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PEOPLE'S POWER IN THE PHILIPPINES

by Marc Nerfin

The most optimistic did not believe it could happen so quickly, and yet Marcos, Imelda and cronies had to leave ignominiously the country they had oppressed and exploited for twenty years. How was it possible?

First, obviously, the situation was ripe in the sense that people could not endure more suffering (their livelihood, as bad as it already was, had deteriorated further in the last two years as a result of the economic crisis); the government was no longer in real control; the oppositions were getting stronger; and the US realized they might lose everything, their friend Marcos having become a liability.

But this was only the opportunity. Something had to be done to deliver the change society was pregnant with. To use a phrase from Father Ed de la Torre, a liberation theologian and famous dissidence figure just released from jail, what happened was the 'synergy' of several factors.

One was that the establishment's political class somewhat united and presented the Aquino-Laurel ticket. Cory Aquino was not only the widow of a slain opposition leader, she also represented something new, fresh, indeed pure. She was a woman. She inspired confidence.

Another factor was that, in spite of the position of the communist underground (both political and military), sectors of the left opposition which acted in the open, being more aware of the new realities of society, participated in the elections, not only through voting, but also through using the vote to organize people (for instance for the protection of ballot boxes). Third, some long-time allies of Marcos (his own Defense Minister and General Ramos) had to defect with the support of a few hundred young 'reform' officers. Fourth, the Church, from the bottom to the top, intervened openly (for instance, nuns brandishing crosses stopped tanks).

Above all, people, millions of people, occupied the streets of Manila and, inspired by Gandhi and Martin Luther King, invented non-violent means of action. The whole was greater than the sum of its components. This was the synergy. Still, the victory was essentially that of the people. Most factors were incidental, the latter was fundamental. That the Filipino people organized themselves does not come as a surprise to our readers, who have seen over the years accounts of their manifold empowerment processes. The sheer number of such accounts (and we could not publish all those we have received) was an indication that something was moving in the depths of society.

This is the message for all those still suffering under some yoke, military or other: whatever the repression, there is always some space which people's associations, social activists and committed intellectuals can utilize. (continued on page 103)
SHARING ONE EARTH
RESPONDING TO THE CHALLENGE OF RURAL POVERTY IN ASIA
ROLE OF PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS

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Abstract: The title of this paper was the theme of a Consultation held last year among South Asian people's associations*, and the paper is in fact the report on the Consultation. Its authors first describe in some detail the objectives and methodology of the meeting. Section II is a critical overview of mal-development in the region whereas section III reflects the experiences of people's associations in India, Srilanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Nepal. The following sections discuss the problems of organizing the rural poor; resource mobilization; the need for consolidation and solidarity among associations; and such major issues as women, ownership and control of natural resources, environment and another development. The paper is twice as long as the usual Dossier format, but its richness, both methodological and substantive, made us decide to publish it in two parts. The second part (section IV through the Recommendations) will appear in Dossier 54. The major conclusion of the Consultation, however, appears already here: the only way to another development is the empowerment of the people.

UNE SEULE TERRE
REPONSE AU DEFI DE LA PAUVRETE RURALE EN ASIE
LE ROLE DES ASSOCIATIONS POPULAIRES

Résumé: Le titre de cet article a été le thème d'une Consultation organisée l'an dernier entre associations populaires de l'Asie méridionale, et l'article est en fait le rapport de la Consultation. Les auteurs décrivent d'abord en détail les objectifs et la méthode de la réunion. La section II est une analyse critique du mal-développement dans la région, tandis que la section III examine les expériences des associations dans cinq pays (Inde, Srilanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan et Népal). Les sections (suite à la page 16)

*Editor's note: Words are never innocent. The phrase 'non-governmental organization (NGO)' seems to us politically mistaken because it implies that government is the centre of society, and people its periphery. Further, 'NGOs' usually evokes Western 'aid' organizations. To insist, as the Consultation so rightly did, on the self-reliance and empowerment of the people requires also some semantical cleaning up. We did not amend the text, only the title, but 'NGOs' must be understood here to mean people's associations.
Nighat Said Khan and Kamla Bhasin

SHARING ONE EARTH
RESPONDING TO THE CHALLENGE OF RURAL POVERTY IN ASIA
ROLE OF PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS

1. THE CONSULTATION

About half of the world's poor live in South Asia. It is generally agreed now that the development strategies and programmes implemented during the last three decades have failed to attack the causes of rural poverty. The benefits of whatever growth has taken place have not trickled down. Landlessness has increased and so has poverty, unemployment and inequality. Peasants, landless people, the small fisher-folk, plantation workers and women have been marginalized. In addition the very resource base of the people is being rapidly destroyed.

In most South Asian countries, local and national "Non-Governmental Organizations" (NGOs) have been actively involved in experimenting with innovative approaches to fight exploitation and to initiate a process of participatory development. These efforts have been supported by NGOs from the North.

For over ten years the FAO Freedom from Hunger Campaign/Action for Development (FFHC/AD) has tried to strengthen these attempts by facilitating horizontal communication between like-minded NGOs within and between countries in Asia. Through a series of consultations, workshops, training programmes and through the production and distribution of relevant documents, FFHC/AD has encouraged collective reflection and the creation of linkages between NGOs. With the same objective FFHC/AD contributed to the creation of the Asian Cultural Forum on Development (ACFOD) and has been supporting other regional networks like the Pacific and Asian Women's Forum. FFHC/AD has also provided services to NGOs from industrialized countries, helping them to build contacts with South Asian NGOs.

Objectives of the Consultation

To carry on this process of horizontal communication and collective reflection (in other words South-South and South-North dialogue), FFHC/AD organized in May 1985 a five day South Asian Consultation in collaboration with the Association of Development Agencies in Bangladesh. The objectives of this consultation were:

- facilitating a sharing of ideas and experiences among like-minded NGOs from South Asia and from the North and strengthening linkages between NGOs in the national, regional and international spaces;
evolving a common understanding of the present nature of rural poverty in South Asia and the major issues faced by the industrialized countries and the challenge they pose to all concerned;
initiating a discussion on major issues faced by NGOs in South Asia and in industrialized countries;
seeking to evolve a common understanding on the strategies for future action.

Location

The Consultation was held in the training centre of Porshika, Centre for Human Development in Kotïta, Manikanj, a tiny village about 60 kilometers outside Dhaka. The isolation and seclusion of this centre provided the atmosphere necessary for the type of intensive, informal and continuous interaction between the participants so essential to a Consultation such as this.

Participants

Forty six persons, 15 of whom were women, participated in the Consultation. The majority of the participants were senior workers and decision makers of major NGOs working in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka with whom FFHC/AD has been working for several years. The selection of the participants was planned so that the Consultation would reflect the major areas and the different levels of development work. There were, for example, NGOs who are trying to organize the rural poor, that is, landless people, marginal farmers, tribals, fish workers, artisans and plantation workers. Some of them are organizing around the issues of land and resources; some are addressing themselves to environmental issues; and many are making efforts to understand the special needs of poor, working class women and helping them get organized. Similarly, several of the NGOs are concentrating their efforts on sectors such as health, nutrition, family planning, non-formal education, people's science and development communication.

Among the participants were also action researchers who are using their research to strengthen the processes of empowering the poor as well as developing research methodologies that allow a closer relationship between research and action. Other participants represented NGOs whose main task is to service grassroots level NGOs and to provide a forum through which grassroots NGOs might interact and develop a dialogue and solidarity among themselves.

There were also four participants representing Regional (Asian) NGOs; a further four were from NGOs from the North who also act as donors and there were two representatives from FFHC/AD. The selection and combination of the group thus represented not just a diversity of grassroots level work and the diversity of the issues and concerns in the development process, but also the diverse backgrounds of those attempting to influence the development process so that it becomes more people oriented. In all, the participants were highly motivated, committed and idealistic people, many of whom had given up comfortable and lucrative careers to work towards the creation of a more just society.
Methodology of the Consultation

Since the purpose of the Consultation was not on completing a predetermined agenda nor at arriving at well formulated conclusions and recommendations, the methodology was to keep the interaction informal and open-ended within an overall structure determined by the participants themselves. This informality and openness allowed an opportunity not only for personal interaction and getting to know each other's work, but it also encouraged a flow of ideas and the type of dialogue necessary for developing a common understanding of the issues.

The overall structure determined by the participants meant also that, with the exception of the first day, the timing of the sessions were fixed by the group. The sessions started at 8.30 a.m. and went on until about 6 p.m. After dinner there were audio visual presentations by the participants about their work. These were normally followed by discussions.

How it actually functioned - self-introductions

The Consultation started with self-introductions by the participants. This meant that each participant spoke briefly about his/her background, motivation and his/her work. The participants took from 5 to 20 minutes and since each decided the importance of what they wanted to share, no group pressure was put on limiting the introduction in terms of either time or content. Thus the first two days were spent almost entirely on self-introductions, but this process served the dual purpose of the participants getting to know each other (many of them were familiar with each others' work but had never actually met) and of ensuring that everyone got a chance to speak about themselves and of their concerns. Many of the themes picked up later by the group were identified at this initial stage by the participants themselves. This was an important factor in the relevance of the discussions that followed.

The presentations - country, donor NGOs and special issues

The self-introductions were followed by country presentations. A participant from each country had been requested in advance to prepare a country presentation according to a common format. The format specified, among other issues, that the presentations should address themselves to the situation and trends of rural poverty in each country; the main reasons for such poverty; government programmes being implemented to deal with the situation; and the responses and activities of NGOs.

There was also a presentation on NGOs in the North which act as donors. Since the donors so often influence NGO activity in the Third World and since an interaction and a partnership between the two is necessary for effective programmes, this was considered essential. The donor NGO presentation provided information on donor attitudes; programmes (especially those addressing themselves to rural poverty in the Third World); constraints within their own organization vis-a-vis funding, etc.; and the ideological biases of their operations within those countries as well as in their operations in the Third World.
From the self-introductions and country presentations, various common themes emerged (despite the differences in ideology, vision, nature, level and strategy of work). Most participants, for instance, agreed at this stage that development in South Asia was similar and also interlinked. In each country, the situation of the rural poor was deteriorating to the extent that there was now an urgent need for a concerted effort to reverse this trend, an effort that will probably also have to be regional because of the physical, ecological, developmental and political oneness of the region. Similarly, despite differences in the individual and country experiences of the NGOs, there was a consensus that thus far the NGOs have focussed their attention on the delivery of services to the rural poor, but that these efforts would not change the situation in any substantial or fundamental way unless the root causes of poverty were themselves attacked. This could only be done by helping the poor to organize themselves so that they be empowered to bring about the structural changes needed for a more just society.

It was decided that certain aspects needed to be exhaustively discussed and that this could best be done in smaller workshops. Discussion of these aspects had however to keep in focus the three major concerns identified by the group as a whole. These concerns were further highlighted by three somewhat impromptu presentations on:

- the continuing and dangerous depletion of the resource base in the region (land, water, forests, etc.) which endanger the very existence of the majority of the people;
- the existing experiences and attempts that should be made to mobilize public opinion and to organize the rural poor to challenge the negative and anti-people development in South Asia, and to initiate the process of empowering the poor;
- the specific situation, experiences and struggles of rural, working-class women in South Asia;

The workshops, informal discussions and the discussions in the plenary

Four groups were formed to discuss the following aspects:

- the need and rationale for organizations of the rural poor; the different NGO strategies; and a collective evaluation of the attempts made so far and the efforts that will need to be made;
- the mobilization of funds and other resources needed for organizations of the rural poor; and the relationship and notion of partnership necessary between 'donors' and action groups in South Africa;
- the need for consolidation of NGO activity and solidarity between NGOs themselves and between NGOs and researchers, communicators, professionals, etc., in the local, national, regional and international spaces;
- the vision and concept of an alternative development.
Each group had between 7 to 14 persons. Workshop discussions took about a day and a half. Three of the four groups started their deliberations by listening to the experiences, knowledge and views of each group member, although there was no prior agreement that this procedure would be followed. This process not only rooted the discussions, but also gave further opportunity for the participants to get to know each other. Apart from informal discussions with the larger group that took place outside the workshops, each workshop group came to the plenary for interim reactions before finalizing their own conclusions. These conclusions and recommendations were then again discussed in plenary so that the overall findings, conclusions and recommendations reflected the opinions of most participants. This last was not difficult because what emerged was a remarkable similarity of understanding on the major issues that could provide the basis for a consolidation and collaboration of NGO efforts on specific issues; and for the regional solidarity necessary for any effective change to occur. Since the Consultation ended on a regional note, the regional NGOs, ACFOD and ANGOC, briefly described their work. The FFHC/AD programme for the region was also described in detail. This last was particularly important since the recommendations of the Consultation followed the lines of activity already started by FFHC/AD.

