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THE OTHER ECONOMIC SUMMIT (TOES)

The Other Economic Summit (TOES) was established in 1984 as, initially, a one-off response to the Economic Summit of the seven richest Western countries - USA, Canada, Japan, France, West Germany, Italy, UK - which was held in London that year. The motivation for staging an alternative Summit of this kind came from a deep perception that not only were the sort of economic policies likely to be advocated at the Summit totally inadequate to combat the multiple and growing economic crises now besetting human societies worldwide, but that much of the very basis of economic theory had now ceased to be useful, and a profound rethink of economics was called for.

In the event, TOES 1984 drew 170 people from 16 countries and was widely reported. Here, at last, was a serious, expert forum committed to challenging the fundamental assumptions of conventional economic theory and developing a New Economics more in line with the reality of the late 20th century. The twenty-person independent Steering Committee, including thinkers and practitioners from many fields who had long been seeking new ways forward for economics, decided to stay together and formulated a strategy to take the New Economics into the mainstream of economic debate. TOES 1985, attended by some 450 people from all continents, was held in April 1985 and the 1986 one will take place in London on 17-18 April with the participation of, among others, Amir Jamal and Marie-Angélique Savané.

TOES seeks to contribute to new economic understanding through the development of new economic theory, policy and practice. Its main theoretical concerns include:

- the satisfaction of human needs. Conventional theory has little to say about material human needs and nothing to say about non-material ones. It concentrates instead on effective demand. TOES is seeking to develop a coherent theory of human needs and to formulate ways of giving these economic weight.

- the nature of work. TOES seeks to move beyond the bald equations in conventional theory of work with labour, a factor of production, and of work with employment. A broader view of work is called for, taking account of personal satisfaction and skill-utilisation, the social usefulness of the product and increasingly flexible working patterns.

- environmental resources. The natural world is not an infinite source of resources nor an infinite sink for the wastes of economic activity. The new concept of sustainability and the development of cyclical economic processes, whereby the wastes of one process are the raw material of another, need to supplant a mere concern with throughput.

- economic self-reliance. The theories of comparative advantage, specialisation and division of labour have led to unprecedented economic dependency among peoples, communities and countries, leaving them extremely vulnerable. TOES is seeking to formulate a new theory of econo-

(continued on page 103)
TWO WORLDS WITHIN EACH SOCIETY:
LOKAYAN’S EFFORTS TO OVERCOME THE NEW RIPT
RAJNI KOTHARI’S RIGHT LIVELIHOOD AWARD ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

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Abstract: In the following acceptance speech of the Right Livelihood Award, often referred to as the Alternative Nobel Prize, (Stockholm, 9 December 1985) Rajni Kothari, initiator of Lokayan and current co-chairperson of the IFDA Council, addresses the crucial theme of the "two worlds" within every society, in every space. Some - the majorities - are pushed not only to the peripheries of economic and political systems, but also to the peripheries of our consciousness. Such an "amnesia" is the most dangerous thing that can happen, and it is what Lokayan wants to contribute to overcome in India. Conceived as an alternative intellectual effort to intervene in the social processes (not the party political process) through dialogues with the people, Lokayan, positioned at the point of convergence between the masses, activists and intellectuals, is an effort to open up the spaces of both the State and the civil society.
May I on behalf of the Lokayan community of activists, scholars, and intellectuals and the scores of concerned individuals and organizations that have supported Lokayan over the nearly six years of its existence, extend our warm greetings and grateful thanks to the Right Livelihood Foundation, the Swedish Parliament and the Swedish society and people. Ours is a fairly modest and still developing endeavour towards broadening the base of the democratic process in India by drawing upon diverse practical initiatives and experiments in alternatives at the grassroots of our society as well as new thinking and reflection that have become necessary at the macro level as a consequence of this.

Lokayan has been conceived as an intellectual effort that is different from mainstream academic work and a political effort that is different from mainstream politics. It is so both in content and even more in style. It is an effort at both listening to, and interpreting, the grassroots dimension of the democratic process, articulating and nurturing the same. We seek to comprehend what is going on but we also intervene whenever necessary, in humility and in a spirit of shared experience. And we engage in frank exchanges and debates, mutual criticism and dialogue - for we believe that dialogue is the essence of the democratic process, provided it is "dialogue of the people" and not just among the privileged, and provided it is dialogue not for its own sake but for participating in collective transformation involving both micro and macro thresholds.

Lokayan believes in intervening in the social process through the method of dialogue and its concomitant processes - providing a broad platform of debate, documenting reality on diverse issues, undertaking research arising out of felt need of activists, and disseminating all this widely among both activists and the public at large. It believes in the primacy of dialogue because of its perception that we live in a deeply divided world with increasing loss of contact between the divisions and growing estrangement between them. It is an estrangement that not only promotes ignorance and loss of empathy, but through capped stereotypes and in-built prejudices creates a psychic condition of growing immunization, apathy and amnesia. We live in a habitat consisting of two worlds that are so wide apart that it is just not possible to think of them as being one. This is not along the post-war stereotypes of the capitalist and communist worlds or the North and the South or the earlier one of the West versus the East. The two worlds I speak of cut
across all these along the simple indicators of human survival and access to resources and life opportunities as well as access to political power and decision-making institutions.

The "two worlds" are also found within each nation and at the lower reaches of territorial existence. Thus there are not just two worlds inhabiting this planet of ours but also two Indias; and within India, each political entity and each human settlement, whether urban or rural, is split into two. This split undermines both larger unities of the national or the subregional kind and the senses of community at the local level. But, even worse than this, there is another process at work that undermines the rich social diversity and cultural plurality through which a sense of unity had been organically felt for so long. Modern technology and the modern State seek to deal with the problem of poverty or exploitation or inequity by imposing centralizing and homogenizing solutions that are meant to "integrate" various elements. But in fact, modern economy and the modern State destroy natural and cultural diversity and far from integrating in fact, produce a basically dualist economy and centralizing State. The modern project of integration, whether into the world economic market or into the world strategic order and the technological marketplace, has effectively split each society into two. And the more the integration of the one segment, the less the care and understanding and knowledge about the other.

The Lokayan dialogues and related processes are a way of raising issues that go to the heart of the great divide between the two Indias and the two worlds that these two Indias epitomize. We do this in a variety of ways: through contact and communication between academics, professionals and opinion-makers residing in the metropolitan world and activists and political cadres working among groups and constituencies in the non-metropolitan, "vernacular" world.

Through dialogue among individuals sensitized to the grassroots reality in different ways or having different ideological interpretations of that reality. And above all through establishing contact and building relationships among the activists themselves and through them the diverse public they attempt to serve. We have found that the world of action too is a highly divided world. And so is the world of knowledge and social analysis and ideological interpretation. Lokayan is an attempt to build bridges across both the world of action and the world of knowledge. It is also an attempt at normative interventions - we seek to do all this simultaneously and not in separate compartments of reflection and action, theory and praxis, science and practical knowledge. In this lies Lokayan's distinctiveness, as a method of social intervention: relating and interrelating diverse segments of practical reality and enabling the practi-
tioners of knowledge to participate in the building of the same interrelationships.

Lokayan also represents a mode of action, of intervention, of politics, of struggle. While its members operate outside the Parliamentary and the party spaces, their work and activities, including the knowledge and intellectual debate they generate, are clearly political in nature. It is just that these are carried out at different thresholds of the political process, through quite different infrastructures of democratic participation from those in which political parties and electoral machines operate. And in articulating this process, Lokayan activists employ forms and procedures of intellectual intervention in ways that assist and enhance the political role of action groups and individuals engaged in political acts. Lokayan's innovation is to closely relate its activities to the concerns and problems of those involved in political action, from the grassroots to the national - and in some ways international - thresholds. On the other hand, Lokayan operates from a basic premise arising out of its perception and understanding of the crisis of our times: that it is fundamentally an intellectual crisis, a crisis of ideas, a crisis of human knowledge, both generally but especially in the social arena. The stock of theories and models of social change and progress that have shaped the modern industrial civilization, its colonial expansion and its subsequent even larger expansion through the paradigm of modernization and 'development' has created the world we live in. It is a world in an undesirable state in numerous ways, among other things because of this intellectual tutelage of the whole world to the post-Enlightenment Western models and to the framework of modern science and technology through which these models have structured patterns of domination, manipulation and violence. This undesirable state of affairs cannot be substantially changed without raising basic questions about the structure of economic and political reality and the ideas and assumptions underlying it. Of course, we must also come forward with alternative answers to existing ways of managing the world. And this is a fundamentally intellectual task, an intellectual-political task. This is our conviction.

It is in the manner of conceiving and pursuing this intellectual-political task that Lokayan's specificity and methodology has developed. Lokayan has been a movement away from specialized knowledge to what we call social knowledge. Second, while it promotes carefully conducted studies in selected problem areas, it has moved away from the cool and amoral conception of scientific objectivity which does not permit one to take sides. We, in Lokayan, believe in taking sides, not in any dogmatic or sectarian manner or in any watertight ideological frame but on the basis of informed consideration of diverse or opposing points of view and a "dialogue" among these. And third, Lokayan conceives of the
knowledge process as one of participation and involvement of diverse people, not just academics and intellectuals but activists, professionals and politicians as well. Indeed, Lokayan's basic input into India's intellectual, political and social life has been that based on the activist-intellectual interactions which are raising new issues, asking unconventional questions and, as we shall see, redefining the agenda of both political action and political theory.

Our activity of raising new questions and coming up with new issues does not take place in a vacuum. Nor is there some previously well thought out grand design that only ideologues and model-builders are given to indulge in. Our thinking has gradually crystallized from a series of interactions between different strands, arising out of struggles against existing hegemonies in the social structure, resistance to exploitation and inequities generated by the development process, new forms of protest within the broad civil liberties and human rights movement, and new and alternative ideas and experiments in technology, social and economic organization and modes of decision-making and participation. Lokayan's is an effort to broaden the scope and the range of politics, to open up new spaces in both the sphere of the State and in the large and complex terrain of civil society outside the State, which in India presents a vast arena. It is this simultaneous process of "conscientization", engagement in actual struggles as well as a search of new alternatives on a variety of concrete tasks that Lokayan is concerned with.

It is a process that has given rise to a new class of people drawn from the highly conscious and politicised stream of the middle classes. These individuals are engaged in a wide range of grassroots activism but also in broad touch with the larger context within which their work among the distressed and the restless masses has to be carried out. It is from this convergence of restless people increasingly conscious of their plight and a conscientious and equally restless class of volunteer politicians (to be distinguished from professional party politicians) on the one hand and restless intellectuals on the other that the new grassroots movements are emerging and pressing on the mainstream political process in India. Such convergence of masses, activists and intellectuals is gradually making it possible to articulate and present the large numbers and wide range of micro experiments and struggles in a macro perspective. This is precisely where Lokayan's overall aim and perspective lie - in bringing to bear at the threshold of macro politics the stirrings and struggles that have appeared in a variety of micro settings. It is a process still under way and has by no means been fulfilled. But it has begun.

From this process another convergence is taking shape: new definitions of the agenda of politics and the rise of new
Social movements. For example, the issue of environment. It is not something that can any longer be left to experts in ecology or in economic development or to departments of environment. These departments may have been set up in response to popular pressures but they have now become part of the bureaucratic status quo. Nor can environmental problems be left to be sorted out in the future. The environment must be preserved and regenerated here and now and cannot be left to pious declarations of governments. It must become part of peoples' own active involvement, including agitations to restrain the State and corporate interests from destroying the resource base of the poor, of future generations as well as the resources of non-human species and plants with whom our lives are organically linked. Ordinary people understand this much more than experts. They only have to be made aware that these also happen to be their rights.

The same is the case with health, with access and entitlement to food and nutrition, with shelter and housing. It is increasingly being realized that the new hazards to health, the new epidemics that are breaking out, and the problems associated with modern drugs are in good part a product precisely of experts in the medical profession. The horrors let loose by chemical industries and nuclear plants are increasingly coming to light; the tragedy in Bhopal dramatised it but this is happening in many other places too. The so-called self-reliance in food production (as in India) has little to do with actual access and entitlement to that food for the poor, and the same applies to shelter and housing and the availability of drinking water and access to fuel. The green and the white "revolutions", the revolution in materials technology and the umpteen schemes of "housing for the poor" have not been able to remove the scourge of hunger and malnutrition, of millions being shelterless, of still more millions being driven from the rural areas into ghettos of dirt, squalor and disease in the cities from where, too, they are bulldozed and driven away and tossed around hither and thither. The poor have been reduced to being stateless people in their own State. All this is making matters that were hitherto considered issues for experts and specialized handling into urgent political tasks.

Implied in this is yet another change that has taken place in the thinking on development which has a bearing on practical politics and on intellectual work. The earlier logic of development based on accumulation-distribution - in which distribution was to be taken care of at a later stage - has been exposed and repudiated. Implied in that logic was another presumption, never fully spelt out. It looked upon people as objects, not as subjects in their own right; as beneficiaries of the process of development, not as direct participants in it. Thus, they had no control over how things should go. And things have gone awry. This is now being realized. And with this realization has also come the convic-
tion that the process of distribution, access and empowerment, or narrowing gaps and countering monopolies are matters in which the people themselves will have to be involved, through their own organizations and through their own conceptions of what is relevant and what is not. These are issues of sheer survival; they are too serious to be left to either technocrats or professional politicians.

Nowhere is the enlargement and redefinition of the scope of politics brought out as vividly and dramatically as in what is called the women's movement. I prefer to think of it as a feminist input into our whole thinking on politics. It has not just enlarged the scope of politics by bringing into its ambit what was until recently considered a personal and a private world. From a position that the personal and the political are polar opposites to one that "personal is political" on to the position that "political is personal" is a massive shift, not just in the position of women in politics but in our whole understanding of politics as such.

The entry of women into politics is leading to new approaches and methods to deal with basic problems like the environment, health, drunkenness, sanitation, reassertion of the community and the choice of technology. The feminist input serves not just women, but also men. There is no limiting relationship between feminist values and being a woman. Above all, there is emerging an unprecedented convergence - between the ecological and feminist movements and between the two of them and the peace movement. This has already happened in Europe with the spectacular spread of the peace movement and with the affirmation that peace and disarmament are too important to be left to governments. In realising that, left to themselves, governments will, in all likelihood, blow up the world, women have played a major role. This is yet to happen in our part of the world. Our people are still under the spell of theories of threat from within and without. But the awakening will come there too even if it takes time and calls for much greater effort to build pressures from the grassroots; we just cannot afford to be prisoners of this arms race, and women will have to play a major role in changing this.

But the more important point is one about the inter-relationship of issues and movements, of a holistic approach to life, which goes against the grain of the modern scientific culture with its emphasis on specialization and fragmentation. As women come out of their presently narrow approach of catching up with men, and as feminist values become more generalised for humanity as a whole, a holistic approach will develop. It will be an approach that is also plural and based on complementarities. This is more likely to happen in the non-Western world than in the West because our cultures have always been embedded in a holistic way of life; they have just been recessive in recent times.
I have said earlier that it is in this effort at interrelating issues and transcending a specialized conception of both knowledge and action and, through such a conception, also interrelating levels and thresholds - of micro and macro - that Lokayan has found its role both as an articulator of what is already under way and as an intervenor in it by raising new questions and initiating dialogue and debates on them. It is this perception of our role through the method of dialogue that has made it possible for us to transcend the gaps that exist between the world of action and the world of intellect (a dichotomy that is based on a rather narrow view of knowledge) and between both these worlds and the organs of public opinion (imperceptibly the content of both reportage and commentary in the press and in other media has been changing). And in the same manner, we also hope to transcend the gap between the modern metropolitan world and the "vernacular" world from which it has over time got so alienated. We are still struggling at this because so many of us live in the metropolitan world even if the political leaders of that world wished we were not there. We raise critical voices which they wish were not raised.

Our efforts are by no means successful; all we can claim is that the voices which we reflect and articulate cannot any longer be suppressed. We do realize the larger context in which we operate. It is a context in which the engines of growth are in decline, where the organised working class is not growing and the process of marginalisation is spreading, where technology is turning anti-people, where development has become an instrument of the privileged class, and the State has lost its role as an agent of transformation, or even as a protector and mediator in the affairs of the civil society. In fact one finds that the whole relationship between the State and civil society is increasingly being visited by a growing coercion of the State apparatus. There is a growing demand for unity and consensus - not in the form of an organic expression of civil society but in the form of compliance with whatever happens to be the ruling orthodoxy - dissent from which is considered illegitimate. And as this happens, the State becomes more and more repressive.

All this is taking place within a global context in which the centralising thrust does not stop at the national centre; it makes the nation-state itself an abject onlooker and a client of a global "world order". It is a context of growing international pressures and subtle brainwashing that herald an end of self-reliance of the Third World countries. There is at work a process of integration of the organised national economy into the world market while removing millions of people from the economy by throwing them into the dustbin of history - impoverished, destitute, drained of their own resources and deprived of minimum requirements of health and nutrition, denied 'entitlement' to food, fuel, water and shelter and even access to their traditional cul-
tures. In short they have been made an unwanted and dispensable lot whose fate seems to be 'doomed'.

It is with the plight of these rejects of society and of organized politics that the grassroots movements and non-party formations in India are concerned. They are a part of the democratic struggle at various levels, in a radically different social context from what was posited both by the incrementalists and the revolutionaries. They have sprung up at a point of history when existing institutions and the theoretical models on which they were based have run their course. There is a search for new instruments of political action in the large vacuums in political space that are emerging, thanks to the decline in the role of the State as an agent of transformation and the virtual collapse of 'government' in large parts of rural India. The grassroots movements and non-party formations are based on deep stirrings of consciousness, on an awareness of crisis that can conceivably be turned into a catalyst of new opportunities. They need to be seen as a response to the incapacity of the State to hold its various constituents in a framework of positive action, its growing refusal (not just inability) to 'deliver the goods' when it comes to the poor and its increasingly repressive character. The repression is directed against vulnerable sections of the population, activists working among them, intellectual dissidents and groups and organizations associated with these. What these groups and organizations are in fact doing is to open alternative political spaces outside the usual arena of party and government though not outside the State. When the State and other vested interests mount a backlash, these organizations are called upon to play a further role of nurturing and providing protection to the victims of this backlash. Lokayan both joins in this effort and sensitizes the wider public to the realities on the ground.

In sum, the phenomenon of 'grassroots' activism is a part of an attempt to kindle faith and energy in anti-establishment forces in a variety of settings at a time of general drift and loss of elan. It is also a time when the suffering masses are scared of confrontation with the status quo, and thus, a time which calls forth people who have the will, creativity and a readiness to wage sustained struggles, not just against a particular local tyrant but against the larger system, both national and international.

Not everyone involved in popular movements sees it in this manner. Many of them are too preoccupied with immediate struggles to be able to think in wider terms; others are suspicious of both abstractions and aggregates. And, in any case, the conditions for concerted and consolidated action informed by an adequate theory are just not there. And yet there is enough evidence to suggest that underlying the micro movements is a search and restlessness for a more ade-
quate understanding of the forces at work as well as a more adequate response to them. The movements show a certain conviction that available ideologies are inadequate. They have enough experience which tells them that the existing instruments of formal politics - parties, elections, even the press and judiciary - cannot be expected to cope with the crisis in which they and those they work among find themselves. In one area after another, where we in Lokayan have had dialogues with activists working among the "untouchables", the landless, the tribals and various other segments of the rural poor, we found that none of the existing parties, including those that mouth radical slogans, really cared for these incoherent, unorganized and on the whole mute suffering masses. Hence the need for a new genre of organization and a new conception of political roles.

It is a conception of politics that differs from party politics in that, for it, State power is not seen as the only - or even the predominant - object of politics. It sees an equal, perhaps even greater, necessity to keep struggling against injustices which are bound to occur no matter which party or coalition is in power. It believes in experimenting with new modes of organizing social, economic and technological spaces, insisting on norms in politics and in keeping the intellectual ferment alive. The new conception of politics holds that it is not enough to provide participation in the system; the aim is also to create a just society. Participation is necessary but not sufficient for this to happen. A just society needs self-government and a decentralized order through which the masses are empowered. But it is not decentralized in the sense of a scheme of territorial devolution of functions and resources to lower levels but decentralization in which the people are the centre.

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For us in India there is no alternative but to move towards a pluralist, decentralized polity with a humane technology and a relatively self-reliant economy. Our concept is that the self reliance for the people, not just for the State as has been the thinking on self-reliance in the context of the New International Economic Order. In our highly plural context, a just society cannot be built except by the people coming into their own and assuming responsibilities for shaping their lives. We just cannot afford to hand these things over to experts. This may be possible in centralized and homogeneous societies like the Western ones. To follow that model in India is of necessity to create a dual society with large masses left out of citizenship, out of civilization really.

Fundamentally, the vision that informs the grassroots model of mass politics (as against the parliamentary or presidential or party model of mass politics) is one in which the people are more important than the state. This is crucial and it is not as simple as it sounds. In fact, in times we are living in, it is a revolutionary idea. The dominant tendency and mode of thought today is to place the state above the people, the security of the nation-state above people's security; the removal of real or imaginary threats to the state has become more pertinent than preventing threats to the people and their interests.

To restore to the people their sovereignty is not to undermine the role of the state but to transform it. This transformation can be achieved only through the transformation of the civil society, not the other way around. For this, the role of the centralized state must decline. The State will be very must there - some functions will have to be carried out by a centralized apparatus - but the State must basically operate in concert with other centres as well as other institutional spaces in civil society. And, for this to happen, we need to move beyond the nation-State syndrome of Statehood. We must, in particular, move beyond the 'national security State' syndrome which has been the source of both militarism and hegemonism in our time. In any case, so long as the 'national security State' rules the roost, the masses cannot and will not come into their own.

For us regaining power for the people, for communities, for autonomous societal forces is crucial. To that end Lokayan aims to be a "dialogue of the people". It still is not one, not adequately at any rate. But that is its conception. We need all the empathy and involvement and support that we can mobilize for this purpose - and a dialogue, a continuing dialogue with others similarly inclined in other parts of the world.

It is in this spirit of fellowship that we accept the Right Livelihood Award.
Ladies and Gentlemen, I have in this short statement gone over a range of issues and observations. But basic to it all is the theme of "Two Worlds" with which I started. We are fast moving into a situation where those belonging to that other world - the "vernacular" world - are not just getting marginalized and pushed to the peripheries of socio-economic and political systems; they are also getting pushed to the peripheries of our consciousness, our sense perceptions, our emotions. This is the most dangerous thing that can happen to this planet of ours - the danger of immunization, of amnesia as I mentioned earlier in this speech. It is this that we in Lokayan want to overcome and are struggling against. Hence the emphasis on dialogue, on building interrelationships. And we sincerely hope that the Right Livelihood Award to Lokayan will enable us to being a process that carries the dialogue and the interrelations across the great divides that separate us globally, transcontinentally. If and when that materializes, we will have a global Lokayan underway. It is then that the objective of the "Right Livelihood" movement will be really fulfilled.

IFDA DOSSIER - SUBSCRIPTION FEE

North: 48 Swiss francs or 30 US dollars
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(Viene de la pagina 3)

cial de los "dos mundos" en cada sociedad, en cada espacio. Algunos (la mayoría) son rechazados no solamente hacia las periferias de los sistemas económicos y políticos, pero también hacia las periferias de nuestras conciencias. Lo más peligroso que pueda suceder a la especie humana es esta amnesia, y esto es lo que Lokayan intenta contribuir a superar en India. Concebido como un esfuerzo intelectual alternativo intervinendo en el proceso social (pero no el proceso político de los partidos) por medio de diálogos con el pueblo, Lokayan, localizado al punto de convergencia entre las masas, militantes e intelectuales, es un esfuerzo de abrir los espacios de ambos el Estado y la sociedad civil.
San Francisco "Tenderloin" district is an area of poverty amid wealth, often neglected by all except its residents. Marked by seedy residential hotels, adult movie arcades and liquor stores, the Tenderloin is home to a constantly changing mixture of elderly people, gays, transients, blacks and hispanics and, increasingly, Asians.

It is also home to "The Tenderloin Times", a publication that several local journalists cite as the city's most vibrant community newspaper. "The Tenderloin Times" also has the distinction of being perhaps the only quadri-lingual newspaper in the country, publishing pages in Vietnamese, Khmer, Lao and English.

"It's a small-town paper", says Larry Lee, head of the local national broadcasting corporation-TV affiliate's special investigative reporting team. "Like all good small-town papers, it pays attention to the lives of the folks right there. Also, like many small-town papers without advertisers, they don't have anybody to suck up to or satisfy... so they tend to tell a bit more of the truth about the Tenderloin than the other media here do".

The paper's quadri-lingual approach was dictated by reality. Just as California has become the nation's centre for southeast Asian refugees, so the Tenderloin is now San Francisco's centre. The Indochinese immigrants now account for almost half the Tenderloin's 25,000 residents. Most speak halting English, if they speak it at all, and many have yet to adjust to the radically different culture of the United States.

"The Tenderloin Times" realised that if it was to serve its readers, it would have to adjust. The paper was started inauspiciously in 1977 with one photocopied issue. By 1979 it had gone bi-monthly and remained that way until 1982, when it became a monthly and hired its first full-time editor.

"It was begun to serve as a community organ", says Rob Waters, 28, the editor who was hired and who still holds that post. The publication was "a community information link to inform people in the neighbourhood about issues of importance, to serve as a voice for people and an advocate for
the people in the Tenderloin". "I think that still is the basic purpose of the paper", he adds.

"The Tenderloin Times" concentrates on stories relevant to its low-income tenant community. Rent control and real estate development, big issues for San Francisco, are covered in detail in the paper, along with articles on social services and neighbourhood problems such as crime and mental health.

