of payments equilibrium. There is compelling evidence that, in the context of current economic conditions, the standard prescriptions of massive public sector retrenchment and devaluations (etc.) have made little, if any contribution to dealing with the balance of payments deficits of the Third World countries. It would be surprising if they were to do so, when the major causes of the present deficits are low commodity prices, stagnating international trade due to the world recession, and the problem of the debt (shortened maturities and high interest rates).

The absurdity of the standard package of measures may be illustrated by posing the following question: how far would

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* Prepared for the International Seminar on 'Austerity policies in Africa - under IMF control?' organized by the Frederich Ebert Foundation, Dakar, Senegal, June 1983.
a country like Tanzania have to depress its economic activity in order to reduce its consumption of imports to the point where they can be financed by current earnings from exports and capital inflows? Given that most of these imports, such as petroleum, raw materials and food, are non-substitutable by domestic goods, then the logic of this is that a large part of industry and transport would 'need' to close down, and much of the population would 'need' to starve. Adjustment via austerity may well therefore be likened - literally - to an attempt to cure the disease by killing (or perhaps dismembering) the patient.

In international terms, too, the present arrangements for adjustment make very little sense. Repeatedly, it has been pointed out that the Bretton Woods arrangements (whose principal institution, the International Monetary Fund, still remains with us) put all the pressure for adjustment on the deficit countries. No effective provision is made for adjustment of those countries whose payments surpluses are the counterpart of the deficits of others; although as has been cogently argued unilateral adjustment is, by definition, impossible 1/. The paradox is that the country with the largest balance of payments deficits in the world - the United States - is able to escape the strictures of IMF-type austerity programmes. This is as a result of the privileged position of its national currency, which serves as the principal international reserve assets (quite apart from the fact that it is also the dominant force in the International Monetary Fund itself).

'Adjustment', therefore, is a remedy reserved for the weak and the vulnerable: the deficit Third World countries. Even then, those among them which are major exporters of oil and manufactured goods have been able, until recently, to borrow heavily on private international capital markets to finance their current account deficits and sustain their growth. And although they are now staggering under the burden of their own commercial indebtedness, this has given them a form of reverse leverage in the international financial system. The creditor countries are now visibly more worried about the possibility of defaults than the debtor countries themselves. It therefore seems that this select group of Third World countries, principally Latin American, will become the prime beneficiaries of comprehensive debt re-scheduling arrangements, which so recently received the endorsement of the London summit of industrialized capitalist countries 2/. As far as Africa is concerned, the desperate condition of this continent is to be addressed through 'a special action programme of the World Bank' 2/.

If the burden of international adjustment is thrown on those who are least able to bear it, a similar principle appears to apply to its internal dimensions. Austerity programmes cut real wages through a combination of huge devaluations coupled with money-wage restraint (or freezes), and reduce the 'social wage' by means of cut-backs in the social ser-
vices and general retrenchment in the public sector while seeking to increase the profitability of business, especially export-oriented business. It is therefore a conscious intention (and not just an accidental by-product) of these programmes, that the major part of the burden of adjustment will take place through compression in the consumption of the mass of the population, while those who are in a position to save and invest should receive enhanced opportunities to do so. The connection between the level of domestic demand and the inducement to invest is, of course, conveniently forgotten, as the model calls for a re-allocation of resources to export activity.

Yet the experience of so many African and Latin American countries shows that these programmes encounter strong resistance from large sections of the population, frequently reflected in the posture of their governments.

The case of the Dominican Republic, where the Government recently suspended negotiations with the IMF after 60 persons had been killed in 'IMF riots' is only one of many. The programmes, aside from being of dubious economic effectiveness, are frequently politically unworkable.

The recent record of the IMF in Africa is quite revealing in this respect. In the period 1978-1982, twenty-seven African countries concluded a total of forty-nine Stand-by and/or Extended arrangements with the IMF for major loans. Nine of these - nearly 20% of the total - were cancelled prior to their expiration date, either because the countries no longer considered them necessary or because the IMF was dissatisfied with the country's performance. This does not include cases such as the Tanzanian agreement of 1980, where the arrangement was suspended because the country breached the 'performance criteria' set by the IMF.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES

A discussion of alternatives to austerity programmes in Africa should therefore fulfill at least three criteria. First, it should address the issue of external balance in the context of long-term growth and development. This includes a discussion of the question, now forgotten, of what is a necessary balance of payments deficit for a country that is actually undergoing a process of development. Secondly, it should deal with both the international and the internal aspects of the adjustment process. And thirdly, it must take into account the political acceptability and workability of the proposed approach. This is, unavoidably, the most difficult criterion of all, since it involves a great deal of subjective judgement, not to speak of the political self-interest of the various parties.

More specifically, a discussion of alternatives must of necessity deal with at least four issues, recognizing the interrelationships between them:
i) the allocation of investment, especially the relative importance of export-oriented vs. domestic market-oriented activity, agriculture vs. industry, and rural vs. urban development;

ii) the role of the market and the price mechanism in the required resource reallocation vs. that of planning and the public sector;

iii) in the achievement of the desired external balance (however defined) the relative contribution of (a) compression of consumption/imports, (b) export expansion and (c) increased net resource transfers from abroad;

iv) insofar as reliance is placed on iii) (a) above, the 'distribution of sacrifice' between different groups and sectors of the society.

INVESTMENT/DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

As far as the first is concerned, it needs to be recognized that the African countries are in a fundamentally different position from that of the Third World countries that are exporters of manufactures. The nature of the demand for the primary commodities on which most of them depend is such that wide fluctuations in export prices from year-to-year, coupled with relatively low long-term growth in export volumes (due to low income-elasticities of demand in the main consuming markets) are the norm. Hence, it cannot reasonably be expected that they can 'grow' themselves out of the present crisis through exports. This is not to deny that particular countries may be able to enjoy periods of relatively rapid export expansion based on specific commodities. But as a global strategy for primary commodity exporters, it clearly has severe limitations 4/.

Indeed it seems, to this writer at any rate, that a strong case can be made for a strategy that places rural development and food production at the centre of the stage. Several interesting arguments point in this direction. First, there are the limitations of an export-oriented strategy of growth arising out of the structures of these economies together with the nature of prevailing international economic conditions. Secondly, there is the urgent pressure of domestic social demand for food arising out of food-import dependency, malnutrition and famine.

A third factor is that the import-intensity of incremental food production is likely to be lower than it is for manufacturing output - although we should also take into account that the mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture will result in growing import demands. A fourth factor is that the urban sector in these economies has been far and away the hardest hit by the present crisis, since it has virtually nothing to fall back on when the supply of imports is drastically curtailed and the prices of such imports rise
steeply as a consequence of devaluation and black marketing. The rural sector does have a cushion represented by the possibility of subsistence and semi-subsistence production; although that cushion is undoubtedly neither very large nor very comfortable.

Associated with the strategy of rural development/food production is a policy of industrial development that seeks to promote small and medium-sized industries, both in the rural and urban areas. In the rural areas, such industries may be able to support agricultural development through the simple processing of crop and livestock production. In the towns, they may be able to play a role through the repair and maintenance of the capital stock, and the manufacture of spare parts, in industry and transport. At any rate, an investigation of the potential of such industries may well be worthy of much more attention than is presently the case.

ROLE OF MARKET MECHANISMS

The second issue is the role of market mechanisms vs. government intervention and planning. Here, it is probably necessary to avoid an ideological approach, either of the left or the right. Undoubtedly, many of the 'socialist' experiments in Africa have foundered on the rocks of inefficient state enterprises and overgrown bureaucracies. On the other hand, the virtually wholesale dismantling of the public sector and introduction of 'free-market' policies which some powerful international organizations are now crusading for are surely equally misguided. In the market, all actors may be free, but some are evidently more free than others, because they are stronger. Clearly, leaving the market totally open for the powerful transnational corporations and entrenched domestic commercial interests to have their way, could very easily result in distortions in resource allocation that are inconsistent with the broader, long-term development strategy. What seems to be needed here is a more careful evaluation of the costs and the benefits of specific state interventions: an evaluation which takes into account the capabilities as well as the limitations of the governmental apparatus, but which avoids the attitude that such intervention, by its very nature, produces solutions that are inferior to those produced by the 'free market'.

EXTERNAL BALANCE AND TRADE POLICY

The third issue concerns the determination of the principal macroeconomic variables that are involved in securing external balance: compression of consumption/imports, export expansion and net resource transfers from abroad. It is this which provides the link between the internal and the international aspects of the process. It is in the nature of this issue that the solutions adopted will be dictated by the specific circumstances of individual countries. One has the impression that in many, if not most African countries, imports have already been cut to the bone and even deeper than
the bone. In some, there may be further room for compression, but how big a dent will this make on the deficits and what will be the implications for growth and development?

Similarly, there may be some room for export expansion (including tourism) in some countries, and where this is feasible it should certainly be pursued. And in this context, the opportunities for increasing the flow of South-South trade may be more vigorously followed up. Some advantage may be taken of the uneven nature of the development within the South in this connection. Quite a few countries have now achieved a level of industrial development where they have become exporters of technology, and have the capability of engaging in substantial projects of industrial co-operation. Yugoslavia, India, Brazil, the Republic of Korea, and Cuba are examples that spring readily to mind. Frequently, payments for such projects may be made in kind, and they can become the basis for accelerated trade flows. In a similar vein, further opportunities can be pursued for trade and economic co-operation with the socialist countries - whose rate of industrial growth, at least in the last 10-15 years, has been considerably above that of the capitalist bloc.

DEBT RESCHEDULING

The case for accelerated net resource transfers from abroad to support 'adjustment-through-growth' is a very strong one, at least on purely theoretical grounds. The problem here is that African countries have very little control over this variable. With a few notable exceptions (e.g. Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Kenya), Official Development Assistance remains the principal source of such transfers for most of these countries and the climate for such ODA is hardly favourable at this time. However, net transfers can be increased not only by augmenting inflows, but also by reducing outflows through, for example, substantial debt rescheduling. Under pressure from the major Latin American debtor countries, the principal creditor countries at the London summit agreed to encourage 'more extended multiyear rescheduling of commercial debts and standing ready to negotiate similarly in respect of debts to governments and government agencies' 2/.

The question is, will this new round of rescheduling continue to take place, as it has in the past, on a bilateral basis? Or will African countries, and perhaps the Third World as a whole, coordinate their position in this area? The larger Latin American countries have already pointed the way and, in doing so, have opened a path which has made it easier for others to follow.

In May, the presidents of Brazil, Argentina, Mexico and Columbia issued a joint statement in which they warned the North that they cannot accept the 'dangers to democracy and development' represented by existing terms of debt service, specifically the rise in US interest rates 5/. Soon after this, the Dominican Republic suspended negotiations with the
IMF on a standby credit facility, Bolivia and Ecuador suspended payment on their foreign debt, and Argentina took the unprecedented step of submitting its own 'adjustment' programme directly to the Board of the IMF, through the Managing Director, rejecting the demands being made by the IMF negotiating team in Buenos Aires. Latin American ministers were to meet in Colombia in June to work out a joint position. Should not African governments do the same and attempt to work out a common front with the Latin Americans? This could be done through one of the existing structures, such as the Group of 77, the Non-aligned Movement, or UNCTAD; it could also be done outside the existing structures entirely.

CONDITIONALITY

Central to any programme of expanded IMF and World Bank lending, and any negotiations on debt rescheduling, will be the issue of conditionality. Of course, the existence of conditionality itself is not in dispute; it is rather the nature of conditionality and the method of its interpretation and application. Third World countries have long argued the need for a big increase in the low-conditionality facilities of the IMF, for example the Compensatory Financing Facility, in cases where their payments deficits are caused by factors mostly outside of their control, such as sudden falls in commodity prices or rises in foreign interest rates. The case for this is, if anything, stronger than ever at the present time. Indeed, the acknowledgement by the London summit of the need to respond to the problems brought upon the Latin American debtor countries by the increases in the US interest rates is another recognition of the validity of this principle.

As regards the Stand-by and Extended facilities of the Fund and Structural Adjustment lending of the World Bank, there is by now overwhelming evidence that the conditionality of the former lays primary emphasis on monetary methods utilized for deflationary adjustment, and that both institutions apply pressure in favour of market-oriented, export-led growth. The need here is to press for acceptance of the principle that there is more than 'one road' to external balance; that whereas the need for improvements in economic management and better balance-of-payments performance may be readily conceded, the particular methods and policies that are adopted to bring this about should be considered on their own merits, and not in terms of their consistency with a predetermined adjustment model.

BRETTON WOODS II

There is a very real possibility that, within the next few years, an international monetary conference will be convened to negotiate a new or at least revised set of monetary arrangements to replace the Bretton Woods system which broke down in 1971-1973. The necessity for such a conference,
sometimes referred to as a 'Bretton Woods II' has been envisaged in many quarters for some years 7/. Among the major industrialized countries, the French have been the leading proponent of the idea and the United States has been its chief opponent. However, there is growing evidence that the US has accepted that some reform of the present arrangements is inevitable, if only to give some stability to the present exchange rate-regime 8/.

It is essential for Africa, and the entire Third World, to have their voice fully heard at such a meeting (at the first Bretton Woods the vast majority of the countries in the Third World were absent, being represented by the imperial powers). The amount of technical preparation that will need to go into such a conference, and the events preceding it, is enormous; and these preparations need to start well ahead of time for the position of the Third World to carry real weight.