Meeting the purpose - How the methodology functioned and the reactions of the participants to the Consultation

With the exception of a few dissenting voices (significantly from those with backgrounds in academics and/or donor NGO experience) who thought the deliberations could have been either more structured and/or more specific, the group as a whole reacted very positively to the setting, the pace and the methodology used for the Consultation. In the evaluation of the Consultation done in the last session, each individual was asked to give a personal assessment/evaluation of the five days spent together. The consensus was that the selection and the combination of the participants played a very important role in making the Consultation a success, for it allowed the discussions to focus on the many aspects of the problematique; that the variety of groups represented gave strength to individual concerns and that each individual learnt a lot from the others. Generally, the informality of both the living arrangements and the discussions allowed a personal interaction that the group agreed was essential to building bridges across activities within countries as well as building bridges across national boundaries. Exchanges such as these, it was felt, help break the feeling of isolation so often experienced by those struggling in the field and this new experience of a shared vision gave both strength and a new motivation to many of the participants. At the same time some activists expressed an enthusiasm for the opportunity provided by the Consultation to "reflect on a lot of ideological issues that are lost sight of in activity", while researchers discovered ways by which their own work might be made more relevant; and both felt a greater need for a synthesis of action and research.

A note on the following presentation

Because the Consultation did not follow a preconceived and predetermined agenda, the discussion of issues sometimes tended to overlap. Also the
(somewhat surprising) commonality of experiences, understanding and conclusions meant that many times the issues and conclusions in the self-introductions, the presentations, the workshops and the plenaries made for considerable repetition. This report therefore does not strictly follow the deliberations except inasmuch as it takes into consideration the themes that emerged. Instead, the major issues are reported in such a manner as to bring together points made in the course of the five days and not necessarily in the course of the particular discussion on an respective issue. For example the section on Generalizations on the Region is taken not only from the country presentations, but also from the discussions in the plenary, the workshops (particularly that on alternative development) from individual experiences, analyses, etc.

II. GENERALIZATIONS ON THE REGION

The discussion in the Consultation started with country presentations from each of the five countries. Their purpose was to give an overview not only of the situation of rural poverty in the respective countries, but also the causes and ramifications of such poverty. In addition, each presentation was to discuss the responses and measures taken to alleviate it by the government and by NGOs. What emerged is that despite the specificities of each country, there is a remarkable similarity of experience not only in terms of the rural poverty situation, but also in the nature of development that has occurred. Agriculture and the rural sector, for instance, dominate in the region and in this sector a majority of the population falls below the poverty line. In India and Pakistan, according to the more optimistic figures, the percentage of the rural poor is at least 50% although in both countries, it was argued, the actual percentage is probably higher. In Bangladesh, the number of persons falling below the poverty line is 83%. Regardless of these percentages and how they might have been calculated, the overwhelming similarity was that in each of the countries, rural poverty was increasing in both absolute and relative terms, and that this increase was the direct result of the economic policies pursued by the respective governments.

A critique of development

In the region as a whole, the nature of development has been the development of capitalism, not least because, with the exception of Nepal, the region has been linked to the world capitalist system initially through colonialism and, since independence, through foreign assistance, loans and trade. Development in the region therefore has neither been independent nor "appropriate" in that it has not been based on the needs of the majority of the people nor on the specificities of the natural terrain or local institutions. This type of 'subsidiary' development that links into and serves industrial development elsewhere (predominantly that in the
West but also in the Communist bloc and, more recently, in industrialized countries like Japan) applies to both agricultural and industrial development both of which in any case are linked.

The development of agriculture has been based on producing more food, on the production of cash crops and on generating a surplus for industrial growth, but in each case it has been for the benefit of the urban sector. The concentration on food, for instance, was not so that the rural poor would be better fed but so that there would be enough food for the urban sector and for export. Since agriculture was meant to feed the urban sector and to provide a surplus for the growth of industry, agricultural development was biased towards the larger farmers who had the capacity to produce the surpluses required. The encouragement of the development of capitalism in agriculture led to an increasing control by large farmers of the resources available (particularly, but not only, land) and this led to the displacement of a large number of tenants from the land, as well as the 'squeezing out' of the smaller landowners. The specific nature of the type of agricultural development pursued in the region was responsible therefore for the increasing landlessness, peasant differentiation and the marginalization of the rural poor, particularly those directly dependent on natural resources (in India these constitute 50% of the people); and particularly women who not only are the first to get marginalized but for whom few alternative occupations exist.

At the same time, the type of industrialization encouraged in the region has been capital- rather than labour-intensive although it has been geared more towards the mass production of cheap consumer items than to heavy industry. Thus, on the one hand, it has been unable to absorb those displaced from the rural sector and on the other has compounded the unemployment situation of the rural poor by destroying indigenous cottage industry and artisanal activities and by making traditional skills redundant.

This type of development has required infrastructural and energy inputs that have led to the depletion of natural resources and a further marginalization of those dependent on these resources. Thus the building of roads, dams, irrigation schemes; the exploration of oil, coal, gas, and other natural resources; the need for wood, etc., has not only, in many cases, forced out the rural poor from the areas of these activities, but has taken away from the rural poor the control of, and access to, the very resources on which they depend.

The decision-makers and political control

While much of this has occurred because the economy and development of the region has been linked to the world market
and the Western political system, it has been carried out within these countries by the local power elite. This class is the product not only of traditional economic power, but of a 'western' bias, both in terms of policy and in terms of lifestyles and demands. Thus the concentration on 'western' consumer goods; on 'western' education; on 'western' development and on 'western' political structures; all of which serve to perpetuate this class by widening the gap between those who rule and those who are ruled.

But economic power and cultural distance are not in themselves enough for this class to perpetuate itself, and increasingly military power is being used as a means of domination and control. This is encouraged by the Super Powers for their own political and economic purposes. The Super Powers have been linking economic assistance to military assistance and political control, with the result that defence budgets in the region siphon off a large percentage of the national budgets. In Pakistan and Bangladesh, the percentage of the national budget spent on defence ranges from 60-70%, while the amount spent in India (25%) is at least as much, if not more, in real terms. This level of spending can only be sustained at the expense of the poor, but since it relates to the overall nature of development, to the perpetuation of a dominant class and to super power interests, it is unlikely that this trend will change. In fact there is no indication from any of the countries in the region that the type of policies pursued so far will be changed by the dominant class because they are based on the short-term interests of minorities and not on the long-term interests of the people as a whole.

The future and the rural poor

Since there are no indications that any real changes will occur, there is every likelihood that capital intensive industrialization and the resulting urbanization will continue to spread; that the natural resources will be further depleted; and that the rural poor, on whom such policies have had a disastrous effect, will be further impoverished and marginalized.

The urgency of the situation for the rural poor cannot be overemphasized because, in effect, these policies have virtually resulted in a war on the rural poor, a war that shows no signs of abating. The rural poor must therefore be empowered not only to fight back, but to regain the ownership and control of the resources that were originally theirs. There is an urgent need, therefore, for an agency other than the State and Corporate Power (the two agencies responsible for the present type of development and the two directly responsible for waging the "war against the rural poor") to work towards the empowerment of the rural poor and for another development.
An alternative - from where?

This alternative 'agency' and alternative development cannot be provided by the traditional political parties since, even where they are not allowed political expression (as in Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh), they are still a part of the dominant power structure. Nor, given the experiences of the last few decades, does it appear than an alternative can be provided by the traditional left. Theoretically, the left does offer a basis for an alternative system which is people rather than dominant class oriented, but this alternative is invariably based also on industrialization and on state ownership and control. While this system distributes access to national resources and guarantees employment, it does not return the ownership and control of these resources to the people. Even if the left reconsiders the concept of state ownership, the problem of how to arrive at the left alternative still remains. The means of "arrival" for the left is based on classic class contradictions which must be resolved by the victory of the working class (urban and rural) over the urban and rural bourgeoisie. This however has not proved to be viable, for while class contradictions do exist in the region, individual classes themselves are differentiated by caste, gender, urban-rural, land based and other resource based contradictions. This influences classical class formation as does the fact that class formation in predominantly rural but yet industrialized societies is not as clear in reality as in theory.

Since theory has tended to influence traditional left practice, and since there are few indications that the traditional left is changing its position, an alternative to the traditional left was also considered essential - an alternative that would not negate the diverse processes of production presently practiced by the rural poor. In a forum that was bringing together a wide range of NGOs working in multiple and diverse ways to empower the rural poor, it was thought possible that such an alternative agency and an alternative vision of development could be provided by such NGOs if they could agree on a common alternative and a common programme of mutual linkages, support and collaboration.

III. AN OVERVIEW OF THE NGOS IN SOUTH ASIA

There are literally thousands of NGOs in the region, but most of these are charity or social welfare oriented organizations. Each country in the region, however, has a different experience of NGOs from which a regional generalization is not possible, except inasmuch as there are similarities in trends and problems and in the attitude of the respective governments towards them. The experience of each country, therefore, must be discussed separately and the similarities and commonalities brought together at the end of this section.
The NGO experience in India

India has the longest history and the widest experience of NGOs working with the rural poor. Prior to 1947 and not unrelated to the Independence Movement, NGOs encouraged the development of handicrafts, participated in the struggles for social reform and for the development of the Harijans. In the 1950s the demands shifted to ones asking for restoring land and other resources to the rural poor. Both Ghandian and Marxist groups participated in these and this gave impetus to a fairly wide spread of NGO movements encompassing various rural sectors. Many of these focussed on empowering the rural poor but they were co-opted or suppressed as the state saw fit.

By the 1960s most of the indigenous movements, such as the encouragement of handicrafts, had been taken over by the state, by which time it was also clear to the NGOs that the poverty situation could not be reversed by working within the system. Yet working outside it meant that the NGOs were subject to government harassment and control. This dilemma remains unresolved and is in fact compounded by the state contradiction that, while effective NGOs are suppressed, the government is also increasingly allocating resources to NGOs and recognizing the role the NGOs can play (the 7th Five-Year Development Plan for instance has a separate chapter on NGOs). But it appears that this move is more towards the control of NGO activity than an encouragement of it for, by funnelling resources through its own channels and by controlling foreign funds to NGOs, the Government can oversee NGO activity and can direct it towards its own purposes.

The NGO experience in Sri Lanka

There are well over 100 NGOs operating in Sri Lanka which have rural projects/programmes of one kind or another. These NGOs can be classified in four broad groups: (a) those engaged in purely social service and welfare activities; (b) those engaged in development projects of one kind or another; (c) those engaged in educational, research or issue-oriented agitational or mobilization activities; and (d) those working with the rural poor, conscientising and organizing them to undertake collective initiatives to improve their social and economic status.

The majority of the NGOs fall into either (a) or (b) and provide relief services, welfare services for children, shramadana activities for rural infrastructures, health and nutrition programmes, provision of lavatories and wells, and skill training for self-employment. In general, there is no attempt to create an awareness among the communities about the causes of poverty or the socio-economic reality that confronts the poor. Most of these NGOs also work with total communities without a proper discrimination between the rich and the poor, ignoring the contradictions that exist in the rural areas. The status quo of rural power structures remains undisturbed.

Only a few NGOs can be classified under (c) or (d). Those in (c) are either engaged in research and dissemination through workshops and publications and other educational activities for awareness building (largely on macro issues) or creating public opinion on selected issues.
of importance to the rural population (e.g. operation of agri-business or violation of human rights). The few NGOs in category (d) work directly with the rural poor. They attempt to create an awareness among them and promote organisations of the poor to improve their social and economic status. There is a definite need therefore for this last type of NGO to increase in number and effectiveness, but with this increase there is every likelihood that the government will attempt to control the activities of such NGOs.