Given the diverse nature of the area, the paper has to "promote a greater sense of understanding of the different communities", Waters says. "We've tried to break down some of the cultural barriers that exist by just letting people know who their neighbours are, and what kinds of things they went through". Towards that goal, "The Tenderloin Times" English section, the bulk of the paper, often runs stories about the refugee community, while the Asian pages frequently explain the various kinds of social services available.

The change to the four-language format was made possible when "The Tenderloin Times" received a $76,000 grant from a local foundation last year. The money allowed the paper to hire another editor and three southeast Asian reporters, themselves refugees, and boost circulation from 10,000 to 15,000 copies per month. Production of the paper is now a trial and error process. The Tenderloin Times "didn't have any idea as to what was involved", says Sara Colm, the newly hired editor.

A typewriter with Vietnamese is used for the Vietnamese section, but the Khmer and Lao pages must be laboriously written by hand by the reporters, then photographed and layed out. Articles for the southeast Asian sections are written in English first, edited, then translated into the respective languages and reviewed by neighbourhood residents for mistakes. The staff delivers the paper door-to-door throughout the neighbourhood, allowing it to get feedback first hand. Response over the years to the paper has been "very, very good", says Waters. "In fact, it's amazingly good". Members of the mainstream media have also been impressed.

"I think it's probably the best community newspaper in San Francisco", says Katy Butler, who has reported for "The San Francisco Chronicle" for nine years.

Butler notes that "The Tenderloin Times" was the first paper "to talk about the problems of the homeless", now a frequent topic in the city's media. Though the kinks are still being worked out in the Tenderloin Times' quadri-lingual format, the paper's future appears bright. Its ties to the community have never been closer, and a formerly silent section of San Francisco now has a voice. "It's looking better all the time", says Lee. "I think they're heroes".
THROUGH NATIONAL AFFIRMATION OF ITS FOOD AND ITS GEOGRAPHY
PERU WANTS AN HISTORIC RE-ENCOUNTER WITH ITS LAND

by Alan García Pérez
President of the Republic of Peru
Lima, Peru

Original: Spanish

Abstract: After a short analysis of the current world economic system, Alan García outlines a national policy of liberation grounded in the deepening of democracy. For democracy to be the expression of the people, he argues, it must help them recover an awareness of their geographical and historical reality, that is their identity. This can be achieved through food, seen as a part of national liberation. He shows with many examples how the history of Peru, from the time of colonization to the present day, has been that of a production and consumption model whose main features are a series of structural imbalances, mass poverty, alienation and dependence. What is now called for is a multidimensional revolution, starting from an autochthonous food model and including national self-reliance, decentralization, social justice, reaffirmation of the society’s cultural identity, as well as adopting of the structures of the new state to the endogenous social organizations that have stood the test of time. Such policies require the good use of internal financial resources; this is why Peru has decided to limit to 10% of its export earnings the service of its debt and to reject the Shylock-like dictates of the IMF.

LE PEROU VEUT RETROUVER SA TERRE

Résumé: Après une brève analyse du système mondial actuel, Alan García esquisse une politique nationale de libération fondée sur l’approfondissement de la démocratie. Pour que la démocratie soit l’expression du peuple, dit-il, elle doit aider celui-ci à reprendre conscience de la réalité et de son identité géographique et historique. On peut y parvenir en voyant dans l’alimentation une dimension de la libération. A travers de nombreux exemples, il montre comment l’histoire du Pérou, de

* The text reproduced below is an abridged English version of the 14th MacDougall Memorial Lecture delivered in Spanish by the President of Peru in Rome, on 11 November 1986, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of FAO. A few passages of the official English translation have been amended so as to reflect more closely the original. The full text of the lecture can be obtained in either Spanish or English from the FAO, via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00180 Rome, Italy.
la colonisation à aujourd'hui, s'est traduite par un modèle de production et de consommation caractérisé essentiellement par de nombreux déséquilibres structurels, la pauvreté du plus grand nombre, l'aliénation et la dépendance. La réponse ne peut être qu'une révolution multi-dimensionnelle dont les éléments sont à partir d'un modèle alimentaire autochtone, l'autonomie nationale, la décentralisation, la justice sociale, la réaffirmation de l'identité culturelle aussi bien que l'adaptation des structures à l'organisation sociale endogène qui a résisté au temps. Une telle politique, exige le bon usage des ressources financières internes; c'est pourquoi le Pérou a décidé de limiter à 10% de ses recettes d'exportation le service de sa dette et de rejeter les diktats à la Shylock du FMI.

EL PERÚ EN BÚSQUEDA DE SU TIERRA

Resumen: Alan García, después una breve análisis el sistema mundial actual, esboza una política de liberación nacional fundada sobre la profundización de la democracia. Para que la democracia sea la expresión del pueblo, debe ayudar al pueblo a recobrar conciencia de la realidad, de su identidad geográfica e histórica. Y esto se puede obtener considerando la alimentación como una dimensión de la liberación. Por medio de varios ejemplos, nos da a conocer de que manera la historia del Perú, desde la colonización a nuestros días, se traduce por un modelo de producción y de consumo caracterizado esencialmente por varios desequilibrios estructurales, la pobreza de la mayoría, la alienación y la dependencia. La única respuesta posible es la de una revolución multidimensional, cuyos elementos son, sobre la base de un modelo de alimentación autoctono, la autonomía nacional, la descentralización, la justicia social, la reafirmación de la identidad cultural, y la adaptación de las estructuras a la organización social endógena que ha resistido al tiempo. Este tipo de política exige el buen empleo de recursos financieros internos, razón por la cual el Perú ha decidido limitar al 10% de sus exportaciones el servicio de su deuda y rechazar las diktats del IMF.

NB: El texto español completo de esta disertación se puede obtener de la FAO, vía della Terme di Caracalle, 00100 Roma, Italia.

IFDA DOSSIER - SUSCRIPCIONES
Norte: 48 francos suizos o 30 dólares US
Sur: 24 francos suizos o 15 dólares US

IFDA DOSSIER - TARIF DES ABONNEMENTS
Nord: 48 francs suisses ou 30 dollars US
Sud: 24 francs suisses ou 15 dollars US
Scourged by hunger, debt and the threat of nuclear war, our world is full of paradoxes and contrasts. At one extreme are the industrialized countries, where average per capita income is as much as ten thousand dollars a year, and where people consume more than 3,400 calories a day. At the other extreme are nearly 2.5 billion inhabitants of the Third World whose incomes barely amount to 300 dollars a year.

Linking these two extremes is a single system, a single economic order, whose injustice has been repeatedly condemned without, however, very much being done to remedy it. The exchange of raw materials for technology is growing increasingly unfair, with more and more tons of fish meal or sugar being needed to purchase just one tractor.

The external debt is a blatant means of extracting and transferring resources; this year the figure was 970 billion dollars, and many countries devoted more than half of their 1984 export revenues to servicing it. Through the industry of death and sophisticated arms, the sale of which divides the poor countries by intrigues, we have transferred thousands of millions of dollars to the rich countries.

This has been said many times before. What I want to do now is to point out the glaring contradiction between institutions in this system of international relations. On the one hand there is FAO, fighting against hunger and to give the poorest countries access to development technologies. On the other hand there is the International Monetary Fund, whose conditions and policies for stabilization have worsened our countries' problems, with dramatic consequences.

The IMF is an institution in which nations are not, as here, sovereign equals, but are valued for the size of their contributions and the strength of their currency. In my country, the conditions imposed by the IMF forced us to apply mistaken economic policies which constricted demand, reduced credit and public spending, and brought about a decline in production and employment and a drop in incomes and deterioration in nutrition, which hit the poor hardest of all.

I am here now because we have decided to adopt a different approach. We have abandoned the prescriptions of the IMF and are now resolutely following the path marked out for us by FAO - rescuing the rural world as a source of well-being and nutrition. We are now planning to expand production, increase consumption, facilitate access to credit, and promote productive public spending. (...)

Alan García Pérez

THROUGH NATIONAL AFFIRMATION OF OUR FOOD AND OUR GEOGRAPHY

PERU WANTS A HISTORIC RE-ENCOUNTER WITH THE LAND
We shall do this, not by asking for charity, but by calling for a fairer system in which the value of the work of poor nations and their equal sovereignty are recognized. The world needs a new basis for trade and the distribution of wealth. A new monetary system is required in which the dollar is no longer the sole universal currency, turning us into the tools of one single country. (...)

This struggle has the support of all peoples, but we also need to strengthen democracy everywhere as a weapon against hunger and justice. This is our primary duty.

Democracy must be the expression of the people; but in poor countries it also plays the role of an authentic historical conscience. Our countries are not only victims of injustice, indebtedness and violence; political domination has deprived our people of a sense of geographical identity. In other words, their awareness of their reality is ambiguous and alienating. This false vision has produced technological and food consumption models which have linked neither with geography nor with social history.

This is the main theme which I should like to develop in this lecture. In this assembly, much has been heard about hunger, famine and human suffering. We recognize that these are serious subjects, but on this occasion I should like to speak of food in a different sense, placing it in its cultural and historical context. I should like to show how democracy can be understood through food and how it can be built with food as its objective, not just in response to famine but as a conscious part of national liberation. This is what we are doing to regain a real awareness of our country's geography.

Over the centuries Peru, once the base of an empire founded on agriculture, has forgotten its mountainous terrain, its altitude, its mountain ranges and its native crops, and begun to consume foreign foods grown on plains which do not exist in my country, thus falsifying its view of itself. (...)

Over the last few decades, agricultural production in my country has declined. Yield per hectare has fallen, while food imports have increased considerably. The huge consumption of foreign food products has caused the country's technical conditions and social organization to be forgotten. As a result, the people have lost faith in their ability to control their own geographical environment. Food imports are not just a foreign exchange problem; they also make a country lose touch with its sense of its own history and geography. The mass consumption of wheat, which comes from another geographical area, another ecological system, and does not grow in Peru, ended the usefulness of the Andes, the mountains and the technical instruments for dominating them, the
old language, the conceptual structure, family relations, and any kind of political or religious awareness. Peruvians have come to accept scarcity and poverty as an inevitable fact of life, and the peasants, without moving from their land, are exiled from their own history.

Yet less than 500 years ago the agrarian civilization of the Incas provided sufficient food for a population as large as or even larger than the present one, because the Incas accepted Peru's geography and dominated it technologically. Five centuries ago, like today, Andean civilization covered a great ecological variety, resembling more than half the climates in the world. The great complexity of ecological levels and climates was mastered by the old Inca civilization through technical works aimed at simplification. Aware of the country's rugged and mountainous geography, the Incas dominated it by growing their crops on terraces stretching far up the slopes.

While other civilizations on plains and plateaux replaced the plough with the tractor, which is useful on flat land, Peru relied on different technical instruments, the terraces, known as "andenes", and on human organization too, because the complexity of ecology and climates made collective work essential. There was thus a clear identification of society with the land, and a feeling of security and political continuity.

The European invasion in the 16th century broke this relationship between the people and the land. The conquistadores came from countries with a different geography, countries with plains and plateaux, and did not understand Peru's different geography. They imposed a vision which did not correspond to this geography and a different historical understanding of space and time. The Andean axis and the capital of Cuzco were replaced by lands nearer the sea. People's identification with farming gave way to mining, because Peru ceased to be an agricultural country and became merely a mining satellite of mercantile Europe. And the traumatic conquest placed the conquering European group over the conquered society, so that the agriculture of the old society became an activity associated with the beaten, the defeated. The Andes were no longer the historical and economic centre, but became the home of those who had lost the battle.

I have frequently said in my country that the underlying motivation of the peasants who abandon their land in the Andes to go to the city is the desire to escape from the centuries of living as a conquered race. The conquest gave rise to a false vision of Peru, which treated the country as though it consisted of lowlands and plateaux when in fact it is mountainous, a country made for terracing, for growing potato and maize, which constitute our contribution to human history. Peru gradually became converted into a country con-
suming wheat, a crop requiring large stretches of lowland which do not exist.

Little by little millions of hectares of terraces were abandoned; the roads which linked the agricultural zones of Peru were forgotten, the population shrank and society retreated before geography. The land no longer provided the people with an identity; it was just a deposit for the vanquished or the tool of social domination in the feudalism that then arose.

For almost five centuries Peru has ceased to identify itself with the land. Like almost everyone else, we have had not only an agrarian reform, but a juridical reform concerned solely with title deeds, which has maintained the domination of the town over the countryside, the marginalization of the Andes that began with the Conquest, and the growing trend toward importing food. Society continues to be divorced from its physical basis.

The great Indira Ghandi once quoted from this same rostrum a Hindu hymn which says: "All the creatures that live on the earth are born from food, live on food and when they die return to food." I might paraphrase this by saying: "Societies are born from food, live on food and build up their awareness of time and space through the food they consume, which is the expression of their technical capacity to dominate their geography."

For this reason, the democracy we want in Peru is not an urban democracy, not a bureaucratic and administrative democracy. Peru wants an historic re-encounter with the land, through national affirmation of our food and our geography.

From the beginning of this century Peru has been following the path laid down for it by the Conquest. It has followed the cycles of the world capitalist economy. Like other peripheral countries, Peru exported agricultural raw materials such as cotton and sugar, but these were produced by a new agriculture, located near the sea, different from Andean agriculture. The economy of the Andes continued to be marginalized.

With the Second World War, Peru began a process of industrialization and urbanization which isolated the peasants, particularly those in the Andean region, even more. Industrialization in Peru from 1945 on has been centralized and urban; it has concentrated on processing food and milling foreign wheat and thus has increased the mass consumption of external commodities, which replaced the national food. The industrialization, begun three decades ago, has completed Peru's conversion into an importing country, installing big mills and beginning almost total replacement of our own foods.
Between 1970 and 1983 alone, domestic per caput production of maize fell from 45 to 31 kg; that of potatoes, which originate from Peru, dropped from 140 to 60 kg. But during the same period per caput importation of wheat rose from 35 to 52 kg and that of maize from 1 to 24 kg.

The process of industrialization impoverished the Andean peasants even more, accentuated migration, and implanted in the peasants arriving in the city a feeling of insecurity with regard to food and technological capacity; and since the land is linked to people's self-awareness, the migrants also lost their self-respect. The generosity of the land was replaced by the hostility of the urban environment, and the idea of society as a community was replaced by individualism as a response to the hostile surroundings.

Since 1970, the oil crisis and the end of the expansion in world economy have led to protectionism in the richer countries. The transnational corporations have been replaced by banks as a means of drawing off the surplus. In my country Industry has been affected by the opening up of the market, since imports are financed by greater indebtedness, and in recent years marginalization and destitution have grown worse.

Peru has been, successively, an exporting country, a country in the process of urban industrialization, and a debtor country, retaining throughout the same kind of link with world capitalism: the affirmation of urban life, administrative procedures and importation, and continual depression of agriculture.

There are therefore deep contradictions in its structure of my country: excessive centralization in the towns, and particularly the capital; a very high concentration of income; and great imbalance between industry and administration on the one hand and an increasingly depressed agriculture on the other. This produces a vicious circle: agriculture produces less and less because of food imports, the peasants therefore grow ever poorer, and industry in turn grows weaker because it lacks a market for its products.

In these circumstances a process of historical transformation is essential to attain social justice and economic self-reliance. This process cannot consist of reactivating the vicious economic structures; if by reactivation we mean conventional measures benefitting the high income group, we shall continue to be condemned to import commodities. The far-reaching transformation we need must be inspired by an autochthonous food model, because only in this way will there be a revolution in its multiple dimensions: national autonomy, economic decentralization, social justice and reaffirmation of our cultural identity.
The first objective of a nationalist revolution must be to rediscover the forgotten reality and the agricultural space-time dimensions; in other words, to recognize ecological variety, accept terraced farming, rediscover native products and community organization, and see again the Andes, which are the historical axis of Peru, as space useful to human beings.

This is the essence of the historical-cultural reaffirmation we are seeking: recover the identity of society and land, restore security in the consciousness and leave behind with migration the tendency to flee from reality.

For this transformation to be possible, we define our nationalism as the right to an autonomous existence, as the right to work and to defend our industry from the liberal opening up of markets, as the right to plan the economy and to direct resources toward an historical model linked with food, agriculture and fisheries.

Because of this we have decided to limit drastically the resources previously allocated to payment of the external debt, in particular to commercial banks. We maintain that this debt is unjust, that it originates from unequal exchange, is accentuated by usurious interest rates and aggravated by protectionism which lowers the prices of our commodities and hinders trade. History shows that the attempt to maintain financial relations through a "carousel" of new loans leads only to a worse situation.

We deplore the fact that the economically stronger countries do not understand the need to find a political solution to this problem.

We deplore the fact that the many talks and meetings have not yet led the debtor countries to agree on action. We believe in joint action and solidarity. We also believe in national decisions, and therefore reject the idea of continuing to contract debts in order to pay previous ones. We reaffirm our decision to allot 10 percent of exports, that is to say, only one out of every ten dollars of our export earnings, to servicing the debt, principally to that part which relates to cooperation loans and real aid we have received. At this moment when hundreds of millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America are waiting in vain for food, when poverty and violence loom over our societies, the banks can wait: the poor have waited long enough for reason and justice. (...)
and reduce State participation in social expenditure. We have opted for a completely different path: a sovereign model with substantial reduction of internal interest rates, stable exchange rates, regulated price control and reduction of the profit margins of the monopolies. As a proof of what our people can do without the tutelage of the international monetary system, inflation has been reduced in only two months from 11 to 3 percent a month.

Now that payments on the external debt have been reduced, the purchase of armaments and other unnecessary imports limited, and the State's participation in natural resources such as oil increased, the Government can channel more resources to the social services and to economic recovery, particularly agricultural production. (...)

The prices of our agricultural commodities, the prices of meat, milk, cotton, sugar, copper, silver and fish meal, are dropping daily as a result of the protectionist policies of the richer countries, which subsidize their domestic production in order to dominate the world export economy. They lower the prices of our raw materials and demand that we pay the banks punctually. What are we going to pay with? Why should we pay? We say that first comes the need to defend our natural wealth. We are not going to pay, as in Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice", with the flesh and blood of our people; we are going to defend and retain within our country the surpluses and resources that the vicious structure of world economy directs abroad, and we are going to do it to affirm an historical and geographical consciousness of what Peru was. A revolution is only the reconquest of one's own history. So when people ask us what we will do with the resources that we now keep within Peru, we reply that these resources will serve to support a new economic and social model that can be summarized as a democracy for food. For this reason it is of special significance for Peru to come to this anniversary of the FAO.

First of all, we affirm that the fundamental basis of nationalism is the land. A nation is technological capacity over geography and only recognition and awareness of this geography can enable us to produce the food that this geography can give us and break the vicious circle of imports which impoverish the peasants and condemn urban industry to an inadequate market.

We therefore believe in the obligation of our country and other countries to get their own land to produce and put their own societies to work. It will take a long time, but we are going to replace the food products we consume today by those that Peru's land can produce.

Peru, whose contribution to history included cultivation of the first potatoes, which were later introduced into many
other countries, has gone back to being an importer of potatoes; Peru, which, with the rest of Latin America, introduced maize into the human diet, now imports 40 percent of its maize; it imports dairy produce and fats, soybeans, and all its wheat, which is now the staple food of the poor in Peru...

We are also aware that the agricultural surpluses distributed throughout the world are distributed in a market where some countries, particularly the most powerful countries, hold a monopoly; these countries take advantage of this situation to bring pressure to bear on our countries. Moreover, the agricultural surpluses which are sold to the rest of the world on concessionary terms have an adverse effect on the agriculture of our country, keeping our people in ignorance of what Peru could produce, and impoverishing and discouraging Peruvian agriculture.

We do not aspire to self-sufficiency but rather to the development of indigenous crops like potato, maize and quinoa.

With the arrival of the European conquerors, some crops to which old Peru accorded a religious significance because of their high calorie and protein content, were banned for this very reason. We should like to recover this forgotten germ plasm, we should like to recall the long period when Peru held sway over its own geography; all of which was changed by the imposition of eating habits and import patterns which were not right for us. We therefore established a fund to support farm prices and took one decisive action: we reduced the interest rate on agricultural credit in the most depressed areas to one-fifth of what it was three months ago. (...)

However, our nationalism is expressed not only in agriculture but also in fisheries. Instead of producing fish meal for foreign markets, we should be channelling our resources to feed our own people. (...) In Peru, at one time the leading fishing country in the world, average consumption per caput per annum is only 10kg. In the last thirty years, out of every 100 tons of catches, only one was used for human consumption. The other 99 were sold off as fish meal, to fertilize European crops. (...

Nationalism in food is also an affirmation of democracy. If democracy means equitable distribution of resources, democracy should start with the poorest, it should start with the marginalized peasants in the Andes. They are at the base of the social pyramid in Peru. We are also encouraging the production and consumption of potato, maize and quinoa, because these crops are grown on plots belonging to the Andean communities, which are the poorest in Peru.

The transformation model we propose is based on food. Our nationalism, through the reconstitution of a consumption
model, is democratic because it begins with the poorest peasant, and it is decentralist because it is focused on the land. Democracy cannot be the reproduction of the urban model; it must recognize the social organizations that have stood the test of time, like the communities in Peru, and adapt the structures of the new State to them. (...)

The revolutionary fact is the economic recognition of the peasant community. The old community organization of Peru withstood the passage of time because of its social solidarity and paradoxically because it was marginalized. In thousands of communities, millions of peasants are the living proof of the old historical awareness and the time when the land belonged to the people.

The new State must recognize the peasant community as part of itself. To this end, we have allocated resources directly to the communities. The State has never been able to reach them, suspended as they are at an altitude of four or five thousand metres. Now we shall reach them directly, by-passing bureaucratic and urban middlemen who would distort the Government's idea of linking up with the peasant communities.

However, just as the Peruvian Government is now proposing a nationalist and decentralized democracy through food, we are also trying through food to construct a homogeneous economy. Our urban, industrial and administrative sectors are sharply divorced from the marginal economy of agriculture. We therefore want to create a national market, incorporating the production and the well-being of peasant families in the national demand.

The entrepreneurs and industrialists in my country are aware that only the development of marginal agriculture and the distribution of income among the peasants will strengthen the possibilities for urban industry, which is now in a state of crisis for lack of a market. (...)

I have tried so far to demonstrate that the food model proposed by the Peruvian Government is the basis of democracy. (...) However, it is also a participatory model in a society at present torn by violence. The world press and media describe my country as one in the grip of violence and subversion.

In recent years, the dramatic problem of terrorism and subversion has led to thousands of deaths. We reject totalitarian ideological inspiration and the historical justification of violence. We shall meet subversive arms with the arms of the law and of democracy, fighting hard, but respecting law and human rights. However, we understand why terrorism has chosen the most depressed areas in the country, trying to exploit the wretchedness and frustration of
the peasants and hide behind the age-old organization of peasant communities, taking advantage of their organizing capacity.

In the United Nations General Assembly, I explained that this was why we limited our repayments of foreign debt, and called for a regional agreement in Latin America that millions of dollars should not continue to be spent on arms when they could be saving the forgotten peoples from their poverty and rehabilitating depressed regions, through direct allocation of resources, lowering of interest rates, encouraging the consumption of locally produced commodities, and the recognition of their social organization. By restoring to them the historical force of which they have been deprived, the Government will truly identify itself with society. The ideological struggle in Peru, as in most poor countries of the world, is the struggle between violence, which has raised itself to the status of an ideology, and democracy, which has to prove its ability to solve social problems. I am confident that democracy will overcome violence; but it will have to conquer with the strength of justice and development for the most deprived sectors. Democracy must mean, above all, respect and defense of the most important human right, which is the right to food.

This is the major historical purpose of our efforts to constitute a nationalist, democratic and popular Government; an effort to rebuild geographical and historical awareness; an effort to emancipate Peru historically; an effort to affirm nationalism, democracy, decentralism and the constitution of a sound economy that will survive the crisis; and an effort to win bread, which is peace and freedom.

I have therefore taken the liberty of giving you an account of the history of Peru to illustrate, in hommage to FAO on its Fortieth Anniversary, the model of food democracy that we are advocating, seeking to prove that food is not only a response to hunger but also a cultural symbol around which a revolution may be constructed. (...)

NOTE TO OUR READERS IN SWITZERLAND

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

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Résumé: Dans cet article - que nous avons fortement abrégé - l'auteur rappelle les efforts de la ligue des États arabes, fondée en 1945 pour développer la coopération arabe, et étudie le cas des communications spatiales. Outre l'importance des télécommunications dans la quête de l'unité arabe et malgré certains problèmes encore non résolus comme celui de la maîtrise de la technologie ou celui de l'amortissement de l'investissement, l'expérience d'Arabsat - c'est le nom de l'organisation et du satellite - est prometteuse tant institutionnellement qu'opérationnellement. Après tant d'échecs dans d'autres domaines, le satellite Arabsat a été lancé en février 1985, ouvrant une ère nouvelle pour la coopération arabe. Les gouvernements voudront-ils et sauront-ils saisir l'occasion?

ARABSAT: A JOINT ARAB ACTION FOR SPATIAL COMMUNICATION

Abstract: In this paper - which we have drastically shortened - the author evokes the efforts of the League of Arab States established in 1945 to develop Arab cooperation, and examines in detail the case of spatial communications. Beyond the importance of telecommunications in the pursuit of Arab unity, and inspite of certain yet unsolved problems such as the control of technology and amortization of the investment, the Arabsat - which is the name of both the organization and the satellite - experience is rich in institutional and operational promises. After so many failures in other fields, the Arabsat satellite was launched in February 1985, opening a new era in Arab cooperation. The question is whether governments will be willing and able to seize the opportunity.