THE POLITICS OF ADJUSTMENT

Finally, there is the issue of the 'distribution of sacrifice' among various social sectors in the process. This, above all, is a matter of politics; and in such matters economists are often fools who rush in where those who are much wiser, fear to tread. But it can be noted that a great deal of the resolution of this issue flows out of the solutions chosen for the other issues - for example, the role of the rural sector in the development strategy, the role of the market vs. the state, and the relative degree of compression of consumption vs. net resource transfers from abroad. Is it too much to hope that some programmes can be devised through intra-national and international co-operation, which are at least less politically unacceptable than the austerity programmes that are now being proffered?

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4/ World Bank projections for 26 primary commodities exported by Third World countries show a growth rate of consumption over 1980-1995 of less than 3% per annum for 18 commodities, and between 3 and 4.9% p.a. for the remaining eight. See The outlook for primary commodities, World Bank Staff Working Paper N°9, July 1982, Table 21.

(suite de la page 45)

iii) dans la poursuite de l'équilibre extérieur, les contributions relatives de (a) la compression de la consommation et des importations, (b) l'expansion des exportations et (c) l'accroissement des transferts nets de ressources externes;

iv) dans la mesure où l'accent est placé sur iii)(a) ci-dessus, la 'distribution des sacrifices' entre les différents groupes sociaux.


AJUSTE PARA LA AUSTERIDAD: EXISTE UNA ALTERNATIVA?

Resumen: Después de haber examinado las limitantes y las contradicciones de los programas de austeridad y de ajuste impuestos a los países africanos, el autor hace una lista de los criterios a los que deberán satisfacer las soluciones alternativas y revisa, más en detalle, las cuatro interrogantes que siguen a continuación y sus relaciones recíprocas:

i) distribución de las inversiones, especialmente la importancia relativa de las actividades que ayudan a la exportación comparadas a aquellas destinadas al mercado interno; la agricultura comparada a la industria, el desarrollo rural comparado al desarrollo urbano;

ii) el papel del mercado y del mecanismo de precios en la reasignación de los recursos comparado al papel de la planificación y del sector público;

iii) en la búsqueda del equilibrio exterior, las contribuciones que corresponden a (a) la reducción del consumo y de las importaciones, (b) el aumento de las exportaciones y (c) el incremento de las transacciones netas de los recursos externos;

iv) en la medida en que se haga énfasis en iii) (a) mencionados anteriormente, la 'distribución de los sacrificios' entre los diferentes grupos sociales.

I attended the European Nuclear Disarmament (END) annual convention held last year for a week late in July in Perugia, a picturesque medieval hill city in Umbria, about three driving hours North of Rome. END is a coalition of European peace groups, ranging in orientation from the Greens of West Germany to near official delegations from the main social democratic parties and labor unions of Europe. The numbers of participants at Perugia were deliberately held to about 1500, because the END organizers found the prior year's convention in Berlin unruly with 3000 participants. As it was, maintaining order and coherence at Perugia was not easy. Unlike typical conferences where the great majority of those attending come to listen or socialize, most of those who came to END, came to participate.

This degree of activism charged the atmosphere with an excitement and sense of vitality that is quite absent from American peace events where leaders and experts address relatively passive audiences. I believe that we need to learn from this democratization of the peace movement that has taken place in Europe. Perhaps, this democratization is itself partly a positive legacy in Europe of the earlier struggle against fascism and the ongoing struggle against authoritarian rule in the East, as well as a recognition of the fragility of democracy in the West. It certainly also reflects the generally more ideological cast of partisan politics on the European scene.

In my view, unless a comparable democratization of style, attitude, and substance emerges in the American setting, I am skeptical as to whether the American peace movement can evolve, or even sustain itself. The peace agenda will not remain "politically" alive in the United States unless it places the struggle to revitalize political democracy at home and abroad as its first priority. Admittedly, this is too harshly put, but my concern is reinforced by the short life of past peace movements, and by the shallowness of most current mainstream efforts. I exempt from these criticisms those groups and individuals around the country who engage or support direct action (see e.g. Ground Zero, a monthly newsletter from Bangor, Washington; Sojourners magazine; or Jim Douglass' Lightning East to West).

This first experience of direct contact with the European peace movement was exhilarating for me in several respects. The energy, diversity, and public relevance of the European peace environment were refreshing.

Further, the peace agenda at Perugia was broad and deep. Mainstream peace activity in the United States is almost completely absorbed by the Freeze Campaign, which on the national level, at least, means building
support for a specific mechanism to stop the arms race at present levels. Let me happily acknowledge, however, that the particular Freeze representatives who attended Perugia related very effectively and positively to the wider European emphasis on political democracy as the necessary ground for achieving control over the nuclear arms race. The main emphasis of the current phase of the European peace movement was upon building a political climate against all forms of militarism, including especially the internal militarism of the state that is directed at its own citizenry.

To summarize crudely this difference in spirit, the European movement is saying that peace politics must take precedence over the advocacy of arms control measures or the focus on particular weapons systems and deployments. The European political emphasis suggests the importance of social movements that build connections of a different character than those associated with formal diplomacy carried on by governments. As a result there is a European identity emerging that transcends national identity and establishes alignments that ignore the structures of East-West boundaries. Participants at END speak figuratively of displacing alliances of governments by alliances of peoples, as well as of dissolving bloc politics.

Indeed, for an American, the intensity surrounding efforts to achieve genuine East-West dialogue may have been the most notable feature of the Convention. The struggle at Perugia over how to deal with the peace council representatives from the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary was quite divisive. Few of the delegates to Perugia directly opposed the expansion of dialogue to include quasi-officials from the East, but ferment surrounded how to treat such representatives in the face of a refusal to allow independent peace people (with the partial, and possibly illuminating exception of Hungary) to attend the Convention. I was fascinated by the clash of political styles evident among the participants. By and large the grassroots movement people felt a basic affinity to their absent and excluded counterparts in the East, and wanted to confront the quasi-officials from communist countries. In contrast, many of those associated with political parties and labor unions, were generally pleased to talk with quasi-official representatives, and felt their attendance to be a breakthrough. Their priority was the promotion of detente and improved East-West relations at an inter-governmental level.

There was, as well, a direct correspondence between this tension on how to deal with the East within the END framework, and the very forceful insistence by women on having a more prominent place in the Convention proceedings. Those that insisted that genuine East-West dialogue presupposed the participation of independent peace activists generally were the ones who also supported the demands of the women. Again, the real divide is on whether democracy is integral to peace politics, or whether it is in some sense a diversion. The more traditional peace activists insist that only direct concern with international armaments and tensions is constructive.

The future shape of the European peace movement will depend on how these questions are resolved, first of all organizationally. It seems unclear whether the committee structure will be dominated by the more traditional approach (detente from above), or by the more libertarian styles (detente from below).
At Perugia the traditionalists seemed mainly in control of the conference machinery, as expressed by the under-representation of women and activists among the speakers, while the activists shaped the conference mood by organizing imaginative and popular protests against these features, by staging demonstrations on behalf of East European political prisoners, and by producing audience expressions of overwhelming approval and disapproval reflecting their views on issues of East-West dialogue.

My own sense is that the healthiest outcome of Perugia would be to reflect the activist movement strength more fully in the END organization, but to preserve the full range of diversity, even at the cost of persisting tension as to tactics and approach. Some kind of creative compromise, based on mutual respect, would be the healthiest result.

It was encouraging to discover that the European peace movement was resilient, and was not as discouraged as I expected by its failure to stop Pershing II/Cruise deployments arising out of NATO's 1979 so-called modernization decision; at the same time, new substantive priorities for organizing activities were not yet clearly established. There was considerable interest in the Mient Jan Baver/Mary Kaldor proposal that called for the withdrawal of United States and Soviet occupying forces from Continental Europe - both East and West - but how to proceed along this line remains to be clarified.

I wish that the situation of American peace activity could be more fully represented at future END events. We Americans need the stimulus of what is happening in Europe, especially its societal depth. At the same time, Europe needs more challenge from the preoccupations of Americans.

Greater attention is also warranted for the situation of the Japanese and Third Worlders and would be encouraged by a closer knowledge of the wave of direct action that is challenging the prerogatives of the modern, militarized state. There were impressive moves in these directions at Perugia (e.g. a Nicaraguan official as a closing speaker, an important commission on Europe's role in Western Asia), but the basic discussion was somewhat overly determined by the intra-European debate on the future of Europe. There are important West-West discussions that need to be held in the spirit of extending and deepening the overall peace process.

Europe's vanguard position in the global peace movement gives it a special opportunity now to push ahead in these directions at this critical juncture in the world economic and military situation.

Even the European emphasis on democratization of peace activity and upon the need for political democracy East and West does not encompass the entire challenge facing modern industrial countries at this stage. Of great underlying importance is the dehumanization of work and the displacements of workers associated with the new stage of competition among capitalist countries for shares of the world market.

The arms race and international tensions are an expensive Roman circus organized to distract the citizenry while the welfare state is being substantially dismantled. The rise of hard-nose free marketeers to positions of governmental leadership in the main Western countries carries
with it antidemocratic tendencies that are also especially hostile to the demilitarizing goals of the peace movement.

In the background of the quickening arms race and militarization of political life everywhere on the planet is a crisis in capitalist practice, which may have a particular relevance for Europe, now lagging behind in the race to control technological frontiers and, hence, the most profitable markets. The rivalries for markets, the displacement of workers by automated machines and robots, the anxiety about secure access to Third World raw materials, the shaky financial situation for debtors and creditors alike, and the absence of any reliable way to keep the capitalist system working without scrapping, or at least containing, the welfare state, is at the base of these difficulties. At the same time, if moving in a socialist direction means an even more oppressive state apparatus of societal control, most citizens will back away from radical political solutions.

The United States Government under Reagan has temporarily regained some of its command over world capitalism (note the strong, ascendant dollar) partly by cutting welfare and "disciplining" labor at home (that is, negative redistribution of income from poor to rich). In my view, these developments frame geopolitics and help explain why the revival of the Cold War is such a temptation for conservative leaders in the West at this time. Note that this revival of the Cold War worsens peace prospects just as surely as does the refusal to demand political democracy for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

**GANDHI'S 7 SOCIAL SINS: Roots of Oppression**

1. Politics without principles.
2. Wealth without work.
3. Pleasure without conscience.
4. Knowledge without character.
5. Science without humanity.
6. Commerce without morality.
7. Worship without self-sacrifice.

_Hind Swaraj_ by Gandhi (1908).
REFUGEES: A GLOBAL JUSTICE ISSUE

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The twentieth century has been termed the "century of the refugee". Refugees, perhaps more than any other people today, embody human suffering and despair. Uprooted and homeless, they bear the marks of the suffering Christ—wounded, despised, without a place to rest. They depend on others for food and drink, clothing, sanctuary and hope—the barest essentials required to survive the present and to claim a future. They call us not only to assist them in their need, but also to examine carefully the causes of their present status. Ultimately they want the opportunity to shape their lives in the land they call home.

The underlying causes of the refugee crisis are structural in nature. The main refugee flows today are directly or indirectly a result of forces external to the countries where the displacement occurs. In most instances refugees are victims of the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States, a conflict which is carried on through both military and non-military means. This explanation, obviously, does not account for every refugee in the world today, but it both provides a clear picture of what is occurring and offers a sound foundation for generating responses. This essay addresses three structural issues related to the refugee crisis:

1) the nature of the refugee crisis;
2) the causes of the crisis;
3) the responses which can be made to the crisis.

WHO AND WHERE ARE THE REFUGEES?

Population displacements and migration, the inevitable companions of war, civil conflict and prolonged economic deprivation, are not unique to our century. Since 1945, however, the nature of these movements has changed. Forced displacements, the plight of the refugee, have largely shifted from Europe to the Third World—to Africa, to Asia and to Latin America. There may be as many as 15 million refugees in the world today. More than 10 million of them, mostly women and children, live in refugee camps.

Estimates vary widely for several reasons:

1) accurate enumeration is difficult, particularly in rural areas;
2) countries of first asylum benefit from inflated estimates when they are the basis of financial assistance for refugees;
3) countries often define refugees in the context of national interests, rather than the needs of the people concerned; and
4) "refugees" status simultaneously confers legal rights on an individual and corresponding responsibilities on governments. Governments often wish to limit such responsibilities.

The concept of "refugee" was formed in the years following the first and second world wars, when Western nations turned their attention to the rehabilitation of the homeless and destitute. Many private as well as governmental agencies encouraged governments to formulate codes regarding the status and protection of refugees. In this process, a "refugee situation" came to be identified as an "individual" phenomenon. In 1951 the United Nations created on a temporary basis the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to provide minimum standards for the recognition and treatment of refugees and to promote and facilitate either their repatriation or their assimilation into countries of asylum.

The UNHCR's main instruments for achieving these objectives were two documents relating to the status of refugees. They define a refugee as a person "who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country". This definition, however, well suited to post-war conditions in Europe, has two serious limitations when applied today. First, it envisaged an individual review process which cannot be successfully implemented when entire population subgroups flee. Second, it excluded three categories of individuals who most frequently are forced to flee:

a) internally displaced persons;

b) victims of military operations; and

c) victims of repressive and unjust economic situations.

Refugees today are almost the "normal" situation. Since the early 1950s, millions of people have existed in a homeless limbo. Although perhaps the majority of these individuals and groups have been rehabilitated, the flows of refugees continue. At different times the locations have shifted, from Europe to Asia to Southeast Asia to Africa and, most recently, to Central America. Each year new groups are uprooted and forced to flee their ancestral homes, their customary ways of living.