The NGO experience in Bangladesh

Apart from the various social welfare NGOs, three types of NGOs exist in Bangladesh. The first are the target oriented groups that are uniting people to fight for and to implement economic programmes or for strengthening their receiving mechanisms. Others are involved in consciousness raising and mobilizing the poor, and yet others, particularly the foreign NGOs, use the community development approach. All three types identified above try to base their programmes on the participation of the people and see themselves only as facilitators. They argue that the task of the NGO is to help the poor help themselves and, by and large, the NGOs in Bangladesh consider their role as having been particularly effective in a country still suffering from the damages of a devastating war of liberation. It is estimated by ADAB that 10% of the total population is serviced by NGOs. This may be correct given the number and size of such NGOs, the size of the committed cadre and the amount of donor funds available. Despite this, however, there is a growing dissatisfaction among the NGOs that the issue of poverty itself is a political issue and that, while the NGOs themselves are not facing up to this, the Government is aware enough to initiate moves towards financial control of NGO work.

The NGO experience in Pakistan

While the rural poor have, from time to time, organized on their own behalf and have struggled for their rights, few NGOs work towards empowering the rural poor. However a number of NGOs do exist in Pakistan, but most of these are "charitable" or "social welfare" organizations acting as "middlemen" with a top down approach. This is true not only of those run by upper-class women involved in social work, but also community-based NGOs which tend to be run by local leaders. Exceptions to this are when villagers come together as action groups for specific activities such as building water channels or storage facilities or for jointly purchasing agricultural inputs, but few of these actions solidify into organizations.

Some "innovative" initiatives do exist, primarily in the urban centres and usually extremely well financed. Those in the rural areas tend to be organized by Christian Missionary groups or some by national NGOs. While these have met a measure of success in their work, they are still not, with a few exceptions, focussing on mobilizing and empowering the rural poor and especially not on class lines and nor is there much of an attempt to make the rural poor self-reliant even for economistic measures. Despite the general ineffectiveness of the NGOs in creating awareness and in mobilizing the rural poor, the Government is still moving towards
controlling whatever activities do exist and ensuring that these activities serve its purpose rather than the rural poor, or the NGOs determining their own.

The NGO experience in Nepal

There is a growing consensus on the ineffectiveness of the bureaucratic and administrative capability to handle the situation of rural poverty and more and more people are turning to the role of NGOs to provide the impetus. Even the King recently emphasised the need to encourage NGOs to take an active part in the development of the country. However while Nepal, as all other countries in the region, has a history of traditional institutions, these do not necessarily work towards empowering the rural poor, although they do work for the rural poor in localized efforts based on caste, ethnic or religious lines. Besides this, there are now some "modern" NGOs providing social services, or those based on class or occupational lines. But in Nepal these are entirely Government supported, administratively and financially, and hence these NGOs can be seen more as quasi-Government institutions than as independent NGOs. The need for independent NGOs definitely exists and there is a possibility of using traditional institutions for this purpose, but a conducive political environment and legal provisions will have to be initiated by the Government before such NGOs can emerge and this does not appear to be happening.

NGOs in the region - a generalization

Despite the specific experiences of each country, certain trends did emerge which are worth noting. To begin with, although there are countless non-governmental organizations, only a fraction of these work towards empowering the rural poor and even those that do focus on this aspect tend to be micro organizations dealing with local issues. Thus fragmentation and isolation are key problems. And yet the need for such NGOs is immense given the fact that it was agreed that the poor do not have a future in these countries if they are left to face the future alone. NGOs working for the empowerment of the poor must consolidate their efforts, they must support each other and they must expand if they are not themselves to be marginalized and, sooner or later, controlled and/or suppressed. The governments in each of the countries in the region are working towards co-optation or control of NGO activities and the NGOs must use what time and space they have at the moment to come together, not only to fight to reverse this trend, but to reverse the very process that "development" is taking at the moment. But, given the problems, the limitations and the constraints of the NGOs, how exactly do they do this? These and other considerations were discussed in some detail particularly in the workshops.

(The second part of this report will appear in Dossier 54).
(suite de la page 3)

suivantes analysent tour à tour les problèmes de l'organisation des ruraux pauvres; la mobilisation des ressources; le besoin de solidarité entre associations; et certains thèmes essentiels comme les femmes, la propriété et la maîtrise des ressources naturelles, l'environnement, et un autre développement. Cet article est deux fois plus long que le format usuel du Dossier, mais sa richesse méthodologique et politique nous a fait décider de la publier en deux parties. La seconde partie paraîtra dans le Dossier 54. La conclusion principale de la Consultation apparaît cependant d'ores et déjà: la seule voie vers un autre développement passe par l'affirmation du pouvoir des pauvres (empowerment).

UNA SOLA TIERRA
RESPUESTA AL DESAFÍO DE LA POBREZA RURAL EN ASIA

LA FUNCIÓN DE LAS ASOCIACIONES POPULARES

Resumen: El título de este artículo ha sido el tema de una Consultación organizada el año pasado entre asociaciones populares del Asia meridional, y el contexto del artículo es el reporte de la Consultación. En primer lugar los autores describen detalladamente los objetivos y el método de la reunión. La sección II es un análisis crítico del mal-desarrollo en la región, mientras que la sección III examina las experiencias de las asociaciones en cinco países (India, Sri-Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan y Nepal). Las siguientes secciones analizan uno tras otro los problemas de la organización de los rurales pobres, la movilización de los recursos, la necesidad de solidaridad entre asociaciones, y algunos temas esenciales tales que la mujer, la propiedad y el dominio de los recursos naturales, el medio ambiente, y otro desarrollo. Este artículo es dos veces más largo que el formato usual del Dossier, pero su riqueza metodológica y política nos ha decidido de publicarlo en dos partes. La segunda parte aparecerá en el Dossier 54. Sin embargo, la conclusión principal ya aparece: la única vía hacia otro desarrollo pasa por la afirmación del poder por los pobres.

(continued from page 102)


. Pushpendra K. Jain, The Role of University in Youth Development (University of Zambia, Lusaka Campus, POB 32379, Lusaka, Zambia) 8pp.

GLOBAL SPACE


16
RESPONSE TO THE POLISH CRISIS
CONSUMER MUTUAL AID: ADAPTATION OR CHALLENGE?

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Abstract: On the basis of the observations and analyses of the Polish society's behaviour during the 1980-85 crisis the author formulates the hypothesis that it represented more than just a process of adaptation to a crisis situation. He sees it rather as a form of self-organization of the society. He analyses the situation of the individual consumer in the centrally-planned economy, starting with the consumer's legal, economic and institutional situation. He then analyses the "queue society" describing its organization, the interpersonal dimension of consumer goods, alongside the emergence of informal mutual aid groups. In the third part the author discusses how much these mutual aid groups can be considered as a new form of society's organization and in what way they coincide with world trends.

REPRISES A LA CRISE POLONAISE
L'AIDE MUTUELLE ENTRE CONSOMMATEURS: ADAPTATION OU DEFI?

Résumé: Observant et analysant le comportement de la société polonaise - surtout de sa classe moyenne - face à la crise de 1980-85, l'auteur formule l'hypothèse que ce comportement représente plus qu'un simple processus d'adaptation à la crise. Il y voit plutôt une forme d'auto-organisation de la société. Il examine la situation du consommateur individuel dans une économie centralement planifiée, en montrant d'abord les aspects légaux, économiques et institutionnels. Il analyse ensuite la 'société de queue', décrivant son organisation, la dimension interpersonnelle des biens de consommation et l'émergence de groupes spontanés d'aide mutuelle. Dans une troisième partie, il examine dans quelle mesure de tels groupes peuvent être considérés comme une nouvelle forme d'organisation de la société et comment ils coïncident avec les tendances mondiales.

RESPUESTAS A LA CRISIS POLACA
AYUDA MUTUA DE LOS CONSUMIDORES: ADAPTACIÓN O DESAFÍO?

Resumen: El presente artículo contiene observaciones acerca del comportamiento de la sociedad polaca - especialmente de su clase media - durante la crisis de los años 1980 a 1985. Como resultado del análisis de este comportamiento, el autor formula la hipótesis de que nos encontramos frente a algo más que un simple proceso de adaptación a una situa-

(sigue en la página 28)
Leslaw A. Paga

RESPONSE TO THE POLISH CRISIS
CONSUMER MUTUAL AID: ADAPTATION OR CHALLENGE?

Observation of the behaviour of the Polish society between 1980-85 made us ask whether changes in this behaviour is simply an example of better adaptation to a long-term crisis, or whether it is something more - a form of overcoming this crisis by a better organization of the consumers. Consumers undertaking mutual aid in a broad sense, along with self-organization in the field of distribution of goods and services, enables us to form the hypothesis that there is a slow process of easing or avoiding the consequences of the crisis by an aware middle class. This is true of only a part of the society, because the upper class and the social elite overcome the crisis due to either surplus funds or to "privileges of the system", while the groups living below the "social minimum", although they have the greatest needs, seem to be organized for survival in quite a different way. Consumer mutual aid of the middle classes is sometimes quite different from its counterpart in the societies of Western Europe or North America.

1. Status of the consumer in a centrally-planned economy

The principle that each member of society has a legal opportunity for free development is understood here in a specific way. Systemic principles in a centrally-planned economy reject private ownership as a basic economic law, accepting the superiority of public property, "public" meaning either state or cooperative ownership. The principle of the superiority of state property, limits the free choice of employment or hiring and choice of mode of economic property. A further consequence of this principle is that such a definition of the laws regulating economic activity implies a concessive system of social organization.

Furthermore, the fact that the whole economy is regulated centrally, which is usually characterized by direct administrative interference, makes the situation worse for the consumers. Shortages are endemic in this system of management, excellently described by J.Kornai 1/, who also defines the basic ways of the allocation of goods: non-market allocation is predominant, sometimes occurring together with market allocation and with a "grey" or "black" market. It is only

1/ J. Kornai, Niedobór w gospodarce (Economics of Shortage), (Warszawa: 1985).
in the reformed Hungarian management that market allocation comes to the fore. In the case of an economy in crisis, which for the centrally-planned economy means an increasing shortage of goods and services, there is, according to J. Kornai, the following relationship: "The more intensive the regular shortages, the more decisive role of administrative rationing or rationing by the supplier, or the greater queuing of buyers or users" (p.575).

On the other hand, it is worth paying attention to other elements which show the "differentia specifica" of the consumer situation in this system. We may include here the legal status in the sphere of consumer rights protection, the functioning of institutions enacted for this aim or for the regulation of consumer movement.

When we compare consumer rights in industrialized countries, e.g. the Consumer Protection Programme accepted in 1975 by the Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community, to the condition of consumer legal protection in Poland, it turns out that even in the sphere of legislation, Poland fares badly. This situation results from the principle that most services are provided or are within an administrative legal framework, while only some are within a civil legal framework of agreements. In the first case, as described by E. Letowska, the consumer is treated like an "administrative subject", i.e. as a suppliant, either subordinated to an enterprise which renders services to him or to a firm which produces goods. In the second case, that of a civil/legal framework, the situation is usually that of a symmetrical relationship between subjects which, in practice, means also subordination of consumers, the typical example being the legislation of the state railways - as the transporter - in relation to passengers.

Thus the legal status of the consumer is actually very low, although Article 4 of the Polish Constitution stresses the satisfaction of citizens' needs. This is impossible without radical changes in the legal status of the consumer in Poland, i.e. the introduction of a law concerning consumer protection or the long awaited anti-monopoly law.

In spite of the above, there are many institutions which, among other aims, are intended to protect the consumers. A long list of these institutions, starting with the Parliament, the Chief Board of Supervision [NIK], the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services, and the State Health Inspectorate, may suggest that the consumer lobby in Poland is exceptionally powerful. But a closer look reveals that the Parliament, which should take care of the legal status of the consumer, often passes bills which only consolidate the already existing status; the NIK reports concern consumer affairs, but their existence still doesn't change the situation and it would be very funny to treat the Ministry of
Internal Trade and Services responsible for monopolization of trade and for the whole mess caused by state control of staple goods, as the institution which actually protects the consumer. Such institutions, whatever their official aim, do not improve the consumer's situation.

The consumer movement in Poland, with the help of the powerful trade union "Solidarity", started in 1981. However the circumstances at that time were very bad. The economic crisis at the end of the 70s manifested itself in a very acute form and the fact that many active consumers were engaged in trade union activities didn't help its development. From the very beginning "Solidarity" practically let itself get involved in interventionist actions instead of undertaking actions towards changing the legal system, opposing strongly monopolization of the economy and aiding the consumers in legal conflicts with the state producers. The subsequent political events consolidated such a state of affairs, making the three existing consumer organizations weak and unattractive for the society - the largest of them having only a few thousand members.