ARABSAT: UNA ACCIÓN COMUN ARABE PARA LAS COMMUNICACIONES ESPACIALES

Resumen: En este artículo - que hemos abreviado bastante - el autor recuerda los esfuerzos de la Liga de los Estados Árabes, fundada en 1945, para desarrollar la cooperación árabe, y estudia además el tema de las comunicaciones espaciales. Más allá de la importancia de las comunicaciones en la búsqueda de la unidad árabe y a pesar de ciertos problemas no resueltos tales que el dominio de la tecnología o la amortización de las inversiones, la experiencia de Arabsat - nombre de ambos la organización y satélite - es prometedora desde el punto de vista institucional y operacional. Después de tantos fracasos en otro sectores, el satélite Arabsat fue lanzado en febrero 1985 dando comienzo a una nueva era en la cooperación árabe. La cuestión es de saber si los gobiernos tendrán la voluntad o sabrán aprovechar esta oportunidad.
L’ARABSAT: ACTION COMMUNE ARABE EN MATIERE DE COMMUNICATIONS SPATIALES

Introduction

Le pacte constitutif de la Ligue arabe signé le 22 mars 1945 a posé dans son article 2 le principe de la coopération entre les États arabes dans les domaines politique, économique, social et culturel. Dans son article 4 il a prévu la création d’organismes techniques spécialisés à travers lesquels se concrétiserait cette coopération.

Parmi les différents aspects que couvre l’action commune arabe le domaine des communications spatiales a retenu l’attention de la Ligue et des États arabes depuis au moins deux décennies: l’idée d’un projet arabe de satellite de communications a commencé à germer et à prendre forme dès les années 60. La Ligue et l’Union arabe des télécommunications, une des premières institutions spécialisées de la Ligue, créée en 1953, ont vu très tôt la nécessité d’un satellite de télécommunications qui réponde aux besoins des pays arabes dans le domaine de l’information et de la communication.

A la suite de la réunion des ministres arabes de l’information, tenue en 1967 à Bizerte en Tunisie, l’Union arabe des télécommunications (UAT) a été chargée d’étudier en collaboration avec l’Organisation arabe pour l’éducation, la science et la culture (ALECSO) les possibilités d’utilisation dans le monde arabe des moyens modernes de développement des communications, particulièrement la radio et la télévision. Le projet présenté fut très vite adopté et développé par l’UAT qui a également inclu le téléphone, le télégraphe et le télex. Les études et les consultations avaient commencé avec l’UNESCO et l’Union internationale des télécommunications (UIT), ainsi qu’avec d’autres organisations internationales spécialisées pour trouver le meilleur moyen de faire bénéficier les pays arabes d’un ou de plusieurs systèmes de satellites de communication. Mais dès 1974, les ministres arabes de l’information estimèrent qu’il serait préférable de doter la région de son propre satellite de communication afin d’éviter les ingérences étrangères dans un domaine aussi important. Les ministres des communications décidèrent alors de créer un réseau de satellites de communications pour toute la région arabe et signèrent à cet effet, au Caire, en avril 1976, un accord portant création de l’Organisation arabe de communications spatiales, Arabsat, organisation chargée d’acquérir les satellites, véhicules de lancement et moyens de contrôle et d’opérations pour l’exploitation du système. Cette institution devait répondre efficacement à la mission qui lui a été confiée, surtout après le lancement réussi en février 1985 du premier satellite arabe par la fusée Ariane à partir de la base de Kourou en Guyanne, mais c’est maintenant que l’organisation devra faire preuve de son aptitude à mener à bien l’action commune arabe dans le domaine des communications. D’un autre côté, l’action commune arabe devra se concrétiser aussi à travers l’utilisation commune du satellite dans un contexte mondial caractérisé par une forte inégalité sur le plan technologique aussi bien qu’en matière d’information et de communication entre...
le Nord et le Sud. Forts du monopole qu'ils ont sur la production et la technologie, les pays industrialisés exercent contrôle sur l'information dans le monde. Voilà désormais les pays arabes dotés de leur propre organisation et de leur propre satellite de communication, lesquels vont constituer un nouveau test de la crédibilité de leur action commune. C'est à cette action que nous avons voulu consacrer cette étude qui se veut une contribution à l'étude de la coopération inter-arabe dans un domaine spécifique et récent.

L'ARABSAT, ORGANISME DE L'ACTION COMMUNE ARABE

L'Arabsat est une organisation ouverte à tous les membres de la Ligue des États arabes qui détiennent une participation dans le capital de l'organisation. Tout État arabe qui n'a pas encore signé l'accord peut, s'il le désire, adhérer en déposant son instrument d'adhésion auprès de la Ligue. L'Arabsat est par ailleurs une organisation indépendante au sein de la Ligue. Elle dispose pour cela d'une personnalité complète. Elle a le droit de conclure des contrats et des accords, de posséder et de gérer des fonds et des biens, d'ester en justice et de prendre toute autre mesure légale dans les limites de ses objectifs. Ces caractéristiques lui confèrent une personnalité internationale au même titre que d'autres organisations. Cette indépendance lui permet en principe de poursuivre librement ses activités sans avoir à souffrir de la tutelle du Conseil de la Ligue ou d'autres procédures plus lourdes ou contraignantes qui pourraient lui être imposées par les organes de la Ligue.

Structures de l'Arabsat

La structure organisationnelle de l'Arabsat est analogue au modèle des autres organisations internationales spécialisées dans le même domaine, comme Intelsat, l'Organisation internationale de télécommunications par satellite, l'Organisation de télécommunications spatiales Intersputnik ou surtout l'Organisation internationale de télécommunications maritimes par satellite, Inmarsat. L'accord de création prévoit une structure tri-partite classique comportant un organe plénié, un organe restreint et un organe exécutif.

a) L'Assemblée générale, composée des ministres des communications et des télécommunications de tous les États membres, constitue l'organe suprême de l'Arabsat et se réunit au moins une fois par an. Chaque État dispose d'une voix. Les décisions relatives aux objectifs sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers des membres représentés. L'accord portant création de l'Arabsat donne à l'Assemblée générale le pouvoir de régler les litiges qui peuvent survenir entre les membres ou entre l'organisation et les membres.

L'Assemblée générale détermine les principes généraux de l'organisation. Elle élabore les plans, sélectionne les projets d'extension et de développement du secteur spatial, détermine les taux de redevances d'utilisation du secteur spatial pour tous les types de services, élabore les spécifications et normes générales. Elle fixe le mode de règlement des participations et les parts d'investissements conformément aux recommandations du Conseil d'administration et approuve les augmentations de capital proposées par l'organe restreint.
L'Assemblée générale adopte les décisions relatives à la représentation des États au sein du Conseil d'administration, élit les membres du dit conseil et nomme le directeur général de l'Organisation. L'Assemblée générale est ainsi appelée à intervenir sur tous les points intéressant directement la vie de l'organisation. Elle peut s'attribuer aussi tout autre pouvoir qu'elle juge nécessaire pour la réalisation des objectifs de l'Arabsat. L'Assemblée générale exerce une suprématie certaine sur tous les autres organes y compris le Conseil d'administration à qui elle délègue une partie de son autorité bien que celui-ci possède de nombreuses attributions qui le font apparaître comme le rouage essentiel de l'organisation.


Bien que chaque membre du Conseil ait droit à un vote, la procédure pour leur élection permet un équilibre entre les pays riches et les pays pauvres de l'Organisation. Le mandat du Président et du Vice-Président du Conseil renforce le principe d'égalité des États dans le cadre du Conseil, qui regroupe en fait des États qui n'ont pas le même poids financier dans le capital de l'Arabsat.

Les attributions du Conseil d'administration consistent principalement en la surveillance et le maintien du secteur spatial, ainsi qu'à l'exécution des politiques adoptées par l'Assemblée générale. L'accord de création de l'Arabsat fixe en détail les fonctions du Conseil d'administration qui sont assez nombreuses et équilibrées par rapport à celles de l'Assemblée générale. Le Conseil fixe périodiquement les taux de redevances d'utilisation du secteur spatial pour tous les types de service sur la base des propositions de l'organe exécutif. Il établit les normes et les conditions générales applicables aux stations terriennes pour qu'elles puissent accéder au secteur spatial.

Les réunions du Conseil sont ouvertes. Peuvent y participer à titre d'observateurs des représentants de la Ligue, de l'UAT, de l'Union des radiodiffusions des États arabes et de l'ALESCO. En plus, le Conseil a le droit d'inviter toute personne de son choix dont il juge la présence bénéfique.

L'organe exécutif de l'Arabsat est dirigé par un Directeur général assisté d'un corps de fonctionnaires qu'il recrute sur la base de leur compétence et de leur efficacité dans les domaines technique et administratif. L'accord de création de l'Organisation prévoit pour le recrutement du personnel, l'application du principe de la répartition géographique. Le Directeur général est tenu alors à chaque fois que c'est possible de choisir les agents sur cette base.
Le Directeur général de l'Arabsat est nommé par contrat sur proposition du conseil d'administration par l'Assemblée générale pour une période de trois ans renouvelable. Le Directeur général représente l'Organisation sur le plan juridique et il est responsable devant le Conseil qui l'a proposé et qui peut aussi le relever de ses fonctions. Cette subordination du Directeur à l'organe restreint qu'il assiste directement de la nature administrative de ses fonctions: le Directeur n'a pas d'attributions politiques.

Objectifs de l'Arabsat

L'article 3 de l'accord énonce que, "l'Organisation se propose de faire des investissements nécessaires pour fournir un secteur arabe utilisable par tous les États arabes membres de la Ligue arabe pour leurs services de télécommunications spécialisées et publics, conformément aux normes arabes et internationales en vigueur." A cet effet, l'Organisation est chargée de faire des études et des travaux sur les techniques spatiales. Ce qui suppose évidemment l'emploi d'un personnel techniquement qualifié apte à entreprendre des recherches dans un domaine où les technologies sont très développées et évoluent rapidement. Dans ce contexte, les pays arabes sont-ils à l'heure actuelle en mesure de dominer les technologies spatiales hautement sophistiquées? Cette question se rattache à celle du transfert de technologie sur laquelle nous reviendrons, d'autant plus que l'Organisation a aussi pour but d'encourager la création des industries destinées à fournir des équipements pour le secteur spatial et les stations terriennes de réception. L'Organisation doit également procurer une aide technique et financière aux États membres pour la conception et la mise en place des stations terriennes.

Enfin, le secteur spatial arabe devant couvrir et satisfaire les besoins de 21 pays 1/, l'Arabsat est chargée d'assurer l'échange de programmes de radiodiffusion et de télévision entre les divers pays arabes et de réglementer l'utilisation des récepteurs de télévision en fonction des besoins spécifiques et communautaires des États arabes. L'Arabsat est ainsi appelée à favoriser et à renforcer la coopération entre les États membres et joue également le rôle d'un organe de coordination pourvu d'un pouvoir réglementaire l'habilitant à organiser l'utilisation commune du satellite.

Les dispositions ainsi énoncées par l'accord de création suggèrent que l'Arabsat devrait pouvoir réaliser ses objectifs. Mais depuis sa création, l'Organisation n'a pu réellement faire beaucoup, étant donné que le système n'était pas encore opérationnel. Ce n'est qu'à partir de 1983 semble-t-il qu'on a commencé à réaliser certaines opérations destinées d'abord à préparer les conditions de lancement du premier satellite (intervenu en 1985), puis celles qui pourraient faciliter l'utilisation du satellite dès sa mise en service. C'est donc à cette utilisation du satellite et aux implications qu'elle engendrera que l'on va consacrer la deuxième partie de cet article.

[1], L’Utilisation commune du satellite arabe et ses implications sur les États membres

L’annonce officielle du lancement réussi du premier satellite arabe "Arabsat A" en février 1985 par la fusée Ariane a suscité une satisfaction générale dans le monde arabe qui venait enfin de réussir une première entrée dans le monde des communications spatiales. Ce projet va permettre d’assurer la liaison des réseaux de communication entre les pays arabes s’étendant de l’Atlantique au Golfe.

(a) Utilisation technique et naissance d'un nouveau besoin technologique

Il est sous-entendu dans la création de l'Arabsat qu'il ne serait pas possible aux États membres de profiter indéfiniment des services du satellite sans action commune de leur part pour maîtriser progressivement les techniques spatiales. Cette condition est indispensable au regard des caractéristiques techniques du système Arabsat qui pose le problème du transfert de la technologie et de sa maîtrise par les pays arabes.

Les caractéristiques techniques du système Arabsat. Le système régional Arabsat de télécommunication consiste en deux satellites géostationnaires, avec un satellite actif et un satellite de recharge. "Arabsat A" a une masse de lancement de 1,195 kg et de 592 kg en orbite. Il comporte des technologies de pointe, dont la stabilisation trois axes qui peut être utilisée durant le transfert ou en orbite géostationnaire. Il a des pièces en composite Carbone-époxy qui lui assurent un allègement maximum des éléments structuraux et qui lui permettent de réaliser une double polarisation des signaux pour la réutilisation des fréquences.

Sont également prévus des canaux pour la radiodiffusion directe et chaque État arabe disposera de stations terrestres pour l'émission et la réception des signaux en provenance du satellite, ainsi que d'un certain nombre de petites antennes pour la radiodiffusion directe éducative et culturelle. Le satellite est équipé de 24 canaux radio permettant 12 000 liaisons simultanées. Le système peut assurer la connexion de 5 000 à 8 000 lignes téléphoniques. Il peut aussi couvrir deux à quatre chaînes de télévision en couleur dans toutes les capitales et dans les villes principales arabes. La particularité principale du système est sa flexibilité qui lui permet de s'adapter et de répondre ainsi à tout changement, notamment par rapport aux programmes des stations terriennes existantes ou à ceux des nouvelles stations, qui peuvent quant à elles s'incorporer facilement au dit système.

Durant sa vie, estimée à 7 ans, Arabsat A sera contrôlé par deux stations terriennes dont la principale est située à Dirban en Arabie Saoudite et l'autre à Dikhlet Lansarine en Tunisie. Le système est par ailleurs muni de douze larges bandes de fréquences électroniques permettant d’assurer les communications de type commercial. Ce genre de bandes est le même que celui dont sont équipés les satellites HS 333 opérant actuellement dans des pays comme le Canada et les USA. Ce profil technique du satellite Arabsat A amène à relever la naissance d'un besoin technologique pour les États membres, obligés désormais de former un personnel technique à la mesure de leur ambition.
Transfert de technologie et participation - L'utilisation des satellites pour s'assurer les communications de longue distance a fait également naître un besoin de participation des pays du Tiers Monde aux activités spatiales. Pendant longtemps ces pays se sont trouvés en marge des activités d'exploration et d'utilisation de l'espace extra-atmosphérique vu la faiblesse de leur développement scientifique et technique, sans parler du facteur économique.

Le monopole de la technologie spatiale a toujours été l'apanage des pays industrialisés, notamment des grandes puissances comme les USA et l'URSS. Par la suite, se sont d'autres pays économiquement riches - Japon, Canada, Australie et certains pays de l'Europe de l'Ouest - se sont lancés à leur tour dans l'exploration et l'utilisation de l'espace. Ce n'est que récemment qu'il a été possible à quelques pays du Tiers Monde, qui ne sont d'ailleurs pas nombreux 2/, de s'engager dans des activités spatiales. En fait, le problème qui se pose ici est celui du transfert de technologie. Ce phénomène n'est certainement pas nouveau, de tout temps il y a eu transfert et partage des connaissances scientifiques et techniques entre les hommes. C'est grâce à cette transmission des connaissances que l'humanité a réalisé des progrès considérables dans de nombreux domaines. Aujourd'hui la technologie est devenue un facteur de différenciation entre les pays industrialisés et les pays du Tiers Monde. C'est pourquoi ces derniers souhaitent acquérir les technologies dont ils ont besoin.

L'article I, § I du Traité sur l'espace de 1967, indique à ce propos que l'exploration et l'utilisation de l'espace extra-atmosphérique doivent se faire dans l'intérêt de tous les pays, "quel que soit le stade de leur développement économique ou scientifique" ce qui suppose un droit de participation des pays du Tiers Monde à l'utilisation de l'espace.

Cependant, comment va-t-on assurer la participation de ces pays à l'utilisation de l'espace si ces derniers sont démunis des technologies nécessaires aux activités spatiales? C'est à cette question importante que les pays arabes sont confrontés, notamment après avoir établi leur propre réseau spatial satellite.

L'accord de création de l'Arabsat n'a pas omis de souligner l'intérêt de l'aspect technique en signifiant à l'Organisation d'entreprendre "des études et des travaux de recherche sur les techniques spatiales." Elle doit également aider les Etats arabes sur le plan technique à concevoir et à installer des stations terriennes. L'action commune arabe doit acquérir et maîtriser la technologie pour assurer au moins la maintenance des équipements de son secteur spatial et ceux nécessaires au fonctionnement du satellite.

L'Organisation a déjà affecté pour cela un personnel pour formation au Japon, en France et aux Etats-Unis, personnel qui sera appelé à participer aux différents travaux d'opérations et à prendre en charge à l'ave-

2/ Parmi ceux-ci figurent l'Inde, le Brésil, l'Argentine, l'Arabie saoudite et l'Indonésie.
nir tout le secteur spatial arabe. C'est là un des objectifs des signataires de l'accord qui souhaitent arriver un jour à une totale autonomie sur ce plan. Mais la coopération inter-arabe sera-t-elle en mesure de réaliser un tel objectif, qui suppose une grande solidarité et une vision supérieure de l'intérêt de la nation arabe?

Pour arriver à ce résultat, il faut beaucoup d'efforts. La coopération avec le maître de l'ouvrage des satellites en l'occurrence le consortium international Aérospatial auquel participent des entreprises françaises, allemandes, japonaises, italiennes et américaines et aussi la coopération internationale, pourrait faciliter les transferts de technologie vers les pays arabes en les faisant bénéficier de l'assistance technique, de la planification et des programmes élaborés. La contribution d'Intelsat et d'Inmarsat dans ce domaine est à cet égard positive. La première a mis au point un modèle de contrat de fourniture par lequel les États membres peuvent obtenir et utiliser les "données de premier plan" 3/, c'est-à-dire des données techniques et des renseignements obtenus après l'accomplissement d'un travail, ou encore ils peuvent bénéficier des inventions mises au point pour réaliser un travail en vertu du contrat. La seconde s'est attelée à définir les normes et les règlements pour le transfert de technologie.

Il faut tout de même souligner que si ces deux organisations font preuve d'une certaine compréhension en matière de transfert de technologie et consentent à fournir des connaissances techniques sur la base d'accords contractuels à leurs États membres, il n'en est pas de même pour l'Agence spatiale européenne et certains pays comme les USA et ceux de l'Europe de l'Ouest, qui n'autorisent pas le transfert de certains types de technologie spatiale vers d'autres États. On se demande dès lors comment Arabsat pourra-t-elle coopérer avec les entreprises qui ont construit et lancé son satellite et qui appartiennent aux pays membres de l'Agence spatiale européenne ou à ceux que nous avons cité.

Il est évident que pour les besoins de la réalisation du contrat entre Arabsat et le consortium, certains éléments techniques seront transférés mais on ne transférera pas le know-how nécessaire à la maîtrise des techniques, pour la bonne raison que la technologie des objets spatiaux est en grande partie le monopole des entreprises privées transnationales qui n'ont aucun intérêt à divulguer leur savoir-faire qui leur donne pouvoir et puissance.

En tout état de cause, si les États de la Ligue arabe ont aujourd'hui un désir particulier de vouloir participer activement dans le domaine des télécommunications par satellites, et ils se sont déjà dotés d'un système de satellite régional financièrement fort, ils sont contraints de par ce choix d'engager une action commune pour former, acquérir et maîtriser la technologie indispensable à la maintenance et au développement de leur secteur spatial. Cette condition essentielle pour la poursuite des activités dans ce domaine est à réaliser, car l'utilisation des sa-

Les dirigeants de l'Organisation sont sur ce plan assez confiants et même optimistes pour dire que l'expérience d'Arabsat constitue une au-baine pour les scientifiques et les ingénieurs arabes qui pourront ainsi s'initier à la technologie spatiale et développer des recherches scientifiques et techniques dans ce domaine. Le Directeur de l'Organisation va même jusqu'à affirmer que "les techniciens de la Ligue arabe seront eux-mêmes capables de construire et de lancer dans un proche avenir les satellites." 4/

Si cet optimisme est encourageant, il ne faut pas oublier pour autant les obstacles qui pourront freiner l'action commune arabe. Il y a lieu de prévenir sur ce point des difficultés qui risquent de surgir face à l'action commune en ayant à l'esprit l'échec de certaines expériences communautaires antérieurement lancées par les pays arabes sur d'autres aspects de leur coopération. En effet, la coopération inter-arabe en matière de télécommunication par satellite risque de se heurter au niveau technologique à l'absence de circulation de l'information scientifique et technique entre les pays arabes. D'abord, parce que la plupart d'entre eux sont mal outillés sur ce plan, ensuite, parce que cette coopération peut sérieusement souffrir de leurs divergences. Rappelons à cet effet les nombreux accords conclus dans le passé au sein de la Ligue et qui n'ont pas abouti faute de ratification pour certains et de la formulation de réserves pour d'autres par les Etats arabes. 5/

Certes, l'accord de création d'Arabsat lui garantit son indépendance et, s'agissant d'un organisme à vocation technique intervenant dans un domaine stratégique, il est possible que les Etats membres saisiront tout l'intérêt qu'ils ont à coopérer très étroitement dans ce domaine.

(b) Utilisation à des fins économiques et commerciales

L'Organisation arabe de communications spatiales qui se propose de réaliser des investissements en vue de fournir un secteur spatial arabe utilisable par les Etats membres entend aussi exploiter économiquement et commercialement le système. Dès le départ, l'Arabsat a reçu une vocation commerciale dans la mesure où elle va pouvoir offrir de multiples services spécialisés. Les Etats membres espèrent ainsi tirer des bénéfices de l'exploitation du système et effectuer le partage en fonction du montant de leur souscription.


5/ Parmi les accords qui n'ont pas été ratifiés ou sur lesquels il y a eu des réserves, nous pouvons citer ceux portant sur le Fonds arabe pour le développement, le Conseil de l'aviation civile, l'Organisme arabe pour les spécifications et les mesures, l'Organisme arabe de développement de l'agriculture et le marché commun arabe.
Les services que peut prodiguer le satellite relèvent de la transmission et de la réception des données, de la liaison des appels téléphoniques, de l'envoi de messages télex, de la transmission des fac-similés, du son pour les radios et des images pour les télévisions. Les administrations, les organismes spécialisés, les agences de presse et les journaux peuvent à ce titre bénéficier de ces services moyennant paiement pour chaque utilisation. Cette fonction commerciale permettra à l'organisation d'avoir des ressources propres en plus des contributions versées par les États membres.

Sur le plan économique, l'intérêt que procurera Arabsat A à ses utilisateurs est partiellement important, car les États arabes comptent s'en servir pour améliorer leur coopération économique. Les participants au système Arabsat ne nient cependant pas que les échanges commerciaux inter-arabes sont très limités en dépit de tous les accords conclus. De plus, les économies arabes ne sont pas tournées vers la complémentarité. Ceci pose objectivement la question de la rentabilité d'Arabsat A, sachant par ailleurs que l'ensemble du projet, stations de contrôle comprises, a coûté quelque 3 milliards de francs français. 

Comment donc amortir les dépenses engagées pour la réalisation de ce projet? Il y a certes les redevances de l'utilisation qui seront payées à l'organisation, mais les taux de ces redevances ne sont pas encore déterminés et on ne peut s'attendre à ce que les tarifs d'utilisation des services soient plus élevés que ceux pratiqués par l'organisation international Intelsat. Cependant on pense que la rentabilité du système qui dépend de la durée de vie des satellites, se situant actuellement entre 5 et 10 ans, sera éventuellement assurée pour Arabsat dont la durée de vie est estimée à 7 ans. D'autre part, avec la mise en place de nouveaux relais terrestres, les États arabes comptent augmenter le trafic des télécommunications entre eux en se servant davantage du satellite au lieu de recourir à l'utilisation des câbles sous-marins qui ont jusqu'à maintenant répondu à leurs besoins.

De plus, et comme le souligne le Secrétaire général de la Ligue arabe, "le rayon d'Arabsat déborde largement le monde arabe, ce qui entraîne que certains pays d'Afrique ou d'Asie peuvent demander les services de ce satellite." Si ces dires se confirment, l'Organisation percerà d'autres revenus qui augmenteront ses ressources, mais nous n'en sommes pas encore là et sur ce plan il y a un autre obstacle à franchir, celui de la compétitivité et de la concurrence avec d'autres systèmes qui peuvent offrir eux aussi de nombreux services. Dans ce cadre, Arabsat pourra-t-elle relever le défi?

Sur ce plan la concurrence est impitoyable et les dirigeants de l'Arabsat n'ignorent certainement pas cette question importante. Mais à terme elle ne semble pas constituer une priorité urgente dans la politique générale de l'Organisation dans la mesure où les principaux utilisateurs du satellite seront d'abord les États arabes et leurs administrations, ceux qui participent déjà au financement de l'organisation. Tout indique alors qu'Arabsat sera avant tout utilisé pour la réalisation d'objectifs politiques.