More than half of the world's refugees today are in Africa, with the largest concentration in the Northeastern area known as the "Horn of Africa". Some 2.6 million Afghan refugees are in Pakistan, where they have fled to escape the Soviet-backed civil war in their own country. In Southeast Asia, refugees continue to flee from Kampuchea, Laos, and Vietnam into neighbouring countries. In Central America, particularly in El Salvador and Guatemala, thousands of people have been displaced by oppressive regimes supported by the US government.

PROBING THE CAUSES

Why do people become refugees? Some observers assert that today's refugees are the inevitable result of the dissolution of empires and the postponed realignment of domestic, political and economic forces. Many studies assume a world of nation-states which only marginally and
occasionally are affected by external forces. While these studies may be consistent with the underlying premise of the UNHCR definition of a refugee as a unique and area-specific phenomenon, their conclusions are fundamentally misleading. They fail to address the complex interrelationship among political and economic forces which are increasingly integrated into a single world system. A deeper analysis in other words leads to the conclusion that refugees are the victims of a systemic disorder in that world system.

That systemic disorder is the most evident in the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States and the growing militarization of international relations at every level.

This conflict takes several forms:

1) direct and indirect military intervention in the affairs of another country, often through satellite or client states;

2) military and economic assistance, either directly through bilateral programs or indirectly through multilateral assistance programs such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank;

3) general support to countries which have economic and political systems compatible with the interests of one of the superpowers.

These different manifestations of the East-West conflict are elements of a total strategy by which the superpowers attempt either to extend or to maintain their dominant positions in the world system. When it serves their purpose, the superpowers manipulate and control internal groups and institutions in a direction which they consider consistent with and favorable to their own interests.

In Third World countries each superpower attempts to impose its system or model of development. Although each system impacts different groups in different ways, the outcome is often equally destructive and oppressive. Each system creates mechanisms of economic and political marginalization. When popular movements urge economic and political reform, national governments often in alliance with their superpower patron respond with military force to maintain "law and order" or stability in the country. The ultimate expression of this policy is the "national security state," which utilizes the available mechanisms of repression to control the population. The victims of such conditions are "refugees" as fully as those who flee "persecution" in a more narrowly defined sense.

The causes of the refugee crisis lie deeply embedded in the dominant institutions and practices of a present world system which is polarized ideologically along an "East-West" axis divided economically along "North-South" lines. Symptomatic of this structural "disorder" is the absence of an effective international institutional framework such as a functioning United Nations which could resolve global conflicts, protect human rights and promote international cooperation. Although even the most optimistic observers do not expect such institutional changes to occur either soon or spontaneously, the plight of the dispossessed and homeless demands continued efforts to create such a framework.
SEARCHING FOR SOLUTIONS

Refugees are a sign of the disorder in the world society. They indicate the deep moral and spiritual crisis of a civilization which tolerates conditions which continue to generate them. Refugees are likely to remain permanent "by-products" of the world order until such time as nations move to address their underlying causes.

Why is the world community unable to address these causes? The reason may be found in the attempts of each superpower to legitimate its social systems and to dismiss as ideological any questions which are raised about the foundational premises of those systems. Thus their principal responses to the growing interdependency and integrated nature of the world's economic and political systems have been largely ideological and military-security. They have all but withdrawn from active participation in international and regional institutions of cooperation which they do not dominate and control. They consistently oppose institutional initiatives and practices which address these problems from outside their own limited perspectives.

The search for solutions to the refugee crisis must continue at two levels: namely, the provision of immediate and long-term assistance to the refugees and the enduring solution of underlying causes. An important ingredient is the clarification of the concept and definition of "refugee". Another is creating an awareness that refugees are not isolated individuals but victims of forces which often originate outside their countries.

The voices of refugees call us from that in-between land "where the twilight of past dreams turns gradually into shadows, and expectations fade". In the urgency of flight, they cry for food, shelter and sanctuary. When dawn seems possible, they yearn to build lives anew either by returning to their homelands or by resettling elsewhere. In the end, however, they call us to more than this. They call us to work for the transformation of the political and economic structures which originally forced them to flee.

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is available on request free of charge. However, donations are welcome - they contribute to the autonomy of IFDA. May we suggest a minimum of Swiss francs 48 (US$ 30) to those from the North, and Swiss francs 24 (US$ 15) to those from the South?
Les dépenses d'armements augmentent dans le monde entier alors que l'aide au développement diminue. La situation de l'économie mondiale laisse beaucoup à désirer, la situation dans certains pays du Tiers Monde est dramatique. Les rapports Nord-Sud sont caractérisés par une grave crise imputable à l'égoïsme de l'Ouest et à l'indifférence de l'Est. Le gouvernement fédéral n'a rien fait pour donner de nouvelles impulsions au dialogue Nord-Sud.

Dans ces conditions, le groupe parlementaire SPD du Bundestag a élaboré un Programme d'avenir pour le Tiers Monde qui est maintenant présenté à l'opinion par Willy Brandt et Hans-Jochen Vogel. Ce Programme doit contribuer à atténuer le clivage Nord-Sud et à réduire les tensions qui résultent de cette inégalité. Son propos est de mettre sur un même plan le désarmement et le développement, et de rapprocher les pays industrialisés de l'Ouest et de l'Est grâce à un pacte de solidarité.

Le SPD demande la réalisation de ce Programme d'avenir pour le Tiers Monde par responsabilité envers les hommes et l'histoire, pour des raisons touchant la politique de paix et l'économie, par souci de solidarité et pour des intérêts propres bien compris. Déjà le premier rapport Brandt avait mis en évidence que les intérêts de tous ne peuvent être sauvagardés de façon durable que si tous reconnaissent enfin que le Nord et le Sud, l'Ouest et l'Est, font partie d'un seul et même monde dont la survie ne peut être que commune. Cette idée est reprise par le Programme d'avenir qui constate: "Il n'est plus possible nulle part dans le monde de jouir de la prospérité par une paix séparée".

Le SPD demande aux pays industrialisés de fournir une contribution comparable à l'ancien Plan Marshall, afin de lutter contre la faim et la maladie, contre l'exploitation et la destruction de la nature, contre le gaspillage de l'énergie et des matières premières, contre le chômage dans le Tiers Monde.

Mais, à la différence du Plan Marshall, il ne doit pas être question d'intégrer les pays bénéficiaires dans le système politique et économique des pays industrialisés. Il importe, bien au contraire, de mettre sur pied une coopération globa-
le qui tienne compte de l'identité culturelle et sociale des pays du Tiers Monde et de leurs responsabilités politiques et économiques propres.

Les maux structurels les plus graves dont souffre le Tiers Monde, étant notamment le surendettement, les termes des échanges défavorables, la stagnation du volume d'exportation et la faiblesse de la production intérieure ainsi que le gaspillage des ressources, le Programme pour le Tiers Monde devrait se concentrer sur les trois points suivants:

1. Aide à la suppression de la dette pour les pays les plus pauvres: moratoires ou suppression partielle des intérêts et amortissements exigibles au titre des crédits publics; pour cela, il faut qu'une conférence internationale se mette d'accord, avec la participation des banques, sur une diminution du taux de l'intérêt, la capitalisation des intérêts et la conversion de dettes à court terme en dettes à long terme et que le Fonds monétaire international adapte mieux sa politique des modalités d'octroi aux exigences en matière de politique de développement.

2. Promotion temporaire du commerce afin d'améliorer le rapport des échanges en faveur des pays du Tiers Monde et pour leur permettre d'accéder plus librement aux marchés des pays industrialisés. A cet égard, il y a également lieu d'accorder la priorité absolue aux pays les plus pauvres.

3. Satisfaire les besoins de base afin d'aider à mieux vivre: il faut de vastes programmes intégrés, mais orientés vers la petite entreprise pour augmenter efficacement la productivité et pour trouver des débouchés à l'agriculture et à la petite industrie et pour garantir une meilleure utilisation et conservation des ressources vitales, comme l'entend le concept du "développement par la base".

Le Programme d'avenir pour le Tiers Monde ne doit pas devenir une action d'aide à l'exportation subventionnée par l'État au profit des secteurs industriels en difficulté, et il ne doit pas contribuer à consolider des structures économiques surannées. Cela n'empêche qu'il pourrait avoir des répercussions positives sur l'exportation et l'emploi dans les pays industrialisés.

Il est de l'intérêt essentiel des pays industrialisés, à longue échéance, non pas de créer des possibilités de livraison à court terme, mais de pratiquer une politique de coopération fournissant le développement autonome des pays du Sud eux-mêmes, sur la base de leurs propres efforts et avec la participation de leurs populations.
Le Programme d'avenir pour le Tiers Monde doit être doté des moyens financiers que requiert son importance pour la paix mondiale et pour le développement du Tiers Monde. Une initiative de désarmement pourrait libérer des ressources importantes pour encourager les échanges et pour assurer les besoins de base (5% des dépenses mondiales d'armement représentent près de 50 milliards de dollars par an). L'aide au désendettement dégrelle les pays du Tiers Monde sans exiger un trop grand sacrifice de la part des pays industrialisés. Ce qui importe, c'est que le Programme pour le Tiers Monde ne se substitue pas aux projets et institutions existants de la politique de développement, mais les complète en y apportant des impulsions supplémentaires.

Pour la mise en œuvre du Programme, il faudra recourir aux institutions spécialisées des Nations Unies, afin d'éviter autant que possible la création de bureaucraties supplémentaires. Un nouvel organisme à instituer serait chargé de prendre les décisions fondamentales concernant l'utilisation des crédits (programmes pour les différents pays) et ferait rapport sur l'efficacité de leur emploi. Il serait composé sur une base paritaire de représentants du Nord (Ouest et Est) et de représentants du Sud. Le Programme d'avenir pour le Tiers Monde doit, par principe, fonctionner à l'aide de subventions. Il faut constituer, dans les différents pays du Tiers Monde, des fonds de contre-partie en monnaie nationale qui serviront à financer des investissements pour le développement économique ultérieur de ces pays.

Le SPD entend ouvrir le débat, à l'échelle nationale et internationale, sur le Programme d'avenir pour le Tiers Monde, le discuter, en République fédérale, avec des groupes sociaux tels les syndicats et les Eglises et le porter à la connaissance du Parlement européen et du Conseil de l'Europe. Il doit être discuté avec les autres partenaires de l'Europe et du Tiers Monde ainsi qu'avec les Etats-Unis, le Canada et le Japon avant d'être soumis, lors de la Conférence sur le désarmement à Genève, à l'Union soviétique et à ses alliés ainsi qu'aux pays du Tiers Monde pour y être examiné sans aucune polémique. Le SPD a déjà entamé le dialogue avec le côté soviétique quant à la réduction des dépenses d'armements et l'utilisation des ressources ainsi libérées pour le développement économique et social dans le Tiers Monde.

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peut être obtenu gratuitement sur demande. Les contributions volontaires sont cependant les bienvenues: elles contribuent à l'autonomie de la FIPAD. Pouvons-nous suggérer un minimum annuel de 48 francs suisses (ou 30 dollars US) à nos lecteurs du Nord et de 24 francs suisses (ou 15 dollars US) à ceux du Sud?
A FINNISH PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL MINI-NIEO SYMPOSIUM

The purpose of the symposium is to examine the present situation in the North-South dialogue and in particular to assess the past record and potential new initiatives of a limited number of like-minded countries in the North-South issues.

The starting point is the present stalemate in the global North-South negotiations, which emphasises the need to look for new approaches. In this respect the idea of a mini-NIEO may be considered as a step towards a global arrangement. The concept of mini-NIEO is here understood as a form of cooperation whereby a group of industrialised countries and a group of Third World countries attempt to implement some of the proposals made within the global NIEO framework 1/.

Suggestions of limited arrangements as steps towards global solutions have been made e.g. by the Brandt Commission in its second report "Common Crisis" as well as by the Socialist International. The Norwegian Government has launched an initiative in mini-NIEO framework by calling for a comprehensive and coordinated cooperation between the like-minded countries and the nine members of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Moreover, the Nordic Council is engaged, as a result of the initiative made by the Finnish Prime Minister to examine opportunities for a "Nordic Lomé Convention". All these proposals indicate that the like-minded countries may play a more substantial role in North-South issues by taking some common actions.

The aim of the proposed International Symposium on Mini-NIEO is to offer some substance to a mini-NIEO scheme and to examine problems related to previous similar types of arrangements in North-South relations.

The following topics suggest lines of inquiry which might be considered to be covered by the symposium. These themes are tentative offering only a basis for further more concrete suggestions.

GENERAL AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

- mini-NIEO, challenge to NIEO programme
- the concept of mini-NIEO related to the process of differentiation in international systems
- mini-NIEO: towards self-reliance or structural dependency

REGIONAL COOPERATION ARRANGEMENTS

- Lomé convention
- like-minded group
- Nordic cooperation in aid coordination
- international support for SADCC
- special arrangements for LLDC group

1/ cf. also Ahmed Ben Salah: "Pour une expérience de coopération exemplaire", IFDA Dossier 6, April 1979.
EXPERIENCE OF PREVIOUS SPECIAL MEASURES

- preferential trade agreements (GSP)
- export earning stabilization schemes (STABEX, IMF's compensatory financing arrangements)
- import promotion systems (technical assistance units in Nordic countries)
- adjustment assistance measures (Netherlands)
- import support schemes for goods produced in other Third World countries (Norway)
- transfer of appropriate technology (UK)
- barter trade and buy-back contracts (Sukab in Sweden)
- storage arrangements (Norway)
- investment promotion funds (special funds for industrial cooperation)
- Third World export promotion measures (ITC)
- special export credit and guarantee systems

The symposium is planned to be held in Helsinki in 1986 and it will be organised by the Finnish Society for Development Studies possibly together with the World Institute of Development Economic Research (WIDER). Also the theme of the symposium could be linked as a sub-theme to the Research Programme on Global Poverty and Western Middle Powers initiated by C. Pratt and G. Helleiner from Toronto University and J. Faaland from the OECD Development Centre.