Discussing the specificity of the consumer situation in Poland as a whole, we must remember that all the elements analyzed, i.e. legal status, institutional or organizational protection, even if they were able to function in a limited way during the period of economic growth, became practically useless in the crisis situation of consumer goods shortages. The usually monopolistic state producer, in the situation of unsatisfiable demand and progressive inflation, gained a very privileged position in which practically all of his products found several buyers awaiting the possibility of a purchase. The main indicators of this situation have become the number of people in queues and the time necessary for the possibility of buying an article or a service.

2. The queue society

The open crisis intensified all negative symptoms and, at the same time, a new phenomenon spread in society as a form of defence mechanism. Economic and sociological literature offers many detailed analyses of behaviour of a society endangered by war or economic crises. So the "grey" or "black" market, state regulation or staple goods and inflation are not atypical phenomena specific only to the Polish society. Furthermore, history shows economic crises resulting in more serious social consequences than in Poland's case. However, some aspects of social conduct evolving during the crisis deserve analysis because of the overlapping of a crisis in a centrally-planned economy along with social adaptation to a new situation and the creation of new social ties occurring independently of the official economic system.
Three new elements are particularly striking: the organization of the queue society; the interpersonal dimension of goods; and the organization of mutual aid groups.

The organization of a queue society is a process, some elements of which can be analyzed, whilst others may yet surprise us. The queue society in Poland did not appear suddenly. It was the reaction of the society to increasing shortages of goods and services. Queues became longer in the mid-70s. To some extent they caused the appearance of egalitarian control demands in 1980. Queues are a constant element of social life and occur for almost all goods and services beginning with such staple goods as meat, through clothes, detergents, medicine, to durable goods like furniture, washing machines and cars.

Four aspects of such a system of distribution deserve further analysis. First, the organization of the queues themselves. The 80s show a spreading of "queue committees". They came into being during the period of subjectivization of the society and their aim was to improve organization and shorten the time spent in queues. A new element deserving analysis is that these queue committees tried not only to control members of a given queue by registering their time of arrival and stating their position in the queue, but also, and what is more important, to stop the state stores limiting the quantity of goods and their distribution. This aroused determined resistance from store management and staff resulting in the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services depriving the spontaneous queue committees of the possibility of controlling distribution. Although in the end the consumers did not manage to get forms of distribution and supply under control, nevertheless their pressure had the benefit of a considerable decrease of illegal transactions in the stores.

Second, the exchange of information about a commodity in demand increased and strengthened social ties among existing neighbourhood or workers groups and also stimulated the creation of new groups, which may be called mutual aid groups and which will be discussed later.

Third, is the revival of direct ties between urban and rural societies. This is connected with the functioning of an informal food market and of food distribution outside official structures. This is also connected with the formation of the "grey" or "black" market for goods in demand.

Fourth is the appearance of groups of persons who, having a great deal of spare time, buy or reserve places in a queue for other persons on condition of payment "standers". This causes redistribution of income between persons who can offer their free time and those who pay for this time. Of special interest is the rise of a new criterion of job attract-
iveness, i.e. whether this new occupation opens the way to leaving a previous job so as to have time to seek merchandise or services. A position which offers such "mobility" can be more attractive than a better paid job without it.

Although the organization of the queue society brings us closer to the conscious consumers mutual aid, the second aspect of the crisis situation - the interpersonal dimension of goods, indirectly strengthens ties in certain consumer mutual aid groups. The consumer in the industrial countries faces a problem of choice among many commodities, produced by various firms, having various parameters of utility and a wide range of prices, whereas in a centrally-planned economy, especially during the crisis, the priority is simply being able to purchase an article in demand. For the consumer in the USA who has the choice between 752 models of cars and trucks, plus the choice of various colours, or who can see 2500 different kinds of bulbs in a shop in Manhattan, satisfaction from having bought a bulb necessary to illuminate one's house may seem quite unreal. Yet if this bulb, or any other commodity in great demand at a given moment, was bought for the consumer by another consumer, it assumes, in addition, an interpersonal dimension.

These mutual services, as well as the distribution of purchased goods among the members of an informal mutual aid group, strengthen ties and mutual interdependence. It is the first step towards the voluntary organization of consumers into various mutual aid groups. It is very difficult to present in a graphic form all these relations and to define to which group certain consumers may be classified. She/he belongs at the same time to many such groups, formed variously by family, neighbours, friends and co-workers. These groups are of a fairly stable character as the market situation forces the consumers to belong to them for longer than merely one exchange. New groups are linked to existing ones based on the constant exchange of services and other forms of aid - for example the relationship between a car owner and a mechanic servicing his car. This is not a relationship of the "regular customer" type, but a new type, consisting of the exchange of information and services. Information about a commodity or the possibility of its purchase attains here an economic value and can be exchanged for another commodity or service. The general impoverishment of society, together with a very stiff and bureaucratized banking system, offering credits only for restricted purposes, creates the need for loans within one's own group and thus contributes to their stabilization.

To summarize the discussion so far, mutual aid groups, coming into being in this way, make up to some extent for some of the most glaring faults in the existing formal structure of the society. They also influence that structure. So we may hazard stating that here we have to do with a new social
structure, a "network" coming into being. By using the term "network", popularized - among others - by John Naisbitt in his book Megatrends, we intend to suggest that this phenomenon is similar to the one occurring in the USA, although caused by factors and an economic situation absolutely different. That is why, when we quote Naisbitt's definition of a network, it turns out that the phenomena described by us fit into it. When asked what is a "network" J. Naisbitt answers: "Simply speaking the network is formed by people who talk to one another, they divide ideas, information and resources of information, changing the society, increasing productivity, improving working conditions and distribution of resources" 2/. Before we try to evaluate to what extent new structures created by mutual aid groups fit into world megatrends, it is necessary to look at the formal mutual aid groups sponsored mainly by the Roman Catholic Church.

J. Mutual aid groups - a new organization of the society?

The deepening economic and social crisis in Poland, together with the State's withdrawal from performing protective functions and with the lack of other institutions and organizations (help from the Polish Red Cross and the Polish Committee for Social Aid is insufficient), created a situation threatening the biological existence of many families. With the constant increase of families living beneath the poverty level and the spread of poverty, the Church, which traditionally aids the poor, has been prompted to undertake action along with some union activists. The specific position of the Church was strengthened by the distribution of food and clothes aid offered by Western Europe and its churches. "Solidarity for the Family" which came into being in 1981, had the goal of strengthening family and neighbour ties. The imposition of martial law and the delegalization of "Solidarity" simultaneously witnessed the breaking of the barrier of isolation surrounding many families, along with action towards bringing aid to the most needy. These actions had to be within the framework of the Church because of the political situation. The few secular initiatives such as "Family Alliance" in Warsaw or "Family Mutual Aid" in Lublin are obviously not mass movements. They are, however, pertinent in that they bring a new element into our analysis, i.e. formal organizations for mutual aid which are of a higher level than the informal mutual aid groups analysed previously.

These actions have still another interesting aspect. Informal networks formed by the middle classes included mainly people who had something to offer to the others, whereas the

groups sponsored by the Church, which very often comprised people engaged in the distribution of material aid, created a chance for many people who had been badly organized till then, to join this movement. In many cases it was possible to turn from the distribution of foreign gifts to the higher level of self-organization, i.e. mutual aid, even when there were few, or no, gifts to distribute.

These actions cannot be classified solely as an adaptation to the crisis, they are the consumer's response to the economic crisis. Obviously at this time it is impossible to answer explicitly the question as to whether all these groups, formal and informal, will develop into credit unions, or whether they will create new associations providing aid for their members. In the situation of a constant decrease of living standards for most of the population and when the middle class begins to feel the consequences of the long-term economic crisis, it is impossible to answer such questions as to whether these groups will continue to develop or, on the contrary, whether their members will try to deal with the crisis on their own. The answer to these questions are directly connected with the still more important problem of whether, in the present situation in Poland, we have to do with a specific manifestation of the world mega-trends, or is it only a form of self-defence against the crisis which will be unnecessary when it is over or eventually lessens.

This problem is crucial for the future of the society and we shall try to judge the phenomenon using the criteria applied by J. Naisbitt in his evaluation of the USA:

"Mutual aid has always been a part of American life. In the seventies the idea of mutual aid once again became a movement which penetrated institutional, disciplinary, regional and ideological divisions. Mutual aid can take numerous forms, i.e. creating groups to fight against crime, for the strengthening of neighborhood ties, distributing of surplus food to the aged - food which otherwise would have been wasted - the rebuilding of homes without government aid or at least with local control over the aid. In health care, self-help manifests itself in the responsibility for healthy habits, environment and life-style, while demanding that doctors treat their patients - with their body, brain and emotions - as a whole. Inspired by the idea of mutual aid, people are demanding the control over the mysteries of life and death, resulting in the trend towards natural births and giving birth to their children at home. Mutual aid also finds expression in growing resourcefulness in the rejecting of employment in large corporations to establish one's own business or employment in a small company. In education there is the growing engagement of parents, who question public education and send their children to private schools or, more radically, educate them at home."
When we put together the characteristics of mutual aid movements producing new social structures and the situation of the Polish consumer, it appears that all attempts to compare them are utopian as the mode of life and living standards are quite different. But when we analyze particular elements it turns out that many aspects of the situation are comparable, although situations and causes must be remembered.

The major problem is that of local ties, especially among the inhabitants of new housing estates, which are cooperative in name only. The aid groups based on the parish structure of the Church are a chance of overcoming isolation. Naturally there is a long way to go from the formation of such groups to the control of local authorities, but the beginning has already been made. Protection of the old people has currently become a question close to life and death, because old-age and disability pensions are very low. The question is all the more crucial when we take into account the present demographic trends. The Polish society is becoming older and older. The same is true of the low efficiency of the educational system - the state monopoly in this field is very difficult to overcome, although there are some signals showing different ways of organizing this sphere of social life, e.g. private kindergartens. Another alternative conception is a very well developed system of private lessons, which serve mainly the purpose of giving the University, or other high school, candidates equal chances during entrance examinations, but nevertheless their expansion might contribute to the improvement of the general level of education in the society. It seems that the most critical situation is that of the medical care system which suffers from a chronic shortage of personnel, hospitals and medication. But private medical practices, although only the well-off can afford them, show that changes are possible.

If all these intentions are to be realized, the society must be more active. It may seem difficult when we consider the limitations imposed by the system, but it may prove very attractive for the more active and resourceful members of the society who rather "unvoluntarily" transferred into private business. In this sphere there are two groups of obstacles: the first is connected with the social awareness of the instability of the private sector in the so-called socialist system, and with the preference of the state sector resulting from this awareness. More consumers are active in the "grey" market, e.g. within the "trade fair tourism", or they run their own production in state factories. This obstacle is also caused by controls imposed on the private sector, especially in the cities, where it is difficult to keep up with the constantly changing regulations.

The second group of obstacles are strictly economic in character and relate to lack of necessary capital for establishing one's own private business. The income obtained from
work in the state sector does not facilitate saving the necessary money whereas, as already pointed out, the bank system, in its present form, favours mainly the state and the cooperative sectors. The private sector in rural Poland is served by the so-called Cooperative Banks. The only factor which allows optimism in overcoming financial difficulties is that mutual aid groups, although sometimes unconsciously, have already started to grant loans to their members for purchasing durable goods. If it were possible to start the process of accumulation of capital in this way, this sector could soon be considerably strengthened. The next optimistic sign is the analysis of the behaviour of the people who failed in their first independent ventures as private businessmen. They usually try again in another sphere of the private sector with only some of them returning to the sector managed by the state.

The assumption that private enterprise becomes more important during a crisis is confirmed by the fact that more and more private shops and workshops are being registered. They are mainly small ventures, but their share in the market production is increasing in spite of the state authority's various attempts at administrative control of this sphere.

To sum up our observations to this point, there are new elements in the Polish social behaviour caused by the political and economic crisis, as well as by changes in consciousness, especially that of the younger generation. These lead us to accept the thesis that we are confronted with a situation which would be inadequately defined as an adaptation to new conditions of social life; it is something more which may be called a grassroots' challenging proposition of reforms. Although we cannot feel sure about these processes directly forming the new social structure, which runs horizontally rather than vertically, phenomena have already occurred which can be defined as changes in behaviour and in social structure.