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6/ Cf. Le Monde, 11 février 1985
Utilisation pour la réalisation d'objectifs politiques

Si le texte de l'accord portant création d'Arabsat ne mentionne pas expressément la réalisation d'objectifs politiques, cela ne signifie pas du tout que les membres de l'organisation ne s'en préoccupent pas. Au contraire, ces objectifs sont considérés comme fondamentaux voire vitaux dans la voie du rapprochement entre les États arabes. C'est dans ce sens que s'est prononcée la Ligue des États arabes par la voix de son Secrétaire général. Dans une déclaration publiée à l'occasion du lancement du satellite arab, il est dit en substance, "La création de cet important projet civilisationnel se répercutera largement sur le développement de nos pays." Et au responsable de la Ligue de poursuivre, "Je pense que nous allons faire un bond en avant très important pour rapprocher les différents pays sur le plan de télécommunications, des échanges entre télévisions et radios." 7/

Mais par quel moyen peut-on justement atteindre cet objectif? Par l'interaction intellectuelle dit-on, qui devra amener les pays arabes à mieux se connaître, car en fait ils ne se connaissent pas assez. Pourtant, ces pays ont en commun deux facteurs essentiels: la langue et la religion. On compte dorénavant sur le satellite Arabsat A pour assurer des échanges culturels réciproques et pour diffuser les informations nécessaires à une meilleure connaissance des pays arabes. Il est vrai que l'information joue un rôle important dans le rapprochement, surtout si elle est prise en charge directement par les agences des pays arabes, au lieu de transiter comme ça a toujours été le cas par les grandes agences transnationales qui détiennent jusqu'à là le monopole de l'information et qui véhiculent des idées et des valeurs étrangères aux peuples arabes.

Ce problème qui mobilise actuellement les pays du Tiers-Monde dans leur revendication d'un nouvel ordre mondial de l'information est l'objet de controverses entre les tenants de l'ordre actuel et ceux qui souhaitent le remodeler et le remplacer par un ordre plus juste et plus équilibré. C'est dans ce cadre que s'inscrit l'action commune arabe en matière de communications, qui devra poursuivre les efforts en vue de créer les conditions nécessaires à une solidarité agissante des pays arabes dans le domaine de l'information pour corriger l'image d'eux-mêmes, le plus souvent tronquée par les agences de presse étrangères, et réaliser ainsi leur rapprochement.

Dans cette optique, l'Arabsat A peut constituer une alternative à l'influence des grandes agences et des sociétés transnationales qui contrôlent l'information dans le monde arabe. Arabsat revêt une signification politique toute particulière pour les membres de la Ligue arabe qui viennent pour la première fois depuis sa création, il y a quarante ans, de réaliser un projet collectif grâce à leur action commune. On note en effet la coïncidence heureuse du lancement du satellite avec la quarantième anniversaire de la fondation de l'Organisation. Ce projet mené à son terme a été salué comme un événement politique important dans la

7/ Cf. El-Moudjahid, 11 février 1985, p.6

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voie de la consolidation des rangs arabes. Un tel succès, qu'on attribue à l'action commune arabe, ne manquera pas, dit-on, d'avoir un double impact. La réalisation du projet va stimuler davantage l'unanimité des États qui a souvent fait défaut à l'action commune, tandis que l'utilisation des canaux de télévision et des différents circuits de téléphone du satellite Arabsat A va permettre aux pays arabes d'avoir des relations plus étroites.

Cependant, beaucoup de problèmes subsistent encore et peuvent entraver l'action commune arabe en matière de communications. Par exemple, l'Egypte, dont le poids culturel et scientifique dans le monde arabe est considérable, et avec qui les échanges sont importants, risque du fait de son exclusion de la Ligue des États arabes, de s'abstenir d'utiliser le satellite tant qu'elle n'aura pas retrouvé sa place au sein de l'Organisation. Nous pouvons aussi redouter que certains États soient tentés d'exercer leur influence dans le choix des programmes communautaires de télévision ou d'imposer des orientations politiques, qui, loin de servir l'intérêt général de la nation arabe, serviront plutôt des objectifs particuliers. En principe, cette hypothèse est écartée par l'accord portant création de l'Arabsat qui a chargé l'Organisation de veiller sur l'échange des programmes de radio et de télévision et de réglementer l'utilisation. Cette disposition suggère que les signataires de l'accord ont voulu préserver avant tout la cohésion des États membres, car c'est elle qui détermine toute action en faveur d'un réel rapprochement entre les pays frères.

Cet événement capital qui constitue aussi une réussite pour les pays arabes et la Ligue est à porter au crédit de l'action commune. Mais ce succès, si important soit-il, ne peut à lui seul garantir l'application par les pays arabes d'une politique constante de coopération entre eux, dans la mesure où l'action commune reste toujours soumise à l'épreuve de l'utilisation du satellite et à la réalisation des autres objectifs, tant ceux assignés à l'Organisation elle-même, que ceux qu'on considère comme fondamentaux dans la voie de l'unité arabe et qui n'apparaissent pas explicitement dans l'accord de création de l'Arabsat.

Comme nous l'avons montré, il peut y avoir des blocages ou des carences dans la poursuite des activités de l'Organisation si le fait, soit des divergences entre États, soit des conflits de compétence qui pourraient éventuellement surgir entre les instances de la Ligue et l'Organisation, même si celle-ci est indépendante, soit enfin des tentatives de certains États qui voudront, pour exercer leur leadership, influencer l'institution.

Le satellite Arabsat A qui augure des lendemains prometteurs, offre aujourd'hui aux États arabes l'occasion d'unir leurs efforts dans une action concertée pour réaliser les idéaux des peuples arabes. Saura-t-on exploiter cette chance pour construire un espace arabe des télécommunications? C'est du moins un pari sur l'avenir. Sera-t-il tenu?
EL NECESARIO APORTÉ DE LA TECNOLOGÍA AL PROBLEMA HABITACIONAL DE LAS MAYORÍAS EN AMÉRICA LATINA

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"La tecnología que se necesita es aquella que ayude a proveer las necesidades básicas de la humanidad y desarrollar en plenitud todas sus capacidades, empleando los recursos disponibles de manera que no conduzca a la explotación o sojuzgamiento del hombre ni a la destrucción de la naturaleza" 1/

El problema del cuantioso y creciente déficit habitacional, hoy, en "el mundo del desarrollo", del "consumo sin límites", "de los grandes avances de la ciencia y la técnica..." se hace casi incomprendible. Sin embargo, la realidad es que un tercio de la humanidad vive en tugurios, y aún en la calle (como en Calcuta, El Cairo, El Salvador o Kabul).

Hay un hecho generalizado que nos puede ayudar a descubrir la raíz del problema: "las personas carentes de vivienda, carecen también de servicios adecuados, de salud, de educación, empleo fijo y bien remunerado; de participación en la sociedad", etc. 2/. Estas carencias están íntimamente ligadas a la constatación de que "los pueblos pobres permanecen en la pobreza, y los pueblos ricos se hacen cada vez más ricos" 3/

Mientras tanto 500.000 científicos y técnicos trabajan día y noche perfeccionando armas cada vez más destructivas. Viajamos a la luna o deterioramos fuentes de energía no renovables, mientras enturbiamos el mundo para consumir lujo innecesario o danino...

Por otra parte, los proyectos materialistas del "consumo irrestricto" o del poder del "Partido-Estado", como propuestas de cambio, no son más que "nuevas formas" de un "viejo proyecto" de codicia y opresión.

La modernización del mundo (con el concurso de la ciencia y la técnica) se realiza junto al ostentoso confort y poder de los países ricos del norte, y cimenta la dominación de los pueblos, aunque también la esperanza... La "visión ideal" de la hermandad universal, justicia social y derechos humanos, se entrelaza sin embargo con una "visión operativa" que busca someter aun más al hermano. El trigo y la cizaña crecen juntos y entremezclados.

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1/ Jorge Sabato-Boletín de la SECYT - Abril 1984
2/ Antonio Fernandez Ibanes, Fundación Salvadoreña, Ponencia Medellín 1982
3/ "El Progreso de los Pueblos" - Pablo VI
Frente a estas comprobaciones, falsas opciones entre el este y el oeste quieren enrolarnos en disputas ajenas a la única lucha pacífica y tenaz que debemos emprender para poder efectivizar: justicia, amor y libertad en un proyecto de "Civilización universal y solidaria".

Entretanto, pensadores del Norte e investigadores, contrariando los proyectos imperiales de sus propios países, junto a pensadores, investigadores y realizadores del Tercer Mundo, se abren camino siguiendo la traza de la hasta ahora mayoría muda, de los pobres y oprimidos, en su incesante lucha y búsqueda por ser actores también de la historia, marcando la tarea de edificar una nueva estructura convivencial y participativa, en la cual puedan desaparecer las carencias básicas de todos. Para apoyar este itinerario liberador no basta pues con el "saber" (ciencia), ni tampoco con el "saber cómo" (tecnología), si no se orienta la creatividad humana a los fines esenciales y a las necesidades concretas de "todo el hombre y todos los hombres". Es insoslayable y urgente tarea de la ciencia y la técnica: saber escuchar la voz de los pobres, acercándoles métodos y herramientas liberadores y adecuadas para ayudarlos a organizarse para compartir: conocimientos, bienes y poder, de manera que todos podamos participar sin imposiciones ni manipulaciones en la "construcción de un mundo nuevo".

Vivienda y soluciones importadas

La habitación realista y posible en un hábitat humanizado para todos y no el producto ideal y restrictivo "vivienda llave en mano", es uno de los indicadores más claros para evaluar el funcionamiento efectivo y no declaratorio de una sociedad determinada. Podríamos decir así con justicia "muéstrame como vive el pueblo y conoceré los ideales de esa sociedad". Sin embargo el concepto de vivienda moderna "llave en mano", producida a través de la organización empresaria, tanto en los países ricos del este como del oeste, se ha resuelto a través de sistemas constructivos tradicionales racionalizados o nuevos sistemas de avanzada.

Terminada la Segunda Guerra Mundial, y con el despojo creciente del Tercer Mundo, Europa se reconstruye aplicando experiencias tecnológicas acumuladas en el campo militar y de supervivencia. Así por ejemplo en Francia el "plan Spineta" de vivienda masiva relaciona sabiamente en una política nacional: al sistema científico, al sector productivo y al diseño, a partir de la planificación y el crédito oficial. De esta manera integral de encarar vivienda y hábitat, se exporta al Tercer Mundo la idea de vivienda de alto costo y confort, "llave en mano", fuera ya del contexto que le diera origen y de una planificación global. Los gobiernos de los países pobres se entusiasman con la aplicación de políticas ideales, que terminan llegando irremediablemente a sectores minoritarios de la población. Un concepto importado de "modernidad" hace irrupción sobre sectores ávidos del prestigio que la adopción de un estilo tecnológico exogenerado. Esta desenfocada visión se sustenta en la ilusión del crecimiento económico irrestricto que en la práctica se traduce en el crecimiento económico de las minorías que detentan el poder.

En búsqueda de caminos

"Los planes de desarrollo científico y tecnológico elaborados en la región (Sur), algunos de ellos con gran esfuerzo y alto grado de compe-
tencia, no pasaron en general, en la fase operatoria de expresiones de deseo, con poco o ningún impacto en la resolución de los problemas a los cuales estaban dirigidos" 4/.

En nuestros países pobres, la reincidencia en la repetición de las políticas de los países ricos, principalmente en sus aspectos de excelencia aunque sin su capacidad de estructurar un sistema de investigación y desarrollo en función de objetivos nacionales y regionales, resulta irrelevante. La aplicación de la ciencia y el desarrollo tecnológico debido, a los fines sociales es todavía para nosotros una lejana quimera. Así, en esta óptica, sonar con robots en países donde el mayor capital que tenemos es la mano de obra ociosa puede tener connotaciones suicidas...

Así también, en el campo de la formación superior "La Universidad abierta al pueblo" debería traducirse en la preparación de profesionales comprometidos con los países que podemos y debemos construir, en el marco de una cultura local y americana, priorizando la resolución de las necesidades básicas de las mayorías.

**Tecnología Adecuada**

"Si las poblaciones pobres, por cuenta propia y con misérables recursos, consiguen realizar tanto, de qué no serían capaces si contaran con la colaboración y apoyo que reivindican?" (Conferencia Episcopal Brasilena)

Mientras caminamos por la Luna y se han creado armas capaces de destruir nuestro planeta, "en el grueso de la población del Tercer Mundo no ha habido demasiados cambios en materia de construcción de viviendas desde el hombre paleolítico" (Hans Harms).

Por otra parte, la irrupción incontrolada de la técnica y formas de vida importadas, destruyó en gran medida, la ingeniosa creatividad popular (folklore), dejando un vacío insalvable en las necesidades, apetencias y posibilidades, tanto numéricas como de solución integral del problema socio-habitacional, en los países pobres.

Solamente buscando el camino y el estilo tecnológico más adecuado a los valores prioritarios y las necesidades básicas de nuestros pueblos, y sabiendo incorporarlos a nuestro patrimonio cultural, es que podremos encontrar el antídoto al consumismo y al materialismo de esta sociedad generada de afuera, y recorrer nuestro propio itinerario. No se trata de rechazo indiscriminado, sino de la sabia actitud de aprender a rescatar lo rescatable y transitar nuestro camino. No se trata de aplicar recetas de moda, ni de restringir la capacidad científica y técnica del investigador, sino de autolimitar racionalmente el campo, ajustándolo a la realidad local, supliendo los recursos deficientes con mayor aporte de creatividad e ingenio. No se trata de volver a maneras atrasadas o inferiores de hacer las cosas. Tampoco se trata de regresión, sino de tomar

4/ Amicar Herrera, "Prospectica tecnológica en América Latina: impacto y estrategias" - Campinas 1984 - Brasil
conciencia de que no debemos confundir progreso con opulencia, o tecnología de proyección social con evasión a un futuro imposible para todos.

Es más, una actitud equivocada e injusta, está en quienes miden el progreso, no por la humanización de la vida de todos los hombres, sino por patrones de media esquemáticos "en beneficio de los más aptos"... o de bellas abstracciones perfeccionistas.

 Esto no descarta la conveniencia de utilizar o adaptar tecnologías importadas en aquellas áreas donde es irremplazable y no violenta, pero siempre, y esto es esencial, que las tecnologías importadas como las locales, respondan a las reales necesidades que hacen a la felicidad y humanización creciente de "todo el hombre y todos los hombres", en una visión profética de la sociedad futura que queremos ayudar a construir. Sociedad que "ha de tender a ser participativa, equitativa desde el punto de vista de la distribución de la riqueza e intrínsecamente compatible con su medio físico" (Amílcar Herrera). En esta tesitura se ha ido desarrollando la idea de "tecnologías adecuadas" en busca de contribuir, junto a otras visiones, a un generalizado y efectivo mejoramiento de la vida de los pueblos.

 Esto presupone un estilo tecnológico que "intente alargar los brazos de las mayorías con una tecnología mansa y con rostro humano" (E.F. Schumacher- Lo Pequeno es Hermoso). En el campo de la vivienda y el hábitat accesible a las masas, la investigación para el desarrollo de tecnologías adecuadas no cubre solamente aspectos constructivos, sino que se orienta en la línea de "investigación-acción" a una tarea interdisciplinaria: constructiva; socio-organizativa; educativa; económica; legal etc., que apunta no sólo al "producto" vivienda, sino también al "proceso" planificado de autoconstruir, en una óptica participativa y de apro-bación, para la autogestión.

 Visión sintética no deducible solamente desde el laboratorio o el gabinete, sino a desarrollar en una actividad de servicio científico-técnico comprometido con la realidad.

 La investigación enraizada en "procesos participativos de vivienda y promoción", convenientemente planificados, ejecutados y evaluados, retroalimenta el circuito: investigación-acción para una transferencia creciente.

 Esta tarea mancomunada entre investigadores, técnicos y usuarios, parte del descubrimiento de las necesidades populares para ayudar a desenvolver capacidades personales y comunitarias a través de metodologías y tecnologías adecuadas para la construcción organizada de la vivienda y el hábitat.

 Así, nuevas y variadas experiencias se aplican en el campo de la vivienda en relación al hábitat y la promoción social, en Latinoamérica, Asia y África, permitiendo un progresivo aporte de la ciencia y la técnica a una de las necesidades mayores y más sentidas de todos los hombres.
THE POWER TO CHANGE

LESSONS FROM THE BABY FOOD CAMPAIGN

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Abstract: In August 1973, a scandal was exposed by the magazine New Internationalist – the baby killer scandal. Over-zealous promotion of bottle feeding by the manufacturers of artificial infant feeding products was linked to increased illness, malnutrition and sometimes death. Andrew Chetley, an eminent activist in the baby food campaign, reviews the 12-year long controversy and assesses the impact of the campaign for changes. If no battle is ever won forever, many things have changed in this particular battlefield and, above all, the third system has learnt a lot; its power to change things will continue to develop all the more so in that it will draw lessons from the baby food campaign.

LECONS DE LA CAMPAGNE "BABY FOOD"

Résumé: En 1973, le New Internationalist, dénonçait le scandale du "baby killer", de tue-bébé. La promotion et la publicité excessives pour l'alimentation au biberon par l'industrie fut alors liée à la maladie, la malnutrition et parfois la mort. Andrew Chetley, militant éminent de cette campagne, passe en revue les changements survenus au cours de ces douze années et en évalue les résultats. Si nulle bataille n'est jamais définitivement gagnée, beaucoup de choses ont changé dans ce domaine et, surtout, le tiers système a beaucoup appris; sa capacité de faire changer les choses continuera de se développer d'autant mieux qu'il tirera pleinement les leçons de la campagne du baby food.

LECCIONES DE LA CAMPANA "BABY FOOD"

Resumen: En 1973, el New Internationalist, denunciaba el escándalo del "baby killer". Las promoción y publicidad excesivas en favor de la alimentación con biberón fueron vinculados al aumento de enfermedades, malnutrición y hasta a veces la muerte. Andrew Chetley, un eminente artesano en la campaña del "baby food", analiza los cambios que han tenido lugar en estos últimos 12 años y evalúa los resultados obtenidos. No hay ninguna batalla que se gane definitivamente, sin embargo muchos aspectos han cambiado en este asunto, principalmente el que el tercer sistema ha aprendido mucho, su capacidad de cambiar las cosas continuará a desarrollarse si saca bien las conclusiones de la campana del "baby food".

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After more than a decade of campaigning on the infant feeding issue, a question which has to be asked is: has anything really changed? The answer is both yes and no.

Yes, there have been changes. Many sectors of the world community are now aware of the need for action to protect the right of infants to adequate nutrition. There is less obvious promotion of bottle feeding in many countries, brought about largely through public exposure of the problems and the consequent public pressure. An International Code exists which provides the minimum standard for marketing behaviour. A handful of governments have adopted and begun to implement it. A larger number are moving in that direction, as well as launching public education campaigns and better training programmes for health workers.

One company, Swiss-based Nestle, has been forced to negotiate an agreement with pressure groups, committing itself to abide by most of the provisions of the Code in most countries. Other companies have changed some marketing practices, and more appear likely. Two UN agencies, WHO (the World Health Organisation) and UNICEF have increased their stature and legitimacy somewhat through their efforts on this issue. The issue is slowly becoming an integral part of popular culture, with a novel based on it written by a Nigerian, a children's adventure comic book published in France, a play performed in the UK, and a calypso record put out in the Caribbean.

Health workers in scores of countries have changed practices in their own facilities. A wide variety of activities have been undertaken by the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN), its affiliate groups and other nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) to publicise the problem and promote the solutions. The establishment of IBFAN was, itself, a positive step forward, marking a new initiative in the way NGOs organise internationally, and serving as a model for similar networks. Yet, an activist would not be satisfied with the progress made, and might even deny the concept of success is appropriate, given what still remains to be done. Six questions, based on the recommendations of a 1979 WHO/UNICEF meeting on infant and young child feeding, provide a means of measuring progress:

- Do health systems provide adequate encouragement and support for breast feeding in their prenatal, delivery and post-natal practices?
- Are adequate social and economic supports for women in place, such as maternity leave, creches and other community and governmental support?
Are weaning practices appropriate, with emphasis on the use of local food resources?

Do health workers, parents and the general public receive clear, consistent and correct information, education and training about infant and young child feeding?

Has the health and social status of women improved so they can play a full and active role in their community and have access to adequate nutrition?

Is the marketing and distribution of baby milks and weaning foods appropriate, and have all companies and countries implemented the International Code?

The short answer to those questions is, of course, No.

Yet the very success of the campaign, paradoxically, makes it difficult to sustain efforts to complete the process of change. In the early 1970s, a 10-minute stroll through a maternity ward, or a few minutes listening to the radio was sufficient to collect ample evidence of heavy-handed promotion of bottle feeding, coupled with inexperienced advice from health workers. Today, that promotion is more subtle. The message on everyone's lips is: breast feeding is best; even if the practical support to ensure it happens is still lacking. At the same time, the explanations of the issue have become more complex and the need for radical change seemingly less urgent.

Part of the reason for this is the consistent line put out by the infant food industry that "the controversy is over". One of the first rules of marketing is: repeat the essential message - usually the brand name or a snappy catch-phrase - so that it sticks in the mind. From the time the International Council of Infant Food Industries (ICIIFI) launched its own weak and voluntary code in 1975, up to the present, the industry has applied that marketing strategy to its public statements on the issue. At every point of change - the launch of ICIIFI and its code, the 1979 WHO/UNICEF meeting, the passage of the International Code in 1981, the end of a seven-year boycott of market-leader Nestle in 1984 - the industry has claimed: "we've changed; the controversy has ended".

At first this was treated with scepticism, but slowly, like water dripping on stone, the scepticism has been eroded. It is comforting for those involved in a campaign to believe that their efforts have led to success and, therefore, the assurances of the companies that they have mended their ways can be used as evidence of success. But it is a double-edged sword. The relaxation of pressure means that further changes are unlikely to occur.

After each of the major turning points in the campaign, a hiatus set in. Activity slumped, media interest waned, a
belief built up in people's collective consciousness that other topics could now be pursued. The only way to prevent that hiatus was to clearly articulate the next step in the process - having first ensured that the supporters of the campaign understood that it was, indeed, a process, not a single activity.

After the WHO/UNICEF meeting, the next step was obvious; develop a code. Once the Code was approved by the World Health Assembly, the next step was also fairly obvious, although much more difficult to achieve: get the Code implemented, including bringing about the other changes that would reinforce its effectiveness. With the end of the Nestle boycott, the opportunity for a single international focus disappeared, and the options for further action have become much more complex.

Other companies can be targeted. Specific countries can be encouraged to act as models. Improving the status of women or strengthening work on appropriate weaning foods are other possible options, as the questions mentioned above indicate. None of these, however, provides the sharp focus that existed in the past. There is no single enemy, no simple solution - not that there ever was, but by targeting the infant food industry in general and Nestle specifically, it was possible to create the illusion of one, and therefore concentrate effort and power.

Lessons in organising

From the campaign it is possible to draw lessons about both the approach needed to present information about a particular issue and the organisational strategies required to ensure action occurs. With infant feeding, as with most other issues, a very complex set of interrelated factors was at play. Initially, those factors were reduced - the industry would say over-simplified - to a single common denominator and a single target: the profits of some transnational corporations (TNCs) were earned from the ill health or death of infants and the suffering of their parents. In its boldest terms, the problem, cause and solution reduced to: bottle feeding can kill; TNCs promote bottle feeding; TNCs must stop the promotion.

The industry was quick to retort that its promotion of bottle feeding was not the only cause, or even a significant cause; that the reason bottle feeding kills is due to incorrect preparation or utilisation, and that stopping promotion is not the answer. Some scientists, health workers and even governments supported that view. The objectors, of course, do have a point. The control of inappropriate marketing practices is not the complete answer to the problems of infant health. Yet without a starting point, in this case the activities of TNCs, it is unlikely that any complex issue
would ever be resolved. Dr. Sam Shuster has noted that "you
never advance a complicated problem with a broad balanced
approach as much as with a sharp point, however painfully
placed".

The focus on the industry was such a sharp point. Undoubtedly
the argument will continue as to whether or not it was a
misplaced attack. In many ways, it is an irrelevant ques-
tion. If, for a decade or more, the pressure groups had sim-
ply stuck to the first simplistic premise and not expanded
the debate, then the objections would warrant attention.
However, the campaign has both deepened and broadened. With-
in IBFAN, there is now considerable expertise on the intri-
cacies of codes, their benefits and shortcomings; the mar-
ket strategies and influence-peddling activities of TNCs;
and the way in which international organisations such as WHO
and UNICEF function. More and more, that specialist know-
ledge is being called upon by health ministries as NGOs are
invited to participate on code drafting committees at the
national level. At the same time, the broadening process has
led to the identification of other areas that need to be
pursued - groups in South East Asia have examined sweetened
condensed milk as a risk factor in infant malnutrition;
groups in Asia and Europe are studying ways to improve the
education and training of health workers; maternity legisla-
tion and other social supports for mothers are being ex-
amined by groups in all parts of the world; the question of
appropriate weaning foods is receiving special attention in
Europe and Africa.

Nutritionist Ted Greiner notes with some satisfaction that
this has led to a situation where "in recent years, the pro-
blem of poor health and high death rates among infants has
finally attracted the attention it deserves. It sets a pre-
cedent in terms of coordinated worldwide action in trying to
solve a serious problem in which non-governmental organisa-
tions played a key role".

The ability of NGOs to play that role depends on their or-
ganisational strategies as well as informational capabili-
ties. The campaign began in a small way, with a few promi-
nent health workers raising questions in scientific litera-
ture and using available structures in the scientific commu-
nity to continue the discussion. It was a relatively "pri-
ivate" concern. Paralleling this were the unsung efforts of
health workers, individuals and breast feeding mothers'
groups who were attempting to motivate mothers to breast
feed. This too, was "private". It was not exciting news and
received little publicity or prominence. Another charac-
teristic of these activities was the lack of interaction and
coordination. Groups or individuals in one country often
were not aware of similar groups in other countries. Dr.
Thom Kerstein notes that for NGOs to be effective, they must
learn "to cooperate with each other. This cooperation must
be highly flexible and pragmatic, as different situations require".

The next stage of the campaign, the first public phase, was also largely uncoordinated. The organisations which took up the campaign in the early 1970s—New Internationalist, the International Organisation of Consumers Unions (IOCU), War on Want, the Swiss-based Third World Working Group, the Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR) and the Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT)—all knew about previous initiatives. Each activity reinforced what had gone before, but there was no real unity of purpose. Each activity did have one thing in common: it began from a recognition of an international problem and the links between the causes of the problem and the home country in which the NGO was based. It was the dawning of an international perspective amongst largely national organisations. At this stage, the campaign was like a relay race, with the baton of action being passed from one group to another.