The purpose is that the papers presented at the symposium may form a basis for a joint publication. Participants may include both scholars and policy makers including representatives from Third World development research institutes.

Comments concerning this proposal and interest in participating in this project are most welcome.

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THE DECLARATION OF AMBIORIX

OECUMENICAL DECLARATION ON THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION POLICY

by The Joint Task Force
23 Avenue d'Auderghem
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Representatives of oecumenical organizations active in the field of the European Community's development cooperation policies met in September at the Quaker House, Ambiorix Square, in Brussels for a consultation on the Third Lomé Convention. The consultation, which had been convened by the Joint Task Force on Development Issues, studied a number of documents in which church-related organizations within the European Community (EC), expressed their position on key issues in the negotiations for the new Lomé Convention.

* * *

The aim of this statement is to suggest some important check-points for oecumenical action on development policies in the coming years.

The negotiators on the EC side caused considerable commotion by proposals about "policy dialogue". The concept met an outright rejection by ACP representatives, who feared one-sided interference with their internal policy-making process. Although the proposals now appear to have given way to improved scope and procedures for consultation, we wish to emphasize that the preamble of the present convention, about co-operation between equal partners, is still very far from reality, and therefore requires renewed efforts in all countries associated with one another. Without such efforts, commercial and industrial interests based in the EC will continue to overrule the interests of the poorer sections of the population in the Third World, and "people at the centre of all development efforts" will remain an empty slogan.

Greater justice between the rich EC and the poorer ACP countries, as well as greater justice between the rich and poor within each country should remain the chief criteria for Christians involved in EC development policy.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

We welcome the Council of Minister's Resolution of 1982, "to fully consider the role of women in development, as well as the specific problems of women" This declaration of intent has to be operationalised. In particular, appraisals and evaluations of projects in the food sector must take the role and position of women in food production as one of their principal concerns.

This would imply that procedures are found to involve women in consultation, participation, evaluation and implementation of those projects and
programmes which affect their lives and the life of the community in which they live.

In this context we appreciate that women's access to credit facilities will be improved under Lomé III. Care should be taken, however, that such facilities do not only benefit those who are already fairly well off, but also the poorer women and their organizations, both in rural areas and in urban slums.

Having said that, we are still concerned that Lomé III will take a too limited view of the role of women, confining it to the cultural sphere.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Access to food is a basic human right which should appear at the top of the agricultural agendas (and others).

Given the immediate need of reorienting the EC's Common Agricultural Policy, and the interdependence between agriculture in the EC and agriculture in Third World countries, it must be recognised that any changes in the way we organize agriculture in Europe directly effect the conditions in which Third World countries pursue agricultural development.

It is essential that in the European debate on agricultural restructuring, the following implications for the Third World receive particular attention:

1. export policy and its frequently negative consequences on the local farmer in the Third World:

2. the liberalisation of the European market for Third World agricultural products in which the South has a comparative advantage in terms of production costs;

3. the value of agricultural exports be enhanced by encouraging at least minimal levels of processing in the countries concerned. This, and the previous points can have positive effects on the level of employment and therefore on incomes and on access to food;

4. the model of "agricultural productionism" being exported to Third World countries has proved itself of limited value in its place of origin. We must support a form of agricultural development in Third World countries which is suitably related to local needs and environmental possibilities.

Recognizing that food aid is both a necessity and a danger, we strongly support the resolution on food aid adopted by the Council of Ministers in November 1983, particularly the emphasis on using food aid as an instrument of development. We especially favour the promotion of "triangular operations" involving the EC and Third World countries - as a viable solution.

At the same time, we are concerned that ACP states may be given access to community food surpluses on "advantageous terms" since this would encourage ACP countries to import foodstuffs, rather than produce them locally.
MUTUALITY AND RECIPROCITY

As regards the controversial policy-dialogue, the participants of the consultation emphasised that any dialogue will be doomed to fail unless it is conducted in a completely open and reciprocal way. We plead for real partnership, meaning that ACP states should be entitled to negotiate not only about development policies, but also about other EC policies that affect their future. The participants wish to mention as specific examples: the Common Agricultural Policy, and commercial and industrial policies. A real dialogue also implies that EC policy on human rights should not only refer to the internal situation in ACP states, but also concern, for example, the position of immigrants and foreign students in the EC. On the same subject, the oecumenical statements noted that there continues to exist a sharp conflict between policies of the EC and its member states vis-à-vis South Africa on the one hand and EC support for SADCC on the other. (SADCC is a group of non-racial countries in Southern Africa attempting to coordinate their development and reduce dependence on the Apartheid state).

Even though the concept of "policy dialogue" as a new form of co-operation has been given a more limited meaning, the participants still wish to stress the importance of mutuality and reciprocity in EC/ACP relationships.

THE TASKS FACING CHURCHES AND OECUMENICAL GROUPS

We are appealing to churches and oecumenical organizations within the EC and in the Third World to continuously assess the implementation of the new convention, and to encourage their members to participate in the public debate of EC/ACP relationships. Where possible, Christians should liaise with others in order to exert a more effective influence aimed at greater justice.

At the European level we are respectfully asking the Commission of the Episcopacies of the EC (COMECE); the European Oecumenical Commission for Church and Society (EECCS); the European Study and Information Centre (OCIPE); and the Joint Task Force (JTF) itself to call their members' attention to the oecumenical statements studied, and to this declaration.

At the national level, we invite churches and church-groups to pay attention to EC development policies in a number of ways, making use of the oecumenical documents and speakers' lists that have become available. Possibilities such as week-end conferences, study days, adult education programmes, as well as the potential offered by the dense network of church-related and secular media, need to be utilized much more than in the past.

We would specifically suggest that contacts be made with the National Parliaments, members of the European Parliament, political parties, trade unions, organizations of farmers, women, youths, non-governmental organizations, teachers and teachers' organizations, and, again, the media, with the view to increasing public interest in EC/Third World relationships. In this work of conscientization full use should be made of personnel and resources within the oecumenical organizations active on EC development policy, as well as within other development-oriented groups affiliated to the NGO Liaison Committee in Brussels.
CENTRAL AMERICA: TOWARDS A EUROPEAN PRESENCE?

by Yojana Sharma
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In September 1984, San Jose - the capital of the Central American state of Costa Rica - was host to an unprecedented meeting of 21 foreign ministers of five Central American countries plus the ten European Community member states (Britain, France, Italy, West Germany, Greece, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Ireland, Denmark, Spain, Portugal) as well as the Contadora group (Panama, Mexico, Venezuela and Columbia) who have been negotiating a peaceful solution to the Central American crisis since January 1983.

For the Central American countries, this was to be the beginning of a "European presence" in Central America, which could effectively counterbalance United States' dominance in the region. For Europeans, it was primarily a political conference to support Central American attempts to find a peaceful solution to the crisis that has dogged the region. The San Jose Conference was a confirmation of the European political commitment which up till then was neither co-ordinated nor coherent. But what is the nature of the commitment? And does it amount to a real European "presence" in the region as the Central American's envisage? Or have the Central American countries overestimated European and particularly EEC interest in the region as a whole and the extent of its room for manoeuvre vis-à-vis its relations with the United States within the NATO alliance? This paper will look at the background to San Jose, and what the Conference revealed about the possibilities of a strong European voice on Central America.

1. GETTING TO SAN JOSE - THE AWAKENING OF EUROPEAN INTEREST IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Whatever the meagre results in economic terms of the San Jose Conference, few dispute that its importance really lay in the symbolic gesture from Europe in actually being there. Although there was a special EEC aid package for Central America in 1982 nothing came near the expression of political commitment that the arrival of ministers in the Costa Rican capital represented. By agreeing to an EEC-Central America Conference, Europe not only sat up and took notice of events in the Isthmus but also made a step towards a European "presence" there.

Central American states and members of the Socialist International complain that the initiative has been far too long in coming. But looking closer at the EEC's historic, economic and other ties with the region it is hardly surprising that the Community has taken so little interest in Central America. As far as trade with the EEC is concerned, Central America is still less important than the rest of the world, accounting for only 0.5% of EEC trade. And scope for improved trade is limited given the nature of Central American exports - mostly commodities such as sugar, coffee, bananas and cotton for which the EEC has only a limited capacity to absorb.
The EEC has traditionally had a greater commercial interest in the larger countries of the region - Mexico, Brazil and Argentina - or with regional groupings such as the Andean pact which for the EEC provide a larger market for the EEC's own industrial exports. With the failure of the Central American Common Market established in the 1960s but now defunct, EEC interest in Central America has been scant. For the EEC, the countries of Central America are too small and too politically divided for an effective regional base for cooperation.

But smallness of size has not hampered the EEC in its relations with other countries of the Caribbean basin. Many of the Caribbean islands are among the most privileged of the EECs trade partners. They benefit from preferential trade treatment under the terms of the Lomé agreement which also ensures supplies of raw materials - precisely those which the Central Americans produce - to the EEC. The Central American dream is to be included in the Lomé pact which groups 64 African Caribbean and Pacific ex-colonies of EEC countries in a special trade and aid relationship with Europe. But this cannot happen as long as Lomé countries themselves fear that their "special relationship" would be eroded by the entry of new states with competing exports and as long as Central America itself is so closely bound to the United States.

Although in trade terms Central America is of little significance to the EEC, the reverse is far from being the case. The EEC is vital to Central America. It is the regions' second largest market and source of investment after the United States, accounting for some 20% of Central American trade. And Central American countries have received substantial aid from the EEC. Although these countries account for under 10% of the population of Latin America, they receive over a third of EEC's aid to the whole continent.

So at a time, when Central America is increasingly a pawn in a perceived superpower struggle, it looks more and more to Europe as the only alternative to diversify relations from an overwhelming dependence on the United States. And expectations have been high, not understanding that the EEC's own economic troubles and the recession in general have limited the scope for any substantial increase in development aid, and that the EEC's cultural and historical links with the Latin American Continent, which Central America set such store by, have since diversified and established elsewhere.

But that is not to say that Europe has ignored the situation in Central America. As the crisis in the region escalated, Europe has provided aid for refugees and for the civil war in Nicaragua in 1979 and El Salvador in 1981. Natural disasters in the region brought food and emergency aid from the EEC. But none of this amounted to a longer term political commitment of support to the region. The crisis and its international repercussions merely brought it higher in the EEC's foreign policy priorities.

Indeed a common and united European stand on Central America was not possible till this year. The main initiatives were taken by the Socialist International but the more conservative governments clearly did not care to follow suit. Without this political homogeneity anything like the San Jose Conference where the EEC spoke with one voice was unimaginable. In fact, in 1982 a special aid package for Central America
could only be partially implemented because of British and German opposition to aid to Nicaragua. The political divide within the community seemed an almost insurmountable barrier to any real "European presence" until events began to change in Central America itself, in particular the announcement of elections in Nicaragua and the coming to power of Jose Napoleon Duarte in El Salvador, who was seen as a moderating influence in that country's politics.

Before May this year, Britain had raised continuous objections to aid to Guatemala where the military regime has been roundly criticised by human rights activists. France was only lukewarm to the idea of aid to El Salvador and Britain and Germany continued to oppose aid to Nicaragua. However, that month in the small town of Salon-de-Provence in France, EEC foreign ministers issued a declaration in favour of a joint response to the crisis in Central America.

French foreign minister Claude Cheysson said the meeting in Salon-de-Provence signalled the beginning of a reconciliation of positions on Central America. Even the most sceptical of the EEC's member states recognised that elections in Nicaragua "represented an element of appeasement" in that country, Cheysson said. While the French, for their part, were prepared to accept that the presence of Duarte as El Salvador's head of state would mean a move towards political dialogue between the political forces in the country. As the British newspaper The Daily Telegraph also pointed out in an editorial in September, the return to power of Duarte "makes some common European initiative in Central America practical politics for the first time."

Given these developments, the European tours of Costa Rica's President Alberto Luis Monge and Duarte himself during May and June were well-timed. Monge's diplomatic offensive which covered 12 countries in six weeks to amass support for the idea of a meeting of EEC and Central American foreign ministers forced the EEC into action. Both Monge and Duarte, in Europe a month later, called for a "Western European presence" in Central America with increased aid and investment in the region. And Duarte stressed the need for aid to "all Central American countries without discrimination and without strings attached."

The visits were a spectacular success, but particularly for Monge who declared on his return to his own country that "for the first time in history our democracy has managed to awaken in Western Europe a genuine interest in our country and our region." Thus European ministers arrived in San Jose on 28 September for two days of consultation - where they were able to put together their own distinctive approach to Central America - it was distinctive from the United States which significantly had not been invited even as observers.

2. CENTRAL AMERICAN EXPECTATIONS AND EUROPE'S SUPPORT - DISTINCT FROM THE UNITED STATES

The acceptance of the EEC, Spain and Portugal of the invitation to attend the San Jose Conference was greeted with a wave of euphoria in Central America. This was the confirmation of the historic and cultural links between them. And the Old Country was coming to their aid. The swift and complete success of Monge's diplomatic initiative meant that great and perhaps exaggerated hopes were pinned on the Conference.
In the event, the Central American states overlooked a certain amount of caution on the part of several European countries, who had always felt that Central America was part of the US sphere of influence and that Europe must be careful not to step on the superpower's toes. The EEC was reluctant to "vie" with the US or compete with it. It certainly had no intention of explicitly condemning it. Nevertheless, this did not prevent the EEC from clearly and openly expressing its political support for the Contadora initiatives and even for Nicaragua.