(viene de la pagina 17)

ción de crisis; se trata de una forma de auto-organización de la sociedad. El autor analiza sucesivamente la situación del consumidor individual en la economía de planificación centralizada, mostrando primeramente la situación legal, económica e institucional del consumidor. La segunda parte analiza "la sociedad de las colas", exponiendo su organización, la dimensión interpersonal que adquieren los bienes de consumo, junto con la aparición de grupos informales de ayuda mutua. En la tercera parte, se analiza hasta qué punto estos grupos de ayuda mutua pueden ser considerados como una nueva forma de organización de la sociedad y hasta qué punto sus tendencias se corresponden con las de orden mundial.
POUR UNE POLITIQUE SYSTEMATIQUE D’INVENTAIRE TECHNOLOGIQUE:
LECONS D’UNE EXPERIENCE DANS LE TRIANGLE MINEIRO (BRESIL)

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Résumé: Cet article décrit d’abord le long (deux ans) et minutieux inventaire technologique du tissage manuel pratiqué dans la région du Triangle Mineiro, située entre Sao Paulo et Brasilia. Il tire ensuite quelques leçons de portée générale sur le choix des moyens nécessaires au maintien d’une certaine cohérence culturelle répondant aux besoins totaux de la population concernée, y compris son mode de vie et de styles technologiques endogènes contribuant à la préservation du pluralisme technologique.

TOWARDS A SYSTEMATICAL TECHNOLOGY INVENTORY:
LESSONS FROM AN EXPERIENCE IN THE TRIANGLE MINEIRO (BRAZIL)

Abstract: This paper first describes the long (two years) and minute technological inventory of handloom weaving in the Triangle Mineiro, a region situated between Sao Paulo and Brasilia. It then draws a number of general lessons with respect to the choice of means required by the conservation of a certain cultural coherence, meeting the total needs of the people concerned, including their way of life and of endogenous technological styles contributing to maintaining technological pluralism.

POR UNA POLÍTICA SISTEMÁTICA DE INVENTARIO TECNOLÓGICO:
LAS LECCIONES DE UNA EXPERIENCIA EN LA REGIÓN DE TRIANGLE MINEIRO (BRASIL)

Resumen: Este artículo describe en primer lugar el largo (dos años) y minucioso inventario tecnológico del tejido hecho a la mano y practicado en la región del Triangle Mineiro, entre Sao Paulo y Brasilia. Saca luego algunas lecciones de alcance general sobre la elección de los medios necesarios al mantenimiento de una cierta coherencia cultural respondiendo a las necesidades de la población concernida, incluso su modo de vida y de estilos tecnológicos endógenos que contribuyen a la preservación del pluralismo tecnológico.
Xavier Maureau et Maria Cecilia Londres Fonseca

POUR UNE POLITIQUE SYSTEMATIQUE D'INVENTAIRE TECHNOLOGIQUE: LECONS D'UNE EXPERIENCE DANS LE TRIANGLE MINEIRO (BRESIL)

L'EXPERIENCE

L'option méthodologique

Comment peut-on encore tisser à la main dans le Triangle Mineiro, partie extrême occidentale de l'Etat de Minas Gerais, située à peu près à mi-chemin entre Sao Paulo et Brasilia?

Voilà une question qu'il paraît difficile d'éviter lorsque l'on constate l'usage intensif des technologies de pointe dans cette région en vue d'améliorer un élevage bovin internationalement réputé, de faire du "cerrado" - une sorte de savane - le futur grenier du Brésil, d'implanter une industrie locale moderne, et de construire des villes à l'image de Sao Paulo.

Le Centro Nacional de Referenda Cultural, aujourd'hui incorporé à la Fundacao Nacional Pró-Memória, commença à s'intéresser à cette question lorsqu'il apprit qu'un grand nombre de femmes de cette région remettaient toujours leur ouvrage sur un rustique métier à 4 pédales dans les zones de petite propriété rurale, dans les hameaux, ainsi qu'à la périphérie des villes où viennent s'entasser les émigrants ruraux.

Avant même de partir pour le Triangle Mineiro, nous étions conscients des difficultés de communications et des risques d'interprétation subjective qu'impliquait l'énorme fossé nous séparant - ne serait-ce que socialement - de ces femmes. Aussi, le mieux nous parut-il de consacrer toute notre attention aux aspects techniques de ce tissage. Quoi de mieux en effet pour amorcer un dialogue avec les tisserandes et arriver à se comprendre que d'aborder en premier lieu des questions d'ordre technique?

La collecte des informations

C'est ainsi qu'armés d'un crayon, d'un bloc-notes et d'un appareil photo, nous sommes partis à la recherche des informations nécessaires à l'élaboration d'un inventaire des différentes techniques de tissage manuel actuellement ou anciennement utilisées dans le Triangle Mineiro. Pour arriver à l'impression qu'on avait à peu près compris ce qu'on avait eu l'occasion d'observer et qu'on avait finalement fait le tour de la question, il ne fallut pas moins de deux ans:

- le temps de parcourir en long et en large ce vaste territoire;
- le temps de passer au peigne fin les villes, de séjourner dans les petits hameaux et d'abandonner la voiture au bord de la route pour aller jusqu'à la maison de tisserandes perdues au fin fond de la nature mais, qui sait, peut-être capables de nous apprendre quelque chose de nouveau sur cette tradition;
le temps de se faire expliquer les modes d'obtention des matières premières textiles, la transformation de celles-ci en fil, les procédés de teinture naturelle, le fonctionnement des divers instruments employés au cours de cette activité, la manière de s'en servir pour franchir chaque des étapes du tissage et des différents produits ainsi réalisés;

le temps de collecter plusieurs centaines de patrons et diverses recettes de teinture auprès de plusieurs dizaines de tisserandes;

le temps de contrôler toutes ces informations, de confier à l'ordinateur le soin de décoder certains patrons et de vérifier la marge de manœuvre dont disposent effectivement ces femmes par rapport à eux;

le temps d'attendre la bonne saison et la lune propice pour expérimenter une teinture;

le temps de cueillir les plantes utilisées et de les envoyer à des botanistes pour qu'ils les identifient;

le temps de localiser les trois fabricants de rouets jadis installés dans la région et dont un employait jusqu'en 1960 pas moins de quatorze personnes;

le temps d'aller jusqu'à Juiz de Fora, distant de plus de 800 km, pour s'informer auprès du principal fournisseur de coton industriel de la localisation et de l'évolution de ses ventes de manière à avoir une idée d'ensemble du phénomène, une fois qu'il s'avérerait impossible d'évaluer le nombre de tisserandes en activité;

le temps de se rendre à Sao Paulo pour apprendre auprès des deux uniques fabricants de cardes manuelles que vers 1940 le Brésil importait près de 400 000 paires de cardes par an pour une population globale de 40 millions d'habitants; qu'en 1949 l'un d'eux réussit à en faire interdire l'importation pour commencer à les produire ici; que l'autre obtient en 1952 par autorisation spéciale du président de la république, Getulio Vargas, l'autorisation d'acheter aux USA les vieilles machines totalement obsolètes qui servaient justement à fabriquer les cardes que lui-même importait jusqu'en 1949; qu'entre 1950 et 1960 ce fut la période de ventes record pour ces deux rivaux et que la plus grande partie de ces articles était précisément destinée au Triangle Mineiro, à Goiás et au sud de Minas;

le temps enfin d'essayer de vérifier ces informations auprès de la Direction du Commerce Extérieur et des transitaires maritimes de Rio de Janeiro, etc...

Bref, une enquête qui nous emmena souvent bien loin des tisserandes ou du Triangle Mineiro, et qui nous obligea à récolter une masse considérable de données d'intérêt non seulement technique mais aussi historique, sociologique, économique et, curieusement, politique. Sans doute aurions-nous été plus rapides si nous avions été équipés dès le début d'une caméra.
Décomposer le continuum de gestes grâce auxquels ces femmes assurent la transformation de différentes matières textiles en tissu s'est en effet avéré constituer une tâche beaucoup plus délicate que l'on ne se l'était imaginé. Elles manipulent avec une telle rapidité chacun de leurs outils que l'on a généralement bien du mal à analyser sur le vif la manière précise dont elles s'en servent. Le simple fait de tenter de repérer quand finit un geste et quand commence un autre relève le plus souvent d'une véritable gageure.

Essayer de transcrire ce même continuum à l'aide d'un crayon, d'un bloc-notes et d'un appareil photo est tout aussi ardu. Alors que le langage écrit est linéaire et successif, ces différentes manipulations supposent des déplacements simultanés du tronc, des mains, des doigts, des pieds, des bras... de temps d'arrêt et de répétitions d'un même mouvement. Phénomènes il va sans dire extrêmement difficiles à décrire littérallement avec un minimum de clarté et de précision, y compris avec l'appui de photos ou de dessins. A l'aide d'une caméra tout devient plus facile.

L'analyse des données

Outre photos, films, croquis, patrons, échantillons de tissus et divers produits, le matériel recueilli sur le terrain se composait de deux types de documents: des notes concernant les techniques inventoriées et une fiche par tisserande contactée spécifiant: l'équipement possédé, les matières textiles couramment employées, les techniques actuellement utilisées et les types de produits aujourd'hui tissés, plus quelques observations sur la finalité de l'activité exercée, le temps consacré, les prix, les conditions d'apprentissage, le degré de satisfaction constaté, divers commentaires paraissant dignes d'être consignés et, bien sûr, ses coordonnées personelles.

Nous avons visé un premier objectif: ordonner ces différentes informations de façon à pouvoir nous faire une idée précise des diverses options techniques dont disposent effectivement les tisserandes du Triangle Mineiro. Tâche relativement facile dans la mesure où, comme nous le verrons, il s'agit d'une seule et même technologie. La principale difficulté fut de classer les produits. Les catégories et concepts utilisés par les tisserandes pour les distinguer nous permirent de résoudre ce problème sans que nous ayons le sentiment d'imposer une logique trop distante de la leur.

A l'aide des fiches des tisserandes, il fut possible de dresser un tableau donnant un aperçu global de l'utilisation actuelle des diverses techniques en fonction des trois finalités différentes de tissage variablement rencontrées à la ville comme à la campagne:

- le tissage pour soi (tercer para o pessoal) où quelques femmes tissent exclusivement pour leur usage personnel;
- le tissage pour les autres (tercer para os outros) où des femmes se sont les prestataires de services de leurs voisines ou parentes qui, comme elles, ont l'habitude de réunir le matériel nécessaire - en filant, teignant, recyclant divers produits ou en achetant une partie - pour pouvoir faire tisser un produit également destiné à leurs besoins personnels ou à celui de leur famille;

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... le tissage pour vendre (tecer para vender) où un petit nombre de femmes essayent de profiter de la demande croissante de produits artisanaux émanant des grands centres urbains comme Sao Paulo, Rio, Brasilia, Belo Horizonte... ou des touristes de passage, soit de façon directe et spontanée, soit à la demande d'un intermédiaire qui peut éventuellement fournir le matériel.

En analysant ce tableau, nous avons été conduits à reconnaître l'existence de deux dynamiques bien différentes au sein d'une même pratique:

d'après côté, dans les cas du tissage pour soi ou pour les autres, tout est visiblement mis en œuvre pour essayer de perpétuer la mémoire d'une tradition commune: en se livrant à un patient travail de recyclage pour remplacer la laine dont le prix est devenu inaccessible; en allant jusqu'à sacrifier le peu d'argent disponible pour acheter le matériel indispensable à la chaîne - du coton industriel - quitte à devoir le repasser au rouet pour pouvoir le tisser; en reproduisant fidèlement des patrons socialement consacrés ou en cherchant au contraire une nouvelle manière de les illustrer avec l'introduction d'un certain nombre de variantes; en s'efforçant de garantir en ville un nouvel espace pour des textures pour ainsi dire "classiques" (la costela) ne servant plus seulement à la réalisation de couvertures mais aussi de descents de lit que l'on pose sur le sol désormais cimenté des maisons; le "coxinilho" destiné à couvrir la selle des chevaux se transformant en protection pour les fauteuils du salon et pour les sièges de la voiture, et sans parler des sempiternels coffres remplis de couvertures, reste d'un ancien trousseau ou pièces rassemblées en vue d'un futur mariage;

d'après autre côté, dans le cas du tissages pour vendre, tout est mis en œuvre pour essayer d'attirer les clients en n'hésitant pas à investir dans le matériel le plus rare et le plus cher - la laine filée à la main - pour souligner le caractère artisanal de son travail; en cherchant par tous les moyens à innover et à sortir du répertoire traditionnel, quitte à introduire dans certains patrons ce qui normalement est considéré comme une erreur de rentrage ou à tisser des tartans écossais; en préférant s'adonner à une technique plus libre que le tissage, la tapisserie; en tentant d'aller au-devant de ce que l'on imagine pouvoir intéresser la clientèle et en lui proposant des tapis de jeux, des nappes, des couvertures, etc; en s'aventurant, sans grand succès, dans la technique de la chaîne double, enseignée par des touristes de passage, afin de supprimer la couture centrale qui sert normalement de point de repère pour bien plier les couvertures mais que les touristes, eux, n'apprécient guère.