The beginnings of coalition building and some true internationalisation came with the start of the Nestle boycott in 1977 by INFACT, itself a coalition. When the boycott spread to Canada and later to other countries, the idea of working together with the same objective, across national boundaries was introduced into the campaign.

The international approach was reinforced by the WHO/UNICEF meeting and the establishment of IBFAN in 1979. The meeting's recommendations and the proposal for a code provided the necessary common focus, but the mechanics were helped in that three of IBFAN's founding organisations had a strong international perspective. Both OXFAM and War on Want were used to working in partnership with groups in other countries on a project support basis, although neither had really tried to develop international campaign strategies. IOCU was an international NGO. It maintained close links with scores of consumer groups around the world and was increasingly developing campaign topics to be taken up jointly. Thus, the cycle was one of isolated, small-scale local activities, followed by more public national action, then larger scale international action—all mutually reinforcing. Local and national activities did not stop, but became stronger and helped reinforce international action.

With the passage of the Code, the emphasis swung back to national action, but this time, with a difference. Emphasizing national action did not mean eliminating international action, but implied a redefinition of priorities and a shift in the flow of information and resources. When the boycott ended in 1984, another shift was beginning—a movement towards more local action and a strengthening of grassroots organisations. It is conceivable that the pattern established in the infant feeding campaign is a recurring one and
that the ebb and flow amongst the three levels of action will continue.

The organisational pattern of IBFAN has served as a model for other groups to follow. A desire to achieve rational medicines use which emerged at local and national levels in several countries is now being transformed into an international campaign, coordinated by Health Action International (HAI), organised along similar lines to IBFAN. A corresponding concern over the health and environmental hazards of some pesticides led to the formation of the Pesticides Action Network (PAN). Both these networks encourage strong local, national and regional action and identify possible focuses for international pressure. Like IBFAN, they have looked to the UN system as a forum to provide additional legitimacy for their campaigns and possibly international guidelines or standards. HAI concentrates on WHO and the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), while PAN focuses on the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the UN Environmental Programme (UNEP). Both networks have also benefitted from resolutions at the UN General Assembly which led to the establishment of a consolidated list of products which have been banned, restricted or not approved.

In an interesting development during 1984, representatives from several of the networks met together to look at ways of joining forces. The international Coalition for Development Action (ICDA), the European Office of Consumers Unions (BEUC), PAN, HAI and IBFAN set up a working group particularly to lobby the EEC on the question of hazardous exports. During 1985, IOCU, the European Environmental Bureau (EEB) and the newly-formed Seeds Action Network (SAN) became part of this Coalition Against Dangerous Exports.

What has the industry learned?

While NGOs have learned from the experiences of the infant feeding campaign, so too have the TNCs, and not only the infant food companies. The infant feeding issue has become an essential case study in management and marketing schools in Europe and the US.

Within the business community, a new concept - issues management - is developing. Bob Leaf of the public relations firm Burson-Marsteller advises that "companies can't wait for a thing to become an issue and then react. Because then they are on the defensive. The key to the 80s will be defining the issues before they have an impact on you so that you can diffuse them, be prepared to have an action plan when something comes up rather than having to act hurriedly under attack". As long as 1978, Business International warned of the dangers of failing to act before an issue became entrenched. A survey of 100 major US and European firms found most did not become involved in public policy process until it
was well advanced, usually at a stage where it was too late to have any impact on impending regulations. Four years later the magazine provided a checklist of six lessons that could be learned from the mismanagement of the infant feeding controversy. Top of the list was the instruction to ensure that all staff take seriously any voluntary codes. Simply paying lip-service to voluntary controls was a recipe for controversy.

It was also important to learn how products are used, preferably before the critics do. It was no longer an acceptable argument to say that if all the instructions are followed, the product is safe - particularly if, as in the case of infant feeding products, the likelihood of that happening was remote, given the economic and social conditions of the end user. Companies were urged to avoid misleading appeals to the modern way of life in promotion campaigns because an increasingly important criticism was that TNCs exported inappropriate consumption patterns to Third World countries.

Full disclosure of information about health and safety in the use of the product was advised on all labels and instruction materials. At the same time, companies were advised to involve identifiable constituencies in the exporting countries, such as shareholders and workers, in frank discussions on the relative risks and benefits of the products. This would help protect the image of the company. Finally, companies were advised to address the issue, not the critics. Although it might be tempting to expose critics in terms of their background or financial support, such attacks would generally backfire. The proposals set out by Business International were virtually the opposite of Nestle's (and the rest of the infant food industry's) early approach to the infant feeding issue. One of the chief architects of the shift in Nestle's policy, Rafael Pagan, President of the Nestle Coordination Centre for Nutrition, shares the belief that Nestle got it wrong at first. He claims that the fact a boycott occurred "represents a major failure by a large multinational company to identify legitimate concerns early enough, compounded by inadequate communication to influential opinion leaders of the policy responses actually made by the company".

Pagan suggests that it is important for companies to go beyond issues management. He would like to see TNCs become actively involved in efforts to change attitudes both within the business community and in the wider world. Some of his suggestions for change within industry offer hope: he wants business to become less secretive and give clear reasons for its actions, in an acknowledgement that where business is granted the "privilege to create wealth and profits" it must also accept a broad array of responsibilities to the community and the world. Pagan's recipe for changing perceptions would involve corporations in thinking and acting "politi-
cally". That begs the question about whether they have not acted politically in the past. Clearly, there are vivid examples of the political action of TNCs, such as the role of ITT in the downfall of the Allende government in Chile. One of Pagan's major strategies for political action rests on the idea of coalition building amongst the business community. He says, "if activists with radically different world views and goals can cooperate, so must we". He believes that industries should develop their own "NGOs" and ensure they gain representation "at every possible UN agency" as a means of dealing "constructively and effectively" with the international mood for regulation. He claims the activists gained "a political head start" in this, but if companies learn to think and act politically, they can ultimately defeat their activist critics.

Certainly, the infant food industry is now pursuing Pagan's advice. After ICIFI was refused representational status with WHO for the third time in 1983, it sank rapidly into oblivion. From its ashes, there arose a new, and potentially stronger body, the IFM (International Association of Infant Food Manufacturers). Formed in mid-1983, it has 31 member companies and has been involved in discussions with WHO about gaining official NGO status.

It is, perhaps, a glowing compliment to the effectiveness of IBFAN that a major TNC like Nestle decided to copy some of IBFAN's informational and organisational strategies. As far back as 1980, Nestle and ICIFI recognised the need to involve "grassroots" organisations. After IBFAN began producing regular reports on company violations of the International Code which included photographic evidence of the actual ads or posters plus powerful graphics to convey the simple message that the companies were breaking the rules, Nestle responded with a well-designed rebuttal which copied the style by showing illustrations of non-offending posters, repainted delivery vans and new labels, as well as some effective typography to hold the reader's interest. In late 1983, the company began to publish a monthly newsletter, Nestle News, modelled on IBFAN News, but with better design and graphics. The stories were short and punchy and, for the most part, played up news about organisations who withdrew from the boycott. Ostensibly, it was a publication to provide information about "human nutrition". In reality, it was a public relations document displaying the positive side of the corporation. It was effective.

Nestle News also provided the company with a vehicle to disseminate a new view of the history of the campaign. In an editorial in the February 1984 issue, Nestle gave its "historical perspective" on the issue - one which omitted the role played by the various pressure groups over the decade, and made it appear as if Nestle was the driving force behind the changes that had occurred internationally.
The future

A war of words and interpretations will undoubtedly continue for some time between industry officials and the pressure groups as the practical work of translating international guidelines into day-to-day marketing instructions lumbers on. But more importantly, in hospitals, clinics, and communities, the efforts of the unsung heroes and heroines - the frontline health workers, the mothers' support groups, the community workers - will continue. This is where the real battle is being fought. In another ten years, it may be possible to declare a "winner", or rather a community of winners - adequately nourished mothers and infants.

What will also continue is the effort to provide a voice for the third system - the people's movements, pressure groups or NGOs who represent specific constituencies or provide the momentum for action on specific issues. Governments of all political colours are often characterised as moribund bureaucracies, slow to respond to changes in society. Similarly, the other major actors on the world stage, the TNCs, are characterised as only responding to change if there is a profit in it. They too, are beset with their own bureaucracies, usually somewhat more flexible than those of government. Between these two giants, lie the inter-governmental agencies, characterised as part-mediator, part sounding board, part think tank, part advisory service.

The inter-governmental agencies too, have their own ponderous bureaucracies. Left to these three groupings, the wheels of change would grind excruciatingly slowly.

The third system is the driving force for change. Loosely structured, flexible to the extreme, it is a wild, exciting concoction of ideas, strategies and plans that range from sheer madness to absolute genius. The pressure groups don't always have the solutions. (Neither do governments, TNCs or the international agencies.) But they have the energy and determination to confront situations and often force a search for solutions.

The pressure groups are able to inject a large dose of reality into what are otherwise sterile discussions about the way to organise an ideal world. That reality is often shocking, often unpalatable to the ruling elites at the tops of the world's various decision-making structures, whether they be national governments, TNCs or international agencies. The claims and demands of the pressure groups come forward with powerful emotional force, often with anger, frequently with frustration. There are reasons for the anger and frustration. The day-to-day sight of the victims of poverty, repression and violence has a politicising effect. The pressure groups are talking about real lives, real people. They can put faces and names to the faceless statistics.
Throughout the infant feeding campaign, the emotional response has led to moments of great courage amongst individuals and groups. It took courage for Dr. Natividad Clavano to tear down the bottle feeding posters in her hospital in the Philippines and replace them with breast feeding posters in the face of opposition from some of her colleagues, the infant food industry and a laissez-faire government. It took courage for a group of breast feeding mothers to take their babies into a leading London department store in protest over a woman having been removed from its restaurant for quietly breast feeding her baby while she herself ate lunch. It took courage for the Indian Academy of Paediatrics to turn down offers of funding from the pharmaceutical and infant food companies to avoid any possible conflict of interest. These were acts that went against the dominant flow of society. They were acts of defiance, moments of catalytic change.

During the campaign, it has also been possible to identify organisations and individuals who have acted with "discouragement". These include governments who are reluctant to change the status quo; scientists who claim that all the possible avenues of research have not been explored, therefore it is too early to make a decision about what to do; people who hide behind the thought that the issue is so complex, and only part of a much larger world malaise, that it is pointless to even try to resolve it.

The infant feeding issue is a political issue, not party political, but realpolitik. In order for long-term change to be sustained, existing structures must be questioned - in some cases, bluntly. Inevitably, that creates friction. A dichotomy appears between those who are in favour of change and those who are not, except the dichotomy is usually blurred by the use of carefully worded phrases. Few people willingly admit to being against change. Instead they will agree that change is needed and argue about how it should be achieved, a delaying tactic which ensures that change is slow and less painful. Throughout the campaign, those distinctions have been exposed. Confrontation has been used frequently, and has enraged not only the industry but more moderate supporters of the basic cause. At the same time, tactful diplomacy has been underway, the give-and-take of compromise and consensus. Without the confrontation, the compromises would be less palatable to those with the most to lose, the consensus impossible to achieve.

Dr. F.G. Joseph, formerly with the Public Health Department in Kenya, argues that "antagonism and rancour on either side (the company's or the health promoter's) will not contribute to the reduction of infant mortality". On one level he is right. Antagonism alone will not improve infant health. However, it is a necessary ingredient in the final prescription. Without the input of the pressure groups, often antag-
onistic, this issue would still not be on the international agenda. Governments or individual health workers would not have monitored the industry's voluntary code of ethics, so there is little likelihood that an International Code would have been developed. A decade of activity would have been lost and, during that time, so would many lives. Bottle feeding would be more entrenched and harder to fight against. The pressure groups' activities have not solved the problem, but they have established a climate of urgency, which has contributed significantly to the process for its resolution.

IBFAN and the individual groups in the network have been flexible in their approach. They have worked within the existing national and international structures. But where those structures have proved to be clumsy, intransigent or in opposition to change, they have moved outside of them to organise informally to achieve results. To some, such an approach smacks of anarchy, terrorism and the downfall of democracy. It suggests that articulate and manipulative minorities will be able to unduly influence decisions affecting the majority of the populace. In fact, it could equally be argued that the current systems operate in precisely that way - an elite and privileged minority, with access to education, finance and power, controls the major decision-making processes and moulds them so that they reinforce the existing system.

Alvin Toffler, author of The Third Wave, claims that the concept of majority rule is becoming increasingly obsolete. He calls for new approaches that provide for a democracy of minorities and the development of imaginative new institutions that will allow for the transfer of decision making to its appropriate space. Many health and environmental issues are global issues and should be decided as such. Some decisions need to be made in national spaces; others in the regional or local ones within a country. Toffler calls for the unleashing of a wide-ranging public debate to generate imaginative proposals for political restructuring.

In some small ways, the development of the infant feeding campaign, the organisation of IBFAN and the role it has played in developing cooperative links in all spaces and in all societies, is a precursor to what Toffler suggests. IBFAN is an experiment in a new way of coping with huge, complex world problems. Like many experiments, it has design flaws and imperfections. But, according to Anwar Fazal, former president of IOCU, the campaign and the founding of IBFAN was a watershed for the international consumers' movement. Fazal said it provided a learning experience about the UN and the interaction between TNCs, the UN and individual governments; offered an opportunity for diverse groups to work together, pooling expertise and resources; and showed how the third system, the citizens of the world, could unite to change irresponsible and inappropriate technology.
THE US DRIVE TO BRING SERVICES INTO GATT

A ROLLBACK FOR THE THIRD WORLD?

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Abstract: After a decade of 'standstill' on its efforts to restructure international economic relations, the Third World appears now to be facing a 'rollback'. Through a new round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTNs), the US is seeking to hijack the North-South dialogue from other UN forums into GATT, bringing within GATT jurisdiction new issues like 'services', 'investment', and 'intellectual property rights', in order to rewrite some of the basic rules of the current world order. The sovereign right of Third World countries to choose their own development paths, and their own socio-economic philosophies, is now sought to be curbed in order to give a free hand to TNCs. While these instruments of US finance capital would be enabled to maximise profits for global capital accumulation, Third World governments would be forced to adopt laissez faire economics, and their peoples condemned for ever to be hewers of wood and drawers of water.

LES EFFORTS AMERICAINS POUR ETENDRE LA COMPETENCE DU GATT AUX SERVICES: UN REcul POUR LE TIERS MONDE?

Résumé: Après une décennie d'immobilisme opposé à ses efforts pour le restructuration des relations économiques internationales, le Tiers Monde est maintenant menacé d'un recul. Par le biais d'un nouveau 'round' de négociations commerciales multilatérales (MTN), les États-Unis essaient de détourner le dialogue Nord-Sud des autres fora des Nations Unies vers le GATT en incluant dans le mandat de celui-ci de nouvelles questions comme les services, l'investissement et la propriété intellectuelle, reformulant ainsi quelques-unes des règles élémentaires de l'ordre mondial actuel. On s'efforce de limiter le droit souverain des pays du Tiers Monde de choisir leurs propres voies et leurs propres philosophies de développement afin de donner libre jeu aux transnationales. Alors que ces instruments du capital financier seraient en mesure de maximiser leurs profits en vue de l'accumulation globale du capital, les gouvernements du Tiers Monde seraient forcés d'adopter une économie de laissez-faire et leurs peuples condamnés à demeurer à perpétuité des coupers de bois et des porteurs d'eau.

LOS USA TRatan DE EXTENDER LA COMPETENCIA DEL GATT A LOS SERVICIOS: UNA REGRESIÓN PARA EL TERCER MUNDO?

Resumen: Después de un inmovilismo opuesto a sus esfuerzos de reestructuración en las relaciones económicas internacionales, el Tercer Mundo se encuentra actualmente frente a la amenaza de una regresión. Mediante un nuevo 'round' de negociaciones comerciales multilaterales (MTN), los USA tratan de desviar el diálogo Norte-Sur de otros N.U. foros hacia la jurisdicción del GATT con nuevos asuntos tales que 'servicio', 'inversión', 'propiedad intelectual'... (sigue en la página 68)
Chakravarthi Raghavan

A ROLLBACK OF THE THIRD WORLD?

1985 was the 40th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the postwar order that the victorious allies created. While the UN provided the political underpinning for that order, the economic framework was that of the Bretton Woods and GATT systems, covering the areas of Money, Finance and Trade, and charged with promotion of full employment and growth, through interventionist government policies, in order to prevent a repetition of the 1930s.

Within two decades, and totally unanticipated by the founders of the UN, the countries of Asia and Africa became independent, and joined the system. They began with the naive view that with independence would come prosperity and rising living standards for their peoples, but were soon disillusioned.

At first, they sought concessions and minor changes in the systems - commodity agreements, generalised system of preferences for their exports, codes of conduct (liner shipping, transfer of technology, restrictive business practices etc), BOP financing, and ODA targets as percentage of GNP. These did not challenge the international economic system as such, but merely sought some reforms in them. 1/

Soon these countries discovered that these minor changes did not suffice to change the basically inequitable relations that thwarted their development, and saw the need for basic changes in the system, and specifically in the 'decision-making process which affects the production and price levels and the international distribution of income'. 2/

This led to the 1974 Declaration and Programme of Action for the NIEO, and the convening of the Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC) at Paris on 16 December 1975. The CIEC ended two years later, achieving little. Individual issues were taken up in different forums for negotiations, and talked to death in endless debates. There were a few, minor, marginal gains for the South, but overall there was an impasse.

By 1979, the Third World saw the futility of sectoral negotiations, and sought Global Negotiations, which were agreed to in principle, but blocked in disputes about 'forums'. Most OECD countries, meanwhile, had changed course, virtually abandoning full employment and growth objectives in

2/ ibid p.25.
favour of attack on inflation via monetarist policies. The policy-induced recession was used to attack the working classes and the welfare state at home, and the Third World and its demands for NIEO abroad. Through the IMF and the World Bank, severe adjustment policies were forced on the Third World, affecting mainly the poor and the marginalised people in these countries. At the same time, the US launched a drive to bring into GATT new issues like 'services', 'investment', 'intellectual property rights', etc.

The US choice of GATT as the preferred forum was not without reason. Though Keynesian in its origins (in the Havana Charter and its International Trade Organisation), GATT has become the foremost exponent of laissez faire economics, and a champion of private enterprise and of TNCs.

The US drive in GATT began in 1981, and initially met with some resistance on the 'services' and 'investment' issues, not only from the Third World but the EEC too. Ultimately, a compromise was reached at the GATT Ministerial Meeting in 1982, for (a) interested countries undertaking national studies on services, (b) for exchange of information on such national studies inter alia through international organisations such as GATT, and (c) for the GATT contracting parties (CPs), in the light of such exchange of information, to decide whether any multilateral action on services is 'appropriate' and 'desirable'.

But disagreements on GATT Secretariat's role blocked the exchange of information, and this became possible only in 1985, under an agreed procedure by which the Chairman of the CPs (who was then Felipe Jaramillo of Colombia), was authorized to organise the meetings, and with a very limited role for the Secretariat. This exercise became known as the 'Jaramillo track', emphasising its separateness from the other GATT activities in its traditional areas of competence, and is yet to be completed.

Since mid-1984, the US with varying support from other OECD countries has been trying to launch a new round of Multinational Trade Negotiations (MTNs), and include within it new issues and themes. It is seeking negotiations on 'trade in services', 'high-technology', and 'intellectual property issues', though without specifically spelling out details of what it wants.

The Third World countries have been resisting the new round, arguing that the first priority is for implementation of past commitments - like 'standstill' and 'rollback' of protectionism promised at the 1982 Ministerial Meeting - and the implementation of the GATT Work Programme for 1980s, agreed upon at the 1982 Ministerial Meeting. There has also been opposition from some of them to new themes. In the beginning the opposition came from all the Third World coun-
tries. But under intense political and other pressures, mounted by the US at capitals, some of the US allies have either remained silent or have been giving support of sorts to the US. But a number of Third World countries – including Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Egypt, India, Kuwait, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Sri Lanka, Uganda and Yugoslavia – have continued to voice their opposition, with varying nuances.

At the November 1985 session of the CPs, the two sides avoided a confrontation, through a procedural device that has put off the fight to at least September 1986. They agreed to the setting up of a Preparatory Committee to determine the 'objectives, subject matter, modalities, and participation, in a new round, and report to a Ministerial Meeting in September. At the same time they agreed to continue the separate exercise on services, with the additional mandate of making recommendations on services to the CPs at their next session. All the issues will thus come up before the 1986 Ministerial Meeting.

The term 'services', covers a wide range of very disparate activities – whose only common element seems to be that they are not 'agriculture' or 'manufacturing', and that the outcome of their activities are 'invisible'. Some of the activities sought to be included under this term are: accounting; advertising; banking; building, construction, and engineering; franchising; hotels and motels; insurance; leasing; legal services; motion pictures; telecommunications; data processing and information; tourism; transport (air); and transport (maritime).

In many countries, both industrial and Third World, several of the services are in the public sector or monopolies subject to heavy state regulations – on grounds of national security, development objectives, consumer protection, or other public policy considerations.

The exchange of information on services in GATT has brought out that they are heterogenous; pose difficulties in 'defining precisely' the range of activities in the term; that in many cases the services are consumed where produced (because they are intangible, and are neither storable nor transportable); that there are difficulties in defining the 'traded' or 'tradeable' services, or in identifying the 'obstacles' to the trade and distinguishing them from obstacles to 'investment' or 'establishment'; and that there is no international understanding on problems faced in data collection, classification, data needed for analysis, and problems of confidentiality. 3/

3/ See Report of the Chairman of the CPs to the 41st session, GATT Secretariat document L/5911.
Despite these acknowledged deficiencies, the US and its supporters want to push ahead with negotiations for an international framework on 'services', and restrict the right of countries to undertake regulatory actions in such areas as: currency and foreign exchange controls; state authorization for purchase of real estate and property; right of foreign firms to establish themselves on the territory of a country; conditions under which foreigners may enter, leave, reside and be employed; business competition; protection of intellectual property.

Without committing itself to what its ultimate goals are, the US has said there should be an overall framework on 'services' in GATT, applying some of the rules and principles of GATT, and that within this there should be separate codes for various service sectors. It has already made clear that it does not want the GATT's fundamental provision for most-favoured-nation (MFN) treatment to apply to the services, but wants the GATT provision for national treatment to foreign service enterprises and their products.

To begin with, under the overall framework, the US wants countries to notify all their regulations on services, and make them 'transparent', so that countries could be asked to justify the 'reasonableness' of their regulations, namely, "the balance between their regulatory requirements and their restrictive effects on 'trade' in services".

At the same time the US wants to exclude laws that come within the purview of consular affairs, so that while the rights of countries to regulate use of foreign managerial and highly technical personnel, working in 'service establishments' in their country, would be subject to the international framework on services, the rights of countries to control 'immigration' and prevent entry of 'labour' and 'labour services' would not be affected.

On intellectual property, the US and the EEC refer to what they call the growing menace of counterfeit products in international trade, and the need to deal with it through GATT in a multilateral way. Presented in these terms, the issue appears 'reasonable', since the term 'counterfeit' itself evokes an image of illegality and fraud. In fact what is being sought is to use GATT to impose higher obligations on Third World countries, on 'patents' and 'trademarks' rights for foreigners, than those provided in the relevant international agreement, namely the Paris conventions. Though heavily loaded against newcomers, the Third World, and their access to technology, the Paris conventions still provide a great deal of autonomy to its members, on the sectors of activities where they might allow patents and trade mark rights. Many Third World countries, for example, do not allow 'product' patents for pharmaceuticals and food products, but only 'process' patents. The life of such 'pro-
cess' patents can also be smaller, and often is. Many do not allow 'plant breeders rights'. In all these sectors, if a product is produced by a different process than the patented one, there are no patent rights, and thus could be freely 'imported'. National patent laws also provide for judicial or administrative processes for alleged violations of patents and trade mark rights, and for remedies. The effort via GATT is to shortcircuit all these, and provide for certain rights and obligations, for countries, and incorporate them in a GATT code, on the same lines as the various non-tariff codes under the Tokyo Round MTNs. Those subscribing to them will get the benefits of their exports not being subject to harassment and seizure by customs, while others would have no such rights!

In this 'debate' on services, the US and its supporters have sought to make out that this is an area of growing international importance, that no one has been addressing this, that 'liberalisation' of international exchanges in this area would be of benefit to all, just as it has been in the case of trade in goods, and that GATT which has been dealing with 'trade' in goods is the best place to deal with 'trade' in services.

All the neo-classical economists of the North and South who have been advocating liberalisation of trade in services à la GATT base themselves on Ricardo's theories of free trade, and international division of labour based on comparative advantage, for the benefit of all countries. Some of them, in the South, have also advocated support to the US in GATT on 'services', on the grounds of need to improve bilateral relations, hardly an economic argument.

From the time of Hume and Ricardo to now, advocates of free trade have always used it to advance their country's interests. "... free trade on its first premise was ... entirely preoccupied with the interests of the native country... In the construction given to the theory of foreign trade by Ricardo, the factors of production - land, labour, and capital - of a country were presumed to be mobile only within the country, but not over its boundaries. From the point of view of economic policy, however, the most important aspect to note is that it was out of a concern for the interests of their own country that free trade theorists demanded free exchange with other countries. 4/

Theories of free trade and free market are formulated on the basis that the transactions are between independent entities in different countries. But even when Ricardo enunciated his theory, with the example of Portuguese wine in exchange for British cloth, "the wine production and distribution from

Portugal at the time was not Portuguese ... it was the English Bristol Wine Companies which owned the land, controlled the production of the wine, bottled it, stored it, shipped it and sold it". 5/

If the thesis of international trade being between independent enterprises was a myth in 1948 (when GATT came into being), it is even more of a myth today. When GATT came into being, the phenomenon of TNCs, and their dominance of international trade had not become so prominent as now, when a large proportion of international trade in goods are transactions within a TNC, and based on nothing else than the interests of maximisation of 'global profits' for the benefit of the TNC and the capital accumulation process of the home-country of the TNC.