The Central Americans were also convinced that the only way the EEC could effectively counterbalance US dominance in the region was by injecting large amounts of aid and by providing duty-free access to Central American exports. At a time when the EEC was cutting back on its own spending and wracked by overspending and a budget crisis such expectations were unrealistic, and EEC diplomats complained that the demands made during the preparatory talks a few days before the beginning of the Conference were "out of proportion" even going so far as to demand a Lomé-type pact for Central America.

Only Monge was cautious. "Given the difficult position the EEC itself is in, I cannot expect them to be very open when it comes to development aid" he said. But the EEC played down the economic aspects insisting that above all the Conference was a political one. And there were many Central Americans who agreed with this although they pointed out that this should not be an excuse to sidestep an aid commitment which was also important. As Alfonso Dubois of CRIES, a regional grouping of Central American economic research institutes said: "We cannot talk of an economic aid programme while we are threatened with war. Without peace, development assistance will merely be used to subsidize the fighting and increase the militarization of the area."

In the event at San Jose, the EEC's political declarations did not fail the Central Americans. The EEC was able to show that it did think independently of the US, although EEC ministers were also careful to show they were not against the US itself, they merely saw the conflict in a different light. EEC development Commissioner Edgard Pisani said in an interview "We cannot oppose the US, we are all part of the same camp - the Western camp."

But Pisani was quite explicit in pointing out that Europe did not follow the US line of thinking. "Some people are trying to convince us that there are problems in Central America because of the existence of the superpowers. But we say the superpowers are there because of an unbalanced situation and social problems. "For Europe" Pisani said "what was more important than the East-West conflict was the conflict between the haves and have-nots." And this was confirmed by Hans Dietrich Genscher, Germany's foreign minister on his return to Germany: "We want cooperation with Central America not against anyone, but for political and economic independence and social justice."

Many Europeans felt that despite the NATO alliance and the importance of relations with the US, Europe "should have no qualms about which of the measures taken by the US over recent years do not meet with our approval" and this was echoed by a German Parliamentarian. The direction put together in San Jose should be followed unflinchingly so that we don't always need to be furtively and worriedly looking towards Washington".

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But this went hand in hand with a need to underline that Europe was not encroaching on the American backyard. "There can be no question of our thwarting the American presence. Of our contesting this presence. Of our taking the place of the USA" Pisani said. "What Central America needs in fact - weak and divided as it is - is not to find itself alone face to face with this big neighbour, but to have as a witness, as assistant, as a support, someone who can help it feel less alone, less isolated, less threatened by this neighbour. What we must do in political terms is to give Central America evidence of our presence, of our will to be present."

Europe went a little further. They also supported the Contadora peace plan and agreed to sign the act. This was important at a time when the US was putting pressure on Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica not to accept the plan as it stood. Europe gave the plan the legitimacy it needed. In this way, by upholding a political and negotiated solution to the crisis and by its tacit support of Nicaragua, the EEC openly distanced itself from US policy in the region. Most importantly the EEC strongly confirmed that the problems of Central America were social and economic and not ideological.

The Central American countries had much to applaud in the political declarations but this was only a part of the conference. Economic support or lack of it would show if the EEC could go further than major pronouncements of verbal support and actively counterbalance US influence.

3. MEAGRE ECONOMIC RESULTS - DOES THIS AMOUNT TO A EUROPEAN PRESENCE?

Whilst acknowledging that the root of the Central American crisis was socio-economic, the EEC was however unable to significantly increase aid to the five countries - Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Edgard Pisani said that the present 30 million US dollars in annual aid to the region would be increased to 45 million. But this was a far cry from the doubling of aid recommended by Pisani himself. In addition, it is by no means certain that the decision will be accepted when the EEC's 1985 budget goes through the European parliament.

French foreign minister Claude Cheysson however had room for optimism, pointing out that even small sums of money were important as catalysts to attract further aid. "It must be said that EEC aid has sometimes attracted aid from other sources which have been five or ten times larger than EEC sums" he said.

Most of the aid will go towards economic integration of the Central American states, as well as regional projects. This was a deliberate decision on the part of the EEC to avoid the kind of wrangles experienced in 1982 over aid to particular countries of the region. It was also important for another reason. During the conference, a letter from US secretary of state George Schulz to EEC ministers, came to light in which he asked them not to include Nicaragua in any region to region cooperation. This was out of the question for the EEC who had firmly decided to aid the region as a whole. The only effect of the Schulz letter was to show up the heavy handedness of US diplomacy.

But the spectre of the US haunted the Conference halls. Central Americans could not help pointing out that while EEC aid to Central
America between 1979 and 1982 had been $125 million, the US had provided over $1 billion. And the inability of the EEC to counterbalance the US economically was starkly underlined two days after the Conference, when the US signed a $60 million contract to aid repairs to Costa Rican roads. Ironically, the sum was the same as the figure recommended by Pisani's officials - a doubling of present EEC aid which they had been unable to agree.

The economic clauses of the final communiqué are also very vague. It states that for the encouragement of trade "the generalized system of preferences could be an adequate instrument to encourage the expansion of trade and industrialization in these countries." To encourage investment in the region, the ministers contented themselves with affirming that the promotion and protection of European investments were in the two regions' mutual interest. There are no precise explanations of how either could be achieved.

As for the cooperation agreement that the Central American countries have been asking for a long time, this would be discussed in meetings between Central American ambassadors to the EEC in Brussels. There is no calendar set out for the meetings and in any case they will be "determined by circumstances" according to the communiqué. Some Central American diplomats expressed the hope that a Cooperation agreement could be signed as soon as mid 1985. But even EEC officials admit that such an agreement would have little substance without financial provisions. And the EEC proved amply at San Jose that there was not much money to be had from Europe.

It is difficult to drum up much enthusiasm for the final outcome of the economic discussions with its lack of financial commitments and vague statements. The only thing that can be said is that although they did not give much, the EEC countries did not bow to US pressure over aid to Nicaragua and thereby expressed a certain strength. The United States was ruffled that the inclusion of Nicaragua gave that country a certain amount of legitimacy. But the EEC view is that Nicaragua would otherwise be pushed further in the hands of the Soviets and Cubans.

What has concretely been achieved apart from a raising of morale in Central America? Precious little. The fact that little has changed and that the situation is as explosive as before indicates that Europe's "visit" does not amount to a "presence".

The peace initiatives have hardly progressed and the US proved with its aid to Costa Rica that it will always return to its back yard.

As one European diplomat described it, the San Jose Conference was little more than a brief firework display which momentarily lights up the surroundings in a sudden and elaborate burst of light before falling, extinguished to the ground.

If this is not to be the case the success of the San Jose Conference will depend on a continued follow up and an implementation of the proposals. Without that, the only success will be that the Europeans were in San Jose at all. The question is "will the political impetus of their visit last till after the money they pledged runs out?".
THE MAURICE BISHOP FOUNDATION:
CONTINUING GRENADA'S REVOLUTION

This Foundation has been established to honour and preserve the memory of the late Prime Minister of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, Maurice Bishop, and of the ministers of government, trade union leaders, workers and students murdered on 19 October 1983.

The horrible events of 19 October led to the collapse of the Grenada Revolution. Under the leadership of Maurice Bishop, the Revolution had given new hope and dignity to Grenada and brought many benefits to the Grenadian people.

The Foundation is a legal body established under the laws of Grenada as a non-profit organisation. Its main objectives are:

1. to collect funds for building a physical monument in honour of the martyrs;
2. to build and operate a centre which will collect and distribute materials about the life and work of each of the martyrs. These materials will include books, photos, pamphlets, films, video cassettes, tapes, slides and a monthly newsletter. The centre will also research the life and work of other heroes and martyrs of the Grenadian people's history;
3. to set up a fund to help needy persons who lost breadwinners in October, as well as those who have had to pay for medical attention or were in other ways severely affected by the events of that period;
4. to establish a scholarship fund for providing scholarships named after the martyrs to secondary schools, technical and university institutions;
5. to urge that important places in Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique are named after the martyrs;
6. to do everything to find the remains of Maurice Bishop and all the martyrs and to make sure that they are buried with dignity.

HOW WILL THE FOUNDATION FUNCTION?

Committees will be established in each parish of Grenada to carry out the work of the Foundation. Parish committees will organise seminars, panel discussions, film shows and fund-raising activities in the parishes. The Foundation will open two branch offices, one in Carriacou and the other in Grenville.

The Grenada Revolution had broad support in many countries, regionally and internationally. Many have expressed support for the Foundation. As a result, branches of the Foundation will be established in countries of
the Caribbean, North America, Europe and other parts of the world. This would permit those who wish to carry out activities on behalf of the Foundation in their own countries to do so. Each overseas branch will have its own trustees. These trustees will, however, be responsible to the board of trustees at headquarters, Grenada.

The Foundation intends to raise its monies through fund-raising, gifts and donations from the public as well as well-wishers. In addition, the Foundation will seek funds from international organisations, non-governmental organisations and other foundations which support its objectives.

The directors of the Foundation wish to appeal to all those who read this to make a direct contribution to:

Maurice Bishop and 19 October 1983 Martyrs Foundation, PO Box 167, Grenville Street, St. George's, Grenada.

Pensamiento propio, boletín de información y análisis publicado por el Instituto de investigaciones económicas y sociales (IDIES) dedica un número especial (N°17) a Grenada, A un año de la invasión con artículos sobre "lecciones para la cuenca", "Partido versus Masas" y "Fuimos amítics" (Apartado C-16, Managua, Nicaragua).

A. Paine, P. Sutton and T. Thorndike, Grenada, Revolution and Invasion (London: Croom Helm, 1984), 233pp. This book presents an in-depth survey of the background to the American invasion of Grenada. It looks at the origins of the revolution in Grenada and its achievements, at American policy towards the Caribbean, at the growing Cuban role in the region and at the response of the Commonwealth Caribbean countries. It considers in detail the internal struggle for power in Grenada which led up to the death of Maurice Bishop, the US invasion and international reactions to the invasion. It concludes by examining Grenada's future and the impact of the whole affair upon Caribbean politics.
FEMMES, COMMUNICATIONS, DEVELOPPEMENT

UN SÉMINAIRE DE L'AFARD À DAKAR

Du 1er au 10 octobre 1984, l'Association des femmes africaines pour la recherche sur le développement (AFARD) accueillait à Dakar une trentaine de femmes journalistes et sociologues venues de la plupart des pays de l'Afrique francophone. Cette rencontre/séminaire de formation/sensibilisation avait pour objectif, d'une part, de contribuer aux préparatifs pour la Conférence mondiale de la décennie de la femme (Nairobi, septembre) et, d'autre part, de mettre sur pied une association des communica-trices africaines.

La rencontre a bien répondu à ses deux objectifs, nous dit Andras Biro, de Mexico, qui, représentant la FIPAD, a activement participé à l'animation du séminaire:

1. Une "socialisation" des problèmes spécifiques de la femme en Afrique, nourrie des expériences et des réflexions des participantes, transforma la rencontre en un véritable atelier de formation tant pour celles-ci que pour les organisatrices.

2. La femme africaine dans l'emploi, la santé, l'éducation et la communication sociale, autant de thèmes abordés autour du concept-clé d'alternative. La recherche de solutions endogènes, fondée sur le vécu de chacune des femmes présentes, nourrit un riche dialogue, surtout dans les groupes de travail où il fut possible d'entrer dans la substance de chacun des thèmes. Les recommandations qui en résultèrent quant à la façon dont les médias devraient s'occuper de cette actrice émergeant à la visibilité, la femme africaine, y gagnèrent leur caractère concret.

3. On s'aperçoit, une fois de plus, que le regard féminin porté sur la réalité présente cette caractéristique de donner au détail (souvent plus essentiel que le "tout") sa place légitime. Le quotidien, dans lequel se mesure en définitive le développement (ou son absence), traverse débats et discussions de la manière la plus naturelle - la plus créatrice.

4. Il devient, par exemple, évident pour chacune des participantes que ce n'est ni la première pilote, ni la première garagiste qui doit faire la "une". Mais si les médias africains entendent véritablement appliquer le "nouvel ordre de l'information", l'actrice centrale des nouvelles (etc.) doit être la femme tout court, qu'elle ne s'agit pas de reléguer aux pages féminines et autres émissions spéciales. Si la paysanne africaine produit et vend, si la femme africaine travaille dans l'artisanat, enseigne ou soigne tout en étant ou n'étant pas épouse ou mère, si la femme africaine existe, sa voix doit être entendue. Pour cela, il faut l'interpellier. Cela donna lieu à la "résolution" la plus importante du séminaire, et c'est dans cet esprit que les journalistes prépareront Nairobi.

L'avant dernier jour du séminaire, l'Association des professionnelles africaines de la communication (APAC) était créée. Elle s'attachera à promouvoir la constitution de groupes nationaux de recherche et d'échange et à présenter une image des femmes africaines reflétant leur participation au développement.
Karl Gaspar, who wrote this poem in jail, is a lay theologian and church worker, an artist, a dramatist and musician, and a human rights activist. A former adult education director of the Philippines Catholic Bishops' National Secretariat for Social Action, he was instrumental in the development of the Church's basic Christian Community programme particularly in the island of Mindanao. On 26 March 1983 he was abducted by military agents and he remains a prisoner in the District Command Detention Centre in Davao, Mindanao. Karl's case is but an addition to the more than 60,000 who have been imprisoned by the Marcos regime since the imposition of martial law in 1972.