Dans la première situation, il n'y a pas à s'étonner si nous avons eu le plus grand mal à convaincre des femmes possédant un trousseau de plus de 30 couvertures de nous en céder une seule. Pourquoi se séparer soudain d'une couverture qui n'a jamais été conçu pour être vendue, qui est souvent un des seuls biens laissés par leur mère ou un des rares cadeaux reçus de leur marraine, que l'on a tant de mal à tisser ou à faire tisser par les temps qui courent, qui fait partie d'une véritable collection et de la dot que l'on devra apporter...? Bref, toute une série d'arguments sur lesquels notre rationalité économique a évidemment bien peu de prise.
Il n'y a pas non plus à s'étonner si nous en sommes venus à constater, dans le cadre du tissage destiné à la vente, l'apparition de tensions jusque là totalement inconnues : les tisserandes qui produisent pour le marché commencent à se passer des informations volontairement tronquées ou à faire accroire à l'originalité de leur création. Pour s'imposer sur le marché et vaincre la concurrence, il est évident qu'il ne suffit plus d'illustrer avec talent un répertoire connu de toutes les autres tisserandes. Il faut désormais essayer d'apporter à tout prix quelque chose de nouveau et d'unique. Mais en ont-elles réellement les moyens ?

Comme toutes les autres tisserandes du Triangle Mineiro, c'est à la campagne que toutes ces femmes ont été élevées et qu'elles ont appris à tisser en regardant simplement faire une parente ou une voisine. Comme toutes les autres, c'est ainsi qu'elles ont eu accès à une technologie élaborée pour subvenir aux besoins immédiats d'une vie à la campagne ; une technologie qui, à la limite, ne diffère en rien de celles employées pour cuisiner, coudre, faire du savon, préparer de la farine de manioc, éléver des poules et des cochons, à tel point qu'il est aussi difficile de localiser la maison d'une tisserande qui tisse pour les autres que celle d'une femme qui offre ses services de couturière ou qui élève des cochons pour le compte d'autrui. Contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait peut-être s'imaginer, même les tisserandes qui tissent pour les autres, ne sont l'objet d'aucune considération particulière. Elles jouissent simplement d'une plus ou moins bonne réputation en fonction de leur zèle et de leur honnêteté.

Quant à la tradition de tissage à laquelle elles ont été ainsi initiées, sa force ne repose pas sur des secrets de fabrication jalousement gardés mais, au contraire, sur une intense activité d'échanges de recettes orales, d'échantillons de tissus ou de patrons transcrits sur une bande de papier à l'aide de 4 portées et d'une série de petits traits verticaux : les repassos ; un échange si intense que ce sont exactement les mêmes textures que l'on réalise - souvent sous le même nom - d'une extrémité à l'autre de cette région, pourtant aussi grande que l'Irlande.

En y réfléchissant, le code repasso est pratiquement la seule solution possible pour assurer la communication de toutes les informations nécessaires à l'utilisation de ce genre de métier dans une telle situation - hormis des recettes faciles à mémoriser et des textures dont on peut aisément tirer un échantillon. En effet, on a besoin au moins de trois types d'information - ordre de passage des fils de chêne dans les lices, marche et séquence de pédalage, qu'on trouve transmises par l'intermédiaire d'un seul code avec les repassos.

En passant en revue les textures tissées dans le Triangle Mineiro, on s'aperçoit qu'elles sont toutes obtenues de la manière suivante : les lames de lices et les pédales correspondantes ne sont utilisées que 2 par 2, la seule exception vraiment significative étant le patron que nous avons justement eu le plus de mal à reconstituer, le maraes. De là à en conclure que ce furent les repassos qui conditionnèrent cette singulière manière d'exploiter les ressources techniques offertes par un métier à tisser à 4 pédales, il n'y a évidemment qu'un pas. Nous ne pos- sédons malheureusement aucune preuve de la date à partir de laquelle on a commencé à tisser ces patrons au Brésil.
Ce que nous savons, c'est qu'ils viennent sûrement d'Europe, comme la grande majorité des instruments utilisés dans cette activité; qu'au Brésil leur zone de diffusion actuelle comprend, en plus du Triangle Mineiro, le sud de Minas, l'état de Goiâs et le nord de l'état de Sao Paulo, soit une région peuplée, au moment des premiers signes de déclin des mines d'or de Minas Gerais, par une importante vague de petites gens venus, pour la plupart, du nord du Portugal — région renommée pour sa tradition de tissage domestique — afin de tenter leur chance au Brésil au XVIII siècle.

Nous savons aussi que si les repassos sont connus dans tous les pays où le tissage manuel a atteint un niveau de développement suffisamment avancé, c'est paradoxalement surtout dans d'anciennes colonies que ceux-ci rencontrèrent un terrain favorable. Aux USA (overshot colonial) et au Canada (frappé colonial), cette technique connut un tel retentissement qu'il suffit pratiquement de s'y référer pour résumer toute l'histoire du tissage manuel, d'origine européenne, dans ces pays entre le XVI et le XIX siècle. Curieuse coïncidence, sans doute, ce même passé colonial, surtout quand tout semble indiquer que le décret pris à Lisbonne en 1785 pour interdire la pratique de tissage au Brésil, faisait justement une exception pour le type de métier à tisser aujourd'hui employé dans le Triangle Mineiro.

Mais revenons au problème soulevé, celui de la possibilité pour les tisserandes du Triangle Mineiro de rénover facilement leurs répertoires de textures. Quelqu'ait pu être le rôle historique des repassos dans la formation de cette tradition, une chose est sûre: ceux-ci en sont venus à conditionner toute la vision technique qu'ont les tisserandes du Triangle Mineiro d'un métier à tisser. Pour s'en persuader, il suffit de les voir expliquer n'importe quel patron, dans ce que l'on pourrait appeler "leur language des doigts". Quant à la marge de liberté que confère le système repasso, les tisserandes se reconnaissent elle-mêmes incapables de créer un nouveau repasso et admettent ne pouvoir introduire que quelques variations à partir du thème établi sur le papier.

En somme, toute une série de facteurs semble donc jouer contre les tisserandes désireuses de sortir du répertoire traditionnel: le fait de posséder un bagage technique destiné à faciliter le maintien d'une activité domestique de tissage, le poids d'une tradition visant, en premier lieu, la reproduction de patrons et non la création de nou-velles textures, un conditionnement mental qui les condamne à ne voir qu'une partie des ressources techniques d'un métier à 4 pédales, ainsi qu'une marge de manoeuvre relativement réduite par rapport à ce répertoire. Nous comprenons donc pourquoi aucune façon nouvelle d'entrelacer la chaîne et la trame n'est encore apparue dans les produits mis en vente et pourquoi ceux-ci se présentent de plus en plus sous la forme de tapisseries.

D'où une évidente conclusion: si l'on veut donner aux tisserandes de cette région l'occasion de profiter de la mode actuelle de l'artisanat, il conviendrait de prendre deux types d'initiatives:

- pour les tisserandes intéressées par la tapisserie il faudrait envisager de leur donner les moyens de se perfectionner dans cette technique spécifique;
pour les tisserandes n'ayant aucune prédisposition ou talent particulier pour la tapisserie, il faudrait qu'elles puissent continuer à tisser avec la même tranquilité que celle dont elles font preuve lorsqu'elles tissent "pour les autres".

La divulgation des résultats

Après avoir observé et analysé cette activité de tissage, il nous restait à décider de l'utilisation finale de tout le matériel accumulé à cette occasion: notes, rapports, photos, relevés, instruments, documentation filière, enregistrement, échantillons de fils, de teinture, de tissus, patrons, fiches de tisserandes, etc.

Le projet ayant été financé par des fonds publics, nous avions d'abord l'obligation d'organiser cette masse de documents de manière à ce que toute personne intéressée puisse y avoir librement et facilement accès.

Afin de faciliter la vie des tisserandes désireuses de tisser pour vendre, il parut opportun de lancer une publication destinée à faire connaître cette tradition de tissage, la technologie qui la sous-tend, son utilisation, les divers motifs pour lesquels ces femmes s'adonnent encore à cette pratique, l'origine probable de cette tradition de tissage et les différentes expectatives qu'un tel héritage technologique permet d'alimenter.

L'intention était d'aider le grand public à découvrir et à comprendre cette manifestation culturelle en général inconnue. On espérait qu'il serait aussi en mesure d'apprécier l'effet d'une simple modification dans la distribution des couleurs, d'un petit changement au niveau du rentrage ou du pédalage de manière à ce que les tisserandes disposées à se servir de leur métier pour augmenter leurs revenus puissent au moins compter sur une meilleure compréhension de personnes ignorant généralement tout du tissage et encore plus des patrons dont elles disposent pour exprimer leur talent à partir de quelques variantes.

Toujours en vue de faciliter un meilleur dialogue entre les tisserandes et d'éventuels clients, une autre initiative consistait à réunir dans un même catalogue les différents repassos collectés et d'y joindre la représentation graphique du dessin qu'ils permettent d'obtenir ainsi que de faire distribuer celui-ci à toutes les tisserandes intéressées. Comme ces femmes ne sont pas en mesure de deviner le motif final à partir du seul code-repasso, qu'elles ne possèdent généralement pas plus de 20 à 30 de ces patrons et qu'il s'avère difficile de constituer un échantillonnage de ce type de textures, l'intérêt d'une telle mesure est évident. Grâce à ce vade-mecum, elles auraient au moins la possibilité de faire choisir à leurs clients le repasso qu'ils préfèrent entre les 170 ainsi répertoriés.

Que faire finalement des 60 rouleaux de film super 8, fruits d'une toute première expérience personnelle d'utilisation du cinéma? De toute évidence, la qualité de ce matériel laisse beaucoup à désirer. Il parut cependant intéressant de monter ce matériel pour essayer de mieux situer le contexte dans lequel on pratique cette activité de tissage, de donner un aperçu du déroulement de son procès technique et de rassembler quel-

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ques témoignages de tisserandes ou de familiers à son sujet. Dans un premier temps ce travail fut simplement réalisé en super 8. Puis, nous avons eu l’occasion de copier cette documentation sur vidéoscassettes et de monter une série de 9 modules comme matériel pédagogique destiné aux élèves du premier et du second degré. A peine d’être terminés, ces modules étaient déjà demandés par un groupe de tisserandes de Goiás intéressées par les procédés de teinture naturelle qu’elles ne dominent plus très bien, ainsi que par le Secrétariat du Travail de Minas Gerais pour ses programmes de formation de jeunes artisans.

LES LEÇONS DE L’EXPÉRIENCE

Quelles leçons tirer de cette expérience en ce qui concerne les moyens de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur de l’artisanat utilitaire et créateur, menacé par l’évolution technologique et économique contemporaine?

Le problème central

Ce qui est actuellement menacé dans le Triangle Mineiro, ce n’est pas tant une production d’objets artisanaux que la possibilité de préserver un certain mode de vie et les valeurs culturelles qui lui sont attachées. Ce qu’il conviendrait de faire pour mettre un frein à ce processus – au niveau du tissage – ce n’est pas tant d’essayer de sauvegarder une prétendue tradition artisanale, que d’arriver à ce que les tisserandes désireuses de produire pour le marché puissent s’appuyer sur un bagage technique facilitant l’auto-suffisance en tissus dans le cadre d’une vie à la campagne.

Nous sommes, autrement dit, devant une situation dont la gravité dépasse de loin celle des problèmes soulevés par les oppositions objet artisanal/objet industrielle, travail artisanal/travail industriel, artisanat de création/artisanat de service... et les jugements de valeur esthétique et morale que celles-ci véhiculent.