But the rise of the transnational conglomerates, linking production and distribution of goods, and finance, technology, transport, etc., have already raised issues that call into question the GATT views about 'market' and 'free trade'. Also, since the late 50s, governments of industrial countries are non-interventionist and neutral when it comes to taking actions against TNCs, but act positively abroad for furthering the interests of their TNCs.

At least in the area of 'free trade in goods', Ricardo and his successors had sought to present an image of comparative advantage among countries in different goods. To get around the difficult questions being raised about what would be the differing comparative advantages for countries in different service sectors or in services as a whole, the advocates of 'free trade in services' have hit upon the idea of comparative advantage, viewing both goods and services as one. This is on the basis of the three-step theory of economic growth, propounded by Fisher and Clark, that the process moves from agriculture to manufacturing and then to a service economy.

But as UNCTAD has pointed out, this is at best a partial explanation of the service phenomenon, and one that ignores the vital role of services in the process of growth. It also ignores the fact that through control over the supply of services, the existing comparative advantage of a country in production and exports of goods can easily be negated and reversed. Even the determinants of trade flows in services, applied by some of the 'free trade' theorists, are challenged by several others. 6/

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5/ Stuart Holland, speech at UNCTAD's 20th anniversary symposium, UN document TAD/INF/PUB/85/1, p.48.

6/ See UNCTAD Services and Development Process, UN Sales No.85.II.D.13.
These theories about services being a higher stage of economic growth, and that free trade in goods and services on the basis of comparative advantage would benefit all, really amounts to consigning the Third World for ever to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water, for the benefit of the industrial countries and their prosperity.

The attempt to lump these heterogenous activities under one common term 'services', is really aimed at creating confusion to foster the idea that it is a field not being dealt with by anyone, and should be looked into at one place. By putting 'trade' before the word 'services', the legitimacy of GATT to deal with it is being fostered. In fact the protagonists freely admit in private that if all the issues in 'services' had been presented in their true light, namely, as issues of investment and establishment, they could not have been brought into the international debate, since these are within the 'sovereign' rights of countries, and there are no institutional mechanisms except those of the UN.

Many of the activities now sought to be brought under the term 'services' and dealt with in GATT, are in fact governed by international conventions and treaties, and institutional mechanisms are in place to monitor and administer them.

The ITU is dealing with telecommunications and related services, the IBI in Rome with informatics, the WIPO with intellectual property issues, ICAO and IATA with air transport and related services, and IMO and UNCTAD with various shipping issues. Some of the issues relating to foreign investments, the rights and obligations of TNCs and those of host countries, have been engaging the attention of the UN Centre for TNCs (UNCTC), for over a decade now. The UNCTC and the IBI are together involved in creating an international framework on information and data flows. UNCTAD has been involved in insurance/reinsurance issues, and in formulating a code of conduct on technology transfer. All these forums have been taking an integrated view, within their areas of competence, and have been formulating policy and/or enabling negotiation of new agreements to deal with issues arising in the international arena.

But in all these forums, it is the US that has been blocking progress, and has brought the dialogue to a standstill.

No convincing reasons or arguments have been put forward as to why these various different subjects should be put under one common heading 'services', and dealt with in GATT, allegedly on their 'trade' aspects, but in reality covering investments, rights of establishment, technical standards, and everything else.

If the US or any other country feels the need for an international agreement on 'services', the only recourse they
have is to go to the UN for the convening of a special conference to deal with it, or go to UNCTAD, with its wider mandates on trade and development, to initiate such a move, or convene an international conference on their own initiative, in which interested states may participate.

Ever since the US launched its drive to bring these new issues into GATT via a new round of MTNs, it has been sought to be presented as part of GATT's periodic attempts at trade liberalization. There have been repeated references to the earlier seven MTNs, and the gains to world trade from these seven rounds.

When the General Agreement was signed in 1947, of the 22 signatories, 11 were from the Third World. Two of them ultimately did not join, while a third (KMT China) withdrew. For a long time, until the 60s, the number of Third World members of GATT were very small, and they played no real role. Tariff concessions were negotiated and exchanged on the basis of 'reciprocal and mutually advantageous approach', in successive trade rounds. Third World countries had little to offer and got little either. Any MFN benefit that accrued to them was not really significant, since these were mainly in industrial products, where the main suppliers were from industrial countries.

GATT itself functioned largely as an organisation of the industrial countries who were the major trading partners. In 1958, the Haberler report made several specific recommendations and these were followed up by a report of a GATT committee, pinpointing the specific actions industrial countries should take to enable a substantial expansion in the export earnings of the Third World countries. But no actions were taken on these, and there were only promises that these too would be addressed in the impending new round of MTNs (the Dillon Round of 1961-62).

None of the problems were addressed in the Dillon Round, but it marked the beginning of a period of discriminatory measures against imports of manufactures from the Third World, under spurious economic theories about 'low wage imports' and 'market disruption' - all alien to the theories of free trade on the basis of comparative advantage.

This was to be the pattern over the next two decades: the Third World putting forth demands and focusing on its special handicaps, the US and industrial countries promising actions in a new round of MTNs, launching of MTNs, and trade liberalisation among industrial countries with few benefits to the Third World, and new discriminatory measures against the Third World.

During the Dillon Round, came the Short-term Arrangements (STA) governing trade in cotton textiles and clothing, to
enable import restrictions against these products from the Third World. The STA was soon followed by the LTA (long-term arrangement), which remained in force till 1973, and followed by the Multifibre Arrangement (MFA), which has been in force from 1973 to date.

The Dillon, Kennedy and Tokyo Rounds saw a gradual tightening of the import restrictions against the Third World, mostly outside GATT, and covering footwear, leather and leather goods, electronics, steel, and other sectors where the Third World has emerged as competitive suppliers.

Now the Third World is again being told that negotiations on some of its outstanding trade problems will be taken up in a new round, provided the Third World agrees to linked negotiations on new themes. In effect the Third World is being told that the industrial countries will carry out their GATT obligations to the Third World and remove any illegal restrictions on imports of goods from the Third World, if the Third World would accept new obligations favouring the industrial world in 'services'.

Any such action for liberalisation of trade in services, automatically involves 'investment' and 'establishment' rights for the TNCs. Several of the service sectors, like banking and insurance, play a vital infrastructural role in the development process of the Third World, including mobilisation of domestic capital and its channelling into areas of priority investment. Others, like informatics, are mostly undeveloped. All of them would need active state involvement. By bringing 'services' into GATT, and setting up international disciplines for them, the US is trying to prevent the development of endogenous service sectors in the Third World and thus the pursuit of autonomous development paths in the Third World.

The service sectors are dominated now by the TNCs, and the nature of the services enables them to offer a wide range of services and an integrated package once the data network is established.

For TNCs, the right of establishment is more critical than the right of access to markets. It is through relocation of production of goods that the TNCs have transnationalised the production, distribution and consumption of goods. Through their participation in banking, insurance and other financial services, and data flows, the TNCs are now seeking to transnationalise finance capital and thus dominate and control Third World economies. This in turn will enable the US to dominate and control the Third World politically and thus exercise hegemony.

As it is, even in trade in goods, the Third World countries find that the TNCs are not amenable to national disciplines.
and will find the TNCs are even less amenable in respect of 'services' transactions which are 'invisible'.

Again trade in services cannot be delinked from investment. This poses serious policy questions for the Third World. Foreign private investments do not lead to transfer of capital or its accumulation inside the Third World. The main benefit is supposedly in the areas of transfer of technology and managerial skills. As against this are the costs of foreign private investments: adverse impact on balance of payments and on patterns of domestic investment, output and employment. Also, TNC operations rarely, if ever, result in any industrialisation of the country with forward and backward linkages within the economy, essential for self-sustained development. It mostly creates 'enclave' industries which are vertically integrated externally.

It is for these reasons that Third World countries have resisted international agreements in this area, preferring to keep their options open and taking pragmatic decisions on a case-by-case basis.

The US effort to bring 'services' into GATT by prefixing 'trade' before it, is really aimed at reducing, if not eliminating, Third World options in this, and obtaining for the TNCs full freedom of 'investment' and 'establishment' on the foreign territory and the ability to operate without restraint, and without the government of the host-country being able to exercise any effective control.

The effort to bring all these new issues into GATT under threat of US disregard of its GATT obligations and taking recourse to bilateral and plurilateral measures, really amounts to an effort at hijacking the North-South dialogue from other UN forums into GATT.

If the US succeeds in its efforts, it would enable the US to rewrite some of the postwar rules and principles of international economic relations. And instead of the world moving towards a New World Order, it would be moving towards a Transnational World Order. In economic terms the US would then have succeeded in giving the Third World a 'rollback' to its days under the colonial era, when the role of the State was only to keep law and order, and keep the natives quiet for the benefit of 'entrepreneurs' from the metropolitan centres.
sión' y 'derechos de la propiedad intelectual', así escribiendo de nuevo algunas de las reglas elementales del orden mundial actual. Se esfuerzan en limitar a los países del Tercer Mundo el soberano derecho de elegir sus propias vías de desarrollo y sus propias socio-económicas filosofías, dando de esta manera mano libre a las transnacionales. Mientras que estos instrumentos del capital financiero de los USA le darán la posibilidad de obtener el máximo de sus ganancias con vista a la acumulación global del capital, los gobiernos del Tercer Mundo se verán en la obligación de adoptar una economía de laissez faire, y sus poblaciones condenadas a ser perpetuamente cortadores de madera y portadores de agua.

A VIDEO-CASSETTE AVAILABLE FROM DOCIP:

INDIAN SUMMER IN GENEVA

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES FROM THE AMERICAS AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Indigenous peoples have undertaken to assert themselves and uphold their rights.

They now participate every year in the United Nations meetings on human rights in Geneva to present their situation and plead their cause.

Their message focuses on four key points: nation, land, genocide and self-determination.

Their objective is the recognition by the international community of their fundamental rights as peoples and as nations.

While initiated in North America, these approaches are now also those of indigenous groups in Central and South America as well as in the Pacific.

Indian Summer in Geneva is meant to broaden the audience of the indigenous groups. It reflects their specificities - and what makes them different from the industrialized world: a sacred relation with the earth which is the basis for a common spirituality.

Among the participants: Jimmie Durham (Cherokee, USA), Mário Juruna (Xavante, Brasil), Alvaro Tukano (Tukano, Brasil), Rigoberta Menchú (Quiché, Guatemala), Ramiro Reynaga (Quechua, Bolivia) and Haunani-Kay Trask (Hawaii).

Production: Volkmar Ziegler - Research and interviews: Pierrette Birraux (52 minutes). Available on VHS, U-matic or Beta (PAL, SECAM, NTSC) video-cassettes in English or French (Spanish version is under preparation).

Orders and further information from DOCIP, Indigenous Peoples' Center for Documentation, Research and Information, Palais Wilson annexe, POB 101, 1211 Geneva 21, Switzerland, Tel: 22/ 67 15 81 or 35 40 47. Price: Swiss francs 800.-(special rates for committed groups). Cheques payable to DOCIP must accompany orders.
THE THIRD WORLD PRIZE AWARDED TO NELSON AND WINNIE MANDELA

The Third World Prize - US$ 100,000 and a medallion - is awarded to individuals or associations for outstanding contributions to Third World development. The Selection Committee, which includes Shridath Ramphal, Enrique Iglesias (both members of the IFEA Council), R.K.A. Gardiner, B.K. Nehru and A. Husain, decided to confer the 1985 Prize on Nelson and Winnie Mandela. Here is the text of the citation:

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela is a towering leader for the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid. For hundreds of millions the world over who share their aspirations for a just society, he is the symbol of hope for human civilisation. His ceaseless mission for a non-racial society for all the people of South Africa is a source of inspiration alike for those who are oppressed and those beyond South Africa who share the burden of humanity for their oppression. When he was sentenced to life imprisonment he proclaimed from the dock: "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." 23 years later, Nelson Mandela is still in prison, still dedicated to this noble ideal, and still a symbol of hope - increasingly, for all the people of South Africa.

Nelson Mandela was born on 18 July 1916 in Umtata in the part of South Africa known as Transkei, now one of the so-called homelands. The first-born son of a royal house, he was to renounce his chieftancy on his father's death. Trained as a lawyer, he was soon to join battle against
the laws of an unjust society. His search for justice led him in 1944 to the African National Congress, which had been founded in 1912.

In the next two decades, he played an increasingly important role in the work of the ANC, sharing in and guiding its development at a critical stage of widening political consciousness among the oppressed people of South Africa. Active in building up the ANC's Youth League in the early years, he was later prominent in the national Day of Protest of 26 June 1950 against police violence directed at May Day demonstrators, and two years later in the Defiance Campaign against unjust laws.

In 1955 - he was by then President of the ANC for the Transvaal Province - Nelson Mandela played a key part in the Congress of the People, which adopted the Freedom Charter which said that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white". This raised the basic question of not what amendments should be made to the law, but who makes the law. It was clear affirmation of commitment to democracy and non-racialism, but it was a commitment which South Africa's rulers found subversive.

In March 1960, Sharpeville became a synonym for the violence of the apartheid regime, whose forces gunned down 69 men, women and children peacefully protesting against South Africa's notorious pass laws. But Mandela persisted in his quest for negotiated change and in June 1961 issued his call to the Government to hold a National Convention to draw up a democratic constitution on the basis of the equality of all people of the country, irrespective of race or colour. The Government spurned this call.

The obduracy of the regime and its increasing repression - of which Sharpeville had given such tragic evidence - and the recognition that half a century of patient petitioning followed by peaceful protest had achieved no softening in the rigours of apartheid but had brought ever greater violence in its defence led Mandela to establish "Umkonto We Siswe" or Spear of the Nation. It launched a programme of sabotage with attacks on selected government installations, marking a new level in the popular struggle against apartheid responding to the violence with which the regime seemed determined to perpetuate it.

In the repression which followed Sharpeville, the ANC was outlawed, but the persecution of Mandela by the authorities had begun earlier. A four-year trial for treason of Mandela and 155 other persons, both black and white, ended in their acquittal in 1961. Re-arrested in 1962, Mandela was sentenced to five years hard labour but was taken from his prison cell in 1963 to face yet new charges. He, and six others, were sentenced to life imprisonment.

He has just been a unifying force to all those struggling for justice in South Africa. In the late 1970s, he was offered his freedom if he agreed to live in the Transkei where he was born and where he could have become token Prime Minister. His answer was a firm refusal. This year he was equally forthright when offered his freedom on condition that he publicly renounce violence. His answer was given through his daughter to a rally in Soweto last March: "Let him (Botha) renounce violence. Let him say he will dismantle apartheid. Let him free all who have been impri-
soned, banned or exiled. I cherish my own freedom dearly but I care even more for your freedom. I cannot sell my birthright nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free."

Nelson Mandela is honoured wherever democracy and freedom are valued. Streets and buildings around the world have been named after him; so has a nuclear particle. Many cities have given him their freedom; numerous universities have conferred degrees on him.

In awarding this year's Third World Prize to Nelson Mandela, we salute him for his heroic fight against oppression based on a profound faith in the equality of human beings and in their right to be free. We honour him as a great son of Africa and of the Third World.

Throughout his years of incarceration, his wife Nomzamo Winnie Mandela has kept faith with him and the cause he made his own, despite the many tribulations visited on her. To the agony of desolation and the anguish caused by her husband's sufferings has been added a vendetta against herself. She has been banned, detained and brought to trial on many occasions; for only ten months in the last 23 years has she been free of restrictions imposed by the regime. Following the Soweto uprising in 1976, she was banished to Brandfort to remain under constant surveillance and many restrictions on her freedom. There have been several attempts on her life; her children and her friends have suffered harassment. Her home was recently fire-bombed.

But, with remarkable courage and a resilience of spirit, she has continued to uphold the banner of freedom as her brave husband has continued to do from his prison cell. To the extent that the inhumane laws of the apartheid regime have allowed her, and often in defiance of them, she has herself championed the cause of her people as they suffered the pains of increasing repression and violence: deaths, detentions, forcible removals and disposessions, separation from families and the other torments and indignities we have come to associate with apartheid.

Despite the heartbreak of separation from her husband, she has steadfastly supported him in his refusal to compromise the struggle for his people's freedom for the sake of his own freedom.

In the year that marks the end of the United Nations Decade for Women, it is appropriate that, as we honour Nelson Mandela, we also honour Winnie Mandela for her own outstanding contribution to the struggle for justice in South Africa.

The Selection Committee for the Third World Prize is proud to award this year's Prize jointly to Nelson and Winnie Mandela.
CARAF: CORPS AFRICAIN DE REFLEXION
ET D’ACTION CONTRE LA FAIM

Le CARAF est une association sans but lucratif, à caractère scientifique, créée à Genève par des Africains pour lutter contre la faim en Afrique. Le CARAF se veut une organisation humanitaire, faisant appel à la solidarité de chacun, pour que tous vivent une vie humainement acceptable. C’est un groupe de travail où doivent s’allier réflexion et action en vue de réalisations concrètes. Le français et l’anglais en sont les langues de travail.

Pourquoi le CARAF? Parce que les problèmes liés à la faim en Afrique prennent une ampleur considérable et croissante. Parce que les Africains peuvent et doivent apporter leur contribution matérielle et intellectuelle aux solutions proposées. Parce que seule une action en profondeur, d’effet durable, soutenue par une recherche appliquée et conséquente, peut apporter des solutions adéquates.

Objectifs: Réunir le maximum d’informations sur les causes, les conséquences et les solutions de la faim en Afrique. Informer sur les possibilités de solution. Collaborer avec les personnes, les organisations et les gouvernements pour tenter d’éradiquer ce fléau. Elaborer et contribuer à réaliser des projets spécifiques et concrets, pour résoudre le problème à long terme. Aider les personnes et les populations touchées à se prendre en charge. Utiliser chaque contribution pour la réalisation des objectifs fixés.

Que pouvez-vous faire avec le CARAF? Participer à ses activités: groupes de travail, colloques, collectes, etc. Fournir des informations d’ordre général ou technique sur tout ce qui concerne la faim et ses solutions. Aider matériellement (documents, outils, fonds, etc.) à la réalisation de projets sur le terrain en Afrique. Vous engager personnellement, selon vos disponibilités et possibilités (quelques semaines à quelques mois), à travailler sur le terrain pour conseiller, diriger ou simplement soutenir des projets concrets. Conscientiser les gens autour de vous.

Types d’actions prévues: Approvisionnement en eau de villages au Sahel ou dans d’autres régions. Appui technologique au développement de l’agriculture dans des collectivités. Aide matérielle à des écoles (équipement, livres, fonds) dans des zones défavorisées. Soutien à la recherche appliquée dans des institutions.

Le CARAF est ouvert à tous les hommes et toutes les femmes de bonne volonté. Chacun peut y adhérer, Africain ou non. Il suffit d’écrire à CARAF, Case postale 2123, 1211 Genève 2 Dépôt, Suisse.
LA SATELLITE

BULLETIN DE LIAISON DE L'APAC, ASSOCIATION DE PROFESSIONNELLES AFRICAINES DE LA COMMUNICATION

Fondée fin 1984 (cf. IFDA Dossier 45, p.79), l'APAC a publié un an plus tard, le numéro 0 de son bulletin de liaison, La Satellite. Comme le dit son éditorial, "avec le bulletin, la chaîne se renforce... Elle s'appelle La Satellite. Étrange non? La Satellite, c'est notre bulletin, notre journal plus tard. Nous sommes des femmes, d'où le la; nous voulons être ondes de communication: satellite." L'APAC a également publié une brochure, Femmes, développement, communication, qui est le rapport de synthèse du séminaire de fondation (Dakar, oct. 1984). Les deux documents sont disponibles auprès de la Secrétaire exécutive, Eugénie Rokhaya Au, BP 4234, Dakar, Sénégal. Nous reproduisons ci-dessous un extrait du numéro 0 de La Satellite.


Il fallait enraciner l'organisation dans nos pays africains afin qu'elle soit l'image, le miroir de la vie concrète et quotidienne des femmes dans sa diversité, sa richesse, dans ses peines et ses victoires.

Au niveau du secrétariat, le travail de contact s'est poursuivi. Nous avons atteint des pays tels que le Burundi, Djibouti et Madagascar. Nous pensons maintenant aux pays lusophones et dans un avenir plus lointain à nos consœurs anglophones après que nous ayons renforcé et consolidé notre organisation.

Les participantes au séminaires d'octobre 84 ne sont pas restées inactives dans leurs pays respectifs ou ailleurs. Les sections nationales se mettent en place. Il faut vaincre pour la plupart d'entre nous les difficultés et lenteurs administratives, s'informer des règles associatives qui souvent ne nous concernaient pas. Il faut vaincre nos mentalités souvent individualistes pour commencer un travail en commun, pour accepter le regard critique de l'autre. Dur, mais exaltant que cet apprentissage.

QUELQUES NOUVELLES:

Au Bénin, un bureau de trois membres à été élu. Un programme d'action a été dessiné. Des enquêtes sont en cours autour de trois thèmes: l'absentéisme des femmes; les petites commerçantes; le monde rural. La section comprend une vingtaine d'adhérentes, sur trente communicatrices. Il y a encore peu d'engagement mais cette situation changera avec le démarrage effectif des activités.

Au Togo, c'est une amicale des Professionnelles de la Communication qui a été mise en place. Un bureau provisoire prépare l'assemblée constitutive. La production a démarré.
En Centrafrique, une action de sensibilisation a été menée et un bureau mis en place.

Au Sénégal, quatre ou cinq rencontres ont été organisées. Des problèmes se posent en raison de l'instabilité de certaines consœurs du volume de travail, mais également des obstacles d'ordre hiérarchiques. Ces obstacles tiennent à la différence de formation, de niveau entre les journalistes issues du Ceti ou d'écoles de formation et "les autres". En dépit de cela, les journalistes ont pu participer à la Conférence de Nairobi et être intégrées dans une mission UNICEF pour un reportage sur un projet féminin.

Au Maroc, il s'est d'abord agi de populariser les objectifs de l'APAC. L'obstacle à la création d'une section nationale: il n'existe pas dans l'histoire du Maroc de regroupement intégrant toutes les sensibilités politiques. Cependant, en fin juin une réunion a rassemblé 27 journalistes. Trois groupes ont été formés: groupe de status; révision du programme de suivi; groupe contacts et explications. Il y a en projet la possibilité d'initier une page de la femme dans les journaux de partis, voire d'y intégrer des femmes professionnelles.

Nous avons des nouvelles de bien d'autres pays où les femmes journalistes se battent pour créer leur section nationale. Nous souhaitons que des rapports systématiques nous parviennent régulièrement afin de vous en faire l'écho dans le bulletin.

L'APAC n'est pas un club, elle est la propriété de chaque femme journaliste africaine qui accepte de s'engager et de travailler à la réalisation de ses objectifs.

APPUI DU BIT AU SECTEUR NON STRUCTURE (SNS) URBAIN DANS TROIS PAYS D'AFFRIQUE FRANCOPHONE

Ce programme de US$ 2,8 millions, financé par la Coopération technique suisse, touche les capitales et certaines villes secondaires du Mali (durée: 5 ans), du Rwanda (38 mois) et du Togo (4 ans). Le programme se propose de promouvoir la participation organisée des petits producteurs afin de faciliter leur accès à des facteurs de production d'ordre technique et financier pouvant accroître leurs niveaux d'occupation et de revenu. Il s'adresse en particulier aux couches du SNS les plus démunies en matière d'équipement, de formation, de financement et de protection sociale. La méthode d'approche adoptée par les 3 projets est basée sur la mobilisation croissante des ressources propres aux groupements de petits producteurs par un soutien systématique de leurs initiatives ainsi que la prise en main progressive des opérations du promotion du secteur d'activité par les bénéficiaires eux-mêmes (auto-gestion).

Résultats: A ce jour (le programme a débuté en 1982 au Mali), les résultats sont encourageants. L'accès au crédit bancaire ou à des formations simples de type gestionnaire et technique, le développement de nouveaux
produits et des technologies adaptées, l'approvisionnement en matières premières à meilleur compte ainsi que l'amélioration de la qualité de biens et services existants ont rendu économiquement plus viables les microentreprises touchées.

Au Rwanda, 1600 artisans appartenant à 14 corps de métiers, sont groupés dans une même Confédération (KORA). Au Mali, l'Association d'artisans compte 950 participants actifs (12 corps de métiers) et le groupement interprofessionnel d'artisans du Togo (GIPATO) parvient à mobiliser 720 artisans (16 métiers) qui sont en voie d'un progrès autonome.

L'avenir du programme: La mise en place de formes d'auto-organisation et de solidarité (association ou confédération d'artisans, groupements interprofessionnels, etc.) a permis à leurs membres d'améliorer leur insertion dans le marché. A travers ces structures participatives, les artisans entendent consolider au cours d'une troisième phase du programme leur capacité de négociation face à leurs interlocuteurs: Etat, banques et commerçants notamment.

Enseignement à titer du programme: L'expérience en cours montre à quel point il faut compter sur les efforts et la mobilisation des bénéficiaires eux-mêmes pour surmonter les obstacles et se méfier des programmes conçus, décidés et mis en œuvre sans que les bénéficiaires prennent part aux décisions.

La participation des bénéficiaires tant à l'identification de leurs besoins qu'à la recherche des solutions alternatives demeure, avec leur prise de responsabilité sous les formes les plus diverses, les facteurs clés qui conditionnent la réussite de tout programme.