We are informed that Karl Gaspar has not stopped struggling in jail. He and fellow detainees have started a prisoner-run industry for producing "liberation handicrafts" used to buy food for the political detainees and their families, organized an educational programme and produced three plays along with fellow detainees.

A Child

a child appeared in my dreams with Kamunggay* in her hands she was going to heal the wounds of those hurt by life's deprivation alienation dehumanization

a child surfaced in my hopes with a sweet smile on her face she was going to spread sunshine on those imprisoned by life's agony anxiety brutality

a child stood at the horizon of my tomorrows with the sun, the moon and the stars in her eyes she was going to deliver fire to those challenged by life's struggles cycles miracles

today the child of my dreams, hopes, tomorrows is born God remains pleased with the world long live the child.

* a healing herb

Telegrammes demanding his release may be sent to President Marcos, Malacanang Palace, Manila, Philippines with a copy to the Filipino ambassador in your country (more information from your local Amnesty International section). You may also write to Karl Gaspar himself, c/o Helen Gaspar, Ateneo Grade School, Matina, Davao 9501, Mindanao, Philippines; or c/o Task Force Detainees, 214 N. Domingo Street, San Juan, Metro Manila, Philippines.
FIAN - URGENT ACTIONS AGAINST HUNGER AND OPPRESSION

On the basis of the human right to food (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Art.11,2), the Foodfirst Information and Action Network (FIAN) has, since the end of 1983, taken "urgent actions" against hunger and oppression, e.g. in cases of land evictions, refused minimum wages, threats and oppression directed at grassroots groups organizing themselves to combat hunger.

HOW DO THE FIAN "URGENT ACTIONS" WORK?

. Individuals or the groups affected (e.g. in the South) inform the FIAN network of urgent cases of hunger and oppression, giving addresses of persons in authority to whom the protest should be directed.

. The coordinators of the FIAN networks in the different countries decide immediately whether the issue can be taken up.

. The FIAN members participating in Urgent Actions react as quickly as possible by sending letters, cables etc. to the persons responsible in the particular case.

. The individuals or groups affected keep FIAN informed about the further development of the case.

. The FIAN Newsletter informs all members about the results of the Urgent Actions.

WHAT DOES FIAN WANT

The problem of hunger cannot be separated from the question of justice and the human right to food. FIAN is on its way to establishing an international network, campaigning in both North and South against human rights violations in the field of hunger and malnutrition.

The policies of industrialized countries, and the ensuing international economic relations, violate the right to food of millions of people. This is why FIAN campaigns for a change in economic and political decisions in industrialized countries. It is a lobby for the victims of such policies, drawing attention to the consequences of wrong decisions and trying to influence decision-makers. FIAN is currently supporting the campaign "For peoples' right to feed themselves", which aims - in cooperation with agricultural communities in the Third World - to show how counter-productive international food aid is, and to contribute to reforming the EEC's food aid policy by lobbying European governments and the European Parliament.

Groups from all over the world are invited to build up this network in their own way, and to join forces in giving FIAN the international impact needed to get things moving.

Stéphane Jost, 20 rue du Refuge, 78000 Versailles, France
Rolf Köhlemann, Postfach 1302, 6906 Leimen, West Germany
Dorli Rüesch, Eeb, Quellenstr. 25, 8005 Zürich, Switzerland
Gerti Perlaki, OIE, Tuchlauben 8/6/16, 1010 Vienna, Austria
Per-Ake Wahlström, Götgatan 3, nb, 75 222 Uppsala, Sweden
Four women from Asia and Africa share the 1984 Right Livelihood Award of 350,000 Swedish Kronor. This is the first time that a major European Award has gone entirely to women from the Third World. The prize was introduced four years ago by a Swedish-German Alternate Member of the European Parliament, Jakob von Uexkull, who sold his valuable postage stamps to fund it. It was presented in Stockholm the day before the Nobel Prize ceremony, to 'honour and support those working on practical solutions to the real problems facing us today'.

The winners of the 1984 Award are: Winefreda Geonzon (Philippines); Wangari Maathai (Kenya); the Self-Employed Women's Association in Ahmedabad (India) founded by Ela Bhatt. A special Honorary Award was also presented to Iman Khalifeh of Lebanon.

Winefreda Geonzon - Free Lava an innovative scheme now training volunteers from other countries. Provides free legal aid, rehabilitation (Boy Scouting in the jail etc.), Civil Assistance Teams creating income-generating projects inside the jail (food production, skills training) and outside, community organising among the poor and spiritual assistance. Ms. Geonzon, who is a lawyer and healer, estimates that one third of the inmates in the over-crowded jails are innocent, many of them children, while others wait for years for court hearings or are victims of changes in the law of which they were ignorant. While the martial law mentality promotes abuse and violence by the police and military against prisoners and detainees, the vigilance and actions of Free Lava, who report and pursue all cases, have made such abuses more rare in Cebu.

Wangari Maathai (The first female professor in Kenya) felt that the ecological debate in Africa was held on a too abstract level and that showing the women who produce the food, the connection between their children's poor health, under-nourishment and poor soil (loss of top soil etc.), would lead to action. So far, over 250 green belts have been planted and many tree nurseries set up by women and children. This limits desertification and rural migration, providing firewood and nitrogen-fixing plants (reducing the need for fertilizers), and quickly changes the climate and soil quality.

SEWA - Self-Employed Women's Association organises trade unions of home-based producers, small vendors, etc., and helps them assert their rights. The SEWA cooperative bank provides saving and credit facilities to self-employed women who could not have fulfilled normal banking requirements, liberating them from money lenders. SEWA also provides legal aid, social security, productivity and vocational training, education, health and maternity protection and insurance schemes. It helps to set up cooperative production units on all levels from procuring raw materials to marketing. It is an organisation founded and motivated by the commitment of Ela Bhatt. It has now spread to other Indian States, where independent local SEWAS have been created.

Iman Khalifeh, a kindergarten teacher and researcher on the effects of war on children, wrote the poem in April 1984 which inspired the first Beirut peace march. She continues working to organise a non-sectarian Lebanese peace movement.
ENDA: ENVIRONNEMENT ET DÉVELOPPEMENT DU TIERS MONDE

ENDA, POURQUOI?

- Agir avec les groupes de base à partir de leurs besoins et de leurs objectifs.
- Appuyer la recherche d'un autre développement à tous les niveaux et des types de formation qui le rendront possible.
- Contribuer à l'engagement des intellectuels et des cadres dans la définition et la mise en œuvre d'un développement au service du plus grand nombre.

ENDA, COMMENT?

A travers les actions de développement des groupes de base et la lutte des peuples du Tiers Monde, recherche permanente d'une méthodologie répondant à leur besoin et leur volonté d'autonomie:

- action, réflexion et formation menées indissociablement;
- interdisciplinarité et référence constante à l'environnement, compris comme l'ensemble des relations physiques, biologiques, économiques et culturelles concernant les groupes humains;
- recours préférentiel aux ressources locales, naturelles, techniques et humaines;
- participation maximale de la population à la conception, à la mise en œuvre et au contrôle des actions de développement;
- échanges intensifs d'expériences et de techniques entre les différentes régions du Tiers Monde.

ENDA, avec de nombreux partenaires, anime ainsi un réseau d'échange et de réflexion dans l'ensemble du Tiers Monde.

ENDA vise une autoplanification des groupes de base aussi large que possible et articulée à une planification régionale, nationale et internationale de développement.

ENDA, QUELS AXES DE TRAVAIL PRIORITAIRES?

- Repérage et réduction des disparités socio-spatiales, notamment des inégalités entre régions et à l'intérieur de celles-ci ainsi que dans les environnements urbains.
- Lutte contre mode de consommation et style de vie importés, notamment à travers un magazine: "Vivre autrement".
- Technologie combinée, prenant comme point de départ les techniques du Tiers Monde, faisant appel aux technologies anciennes et modernes du monde industriel et encourageant la créativité populaire.
- Communication à la base: réanimation des échanges dans les quartiers et les villages et enrichissement des expériences à la base, transmission des acquis culturels, concertation sur les actions à entreprendre.
. **Rapports administration/population:** perception des agents administratifs et de leur action par les paysans et les citadins, possibilités d'évolution positive des relations entre ces agents et la population, conditions d'un appui de l'administration à l'autodéveloppement.

. Peuples culturellement les plus menacés: transformation de la perception qu'en ont les autres peuples et appui à un développement qui respecte leur originalité.

**ENDA, QUELS MOYENS?**

. initiatives et travail volontaire des groupes de base;
. collaboration désintéressée de nombreuses institutions et administrations du Tiers Monde;
. engagement personnel, avec ENDA, de volontaires originaires du Tiers Monde et de certains pays industrialisés;
. facilités données par des pays du Tiers Monde et, en premier lieu, par le Sénégal;
. appuis extérieurs: les Nations Unies et la Suisse assurent l'indépendance d'ENDA (66% des ressources); l'Autriche, la Belgique, le Canada, la CEE, la France, la Finlande, l'Italie, les Pays-Bas et la Suède ont apporté ou apportent des contributions.

Si l'on tient compte uniquement de l'utilisation des contributions fixées en monnaie, la moitié des dépenses d'ENDA, en 1982, allaient en appui direct à des groupes de base. Le reste se répartissait en formation, recherche, consultations et diffusion.

**PUBLICATIONS:**


*Etudes et Recherches - Occasional Papers:* en français ou en anglais 95 numéros parus.

*Documents Tiers Monde - Third World Documents:* en français, anglais ou espagnol, 29 numéros parus.

**Vivre Autrement, Consommation et Ecodéveloppement:** revue trimestrielle destinée au public francophone africain.

Le président d'ENDA est Cheikh Hamidou Kane, membre du Conseil de la FIPAD; son secrétaire exécutif est Jacques Bugnicourt.

*Pour plus d'information: ENDA, BP 3370, Dakar, Sénégal.*
ARGENTINA: RESEARCH ON ALTERNATIVE FOOD/ENERGY STRATEGIES FOR THE CITIES

The Center for Urban and Regional Research (CEUR) in Buenos Aires is launching a research programme to develop alternative food and energy strategies for low income urban households. Related to the United Nations University project on Food and Energy Nexus, coordinated by Ignacy Sachs (CIRED, Paris) complementary goals include: to increase the linkage between human needs satisfaction and resources allocation and to foster new urban job opportunities. The research itself is proposed as a participatory and action-oriented effort.

Overconsumption by a rich minority, mounting food and energy prices, increasing unemployment, and world economic crises face Third World countries with important decisions to be taken. In a rough simplification, these decisions are either pursuing a mimetic development style which tends to repeat (with the help of transnationals) consumption and production patterns of the industrialized West, or to advance in a multiplicity of alternative development ways on the basis of a reconsideration of regional resources, human potentialities and human needs.

While different trades off between food and energy are easily seen (if not necessarily easily solved) in a rural milieu, their relation in the urban settlements is jeopardized by the "distance" (not only in physical terms) between city dwellers and the place of origin of food and energy supply.

Take the example of Argentina, with heavy food surplus and no energy imports, where the cities' food and energy supply is becoming so expensive that it throws out of the market the lower income population and reduces severely the consumption capacity of middle class groups. Public policies deal with this by encouraging rural production and trying to control market prices, but failure is only too visible: 15 years of per-capita reduction in meat consumption, inability to tackle market problems (inflation, low substitutionality) and increasing evidences of malnutrition among the poor.

Our research tries to tackle this problem from an environmentally sound development point of view, with a systematic approach that underlines relation between human needs and resources potential in the urban environment (natural as well as artificial and social resources).

RESEARCH PROGRAMME

Main areas of study: Putting to work natural and human resources in order to improve human needs satisfaction is the main purpose of the research, as opposed to a traditional approach that emphasizes increasing production. With this criteria we will consider a number of case studies, such as:

... from the consumption point of view - consumption patterns, techniques, recycling, trade-off between personal, familiar and social consumption patterns;
from the supply point of view - opportunities for shortening the distance between production and consumption; how to put to work for food supply, idle urban and peri-urban land resources; opportunities for increasing use of urban infrastructure; new urban resources and recycling opportunities as ways for increasing job opportunities;

in the supply-consumption borderline - relations between working conditions and consumption patterns; how to enhance present activities of self-production/self-consumption.

Methodology: One of the first steps will be to choose the case studies paying attention to its three dimensions (cities or neighbourhood; social groups; and food energy consumption). Testing and reshaping the initial conceptual framework will be a permanent task.

Demands for further information and especially opportunities to interact with research teams and action groups with similar interests abroad are welcomed (Pablo Gutman, CEUR, Av. Corrientes 2835, Cuerpo A, piso 7, 1193 Buenos Aires, Argentina).

GHANA: CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE

The Centre for Development of People (CEDEP) is an institute of service, established by a group of young professionals determined to put their knowledge and experiences to the benefit of the poorest in society. The institute is resolved and committed to making the best of the human and material resources that we have in Ghana. Our motivation comes from the radical spirit of the gospels, and the liberating nature of the call for a deep social transformation of our society.

We are searching for alternatives; more meaningful and realistic programmes that will help in a small way towards solving some of the many problems facing us. We believe that the present socio-political situation of our country calls for new ideas put into action.

As a non-profit-making Trust, we shall cooperate with those who are truly at work for the integral human development of our people: grassroots communities, cooperatives, movements for deep social change, etc, the energy and hope of our people.

If you share our ideas, contact us. We are open to all who struggle for social justice.