En réalité, cette situation nous renvoie à une question bien plus importante: celle de savoir comment faire pour que les technologies endogènes puissent effectivement servir de base au développement, favoriser une dynamique de changement et contribuer par là à l’affirmation de styles technologiques propres. Cette situation n’est, par ailleurs, en rien exclusive à la production d’objets artisanaux: on la retrouve, par exemple, au niveau de la fabrication de micro-ordinateurs dans le Rio Grande du Sud où ceux-ci sont montés à l’aide d’une couveuse et d’une glacière pour tester la qualité des circuits imprimés, d’une espèce d’éplucheur d’organes pour bobiner les résistances, d’une scie et d’un scalpel pour refaire le portrait des couvercles achetés auprès des transnationales auxquelles on essaye ainsi de s’opposer.

Bref, dans un pays aussi socialement hétérogène que le Brésil, il faut tout d’abord commencer par se méfier de ses catégories prédéterminées et ne pas voir des traditions artisanales là où il n’y en a peut-être jamais eu. Il faut apprendre à regarder, avec les mêmes yeux que ceux qui les utilisent, toutes les technologies susceptibles de s’intégrer à des actions de développement de façon à prendre conscience, à temps, des difficultés que cela peut impliquer. Il faut faire attention à bien si-
tuer le problème en se demandant, par exemple, ce qu'il y de plus alar-
ment: la perspective d'un monde saturé d'objets industriels ou celle
d' un monde dominé par une seule culture technologique.

Que les techniques artisanales aient un rôle important à jouer pour pa-
rer à ce risque c'est indéniable, l'exemple des micro-ordinateurs du Rio
Grande du Sud est là pour nous le prouver. Reste à savoir comment
s'appuyer sur celles-ci pour atteindre un objectif vital pour l'ensemble
de la société - le maintien d'un pluralisme technologique - sans pour
autant en faire l'instrument de domination d'une minorité préoccupée
d'assurer son hégémonie par la consommation ostentatoire d'objets arti-
sanaux ou la réhabilitation, en période de crise économique, de techno-
logies peu coûteuses en capital, et n'hésitant pas pour cela à invoquer
au besoin l'argument d'une prétendue authenticité culturelle.

Le choix des moyens

Quant au choix des moyens de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur, il est
evident qu'il est essentiellement lié aux objectifs que l'on veut se
donner. Si l'on aspire simplement à la création d'emplois et à l'aug-
mentation des revenus, il suffira d'examiner les problèmes d'approvi-
sionnement en matières premières, de distribution et commercialisation,
de productivité et de marketing. Selon les résultats de cette étude de
marché, on pourra le cas échéant proposer une nouvelle orientation de la
production et former une main d'oeuvre capable de s'adapter à cette re-
conversion. En ce qui concerne l'équipement, on serait amené à remplacer
les vieux métiers à tisser et à les substituer par des métiers plus
larges dotés d'un fouet destiné à augmenter la productivité. On aura
finalement soin de filmer et photographier quelques scènes pittoresques
et d'enregistrer quelques anecdotes piquantes pour mettre en valeur
l'aspect exotique ou folklorique de ces produits à l'aide d'expositions,
films, audiovisuels ou prospectus.

Si l'on a pour but de préserver un minimum de cohérence culturelle, il
faudra se donner tout d'abord la peine de vérifier les besoins exacts
que la technologie vise en fait à satisfaire, de saisir la logique in-
terne reliant les différentes solutions ainsi retenues et d'identifier
les obstacles à surmonter pour provoquer le changement souhaité. Ceci
fait, il est probable qu'on en vienne même à renoncer à son projet si on
ne le considère pas culturellement enrichissant.

En ce qui concerne l'équipement - en prenant l'exemple du tissage manuel
dans le Triangle Mineiro - on pourra percevoir que l'introduction d'un
fouet aurait pratiquement pour effet d'empêcher les tisserandes du Tri-
angle Mineiro de continuer à recourir aux patrons qu'elles affectionnent
le plus: les repassos. Au cas où l'on envisagerait d'organiser des sta-
ges de formation, on saura que des cours de perfectionnement en tapisse-
rie seraient bienvenus et qu'au niveau du tissage proprement dit il fau-
drait tenir compte d'un conditionnement mental lié à la tradition locale
de tissage. On saura quoi faire pour aider les tisserandes à se préva-
loir de toute l'expérience qu'elles ont déjà accumulée et essayer de
susciter auprès de leurs éventuels clients un intérêt fondé sur une
meilleure compréhension du contexte social, économique, technique, cul-
turel et historique au sein duquel elles élaborent ces produits.
Méthodes d'inventaire

Pour savoir quelles genres d'activités encourager, il suffira dans le premier cas de faire remplir des questionnaires et de s'assurer le concours d'économistes, de cinéastes, de photographes et de publicistes.

Dans le deuxième cas, il faudra tout d'abord prendre le temps d'instaurer un véritable dialogue entre les agents de ces techniques et des économistes, des ethnologues, des historiens et surtout des techniciens capables de se livrer à une observation compréhensive de tous les processus en cause et de suggérer des améliorations compatibles avec eux. Pour cela tout indique que la vidéo pourrait être un grand allié, compte tenu des difficultés que suppose l'observation de phénomènes techniques au niveau du simple geste.

Quand on a filmé l'ensemble du procès, on peut visionner autant de fois que l'on veut le même geste pris pour ainsi dire "au naturel" et, si besoin est, le passer au ralenti, arrêter l'image ou revenir en arrière sans avoir pour cela à déranger qui que ce soit. On peut laisser le soin à l'image de décrire le déroulement spatial et temporel de chacun de ces gestes et ne plus se préoccuper que de l'analyse fine du procès.

Face aux deux méthodes d'inventaire ainsi définies, il paraît inutile de dire où vont nos préférences. Étant donné les doutes planant encore sur l'opportunité économique de s'appuyer sur des technologies intensives en travail pour promouvoir le développement et étant donné que notre vocation institutionnelle est de privilégier les aspects culturels de cette question, il est évident que seule la deuxième solution offre pour nous un intérêt. Pour s'en convaincre il suffit d'ailleurs de faire le bilan d'une expérience comme celle d'un inventaire technologique du tissage manuel dans le Triangle Mineiro. Ainsi on s'apercevra qu'il a permis:
- de préserver, pour la postérité, le portrait d'une importante tradition brésilienne;
- de récupérer le souvenir de connaissances techniques sur le point d'être perdu;
- de dégager, de manière objective et contrôlabile, les motifs qui font que l'on s'adonne encore à cette activité;
- de mettre en évidence la fonction première de cet héritage technologique;
- de réunir une masse d'informations susceptibles d'intéresser aussi bien des ethnologues, des historiens, des économistes, que des designers;
- d'attirer l'attention des agents d'intervention pour que soit respectée la dynamique de cette tradition spécifique de tissage, en les mettant en garde, par exemple, contre les dégâts qu'une initiative bien intentionnée - comme celle de vouloir introduire un fouet pour augmenter la productivité - ne manquerait pas de provoquer;
- de viabiliser la recherche d'améliorations réellement compatibles;
- de réunir les indicateurs culturels indispensables à la mise en place de n'importe quel projet de développement régional effective-
ment approprié à réalité locale, indépendamment du fait que ce soit sur la base de technologies endogènes ou exogènes, de technologies traditionnelles ou de pointe;
- de faciliter une meilleure compréhension des produits de cette activité;
- de prolonger la vie utile des connaissances techniques qui en permettent la confection;
- de créer les conditions pour procéder à un éventuel transfert de technologie au bénéfice d'autres tisserandes;
- d'élaborer un matériel didactique destiné à adapter les programmes scolaires régionaux du premier degré à la réalité environnante et à susciter, au niveau des élèves du secondaire, un intérêt pour des questions d'ordre ethnographique, historique et technologique;
- de mettre en valeur auprès des jeunes artisans en cours de formation les solutions locales traditionnellement retenues;
- de donner finalement un sens à la conservation muséologique d'objets liés à cette activité...

CONCLUSIONS

Voilà pourquoi, si nous avions une recommandation à faire, ce serait d'implanter, sans tarder, une politique systématique d'inventaire technologique des connaissances techniques transmises de manière informelle, a priori, susceptibles de s'insérer dans des actions de développement, en s'appuyant pour cela sur des équipes locales, composées d'ethnographes, d'historiens, d'économistes mais aussi de techniciens spécialisés dans la technologie inventoriée et disposées à travailler en étroite collaboration avec les détenteurs de ces savoir-faire. Quant aux pouvoirs publics, ils se limiteraient d'une part à fournir l'assistance technique nécessaire au recueil des informations et le perfectionnement continu des méthodes d'inventaire - si possible avec l'aide de la vidéo - et d'autre part à centraliser ces informations par l'intermédiaire d'une banque de données de façon à mettre à la disposition du public les résultats de cet inventaire et à éviter de multiplier inutilement les efforts parallèles.

En somme, un projet dont le but serait de remédier aux failles des politiques traditionnelles de protection du patrimoine culturel qui se bornent inexplicablement à la valorisation d'objets. Un projet destiné à préserver l'expérience technique accumulée par les générations précédentes et à faciliter sa réappropriation, afin de restaurer une confiance perdue au sein de groupes de plus en plus marginalisés par rapport aux centres de décision technologique. Un projet voué à promouvoir le changement en fonction de besoins et de moyens clairement définis et non à peine vaguement supputés!
A BRAZILIAN PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION ADDRESSES THE WORLD COMMISSION ON DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENT

The World Commission on Environment and Development, chaired by former Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, met last Fall in Sao Paulo, Brasil. Brazilian associations were invited to interact with the Commission. One of them, the Acacao Democratia Feminina Gaucha, sent us its comments, which we publish below. Further, the ADFG, together with 14 other Brazilian people's associations, wrote to Ms. Brundtland to "plea" that the Commission include representatives from the civil society, not just from governments and international organizations.

The meeting exactly reflected the existing patterns in the present national and international political order. This Commission, whose president and vice-president were appointed by the UN General Secretary, was created to face the critical problems of environment and development and to find better ways for the world community to face them. Nevertheless, not one leader of NGOs of renowned international action in environment and development is a member of the Commission. Once more, the citizen is called to legitimate and give respectability to an official initiative only through suggestions; she/he is excluded from the decision process, notwithstanding her/his constant and vehement revendications to participate in this process. The Commission was impressed by the ardour and courage of Brazilian NGOs which, in a given moment, went as far as demanding the exclusion from the Commission of the Brazilian representative, Dr. Paulo Nogueira Neto, Secretary of the SEMA, Special Environment Secretary.

The topics discussed were: the debt crisis, tropical forests, agrotoxics, militarization, industrial pollution.

Speaking about the debt crisis, ADFG repeated the central conclusion of the 140 participants in the first Global Meeting for Environment and Development (Nairobi, Feb. 1985): the debt crisis is the major immediate obstacle to any ecologically sustainable development; it is caused by the insatiable appetite for profit of the lenders and the crave for power, infatuation and incompetence of the borrowers. Its most serious consequence is the hunger which is already decimating populations.

As long as global economy and national and international politics keep acting for the benefit of the privileged mighty, at the cost of environment degradation and the human rights of the poor, there will be no hope for development and peace.

As for tropical forests, we heard the moving and harsh statements of those who really live in close relationship with them. The Indian nations claimed their right to live
in, and of, the forests and the "seringueiros" (tappers of rubber trees) did not even revendicate the ownership of the land, but only the right to work on it, preserving it for the extractive activity, a factor of significance in the Amazonian and Brazilian economy. And yet, at the same time, a plan called "Tropical Forests - Call for Action" was presented with special emphasis by the representative of the World Resources Institute, Washington.

This plan, like so many others, was elaborated by persons alien to the reality of local problems and followed all the models of other projects which only make problems worse; the social cost befalling the poor, and the profit going to the national and international economic powers. This project was criticised the following day by ADFG in the public hearings.

As for agrotoxics, uncontradictable data were presented; they did not increase productivity, were a major factor in increasing hunger, impaired both environmental and human health, and became a powerful instrument of domination dangerously enhancing political, economical and technological dependence.

The eloquent activist, speaking about militarization, began her statement by saying that while we waited for the Commission's report, the world might succumb to nuclear holocaust. She stressed the growing militarization in Brazil, the insanity of a nuclear policy in countries which do not need it, and denounced the arms race as responsible for the chemical and hunger war, already amply happening in the Third World.