Documents de base du programme


C. Maldonado, Mobilisation et maîtrise des capacités propres aux petits producteurs urbains. Evaluation d'une expérience en cours à Bamako, Kigali et Lomé, à paraître.

(BIT, 1211 Genève 22, Suisse).
URUGUAY: SERVICIO COMPUTARIZADO DE COMUNICACION (SERCOM)

El Centro de Información, Investigación y Documentación del Uruguay (CIIDU) se apresta a llevar a la práctica el Proyecto "Por una Red de Organizaciones No Gubernamentales en beneficio del país". En el marco de este proyecto ha venido trabajando en la creación de mecanismos institucionales de coordinación de las ONG a fin de asegurar el acceso de las mismas en los procesos de concepción, producción y transmisión de la información.

La instrumentación de este proyecto contará con un servicio computarizado de comunicación, denominado Programa Sercom. Dicho programa está compuesto por: la creación de una Red de Organizaciones No Gubernamentales (partidos políticos, organizaciones sociales, sindicatos, iglesias, instituciones culturales, cooperativas, grupos de interés, etc.), la edición de un boletín Sercom de información multidireccional, la formación de un banco de datos y el procesamiento computarizado de la información.

El Programa Sercom utiliza un microcomputador multiusuario equipado con el sistema operativo QNX (UNIX). El UNIX es un moderno sistema operativo, relativamente novedoso en nuestro medio. Es muy eficiente para la organización de bancos de datos, ya que permite con facilidad la modificación y desarrollo de su estructura en función de las necesidades de los usuarios. Esta flexibilidad característica del sistema es de primera importancia para el Programa Sercom, ya que prevé una continua expansión del banco de datos y una mayor oferta del servicio. El banco de datos está constituido en función de las necesidades de información de los propios usuarios. En este sentido se busca que sean las mismas ONG quienes definan los indicadores de información. Por otra parte, la integración de la Red de ONG y la suscripción de la revista Sercom constituyen el primer acceso a la información existente en el banco de datos. Simultáneamente, está dada la posibilidad de un acceso más directo al banco: realizando pedidos concretos de información sobre temas determinados. El programa Sercom estará en condiciones de entregar en forma impresa la información requerida. En un futuro cercano las ONG contarán con accesos directos a la información organizada en el banco de datos a través de canales modem, vía teléfono.

La reciente aparición de la revista Sercom número cero, abastecida con la información de las diversas ONG ya afiliadas a la Red y los servicios informativos de Inter Press Service significa el primer paso en la creación de los grandes objetivos que el CIIDU, a través del Programa Sercom, se ha propuesto para el Uruguay democrático de hoy.

(CIIDU, 18 de Julio 1377, Primer Piso, Montevideo, Uruguay).
URUGUAY: CIEDUR EN LA RECONSTRUCCION NACIONAL

CIEDUR (Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre el Desarrollo, Uruguay), es una asociación civil sin fines de lucro, no gubernamental, fundada en 1977. Reúne a un conjunto de investigadores en ciencias sociales, especialistas en diversas disciplinas.

Son sus objetivos esenciales: impulsar la investigación y el fomento de las ciencias sociales con especial énfasis en la temática nacional, difundir los resultados de los trabajos realizados, asistir y apoyar a las organizaciones sociales (cooperativas; sindicatos; mutualistas; gremiales de artesanos, de pequeños comerciantes, de productores rurales, etc).

CIEDUR concibe y desarrolla proyectos de investigación; apoya a otras asociaciones académicas; forma nuevos investigadores; aglutina científicos individuales; organiza cursos y seminarios; brinda servicios (asesoramientos, biblioteca, centro de documentación) y participa de toda iniciativa útil a los fines mencionados.

* * *

A continuación, reproducimos unas de las conclusiones de las asambleas de investigadores-socios de CIEDUR:

Al comenzar una nueva etapa en la vida del país, CIEDUR entiende que adquirió un protagonismo real y que debe continuar su acción. Para ello es preciso reformular los objetivos y el contenido del trabajo de la institución, contemplando los nuevos espacios de expresión y participación alcanzados por las organizaciones populares, el surgimiento de oportunidades de cooperación con la Universidad y con el Estado, y las experiencias acumuladas en ocho años de trabajo.

Este desafío exigirá poner mayor énfasis en las propuestas superadoras de los problemas nacionales, así como multiplicar las oportunidades de encuentro con la comunidad académica y las organizaciones sociales y políticas.

Permanencia y cambio de CIEDUR

Los científicos sociales expulsados de la Universidad respondieron de dos maneras a su segregación. Una parte debió emigrar por razones ocupacionales o políticas. Otros se reagruparon en centros privados.

Las diferentes personalidades académicas de los Centros nos obligan a considerar el aporte específico de CIEDUR. Desde los orígenes de la institución nos propusimos construir un conocimiento científico original, al servicio de la búsqueda de alternativas de desarrollo para el país, que implicaran la plena vigencia de la justicia social, de la soberanía nacional, y de la democracia.

Se generó así un patrimonio colectivo de ideas, resultante de la combinación de la reflexión individual con la colectiva, integrando diversas perspectivas disciplinarias, teóricas e ideológicas. Esta consolidación
de aportes basada en el pluralismo se consideró imprescindible para mejorar la eficiencia y la calidad del resultado de la investigación.

A lo largo de estos años, la producción académica de CIEDUR fue creciente, diversificada en su temática, y eficiente en el uso de los recursos disponibles.

La inserción en el medio

La investigación académica es la principal actividad y la razón de ser de CIEDUR, pero ella no agota ni limita nuestro papel. La inserción en el medio es un factor esencial para el desarrollo de la investigación, persiguiendo dos objetivos fundamentales: en primer lugar, detectar las demandas latentes o explícitas, que orientan la definición de las líneas de investigación y la identificación de los proyectos. En segundo término, establecer una red de comunicación que permita poner en discusión los resultados de nuestro trabajo.

De allí nuestra preocupación por fortalecer los vínculos con las organizaciones populares, más allá de los que nos unen a la comunidad académica nacional e internacional.

Por último, la ejecución de actividades se cumple de modo de hacer realidad en lo cotidiano los valores a los que aspiramos para la sociedad. Los criterios organizativos han implementado la democracia interna, la convivencia en la discrepancia, la igualdad de oportunidades. El carácter de institución abierta se afirma con la incorporación continua de nuevos socios, el amplio espectro político de los investigadores, y la rotación en los cargos directivos.

En la actual coyuntura, la permanencia del Centro exigirá cambios en sus líneas de trabajo. Se deberá:

1. Priorizar en los proyectos de investigación los temas que aumenten la capacidad de propuesta de las organizaciones populares.
2. Colaborar en la reconstrucción de la Universidad con programas concertados con las autoridades y las organizaciones gremiales que participan del cogobierno.
3. Colaborar en la reconstrucción del Estado democrático, mediante la prospección de sus requerimientos y la satisfacción de sus demandas.
4. Impulsar en el mayor grado posible las actividades coordinadas con otros centros, sin limitar nuestras posibilidades de acción.

Los cambios en el sistema político: sus implicancias

Se han registrado transformaciones en el sistema político, capaces de incidir en sus potenciales relaciones con el medio académico. En lo que respecta a nuestro trabajo futuro, deseamos destacar que:

a. Por primera vez en la historia política del país existe la concertación multipartidaria y una estructura política casi de tercios, donde también lo gremial y lo político tienen canales de comunicación eficaces.
b. Se constata en amplios segmentos del sistema político y de las organizaciones sociales la idea de que es necesaria una amplia negociación para dotar al proceso político de estabilidad y durabilidad.

c. Durante la última etapa del régimen autoritario existieron contactos y vínculos entre el Centro y las organizaciones políticas democráticas, evaluados positivamente por todos los participantes, relaciones que se han incrementado en la actual fase de democratización del país.

d. Hay conciencia de que los aportes técnicos y las propuestas de soluciones pasan a jugar un papel más importante en el proceso social y político.

**Líneas de trabajo con las organizaciones sociales**

La apertura democrática implica libertad de asociación, de reunión, de opinión, lo que posibilita intensificar y diversificar las actividades de las organizaciones sociales.

La nueva fase política y la aspiración de consolidar la democracia modifican las reglas del juego. Se pasa de la confrontación a la negociación y se abren nuevas oportunidades de expresión. Entre las factibles se pueden señalar: la participación en comisiones parlamentarias, en la gestión de las empresas públicas, y en comisiones sectoriales y nacionales de diversas características.

Todo esto a su vez requiere y valoriza los aportes técnicos y las propuestas de soluciones, permitiendo incrementar el apoyo a las organizaciones populares, tanto en el plano del asesoramiento como en la capacitación e investigación.

La diversidad de organizaciones y la variedad de sus demandas específicas, contrasta con las posibilidades de CIEDUR de relacionarse y cooperar, y exige especificar con mayor precisión su articulación con el medio. Se define como de primera prioridad el desarrollo de los vínculos con aquellas organizaciones que el Centro considera esenciales para lograr sus objetivos institucionales, en particular las de trabajadores urbanos y rurales, las agrupaciones en las que participan mayoritariamente los productores familiares agropecuarios, y las entidades que reclaman frente al Estado la satisfacción de necesidades en torno al consumo colectivo.

En la situación actual de CIEDUR esto significa:

1. Que las actuales actividades de asistencia a organizaciones urbanas se deben complementar con proyectos de investigación.

2. Continuar con la línea de trabajo de apoyo a asociaciones de productores familiares, e iniciar actividades de asesoramiento y respaldo a organizaciones de asalariados rurales, promoviendo en ambos casos su capacidad de expresión autónoma.

(CIEDUR Noticias, Año 1 No 3) pp. 1-3 (Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre el Desarrollo, Zabala 1322, Apto. 201, Montevideo, Uruguay).
ECUADOR: CONSTITUCIÓN DE UNA RED DE CENTROS DE INVESTIGACIÓN PARA EL ESTUDIO DE LA PROBLEMÁTICA DE LOS SERVICIOS URBANOS EN AMÉRICA LATINA

Entre el 7 y el 12 de julio de 1985, se realizó en Quito-Ecuador el Seminario-Taller "Transporte y Servicios Urbanos en América Latina". La organización corrió a cargo del Centro de Investigaciones CIUDAD (Ecuador) y del Instituto de Investigaciones del Transporte IRT (Francia).

El Seminario contó con la participación de 70 investigadores de 30 instituciones de América Latina, Norte América y Europa. El encuentro constituyó el punto de partida para la formación de una Red Latinoamericana de Centros de Investigación interesados en el análisis de los servicios urbanos. La Red deberá impulsar nuevas investigaciones siguiendo las líneas definidas en el encuentro, aproximando experiencias metodológicas y prácticas de acción en el contexto urbano latinoamericano.

La idea de consolidar una Red Latinoamericana de Centros de Investigación para el análisis de los servicios urbanos, fue apoyada por todos los participantes y por algunos organismos internacionales (CLACSO, SIAP, PROIAP). Pero sobre todos, la Red pretende tener continuidad a través del impulso a actividades de investigación, capacitación y publicaciones. Con relación a las actividades de investigación fueron lanzadas cinco líneas de análisis de los servicios urbanos: desarrollo histórico de las ciudades y gestión urbana; Los servicios urbanos como medios de consumo colectivo y sus especificidades en los países latinoamericanos; impacto de la crisis en los servicios urbanos; cambios en las formas de gestión de los servicios; reivindicaciones en torno de los servicios urbanos.

En referencia a las publicaciones, se propone a través de la "Red" que está siendo constituida, la articulación y difusión de trabajos relativamente aislados o poco conocidos, a través de un esfuerzo conjunto de publicación y divulgación, buscando fuentes alternativas de financiamiento. Inicialmente, la Red publicará para fines de año, una referencia bibliográfica de 450 títulos sobre el problema del transporte en América Latina. Será igualmente publicado un libro con el conjunto de ponencias presentadas al Seminario. Está en elaboración un boletín de la Red, que servirá como órgano de comunicación y difusión de las actividades que emprenda la Red ya sea a nivel subregional o continental.

Como asociarse a la red

La Red está abierta a la participación de centros de investigación que trabajen en temas correlativos, la Coordinación General la llevará adelante el Centro de Investigaciones CIUDAD de Quito-Ecuador, habiéndose propuesto una regionalización que articula a los países del cono Sur (Coordinación: CEUR - Buenos Aires); a los países andinos (CIDAP - Lima), a los países de América Central (CSUCA - San José); a México (por designarse) y al Brasil (NERU - Sao Paulo). La viabilidad de realizar investigaciones u otras actividades conjuntas, será dada por los esfuerzos que consigamos movilizar.

(Centro de Investigaciones CIUDAD, Casilla postal 8311, Quito, Ecuador).
The Third World Center of the University of the Philippines published at the end of last year the first issue of its journal, Kasarinlan (Autonomy). As a way of saluting this new periodical, we reproduce below the opening article of its editor, Randy David.

This is the maiden issue of Kasarinlan, the quarterly journal of the Third World Studies Center. This new journal is meant to take the place of the mimeographed individual papers through which the Center, for the last eight years, has sought to introduce a Third Worldist approach to the manifold local, national and global problems facing humankind. This approach is characterized by the perception that the root causes of Third World poverty and oppression are to be found in the persistence of imperialist domination and of client authoritarian states. The vision that animates it is the quest for authentic national liberation, and popular democracy, people-oriented development, and world peace.

The primary objectives of Kasarinlan are:

1. to promote new paradigms for grappling with Third World realities;
2. to contribute to the formulation and clarification of alternative moves in the political, economic, and cultural spheres;
3. and to explore various ways of enriching and strengthening popular initiatives towards the desirable formation of society.

Kasarinlan is the Filipino word for autonomy. Webster’s Third New International Dictionary lists at least three important meanings of the term which resonate fundamental Third World aspirations: "1. the quality of being independent, free and self-directing; 2. the degree of self-determination or political control possessed by a minority group, territorial division, or political unit in its relations to the state or political community of which it forms a part and extending from local self-government to full independence; and 3. the sovereignty of reason in the sphere of morals or possession of moral freedom or self-determination".

Why Kasarinlan then? Why autonomy? Because this single word epitomizes the historic quest of all Third World peoples—of nations in search of nationhood, of ex-colonies seeking to complete the process of de-colonization, a quest that has been intercepted at almost every point by modern imperialism. The term also affirms the right to life and to self-directed growth, not only of individuals but also of entire nations and communities who must often exist in an environment characterized not simply by diversity, but by the hegemony of one group over others. And lastly, the word underscores the primacy of reason, a lesson that needs to be constantly reiterated because the process of history-making and history-writing in which we are engaged is so often fettered by the easy recourse to dogma, whether moral, intellectual or political.

Kasarinlan is being launched with the awareness that many journals often disappear after the first issue. This is especially true in the Third World where it is most tempting to allocate scarce funds to activities...
more overtly political than putting out a journal. Yet Kasarinlan is being launched also with the thought that much publishing and theorizing about the Third World is taking place in the capitals of the North. Must the North also now speak for us? Don't we have our own voices, must we not create our own spaces for articulating even just our own confusion?

Kasarinlan represents a deep yearning of the North to participate autonomously in the global debate. This is its most important rationale.

(Third World Studies Center, Room 428, Palma Hall, University of the Philippines, PO Box 210, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines).

PUBLICATIONS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR ETHNIC STUDIES

Ethnicity, far from disappearing in the modern world (as both liberal and socialist thinkers had hoped) is alive, and often vigorously re-assertive, in both North and South. The International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES) is concerned with comparative research into ethnicity, with an emphasis on conflict resolution. It is also vitally interested in women's issues and their interrelations with ethnicity.

ICES' first major monograph, From Independence to Statehood: Managing Ethnic Conflict in five African and Asian States, edited by Robert B. Goldman and A. Jeyaratnam Wilson, is published by Frances Pinter, London. Another volume of essays, Education and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities, edited by Dietmar Rothermund and John Simon, will be brought out shortly by the same publisher.

ICES has published reports in pamphlet form on workshops it has organised on the following subjects: The Judiciary in Plural Societies; Education and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities; Education and Ethnicity; Cultural Minorities of Sri Lanka; Ethnicity and the Status of Women. Also available are the texts of two lectures sponsored by ICES: "Social Action Litigation: the Indian Experience" (by Justice P.N. Bhagwati), and "Realities and Dreams: Ebb and Flow in the Politics of Separatism" (by Prof. W.H. Morris-Jones). These publications are available at US$1.00 each, inclusive of surface mailing charges. ICES also brings out a bi-annual journal, Ethnic Studies Report (subscriptions, inclusive of surface postage: per copy, US$8; annual, $15; for two years, $30). Cheques, bank drafts, payable to the International Centre for Ethnic Studies.

(International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 8 Kynsey Terrace, Colombo 8 or 554/1 Peradeniya Road, Kandy, Sri Lanka).
The Food Systems Group (FSG), one of three research teams of the Centre for Developing-Area Studies, McGill University, Montreal, was formed in 1984. It arose from a shared concern on issues of food supply and people's access to food, the most basic problem in Third World development.

Principles

Members of the FSG focus their concern around two principles:

1. the need to bring a range of disciplinary capacities to bear on the question of food.
2. the requirement that problems of hunger, malnutrition and other food-related issues be seen in systemic terms.

Following the first principle, membership of the FSG is drawn from the social, physical, agricultural and medical sciences. Each brings a special expertise to the study of food from nutrition, health and agricultural practice to public policy, consumption patterns and agribusiness.

Application of the second principle requires that FSG group members transcend their specific areas of interest to work as a multidisciplinary team. The systemic approach has been chosen to ensure this. Food issues demand more than specialized knowledge of any one technical or social concern; they go beyond the limits of sectoral analysis; and they act as the link from rural areas and communities to cities, nations and the international system.

The FSG has chosen, therefore, to deal with food as a whole. Production, distribution/processing, consumption, public policy and international factors make up the five principal elements of the food system. Subsets of these elements include:

- environment, agronomic practices, landownership and social unrest;
- transport and communication;
- nutrition, consumption levels and patterns;
- state policies affecting health, employment and education as well as credit, tax and investment;
- strategies (e.g. of modernization) at the national and international scales which affect what goods are produced, where, how and for whom, and establish the entitlement of different social, ethnic, gender and age groups to those goods.

The systemic approach emphasizes that, while each element is important in itself, it is the interaction among the elements which is of greater significance. The food system is to be seen as an interrelating whole.
**Practice**

The FSG is now in the third phase of its program of activities.

1. The first phase consisted of group discussions and defining the area of work.
2. The second phase took place in the Spring semester of 1985 with a series of ten seminars by group members entitled "Food Systems and Development: Self-sufficiency, Sustainability, Nourishment". A 120-page Discussion Paper with the same title was published by the Centre for Developing-Area Studies in 1985.
3. The third phase consists of a series of workshops around practical case studies. The aim is to prepare a concrete project proposal in cooperation with similar Third World groups. At present the FSG is in contact with such groups in Zambia, the Philippines, Nicaragua and Argentina.

(Further information from: Dr. Warwick Armstrong, Coordinator, Food Systems Group, Centre for Developing-Area Studies, McGill University, MacDonald-Harrington Building, Room CI03C, 815 Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal, Quebec H3A 1X8, Canada).

**HUMAN ECOLOGY: AN EDUCATION TO LIVE WITH**

Monroe Community College is developing a course of study called Human Ecology. Dubbed "Liberal Arts for the 21st Century", it offers a new option for the liberal arts student who wants a broad education, self-reliance skills, and holistic philosophy, while improving his/her credentials as a citizen of planet Earth. Under a grant from The Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education, fourteen MCC faculty members have created a degree not offered in any other community college in the country, and by only a handful of four-year colleges.

Students study in three areas: courses examining the biological, physical and social interdependencies of Spaceship Earth; courses studying the ethical and social aspects of technological development and alternatives such as Appropriate Technology; and courses that develop self-reliance skills in health, food, shelter and energy. Most courses are interdisciplinary and most require both theoretical and hands-on work.

The program grew from belief that present lifestyles and technologies could not be sustained, and forward-looking practical alternatives could be created. Over 350 students have enrolled in the seven courses offered as electives the first two years. The program has begun admitting students for the fall 1985 semester into a two-year liberal arts program. The group has prepared a bibliography, History of the Project to serve as a guide for others starting similar programs, and an evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of their program.

(Information from M. Garrett Bauman, Monroe Community College, 1000 E. Henrietta Road, Rochester, NY 14623, USA).
FROM BRAZIL:

I am a representative of the State of Sao Paulo in the Brazilian congress and an assiduous reader of IFDA Dossier. Last month, as a member of the Committee for the Indians, I had the opportunity to vote against a law-authorizing mining operations in an Indian reservation. My position is very close to the principles supported by Stavenhagen in the IFDA Dossier 50, as you will see from the attached copy of my vote.

Flino Arruda Sampaio, Sao Paulo.

DU BURUNDI:

Votre revue m'a aidé dans l'élaboration de mon travail de fin d'études universitaires. J'espère à mon tour contribuer, au moment opportun, à son avancement. J'en profite pour vous remercier sincèrement de l'acte que vous posez pour la jeunesse du Tiers Monde dont je fais partie.

Dwita Birusha H., Bujumbura.

DE COLOMBIA:

Con beneplacito he recibido los diferentes números de los documentos que ustedes recopilan, de todos los compañeros que se preocupan por una información veraz, provechosa y nutrida de elementos útiles para todos los lectores de los paises del Tercer Mundo. Una vez más les hago llegar mis sinceras felicitaciones.

Jaime Yanes Villamizar, Bogota.

FROM GHANA:

I have come across your publication IFDA Dossier and have found out that the articles it carries could help me tremendously in developing my studies here at the University. I am a second year student in social sciences. Most articles I read improved my understanding in certain aspects of my course. I am therefore requesting that I be included in your subscribers list.

Mwimbingeng Tanye Sylvester, Cape Coast.

FROM INDIA:

Congratulations for completing ten years of activities. I have been regularly receiving IFDA Dossier for the last 5 years. Thank you very much. I find it extremely useful. I am unable to find proper words to
express my gratitude. Really you are doing yeoman service. We will always be grateful to your organisation.

P.C. Sai Babu, Bapatla, Guntur district.

FROM NORWAY:

I thank you for your letter of 15 November. I should have written to you about a year ago about my subscription to the IFDA Dossier. I have for years been very impressed by the brilliant work done by you and your colleagues in bringing together and publishing this material. Accept my very good wishes for your future work.

Leif Holbaek-Hanssen, Eidsvågenaset, Bergen.

FROM THE PHILIPPINES:

Assalamu alaikum, warm greetings! Thank you for your kind response to our inquiry over CODEV. It is just sad that it did not materialize. Also, may I take the opportunity to salute the editor and staff of your IFDA Dossier. It is a VERY excellent journal and it is a "hit" here in our office.

Juanita Riconalla, Iligan City.

FROM ITALY:

Having been more-or-less with the IFDA Dossier from the start, I suppose the moment has come to take the hint of your 18 November letter and give some concrete demonstration of my support for the work you are doing. I am transfering 100.000 lire to your Italian account - as a gesture. I still very much appreciate the Dossier, but feel that perhaps the time has come to seriously consider an evaluation of how this work reacts to the eighty's, even though it was born in the seventies. Is it perhaps too much of a projection of the aspirations/frustrations of the "father figures" or "grand old man" who are stuck with the Executive Committee? Is it maybe too "alternative" in the pejorative and marginal sense of the word? Is it just time for spring cleaning? Or is it just that I am getting a bit old myself?

Brian MacCall, Rome.

FROM THE USA:

With reference to your letter of 21 November, please find enclosed a cheque (sfr.80) to cover some of the expenses for sending me your Dossier. I have been receiving and reading it for many years. The balance of its articles particularly appeals to me as it skillfully avoids the extremes of academic abstraction on the one hand and of technocratic myopia on the other.

Franz Bawmann, New York.
Documents mentioned in the following section are not available from IFDA but, depending on the case, from publishers, booksops or the address indicated after the description of the document.

LOCAL SPACE

Neera Desai & Vibhuti Patel, Indian Women, Change and Challenge in the International Decade 1975-85 (Bombay: Popular Prakashan Private Ltd, 1985) 101pp. This work makes a critical study of the path of development India is pursing as far as welfare of women is concerned. It reviews demographic profile, employment and unemployment situation, socio-cultural life, legal reforms, role of political parties and mass media, women's movement in India from women's point of view. (35-C Pandit Madan Malaviya Marg, Pop. Press Bldg, Tardeo, Bombay 400 034, India).

Fatima Mernissi, Beyond the Veil, Male-Female Dynamics in Muslim Society (London: Al Saqi Books, 1985) 198pp. Fatima Mernissi argues that the Islamic view of women as active sexual beings resulted in a stricter regulation and control of women's sexuality, which Muslim theorists classically regarded as a threat to civilized society. But the requirements of modernization are incompatible with traditional Muslim strictures, and the ensuing contradictions pervade nearly all Muslim countries. (26 Westbourne Grove, London W2, England).


Shimwaayi Muntemba (ed), Rural Development and Women: Lessons from the Field (Geneva: ILO, 1985) Vol.I 190pp; Vol.II, Sections 1 and 2 267pp. Brings to light information on those initiatives which have been "successful" in order to provide constructive examples to encourage more effective approaches, policies and projects. Through extended contacts with people concerned with rural poverty and/or active in project development and organisations in rural areas, nearly 50 initiatives, of which more than half are published in these two volumes, were identified in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, ranging from small-scale and locally initiated projects, sponsored and "interactive" projects and even popular movements which took on dimensions important to women's economic roles as a result of women's participation. (ILO, 1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland).