Wilbert Tengey, Secretary General CEDEP, PO Box 0273, Osu, Accra, Ghana.
VENEZUELA: CENTRO DE INVESTIGACIONES EN ENERGIA, DESARROLLO Y AMBIENTE (CIEDA)

El CIEDA, Centro de Investigaciones en energía, desarrollo y ambiente, es una sociedad civil, sin fines de lucro, independiente de todo grupo, partido político o instituciones que promueven la investigación científica en su área de actividades, y por la venta de sus servicios profesionales.

SU FUNDAMENTACION:
. contar en el ámbito latinoamericano con un Centro de estudios de la energía y de sus vinculaciones con el desarrollo y la problemática ambiental;
. aglutinar en un foro independiente a quienes actualmente trabajan estos temas;
. dinamizar el debate integral sobre los problemas energéticos;
. contribuir a la toma de conciencia de los problemas energéticos y ambientales por parte de la población y, especialmente, de los sectores de decisión política.

SUS OBJECTIVOS:
. contribuir con el desarrollo del conocimiento científico en el área de la energía y sus vinculaciones con el desarrollo y la problemática ambiental a través de estudios, investigaciones y otras actividades afines;
. analizar la situación energética de países latinoamericanos con esta óptica, con el fin de apoyar la elaboración de políticas en esta área;
. apoyar la formación de personal en esta área;
. incentivar el tratamiento de los problemas de la energía, el desarrollo y el ambiente bajo un enfoque multidisciplinario.

PROGRAMA DE INVESTIGACIÓN
Las actividades de investigación del CIEDA se han iniciado con tres series de proyectos:

1. **Serie agricultura y energía**
   . Kakuri, una experiencia de desarrollo agrícola-ganadero-energético en el trópico húmedo y sus posibilidades de integración;
   . Evaluación energética de sistemas y rubros productivos en la agricultura moderna venezolana.

2. **Serie ciudades, energía y estilos de vida**
   . Perfil energético de una urbanización de Caracas - problemas y posibles soluciones.

3. **Serie tecnología, industria y ecosistemas**
   . La industrialización y los ecosistemas social y natural en dos países latinoamericanos.

(CIEDA, Apartado 68187, Caracas 1062, Venezuela).
PHILIPPINES: AGENCY FOR COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL SERVICES FOUNDATION (ACES)

The agency has its roots in the desire of its founding members to practice their professions more meaningfully. The experience of some of its members in community organization, and the climate in local and international institutions for increasing popular participation provided the background in which ACES was born February 1977. ACES is a private organization composed of young professionals with predominantly social science backgrounds whose primary beliefs are that meaningful development could only come about by the involvement of the people in the identification and resolution of the problems that affect their lives.

The main thrust of ACES is the organization and mobilization of the rural poor to solve their perceived socio-political and economic problems. The process begins with the resolution of simple community issues alongside with discussions and small-scale experiments on different technological options, based on their needs and resources. As the people gain skills and confidence in negotiating for services and in applying the results of their experiments to their production activity, the organizer facilitates the growth of the people's organization by catalyzing action in more complex problems and by reinforcing values compatible with cooperative and participatory lifestyle. The cardinal principle in this entire process is the participation of as many people as possible in the decision-making processes as they act on their problems.

We maintain formal and informal linkages with local community organizing groups, research institutions, agricultural colleges, international appropriate technology groups, government institutions and other related institutions who believe in the participatory development strategy.

Individually our members represent a wide array of experiences from the local organizing circles, the government, social development agencies and the academy. Collectively ACES has undertaken projects such as:

- audio-visual documentation of the mothers' group of Kibawe, Bukidnon, in their efforts to solve community health problems;
- grassroots organization of small farmers in Nueva Ecija;
- appropriate technology worksite project;
- organizing farmers into self-managing and self-propelling communities;
- high yielding variety validation research;
- small-scale irrigation for 2 sitios of Bo. Sampaguita, Solana Cagayan; etc.

Internally, we are guided by the principle of democratic participation as an organization ethic. It meets thrice a year to assess, discuss and plan with the active presence of each and every member.

(Contact address: Jake Galvez Tan, President, 11th Avenue Murphy 12, Cubao, Quezon City, Philippines).
FRANCE: LE GRET - UN OUTIL DE COMMUNICATION POUR UN DEVELOPPEMENT AUTOCENTRE

- Pauvreté des réponses apportées aux problèmes du Tiers Monde par les techniques couramment utilisées dans les pays industrialisés;

- manque de communication entre les milieux de la recherche et les praticiens du développement;

- méconnaissance de la signification des choix techniques dans les processus de développement économique et social...

Ces trois constatations sont à l'origine de la création, en 1976, du Groupe de recherche et d'échanges technologiques par une petite équipe d'anciens coopérateurs et de spécialistes du développement rural.

Dès le départ, et de façon très novatrice dans le monde francophone, le GRET a choisi de mener un travail concret tendant à promouvoir des alternatives pour un développement autocentré, reposant notamment sur des savoir-faire populaires ou sur des technologies appropriées aux besoins des pays du Tiers Monde - et à certains besoins français - et appropriables par les communautés concernées.

Convaincu que le manque de solutions à l'heure actuelle tient à l'absence de mise en relation des ressources scientifiques et techniques et de certains besoins qui s'expriment mal, le GRET cherche avant tout à être un outil de communication, favorisant l'échange entre utilisateurs et producteurs de techniques, comme entre hommes de terrain, hommes de technique, hommes de décision.

Son rôle est aujourd'hui appelé à se développer comme observatoire de la demande de terrain, et comme vecteur de l'information scientifique et technique pour la coopération et pour un développement autocentré.

Ni simple carrefour, ni bureau d'études, le GRET entend jouer au maximum son rôle de courroie de transmission de l'information scientifique et technique pour le développement, tout en poursuivant un travail de recherche et d'expérimentation sur chacun des thèmes technologiques spécialisés. La structure actuelle de ses activités comprend à la fois:

- des services dits d'échange et communication communs à l'ensemble des secteurs technologiques et destinés à favoriser l'échange et la diffusion de l'information en France et dans le Tiers Monde: centre de documentation, service Questions-Réponses, publications (notamment de Réseaux, La Lettre du Gret), formation, audiovisuel, appui à la constitution de relais et de réseaux;

- sept équipes de recherche et d'appui, les cellules techniques, qui sont spécialisées dans chacun des grands thèmes de T.A.: agriculture, transformation des produits agricoles, énergies renouvelables, machines artisanales, santé, habitat-construction, industrie.

(Président: Henri Rouillé d'Orfeuil, 30 rue de Charonne, 75011 Paris, France).
NEW IVAN ILLICH NETWORK

Would you like to know what Ivan Illich is reading these days? A network initiated at the recent Summer Institute on Democratic Alternatives will make this possible.

The history of ideas and their relevance to our future was the subject of a week-long discussion held in July 84, in Maine (USA). How we conceive "peace", what is the meaning of technology, does the idea of "economics" distort our true identities, would the world be different if "energy" had not been created by man, all these questions were explored by some of the world's leading thinkers, including Ivan Illich. At the conference, Illich asked TRANET, a newsletter networking activist in the AT (Alternative and Transformational) movements, to introduce a new page dedicated to drawing attention to newer trends of thought that question the assumptions common to large and small technologies. The assumption, for instance, that "information" should be managed, be it for control or enablement. Or the assumption that the world constitutes a "resource" to be managed, whether by the people themselves or by elites that dominate them.

Listings will be chosen based on their ability to clarify the fundamental axioms of the industrial age and its institutions. This is not a bibliographical tool for the study of the history of technology, but an operational tool along the lines of TRANET itself. The items listed will be new publications, republications, or new studies or biographies which view the historical foundations of the present with a critical eye.

TRANET's winter issue will be the first and will concentrate on publications which analyse paradigms that shape our daily lives and our futures. Susan Hunt, a close colleague of Illich, will be the editor for this section, with Wolfgang Sachs (Italy), Jean Robert (Mexico), John McKnight (USA), John Ohliger (USA), Ivan Illich (W. Germany) and others of this network contributing material.

The TRANET quarterly Newsletter-Directory is available from TRANET, PO Box 567, Rangeley, Me 04970 USA, for the price of US$30/yr).
FROM GHANA:

I was so delighted after going through the pages of your IFDA Dossier. It is really outstanding, worth reading all the time. I would therefore be very grateful if you could regularly send me free copies of this valuable bulletin. I am a twenty-four years old student. The only issue I read was No. 28. It helped me a lot in my preparation towards a project work for my bachelor's degree.

K.E. Akayesi, Bolgatanga, Ghana.

DE ESPANA:

Quisiera agradecerle por la presente su amabilidad al incluirme en la lista de receptores de la revista Dossier, publicada por su fundación. La he encontrado de un gran interés y utilidad tanto por la diversidad de temas que en ella se presentan como por la variedad de enfoques de la misma.


FROM THE UNITED STATES:

I am currently enrolled as a graduate student in elementary education, with a cognate area of comparative study. Having read a copy of the Dossier, I found it to be informative and fascinating. Would you please send me future issues of the Dossier? It would be most helpful in my studies.

Rosie L. Mapes, Montpelier, Ohio, USA.

FROM UGANDA:

With pleasure I am writing to thank you for your continued supply of IFDA Dossier. Even when I changed my address from Kenya to Uganda, I more or less received my copy which, for the last four or five years has been the only academic magazine I have been privileged to receive. I thank you very much, but as you may well know, I am not in position to send you what may have been my subscription, because of the present economic state of our country, but I hope that you will continue to send me a copy.

Dr. Tibamanya mwene Mushanga, Kampala.

(Publisher's note: we will continue, of course).
DE COSTA RICA:

Conocimos la publicación que editan bimensualmente por medio de una donación de duplicado que nos hiciera llegar hace un mes atrás aproximadamente el CSUCA (Confederación Universitaria Centroamericana). Creemos que por la información que socializan y por los aportes que contienen esta publicación, viene a ser de mucha utilidad para conocer otras experiencias en otros países. Si bien es cierto que no toda la publicación (IFDA Dossier) viene en español, los artículos en español que leímos nos motivó a escribirles.

Nuestro centro no cuenta con un presupuesto estable, vive más bien de las donaciones y colaboraciones que los propios miembros de las organizaciones juveniles y de mujeres con las que trabajamos, esto claro esta, imposibilita quepodamos suscribirnos a cualquier publicación por lo que estamos solicitando se nos done en la medida de lo posible.

En caso de que sea así tengan por seguro que vuestra publicación tendrá su uso debido como el que ya esta teniendo.

Vecinos, Centro popular de educación, San Jose.

FROM THE PHILIPPINES:

A copy of your IFDA Dossier has been shared by a friend-colleague. I found the articles very informative, thought-provoking, and soul-searching. Truly each article is able to present "alternative" conceptualization of any issue at hand. I would be very grateful if you could include me in your mailing list to receive not only future issues but also back issues of your publication.

Nida R. Ty, Fisheries Social Science Research Network, Iloilo.

FROM A PALESTINIAN:

I have just read IFDA Dossier No 43. I particularly enjoyed (and agreed with) your editorial "US vs UN?". In fact, in every number my wife and I find at least a few pieces of great interest and relevance to us. Keep up the good work!

Yusif A. Sayigh, Oxford.

FROM NORWAY:

Here is my renewed subscription for the IFDA Dossier (personal copy). I find it both informative and practical in my work teaching development studies at the college level.

Stephan Collett, Kristiansand.
N.B. Documents mentioned in the following section are not available from IFDA but, depending on the case, from publishers, bookshops or the address indicated after the description of the document.

LOCAL SPACE

. Domitila, Si on me donne la parole... - La vie d'une femme de la mine bolivienne, (Paris: Maspero, 1982) 250pp.

. UNESCO, Bibliographic Guide to Studies on the Status of Women - Development and population trends (Essex: Bowker Publishing Co, 1983) 284pp. This annotated bibliography is highly informative with a good indexing system which makes it easy to use. An excellent guide to recent research and world literature on the status of women. Apart from the usual published material, the bibliography also covers untranslated works written in local languages, theses, unpublished documents and up-to-date information on institutions undertaking research and major events (meetings, etc.) related to the field of women's studies.


. David C. Korten and Rudi Klauss (eds.) People Centered Development Contributions toward Theory and Planning Frameworks (West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1984) 333pp. A collection of thirty essays selected to provide an integrated theoretical and pragmatic perspective on a development approach which, though for some time a key element in many development projects, has only recently begun to receive scholarly attention. The themes, which are of widespread and immediate concern, are addressed by a variety of authors including Alvin Toffler and Osvaldo Sunkel. (630 Oakwood Ave., Suite 119, West Hartford, Connecticut 06110, USA).

. International Cooperative Alliance, For a Democratic Industrial Revolution; Worker Cooperatives on the Horizon of the Third Millenary - Documents of the IIInd World Conference on Industrial cooperatives held in Warsaw form 5 to 8 October 1983, 128pp. Aussi disponible en français sous le titre Pour une révolution industrielle démocratique; les coopératives industrielles à l'horizon du troisième millénaire - Documents, Ile conférence mondiale des coopératives de travail, 133pp. (CICOPA, Via Torino 135, 00184 Roma, Italy).