Dharam Chai and Ibrahim Kaduna (eds), Resources, Power and Women: Proceedings of the African and Asian Inter-regional Workshop on Strategies for Improving the Employment Conditions of Rural Women, Arusha, Tanzania, August 1984 (Geneva: ILO, 1985) 82pp. The lessons from the field give priority to a number of strategies. Firstly, effective participation - the freedom to organise - is the key to rural development. Without organisation poor rural women would not get their rightful share.
of the productive resources or participate in the decisions that affect their lives. Secondly, development and training of cadres/catalysts is essential since they play a critical role in sustaining people's initiatives. Thirdly, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other intermediaries need to be strengthened as they are often better equipped than governments to introduce innovative strategies and actions.


James P. Grant, La situation des enfants dans le monde 1986 (Genève/New York: UNICEF, 1986) 88pp. Décrit notamment en détail le formidable bond en avant de la vaccination dans de nombreux pays, qui sont désormais en mesure d'atteindre l'objectif fixé par les Nations Unies, la vaccination de tous les enfants d'ici 1990 - un objectif qui, s'il est réalisé, permettra de sauver trois millions et demi d'enfants en plus chaque année. Le rapport 1986 présente en outre de brefs comptes rendus provenant de 20 pays différents, qui illustrent les efforts accomplis pour mettre les connaissances actuelles à la disposition de tous les parents, afin de sauvegarder non seulement la vie, mais également le développement physique et mental normal de millions d'enfants.


Frederick L. Shiels (ed), Ethnic Separatism and World Politics (Lanham: University Press of America Inc., 1984) 313pp. From the Canadian glaciers across to the moors of Britain and to the high Pyrenees, down through the broad belt of Black Africa, the arid hills of Turkey, Iraq and the southern USSR to the riverbanks and deltas of South Asia, peoples are challenging nation-states. In one of the most perplexing trends of the second half of the 20th Century governments are being hounded, cajoled and defined by minorities within their societies - by ethnonationalism. Includes case studies of Canada, Spain, Yugoslavia, Nigeria, Pakistan and Bangladesh as well as an important bibliography; Index. (4720 Boston Way, Lanham, MD 20706, USA).

Doris Burgess, Jenny Pearce, Jenny Rossiter and Trish Silkin, Eritrean Journey (London: War on Want, 1985) 23pp. This book with 16 black and white plates, provides a unique insight into Eritrea and especially Eritrean women's lives. Despite the devastating cost in human suffering of the war, remarkable changes are taking place: around 2,000 barefoot doctors, midwives and other health workers have been trained; women's rights are protected by legal reforms such as land inheritance and divorce rights; new educational and literacy schemes; popular participation in local administration. (Three Castles House, 1 London Bridge St, London SE1 9SG, England).

Bjørn Stormorken, HURIDOCS Standard Formats for the Recording and Exchange of Information on Human Rights (Utrecht: HURIDOCS, 1985) 175pp. These Standard Formats are the result of two years endeavours by HURIDOCS to develop a set of bibliographic and documentation control tools to bring about a higher degree of standardization and compatibility between
organizations handling information on human rights. The Standard Formats are designed for both manual and computerized systems, are in conformity with existing professional documentation practice and have already been tested and adopted for use in a number of centres in the HURIDOC network. (Nieuwegracht 94, 3512 LX Utrecht, The Netherlands).


Carla Benelli (a cura di), Risorse genetiche vegetali: Autonomia di sviluppo (Crocevia, 1985) 50pp. (Via R. Cadorna 29, 00187 Roma, Italia).


Educational Foundation of Ayurveda, Proceedings of the Workshop on Traditional Systems of Medicine (Ayurveda and Siddha) and Primary Health Care (366 Trichy Road, Coimbatore 641 018, Tamilnadu, India) 72pp.


Thomas L. Blair (ed), Urban Innovation Abroad - Problem Cities in Search of Solutions (New York: Plenum Press, 1984). Constitutes an important addition to the current literature on the urban crisis in Third World countries. It focusses on the response to city poverty by public institutions providing a unique set of city studies dealing with Kingston, Delhi, Nairobi, Lusaka, Dacca, Lagos and Mexico City. The second part of the book relates the contrasting experiences in urbanisation and management in Africa South of the Sahara, China and Southern Europe. The third and final section discusses the validity of new towns using as examples Abuja (Nigeria), Dodoma (Tanzania), new towns in Malaysia as well as new towns in Britain. In his substantive introduction, Thomas Blair provides a useful framework for the study of urban innovations leading to greater self-reliance of urban populations in Third World cities. He emphasizes, i.a., the urgent need for exchange of information among the actors of the urban scene. His book provides a firm basis for this together with the following readers: Alan Gilbert, Urbanization in


. Mario Robirosa, Jorge L. Karol y Paulo Chiesa, Marco de referencia para una investigación sobre metodologías apropiadas de planificación de asentamientos humanos (Versión preliminar para críticas y comentarios), (FLACSO, N°29, 1985) 48pp. (Casilla 145, 1426 Buenos Aires, Argentina).


NATIONAL SPACE

. Carlos Avelino, Here and Now: In Order to Live Till XXI Century, Portuguese title "Aqui e Agora, para viver até o século XXI" (Sao Leopoldo: Editora Sinodal, 1985) 149pp. We are entering a generalized environmental crisis - a result of industrial consumer-oriented society - which may cause an agricultural collapse and worldwide starvation in a few years. This book presents documented data scarcely known by the public. Concrete data lead to the conclusion that a solution for the present world crisis can emerge with the birth - already taking place - of a new society, planetary and participative, which will not lend great importance to national frontiers, but instead will dissolve or democratize its armed forces, rebuild the economy on the principle of mutual help and give sexual love better possibilities for expressing itself. The book describes and discusses the advances being made in each of these different yet closely interlinked fields. Here and Now shows that in several parts of the world an entirely new concept of social development - with solid roots in the past - is being born as an alternative to the global crisis. It is an idea of society based upon simplicity, local action, self-management and respect for nature. (Rua Epifânio Fogaça 467, 93000 Sao Paulo, RS, Brasil).

. CORDES, Resultados y perspectivas de la economía ecuatoriana 1984-1985 35pp. (Casilla 11307 CCNU, Quito, Ecuador).

. José Pablo Arellano, Políticas sociales y desarrollo (Santiago: CIEPLAN, 1985) 329pp. Tras el análisis de la evolución histórica, que
ocupa un breve pero sustancioso capítulo preliminar, el autor centra su atención en dos áreas especialmente relevantes para el presente y el futuro de Chile: la vivienda y la seguridad social. En ambos casos el análisis, que supone un profundo diagnóstico de la situación actual, se proyecta sobre las soluciones que será preciso desarrollar en el futuro. (Av. Colón 3494, Santiago, Chile).

Latin American Bureau, Haiti: Family Business (London: 1985) 86pp. This book traces the historical origins of the "Duvalier system" and shows how and why it has survived until now. It examines the modern Haitian economy, the country's social structure and the role of the United States, for most of this century a key actor in Haitian political life. It also looks at the forces for change in a country which has in recent years undergone some economic modernization and assesses the future prospects of the "Duvalier system". (1 Amwell St, London EC1R 1UL, UK).

Latin American Bureau, Honduras: State for Sale (London: 1985) 132pp. This book traces the transformation of Honduras from banana enclave to the linchpin of US military strategy in the region. It analyses the elements which distinguish Honduras from its neighbours and explores the reasons why endemic poverty has not yet generated violent social conflict. This Special Brief also examines the way US influence has affected political and economic developments since 1980, making a solution to the country's abject poverty more remote than ever.

Arno Tausch and others, Development, Social Justice, and Dependence in Poland (Occasional Paper No.9, 1985) 42pp. (Faculty of Economics, University of Sydney, Australia).


large de la solidarité de destin qui devrait être la trame permanente et vivante des rapports entre ces peuples et les États du Moyen et Proche Orient face aux graves menaces de leur environnement et aux défis des lendemains. (ABS)


Gunter Long, Desertification: A bibliography with regional emphasis on Africa (Bremer Beiträge zur Geographie und Raumplanung Heft 4, 1982) 177pp. (Universität Bremen, Druckschriftenlager 03/3, Postfach 330 440, 2800 Bremen 33, FRG).

Ricardo Ffrench-Davis (ed), Dueda externa industrialización y ahorro en América Latina (Estudios Cieplan, 1985) 168pp. Con artículos de: José de Gregorio, Jaime Estévez, Robert Devlin, Sergio Bitar, José Pablo Arellano (Casilla 16496, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile).


GLOBAL SPACE

Hazel Henderson, Creating Alternative Futures. Twelve half-hour programs of discussions between Hazel Henderson, a leading futurist and author of The Politics of the Solar Age, and other well-known futurists, including Alvin Toffler, Dr. Fritjof Capra, Dr. Jean Houston and John Naisbitt, author of Megatrends in three video-cassettes. (Bullfrog Films, Oley, PA 19547, USA).


. UNCTAD, The History of UNCTAD 1964-1984 294pp. This book, prepared to mark the twentieth anniversary of UNCTAD, attempts to portray and assess the achievements of the Organization, as seen by its secretariat. It has been written by staff members of UNCTAD, past and present, in some cases individually and in others collectively. Part One reviews the activities and achievements in the general world economic context and against the background of the interdependence of economies and of activities in different areas. Part Two deals with particular topics, distinguished broadly along the lines of the various programmes adopted by UNCTAD intergovernmental organs and the corresponding work of the secretariat. Part Three covers other specific areas of UNCTAD work within the overall framework. Part Four contains an organizational chart of the intergovernmental machinery of UNCTAD, a list of selected UNCTAD meetings and reports and studies. (Sales No E.85.II.B.6).


. The Debt Crisis Network, From Debt to Development: Alternatives to the International Debt Crisis (Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 1985) 69pp. In this lucid and succinct survey, the Network undertakes a careful critique of the existing economic order and draws linkages between suffering in the US and abroad. In the last five years the living standards of the vast majority of the 2.5 billion people in the Third World have deteriorated sharply. The Third World debt burden, approaching 900 million dollars, is placing extreme hardship on the backs of the poor and working class, and in becoming the greatest threat to democracy in the Third World. From Debt to Development sets forth a series of innovative proposals that will broaden the debate. The document suggests that reforms in the international system be based on principles that reflect values of democratic representation, accountability, universality and a priority on meeting basic needs, and outlines measures to alleviate the swelling crisis and promote a more just development process. (1901 Que Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009, USA).

. Leelananda de Silva, The Debt Dilemma (New York: UNDP, 1985) 30pp. Since 1971, the long-term debt of Third World countries has increased
sevenfold. At the same time, the proportion of concessional lending has declined by 18% and commercial bank lending has increased—from 12% in 1971 to 39 per cent of the outstanding debt in 1983.


...Mahbub-Ul-Haq, Do We Dare? Address by the Minister for Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan, to the World Bank/IMF annual meetings, Seoul, 8-11 October 1985.

...Martin Abraham, The Lessons of Bhopal: A community action resource manual on hazardous technologies (Penang: IOCU, 1985). The 151-page Bhopal Manual critically analyses and addresses various aspects of the Bhopal catastrophe and its aftermath, including an overview of the Bhopal tragedy; the response of governments, industry, international agencies and community action groups and the pertinent policy issues. It also contains an exhaustive list of appendices and useful data sheets that would be an asset to public interest, citizens groups campaigning against the proliferation and dumping of high-risk or pollution-intensive production facilities in Third World. Available at US$16 from the IOCU Regional Office for Asia, POB 1045, Penang, Malaysia. The Manual is also being offered at a special rate of US$8 to support the activities of non-profit community action groups campaigning against the proliferation or transfer of hazardous technologies.

...ARENA, Bhopal — Licence to Kill, a 55-minute documentary (with English commentary), was made by a team of young and experienced Indian film makers who are also part of an independent Bombay based educational media trust "The Parallax Trust". It is the result of several hours of footage done over several visits to Bhopal covering a period of nine months. The role of the Government and State authorities in relation to the tragedy and its aftermath are brought out. It highlights the disinformation campaign that was set in motion by those responsible for the tragedy in total disregard to all those who were affected. The first-hand accounts of medical personnel, engineers, victims and scientists provide a unique insight into the mistakes and abrogated responsibilities that led up to the disaster and contributed to further deaths after the event. Copies on VHS-PAL 1/2" tapes are available at a price of US$100 per copy. Contact: ARENA, A-4, G-Blk, 2/F, Hung Hom Bay Centre, 104-108 Baker Street, Hung Hom, Kowloon, Hong Kong.


...Andrew Chetley, Cleared for Export: An examination of the European Community's pharmaceutical and chemical trade (Brussels: ICDA,1985) 75pp
European Community countries are responsible for 61.5% of all pesticides exports and 50% of the world trade in pharmaceuticals. It is therefore the view of a number of NGOs that the EEC should take a lead in introducing legislation to control the activities of European firms exporting these products to the Third World. Seven international networks of citizen groups - BEUC (European Bureau of Consumer Unions), EEB (European Environment Bureau), HAI (Health Action International), ICDA (International Coalition for Development Action), IOCU (International Organisation of Consumer Unions), PAN (Pesticides Action Network) and SAN (Seeds Action Network) - have launched a new Coalition Against Dangerous Exports (CADE) to press for the European Community and its member states to develop coherent policies to control the export to Third World countries of all pharmaceuticals and pesticides that are banned, severely restricted, withdrawn or unregistered in EEC countries. This report explains the dangers of current practices in the export of dangerous and inappropriate pesticides, drugs and other products to the Third World (and the threat to traditional agriculture of inappropriate seed varieties). It outlines initiatives taken at international level to regulate the activities of agrochemical firms and traces efforts made so far to press for European action to implement these agreements. (22 rue des Hollandistes, 1040 Brussels, Belgium), (cf. also pp.45-56 above).


Kim Forss, Planning and Evaluation in Aid Organizations (Stockholm: The Economic Research Institute, 1985) 390pp. This book deals with structures and processes in aid organizations. It shows how planning and evaluation work in practice in a comparative study of two organizations, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) Several examples of industrial development projects in Tanzania are used - some successful, some failures, with others somewhere in between. The aim is to learn from this experience - whether successful or not - and to delineate the potential
for more effective development cooperation. (Box 6501, 113 83 Stockholm, Sweden).


. UNIDO, Industry in the 1980s, Structural Change and Interdependence 228pp. This book contains a detailed review of the most relevant structural changes and industrial policy trends occurring in both North and South during the 1970s and early 1980s. Particular emphasis is placed on linkages between manufacturing and other sectors, notably agriculture, while the competitive performance of several key industries - textiles, steel, consumer electronics, wood and wood products - is analyzed in some detail. Topics which are the subject of special chapters include patterns of consumption in manufactures, the technology factor in North-South trade, employment and productivity, skill requirements in manufacturing and industrial conditions in the so-called "least developed" countries. (Vienna: Sales No E.85.II.B.)


. G.E. Gorman and M. Mahoney, Index to Development Studies Literature (UK: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1985) 266pp. A useful bibliographical tool even if the claim that this is "an international directory of the most important journal articles on all aspects of development" is not quite substantiated: among the missing sources are, for example, Environment Africa (Dakar); Cuadernos Cieplan (Santiago); Man and Development (Delhi); The Marga Quarterly Journal (Colombo); Economie et humanisme (Lyon); Development Dialogue (Uppsala) - not to mention the IFDA Dossier... (Molly Millars Lane, Wokingham, Berkshire RG11 2PY, UK).
PERIODICALS


. Alternatives Wallonnes (N°34, 1985): Le journal de l'autogestion et de la nouvelle coopération (Avenue Général Michel 1, 6000 Charleroi, Belgique).


. Asian Action (N°54, 1985): This newsletter of the Asian Cultural Forum on Development presents a collection on women in Bangladesh, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Nepal, Philippines, Thailand and Sri Lanka (GPO Box 2930, Bangkok, Thailand).


Cahiers Nord-Sud (Vol.1, N°2, 1985): "La faim dans le monde". Comptes rendus du premier cycle de formation aux relations Nord/Sud 1983/84 (CP 122, Univ. Libre de Bruxelles, 50 Avenue F.D. Roosevelt, 1050 Bruxelles, Belgique).


Chamiza (N°11, 1985): "Una radio para romper el silencio" (CEDECO, Casilla 906-A, Quito, Ecuador).


Christian Worker (3rd Quarter 1985): "Theology of liberation and the liberation of theology" by Bishop Alberto Iniesta (39 Bristol Street PO Box 381, Colombo 1, Sri Lanka).

Cono Sur (Vol.IV, N°5, 1985): "Las propuestas de Alan García" (FLACSO, 3213 Correo Central, Santiago, Chile).

Le Courrier (N°43, 1985): "L'année internationale de la jeunesse?" (Château de Machy, Chasselay 69380 Lozanne, France).


. European Centre for Work and Society News (Issue 8, 1985): "Fostering and financing of local employment initiatives" (PO Box 3073, 6202 NB Maastricht, The Netherlands).


- IDOC Internazionale (Anno XVI. Vol.16, 1985): An issue on South Africa with papers in Italian, English and Spanish (Via S. Maria dell' Anima 30, 00186 Roma, Italy)


. Interculture (N°88, 1985): "4e cahier sur l'éducation interculturelle" - also available in English (4917 rue Saint-Urbain, Montréal, Québec H2T 2W1, Canada).


. International DAMS Newsletter (Vol.1, N°1, 1985/86): This newsletter is intended to help citizens' organisations that are working to change policies on large dam construction throughout the world. It is being produced by a volunteer group of environmental acivists, concerned professionals and human rights advocates of different nationalities who have direct experience with the devastating impact these large dam projects have on the economy, environment and social fabric of their countries. (Fort Mason Center, Bldg. C, San Francisco, CA 94123, USA).

International Peace Research Newsletter (Vol.XXIII, N°4, 1985): "Peace studies at UN University" by Kinhide Mushakoji and Rajni Kothari (Ohio State Univ. 199 West 10th Ave, Columbus, Ohio 43201, USA).

Lettre urbaine (N°8, 1985): "Développement urbain participé - Dakar: quand les murs s'écroulent" par Mamadou Jean-Charles Tall (ENDA-RUP, BP 3370, Dakar, Sénégal).


Mujer Combattiente (N°17, 1985): "Instituto Lingüísticco de Verano - Dividir Para Reinar" (Apartado Aereo 4009, Bucaramanga, Colombia).

Multinational Monitor (Vol.6, N°15, 1985): "Coops: A developing alternative" (PO Box 19605, Washington DC 20036, USA).


Peace News (N°2259, 1985): "Six years of resisting cruise" (8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham 3, UK).

POLIS (N°34, 1985): "Party mobilisation at the grassroot level" (African Regional Office, POB 9002, Dakar-Palais, Senegal).


Prisma (N°37, 1985): "Women in development: the multiple effects" (PO Box 493, Jakarta 10002, Indonesia).

Raw Materials Report (Vol.4, N°1, 1985): "Transnational corporations and services: the final frontier" by Fredrick F. Clairmonte and John H. Cavanagh; and "World phosphate markets - new parameters" by Mohamed Bernoussi (PO Box 5195, 102 44 Stockholm, Sweden).

Recherches internationales (N°17, 1985): Table ronde sur: "Désarmement, sécurité, développement" avec Yves Goussault, Michel Rogalski et Alberto Santos (64 Ed Auguste Blanqui, 75013 Paris, France).

Regeneration (Vol.1, N°3, 1985): "Regenerative tech: some meanings, some models" (Rodale Press, 33 East Minor St. Emmaus, PA 18049, USA).

Simbayan (Vol.IV, N°3, 1985): "Notes on women and Christianity" by Jurgette A. Honculada and "A critique of a child nourishment program in Dumaguet" by Muriel Montenegro (POB AC 449, Quezon City, Philippines).


Socialismo y Participación (N°31, 1985): "Haya de la Torre: los escritos de 1923" por Carlos Delgado; y "La industrialización de la América Latina" por Fernando Fajnzylber (Apartado 11701, Lima 11, Peru).


Trade and Development (N°6, 1985): "What can developing countries gain from the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea?" by Elisabeth Mann Borgese; and "Women, technology and sexual divisions" by Amartya K. Sen (UNCTAD, United Nations, Geneva/New York).

Utne Reader (N°12, 1985): "The history of sex: damned if you do, damned if you don't" (PO Box 1974, Marion, Ohio 43305, USA).


Waraango (N°12, 1985): Dans son nouveau format offre, notamment, un article de Fatoumata Sow "Nairobi au féminin" (BP 1880, Dakar, Sénégal).


Women (N°26, 1985): An issue focussing on the Nairobi events. Some of the articles are reviews of the conferences, others were taken from the newspaper published daily during the Forum. Together they give an immediate impression of some of the concerns which were discussed in numerous workshops. The last section is an overview of the "Strategies to improve the status of women over the next 15 years". (WICAS, 150 Rte de Ferney, PO Box 66, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland).

Women's World (N°8, 1985): "Health to women" (ISIS-WICCF, PO BOX 2471, 1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland).

N.B. Listing a paper below does not imply that it will be published. Decisions in this respect are based on the need for a certain balance between themes, actors, regions and languages. The editors regret that time makes it impossible to engage in direct correspondence with authors about papers. Papers may be obtained directly from the author.

LOCAL SPACE

. CEPP (Centro de educación y promoción popular), CESAP (Centro al servicio de la acción popular) de Venezuela organiza III curso-taller Latinoamericano de comunicación popular (Casilla 870, Suc 12 de Octubre, Quito, Ecuador) 8pp.

. Harinder S. Lamba, Conference on "Rural Development in India" held at the University of Chicago, October 1985 - A brief report on the proceedings (India Dev. Service, POB 980, Chicago, Ill. 60690, USA) 3pp.

. Ramesh Manandhar, Somewhere architecture education went wrong... (KHA 1/822 Tahachal, Katmandu 4, 712, Nepal) 8pp.


. Ron Shegda, The Vision of a Regenerative Society (Rodale Press, 33 East Minor Street, Emmaus, PA 18049, USA) 19pp.


NATIONAL SPACE


. Jorge Osorio, Propuestas para el movimiento Chileno por la paz (CEAAL, Casilla 6257, Santiago 22, Chile) 5pp.

. Francisco R. Sagasti, Entre el Peru posible y el Peru deseado (GRADE, Apartado 5316, Miraflores, Lima 18, Peru) 18pp.

REGIONAL SPACE


. Carlos Francisco Echeverría, La iniciativa de la cuenca del Caribe (ICC) y el futuro de la region Caribena (Apartado 7-1790, San José, Costa Rica) 8pp.

GLOBAL SPACE

Bertram Gross and Kusum Singh, Global Unemployment: Challenge to Futurists (St Mary's College of California, Moraga, CA 94576, USA) 25pp.

Felix A. Ryan, UN at Cross Roads (8 West Mada St. Srinagar Colony, Saidapet, Madras 600 015, India) 6pp.

Francisco R. Sagasti, World Trends and the Challenges to Education (see over) 9pp.

(continued from page 2)

mic self-reliance to enable escape in all spaces from dependency, and seeks to develop criteria of 'enablement' for, inter alia, technology, training and public spending.

health creation as wealth creation. Health creation is often thought of as a social cost. Yet, as a fundamental aspect of human welfare, the promotion and maintenance of health should be regarded as a prime economic concern. TOES seeks to elaborate new economic approaches in which health creation is integrated into considerations of wealth creation.

social wealth. All economic activity involves social and financial costs and benefits, yet these are regularly ignored, devalued or discounted by economic analysis. TOES is working on the concepts of social accounting and social investment, so that the creation or otherwise of social wealth can be assessed alongside financial considerations.

the informal economy. Just as social wealth is neglected by much economic analysis, so the vast amount of useful, but cashless, work and production that is carried out in society is also routinely ignored. TOES is developing ways to make this sector more economically visible as a prelude to enabling more people, especially, but not only, those now unemployed, to become active and productive within it.

indicators of economic progress. The national accounts are seriously defective as indicators of economic progress in two main ways: they lack a systematic assessment of capital assets, including natural resources; the costs and benefits of human activity are aggregated in GNP in a largely meaningless fashion. TOES seeks to reform the national accounts by developing their capital side, including the incorporation of resource accounting, and by adjusting GNP, so that economic costs are subtracted from rather than added to it. These revised national accounts should be supplemented by social indicators, and by indicators of health and of the informal economy, of comparable importance to the national accounts, to give a realistic picture of the total economy.

(Further information from: 42 Warriner Gardens, London SW11 4DU, UK).
MICHEL ROCARD:
LES DEUX CULTURES POLITIQUES FRANÇAISES

Notre projet, quel est-il? Il faut, pour en parler, partir d'une constatation: il y a deux cultures politiques dans la gauche française. Ainsi est fait notre passé; c'est peut-être notre richesse. Mais le fait est qu'il en existe deux.

La plus typée, qui fut longtemps dominante, est jacobine, centralisatrice, étatique, nationaliste et protectionniste (...).

Cette culture-là a curieusement, en outre, l'autorité d'un marxisme capté par ceux qui n'en sont pas les vrais héritiers. Car, enfin, camarades, souvenez-vous! Le socialisme, qu'est-ce que c'est pour Marx, par-delà la victoire dans la lutte de classe, sinon le dépérissement de l'Etat, la société associative, l'organisation de la production sur la base de l'autodétermination des travailleurs? Voilà le marxisme. C'est ce marxisme-là, le vrai, qu'il faudrait redécouvrir contre Lassalle, Lénine et Jules Guesde. Car l'autre culture, qui réapparaît dans la gauche française d'aujourd'hui, elle est là. Elle est décentralisatrice, elle est régionaliste, elle refuse les dominations arbitraires, celles des patrons comme celle de l'Etat. Elle est libératrice, qu'il s'agisse de majorités dépendantes comme les femmes, ou de minorités mal accueillies dans le corps social: jeunes, immigrés, handicapés. Elle se méfie du règlement et de l'administration, elle préfère l'autonomie des collectivités de base et l'expérimentation.

(Congrès Socialiste de Nantes, 1977).