Les Amis de la Terre, L'écologie contre le chômage (Paris: Editions La Découverte, 1984) 150pp. Une politique économique privilégiant la protection de l'environnement pourrait permettre de créer aujourd'hui en France 400 000 à 500 000 emplois nouveaux? Ce n'est ni un rêve, ni un vœu pieux, mais l'un des résultats d'estimations très sérieuses. Face à la crise, les écologistes ont, en effet, des propositions à faire, et qui n'ont rien d'utopiques. Marquant l'entrée des écologistes français dans une réflexion économique approfondie, ce livre explore les conditions d'une politique d'emplois favorables à l'environnement, mais il va aussi plus loin. A partir d'une analyse de la crise actuelle, comprise comme l'essoufflement d'un modèle de croissance désormais révolu, les auteurs récusent l'efficacité des remèdes macro-économiques, et proposent une approche micro-économique cohérente, liée à l'économie alternative. Les Amis de la Terre expliquent pourquoi et comment la nécessaire amélioration de la productivité ne doit pas amener à produire plus, mais à produire mieux et à partager le travail. (1, place Paul-Painlevé, 75005 Paris).

Jacques Grinevald, André Gsponer, Lucile Hanouz, Pierre Lehmann, La quadrature du CERN (Lausanne: Editions d'En Bas, 1984) 188pp. Un philosophe et historien des sciences, un physicien des particules, une militante syndicale, un ingénieur-physicien et l'historien Robert Jungk montrent que le CERN est bel et bien utilitaire; que ses recherches ont de graves conséquences, notamment militaires; que le CERN développe une physique très coûteuse, toujours plus éloignée des réalités humaines, plus arrogante et plus brutale envers la nature et les hommes. Ils expliquent pourquoi il faut dévier le CERN de cette trajectoire et proposent un plan de reconversion. (Case 304, 1017 Lausanne).

Tim Ryan with Rae Jappinen, The Whole Again Resource Guide - An annual periodical and resource directory (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1984) 315pp. The theme of wholeness in person and planet encompasses physical health, personal development and spiritual growth. Also societal concerns for the peace and well being of all creatures, races and cultures are covered as well as topics related to the preservation and conservation of planetary resources. Any located periodical in these...
areas has been considered. Books are included at the end of a section that point you to other places or resources. These are directories, bibliographies, guides and sourcebooks. (POB 2068, Santa Barbara, CA 93120, USA).

Among the recent working papers of the Geneva ILO World Employment Programme Research (all mimeo):

- S.V. Sethuraman with Paul Bangasser, Rural Small Industries and Employment in Sri Lanka (Results of a sample survey), 79pp. + annexes.
- Judith I. Stallmann and James W. Pease, Rural Industrialisation Policy and Programmes in Honduras: A Preliminary Assessment, 56pp.

NATIONAL SPACE


- Tim Lobstein (ed.), Namibia: Reclaiming the People's Health (London: AON Publications, 1984) 151pp. Namibia's diamond fields are among the richest in the world, yet the health of most Namibians is so poor that half the people die before they are forty. Drawing on experience from other countries which have recently freed themselves from colonialism, this book looks at how a people-oriented health service could be developed in a newly independent Namibia. Based on papers and workshops from the International Seminar on Health in Namibia, experts in the field of health discuss many aspects of the subject: from preventative health care to using the workplace as a focus for organising health programmes and the role of women in promoting good health. (POB 16, London NW5 2LW, UK).


- Guillermo Campero, Los gremios empresariales en el periodo 70-83: Comportamiento sociopolítico y orientaciones ideológicas (Santiago: ILET, 1984) 327pp. (Callao 3461, El Golf, Santiago, Chile).
THIRD WORLD SPACE

. ECDC, Economic and Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries - The Group of 77 in Action 1983-1984 (Ljubljana: Research Centre for Cooperation with Developing Countries (RCCDC)/New York: Office of the Chairman of the Group of 77, 1984) 2 vol. The documents of the Group of 77 in the area of South-South cooperation, under the Caracas Programme of Action (CPA) for the period 1983/84, have now been published in two volumes by the RCCDC, in cooperation with the Office of the Chairman of the Group of 77 in New York. The first volume contains the reports with conclusions and recommendations of all the expert group meetings and the intergovernmental conferences of the Group, held in 1983 and 1984, including the Group's latest meeting at Cartagena in Colombia, in September 1984. The second volume contains a selection of the working documents for these meetings, including proposals for the South Bank, financial cooperation and investment opportunities, energy cooperation (both fossil fuels, new and renewable sources of energy), shipping and transport, information network, and institutional issues. A companion volume, published by Westview Press, London, in association with RCCDC, gives a bibliography on ECDC, 1981/82, with annotations.


African Development Coordinating Conference programme. The research was carried out and completed in 1982. Detailed field research was carried out in each of the SADCC member states: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Nine in-depth country profiles were produced and these form the basis for separate and subsequent volumes. As an important cross-checking mechanism, sectoral studies were also undertaken on industry, transport, demography and woodfuel.

The industry study was highly detailed and had an enormous scope; this is being produced as a subsequent volume in its own right. Completed manuscripts on transport and woodfuel, as well as copies of all original materials, are obtainable from the Beijer Institute, The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. The present volume provides a summary overview of these findings in a concise format, picking out the dominant themes in the regional energy picture. On the demand side, the national energy accounts are examined to detail the current and future energy consumption. On the supply side, each of the major fuel sources is discussed, including biomass, and regional self-sufficiency of commercial fuels. The summary document then considers policy issues. (POB 2126, 750 02 Uppsala, Sweden).


Stephany Griffith-Jones, *International Finance and Latin America* (Kent: Croom Helm Ltd., 1984) 113pp. The agents which, since 1945 provided external finance to help sustain Latin American growth, are no longer able or willing to do so to the same extent. What measures should be taken - both internationally and within Latin American countries - to deal with this critical issue, in a way that will avoid a major international financial crisis? In addressing this question the author examines the evolution of international financial flows to Latin America since 1945, along with their implications for national development.

The book describes how in each of the first three decades since the war, a new agency emerged (foreign investors in the 1950s, official aid agencies in the 60s and transnational banks in the 70s) which was willing to play a dynamic role in generating new financial flows to the region. The lack of such an agent in the 80s, combined with a reluctance on the part of former investors to maintain their level of assistance, has culminated in economic debt crisis in Latin America. This makes both evident and urgent the need for major changes in the international financial system. (Provident House, Burrel Row, Beckenham, Kent BR3 1AT, UK).


GLOBAL SPACE

Armand Mattelart, Xavier Delcourt and Michèle Mattelart, International Image Markets - In Search of an Alternative Perspective (London: Comedia Publishing Group, 1984) 122pp. Whilst Third World mass culture struggles for an outlet, American TV series like Dallas and films like Star Wars are as popular in the Third World as they are in the West. The authors take an authoritative sweep through the facts of this new cultural imperialism, examine its effects in both Europe and the Third World, and ask whether the growing transnational communications networks can be harnessed to provide an "alternative audio-visual space". The authors, experts in their field, go on to provide a clear account of the technological revolution of the 1980s, with particular reference to the Latin-European dimension - their interpretation makes a refreshing change from the traditional North-South or East-West geopolitical gloss. (9 Poland Street, London W1V 3DG, UK).


Barbara J. Wien (ed.), Peace and World Order Studies (New York: World Policy Institute, 1984) 750pp. This book is a guide in the most dynamic sense, providing over 100 course syllabi and outlines drawn from a wide variety of disciplines: political science, literature, anthropology, sociology, international law, engineering, as well as physics and the natural sciences. (777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA).

Arthur H. Westing (ed.), Environmental Warfare - A Technical, Legal & Policy Appraisal (Solna: SIPRI, 1984) 107pp. Environmental warfare - warfare in which the environment is manipulated for hostile military purposes - has been a malevolent, though largely ineffectual military desire throughout history. In the second Indochina war the regional environment was disrupted by plant poisons and the weather patterns by cloud seeding. We are now on the threshold of developing more sophisticated technical abilities to control atmospheric, geological and biological factors of the environment.

The new SIPRI publication gives a detailed scientific account of past, present and future capabilities in manipulating the earth and the atmosphere. The possibility exists that we will achieve the capability of making highly destructive tsunamis or sea waves, awaken quiescent volcanoes and direct hurricanes to damage the enemy. (Bergshamra, 171 73 Solna, Sweden).
Arthur H. Westing (ed.), Herbicides in War - The Long-term Ecological and Human Consequences (Solna: SIPRI 1984) 210pp. The USA used some 91,000 tons of anti-plant agent during the second Indochina war against the natural environment of Indochina, making this war a major example of chemical warfare - the second in history, following the massive use of anti-personnel agents in the 1914-18 war - and an example of environmental warfare. What can now be learned of the long-term consequences of this indiscriminate use of chemical agents for hostile purposes without full knowledge of the damage being inflicted?


John Loxley, The IMF and the Poorest Countries (Ottawa: North-South Institute, 1942) 34pp. (185 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Canada K1N 5X8).


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tionnelles mondiales des 100 transnationales agro-alimentaires en 1981. Un instrument de travail indispensable. (3191 route de Mende, 34060 Montpellier Cédex, France).

Vincent Cosmao, Un monde en développement? (Paris: Les éditions ouvrières, 1984) 138pp. Les problèmes de société se posent moins en termes de transferts - de modèles, de techniques ou de savoir-faire - qu'en termes de sujets et d'acteurs d'une tâche collective dont dépend l'avenir de tous. La réflexion sur le développement débouche ainsi sur l'exploration de voies nouvelles pour la "montée humaine" (Lebret). Ce "guide de réflexion" voudrait aider ses lecteurs à se situer dans ce changement de perspectives.


Henri Rouille d'Orfeuil, Coopérer autrement - L'engagement des organisations non gouvernementales aujourd'hui (Paris: L'Harmattan, 84) 296pp. Où en sont les ONG en 1984? Y a-t-il des exemples concrets d'une action vraiment efficace de leur part? Ont-elles l'ambition, l'intelligence et les moyens de dénoncer, d'agir là où il le faut et quand il le faut? Ce livre est une prise de position collective. Onze associations y ont participé. Toutes se reconnaissent dans le courant de pensée qui est en train de naître et qui s'exprime dans sa première partie. Dans la seconde partie de l'ouvrage, chacune illustre son approche de la solidarité internationale en présentant un "chantier" sur lequel le partenariat s'engage. Avec ce livre, les associations ont souhaité élaborer à la fois: un outil de travail pour ceux qui, dans le Tiers Monde, œuvrent pour le développement (nationaux, coopérants, volontaires) et pour ceux qui participent à l'effort d'information et de sensibilisation dans les pays du Nord (militants des ONG, éducateurs, journalistes,...), et un outil d'information à l'usage d'un plus vaste public sur le mouvement non gouvernemental, le cadre d'analyse politico-économique dans lequel il se situe et les perspectives d'actions concrètes et immédiates qu'il propose.

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. The Ecologist (Vol.14, N°4, 1984): "Building a secure society" by Amory B. Lovins and L. Hunter Lovins; "Bioregionalism - A new way to treat the land" by Kirkpatrick Sale (Worthyvale Manor Farm, Camelford, Cornwall PL32 9TT, UK).


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Waraango (N°9, 1984): rend compte du 7e Moussem d'Asilah (Maroc) dont un thème, cette année, a été "la famille afro-arabe" (BP 1880, Dakar RP, Senegal).

World Development (Vol.12, N°9, 1984): "Motivations for aid to developing countries" by Alfrad Maizels and Machiko K. Nissanke; "Basic needs: some unsettled questions" by Paul Streeten (Pergamon Press, Headington Hill Hall, Oxford OX3 OBW, UK).

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. Hector Vera, Mouvements pour la paix en Europe et mouvements de libération en Amérique latine (Université de Paix, 4 Bd. du Nord, 5000 Namur, Belgique), 14pp.

. P. Henry Volken, Action groups: beginning or end of a dream? (Borgo S. Spirito 5, CP 6139, 00195 Rome, Italy), 17pp.

NATIONAL SPACE


. Andrew Freeman, Recurrent Education for Australia - Statement of Intent (POB 649, Belconne, ACT 2617, Australia), 12pp.

. Kimmo Kiljunen, Finland in the European Division of Labour, 18pp. (Pallastunturinkuja 5A2, 01280 Vantaa 28, Finland).

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GLOBAL SPACE


. Surindar Suri, Beyond the Nuclear Holocaust - For a Philosophy of Humanist Resurrection (3817 Sector 32-D, Chandigarh 160031, India), 6pp.
PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU, FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA:
WESTERN LEADERS NEVER ADDRESS CENTRAL QUESTIONS OF WAR
AND PEACE

The top leaders of the Western alliance have almost never addressed the
central questions of war and peace in their private summit talks but
dwell instead on much less vital subjects, according to Pierre Elliott
Trudeau, who participated in many such sessions in his 15 years as prime
minister of Canada.

Mr. Trudeau, who attended four of the six summit meetings of the North
Atlantic Treaty Organization since its founding in 1949, said the talks
centered on such items as making NATO weapons uniform for all countries
and planning to increase military expenditures 3% annually.

In an interview and an acceptance address for the award of the $50,000
Albert Einstein Peace Prize, Mr. Trudeau, 65, expressed frustration with
the unwillingness and inability of world leaders, in both East and West, to
focus broadly and seriously on the nuclear arms race.

"NATO heads of state and of government meet only to go through the tedi-
ous motions of reading speeches drafted by others with the principal
objective of not rocking the boat" said Mr. Trudeau.

Mr. Trudeau said discussions of the nuclear threat had been "somewhat
more tolerated" at the annual economic summits of advanced industrial
nations, despite the seemingly more limited subject matter. He attended
eight of these meetings from 1976 to 1984.(...) He said the Reagan admi-
nistration missed "a case full" of opportunities to negotiate an arms
agreement with the Russians, but that the fault lies as much with the
Warsaw Pact countries as with the NATO countries.

(International Herald Tribune, 15.11.84)