"The world is already dying little by little and we didn't have to press the button. But the major crime is the death of hope, which disheartens those who still can fight" were her finishing words. She was acclaimed by the floor who no longer shared any doubts as to the imbalance of relationships between the agents of the social process: political power, economic power and the civil society.

The industrial zone of Cubatão was stopped so that the Commission could not verify the extension of the air pollution in that region. While the representative of the Baixada Santista region denounced the possibility of an imminent tragedy - the crumbling of portions of the Serra do Mar over Cubatão - one of CETEB's speakers assured that all measures were being taken. Pressed for a precise answer, he resorted to philosophical arguments about aims and strategies.

The highlight of the public hearings was the desperate plea of the representative of the Indian peoples, the "seringueiros" and of the people of Sao Paulo slums, claiming the right to live and to be able to work, asserting themselves as participants in the social process and not as marginals.
excluded even of the right to citizenship, as is the case of Indians in Brazil. "Do respect our right to fight for the right to live in our place, a place that befalls us by right and that was taken away by the white people and their so-called civilizations". This right, as all others present revendicated, will never be attained if participatory democracy does not become a reality. To fight for it is more a duty than a right and this is the main purpose of ADFG. In the fulfilment of this duty we once more participated in a meeting, adding our voice to the ecologist's claims from all over Brazil. Our struggle never stops, at all times, everywhere.

And thus, in this meeting we fought until the last minute for every possibility to speak, even when we were denied the time to present the final document we ecologists had elaborated. And so the document was read by ADFG after the official closing of the meeting, before a crowded floor and in the presence of the whole Commission.

Suggestions to the World Commission on Environment and Development

a) Include in the Commission NGOs representatives at international level, such as Anwar Fazal (Malaysia), Anil Agarwal (India), Patricia Adams (Canada).
b) Analyse the Nairobi proposals for immediate support to NGOs' action programmes.
c) Create international courts for crimes against man and environment such as Bhopal, Vila Socó, Seveso, etc.
d) Open up the discussion of financial aid projects for both lenders and borrowers, since it is fundamental that they fulfil the aims which justify them for the public opinion. Sine-qua-non pre-requisite for approval: ecological sustenance and respect for the rights of the population affected.
e) Increase the number of ecologists working on financial projects of international agencies.
f) Give immediate priority to financial support to biological research and alternative projects.
g) Reappraisal of "tied projects".
h) Study the possibility of a "Marshall Plan" for the Third World, as suggested by Bruno Kreisky, former Chancellor of Austria.

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SOCIAL INNOVATIONS IN THE URBAN SETTING:
SCOPE AND EVALUATION CRITERIA

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By the year 2010 - one generation from now - low income people in cities of the Third World, many of them living in megacities, will become the new majority among the world population. Each of the three continents - Latin America, Africa and Asia - is facing very serious urban problems. The backlog of unattended needs for housing, food, energy and services is so great, and the pace of urbanization so rapid, that conventional solutions will not suffice, short of a drastic and unlikely reallocation of world resources currently engaged in the armaments race. The degree of satisfaction of basic needs of the growing urban populations will, to a great extent, depend on the creativity and resourcefulness of the communities, as well as of their city administrators. New urban development strategies are called for, based on social innovations.

An innovation results in a change with relation to a previous policy, action or behaviour. It introduces a novelty in a given context and at a given time by inventing, copying or adapting. However, this concept of innovation, inspired by Schumpeter, should be both enlarged and qualified for our purposes. The enlargement broadens the spheres of innovation beyond the economic field. The qualification introduces evaluation criteria necessary to detect the innovations deemed socially useful. Let us start by enumerating the five main fields of potential innovations:

The first deals with new forms of organization of the economic activity, capable of improving the degree of utilization of the human potential for work available in the society. In order to ascertain it, we must understand better the everyday structures of material life, the cultural models of time use and the working of the "real economy". This term encompasses the complex web of interconnected markets of labour, goods and services ranging from the official to the criminal, as well as the non-market household economy, the embryonic forms of the non-market social economy and the multiple interventions of the State. In other words, it is necessary to go beyond the formal/informal dichotomy and to analyse both the monetary flows and the cultural patterns of time allocation for work in market-oriented and non-market economic endeavours as well as for non-economic activities.

The second consists of the untapped, under-utilized, misused or wasted resources existing in the urban ecosystem: vacant land, waste and sewage that can be recycled or reused, energy and water that can be conserved at a lower cost than the production of additional supplies, etc. Such resources, detected through an ecological analysis, offer interesting opportunities for employment and/or self-employment, often requiring only a moderate investment per worker. More generally, countries short of capital ought to pay utmost attention to "non-investment" sources of
growth, such as maintenance of existing equipment, elimination of wasteful resource use patterns, recycling, etc.

The third sphere encompasses the whole area of identification and production of appropriate technologies, enabling a rational and more intensive use of the capacity to work of the people and of the detected physical resources. The concept of appropriate technology is, once more, relative to a given ecological, cultural and socio-economic context. There exist no appropriate technologies as such, applicable universally. Nor is it reasonable to choose a priori capital-intensive technologies or labour-intensive ones. A selective use of the whole range of technologies is called for and scientists should be encouraged to search for new "knowledge-intensive", resource conserving, technologies.

The fourth domain is the institutional one, perhaps the most difficult and, in many respects, the most decisive. Development cannot be left to market forces alone, nor be made an exclusive responsibility of the State. Community involvement is indispensable at all levels: setting of priorities, creativity in searching for solutions, participation in implementing them. The institutional breakthrough will only happen by means of new forms of partnership for development between the civil society, the market and the State. The whole field of party politics, non-party politics related to grassroot organizations and workers' self-management within enterprises needs to be reconceptualized.

Finally, the fifth field for innovations in the urban setting is concerned with public policy instruments and the selection of policy packages that stimulate and support social innovations. The emphasis on community participation and self-help schemes should not be taken as a pretext to reduce the responsibility and the share of the State in carrying out a vigorous action aimed at alleviating the plight of low-income urban populations.

Turning now to the evaluation of social innovations in the urban setting, the following three criteria should be met at the same time: Greater social equity, i.e. better access by low-income populations to goods and services needed for a decent life; this can be achieved by a variety of means: employment and higher incomes, generation of opportunities for self-production and self-help construction (assisted by the State), subsidized housing, free education and health services and, in cases of poverty, food distribution through special programmes;

Economic efficiency considered at the macrosocial level, i.e. ensuring a rational pattern of resource use for the whole society, the aim of the economic policy being then to create such conditions for private enterprise, so as to make the micro-entrepreneurial criteria coincide to a large degree with the social ones;

Ecological sustainability both in terms of resource conservation and of minimizing the harmful impacts on the environment and, by extension, on people's health and quality of life.

Of course the analysis should strive to explain the disparities between the intended and the actual impacts of the surveyed innovations.
Cities—laboratories of tomorrow

Many such innovations are already happening. Information about them must be collected, evaluated and disseminated as widely as possible, not as models to be followed, but rather as stimulation for the social imagination of all those who in the cities of the Third World strive to find solutions to such pressing problems and engage in experiences that will shape the world of tomorrow. The recent creation of "RECEM" - a communications network on municipal experiences - at the Fundação Faria Lima in Sao Paulo is a welcome step in this direction. The next stage should consist of involving international organizations, networks of research institutions working on urban problems and non-governmental organizations active in this field, in a common effort to establish a systematic South-South flow of information. Mutual knowledge among Third World countries is a precondition for meaningful collaboration and, ultimately, greater collective self-reliance.

URBAN SELF-RELIANCE
A DIRECTORY OF INSTITUTIONS AND PROJECTS

This was the title of an IFDA special publication released last November. In view of its success, its sponsor, the United Nations University, has now requested IFDA to undertake a second phase of the project with a view to publishing later this year an updated and more comprehensive edition. Hence this:

CALL FOR INFORMATION

Would those already listed in the first edition and who may not yet have done so, kindly check their entry and communicate any amendments, complements, etc;

Would interested readers who may not have received a copy of the first edition request one and send any relevant information and documents on their own activities, or germane activities they may know of; this applies especially to readers in regions less well covered (e.g. Africa or Asia) or not covered (the Arab region).

Requests for copies should be addressed to IFDA, Place du Marché 1260 Nyon, Switzerland.

Information should be sent to the UNU/IPDA Urban Self-Reliance Project c/o CIRED, 54 Bd. Raspail, 75270 Paris, France.
DISAPPEARANCE OF FAMILY FARM AGRICULTURE IN THE US
IMPLICATIONS FOR WORLD HUNGER

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Original language: English

LA DISPARITION DES FERMES FAMILIALES AUX USA
IMPLICATIONS POUR LA FAIM DANS LE MONDE

Résumé: Dans son discours à l'Assemblée alimentaire mondiale réunie à Rome en novembre 1984, Mark Ritchie, animateur de l'Alliance Férière nord américaine, décrit comment un processus analogue à celui qui ruine des paysans romains est en cours aux États-Unis et les implications de ce processus pour la lutte contre la faim par la généralisation de la sécurité alimentaire. Il décrit le processus de désinvestissement qui affecte l'agriculture américaine depuis 1945 ainsi que la crise fermière qui en est résultée, crise comparable aux pires moments de la Grande dépression des années 1920 et 30. Il esquisse ensuite l'histoire de l'organisation des fermiers aux USA et les conflits en cours entre fermiers et les monopoles céréalières, les banques et autres forces dont les intérêts s'opposent souvent directement à ceux des fermiers. Il examine enfin les implications de cette situation pour les producteurs agricoles dans le monde et met en lumière quelques pistes politiques, puissantes et nouvelles, dans la lutte vers une alimentation complète et réellement nourrissante, et la justice pour tous les ruraux.

LA DESAPARICIÓN DE LAS HACIENDAS FAMILIARES EN LOS USA
IMPLICACIONES PARA EL HAMBRE EN EL MUNDO

Resumen: En su discurso a la Asamblea alimentaria mundial reunida en Roma en noviembre de 1984, Mark Ritchie, animador de la Alianza rural Norte-americana, describe como un proceso análogo al que ruinió a los campesinos romanos está en curso en los Estados Unidos y cuales son las implicaciones de este proceso para la lucha contra el hambre por la generalización de la seguridad alimentaria. Describe de que manera la 'desinversión' afecta a la agricultura americana desde 1945 y como la crisis rural que resulta de este situación, crisis comparable a los peces momentos de la Gran Depresión de los años 1920 y 30. Esboza luego la historia de la organización de los hacendados en los Estados Unidos y los conflictos en curso entre estos últimos y los monopolios cerealistas, los bancos y otras fuerzas cuyos intereses se oponen a menudo directamente al de los hacendados. Finalmente examina cuales son las implicaciones de esta situación para los productores agrícolas en el mundo, y llama la atención sobre algunas pistas políticas nuevas y podero-sas, en la lucha para una alimentación completa y realmente nutritiva, y la justicia para todos los campesinos.
I was born in a small town in the State of Georgia, in the Deep South of the United States, where my grandparents worked a 3-acre vegetable farm. By the time I was in high school my family had moved North, settling in a rural town in the midwestern state of Iowa, the heart of the Farm Belt of our nation.

Close to my hometown was a large grain mill, owned by the Quaker Oats Company. One of the more subtil forms of marketing and promotion by corporations in the US is the distribution of "educational" materials to public schools. Quaker published and distributed one of these little booklets which gave a brief history of food, from the view of a US corporation of course. This booklet was entitled "Grain Through the Ages". I want to quote from one small section describing the situation of farmers in Italy during the Roman Empire. I was amazed at the similarities to our situation today.

One reason for the decline of grain farming in Italy was the importation of grain into Rome from the rich grain lands of Sicily and Egypt. In Sicily these grain lands had been appropriated by rich men and scheming politicians who farmed them with slave labor. As a result the markets of Rome were flooded with cheap grain. Grain became so cheap that farmers who still owned small pieces of land could not get enough money for the grain they raised to support their families and pay their taxes. They were forced to turn their farms over to rich landowners.

Roman citizens who had become very rich bought up the little farms and joined them together into great estates. Very often a rich man would lend a farmer money and when the latter was unable to pay back the loan, the rich man took the farm. The small farmers who lost their lands in this way were often men unable to make their farms pay as they had been obliged to leave their land to serve the army.

The farmers, after their land had been lost, went within the city walls, leaving the scythe and the plough. They worked now and then at a small wage. They ate mostly bread made of wheat which was distributed to them by any politician who wanted their vote.

The use of slaves meant that the land was badly worked because usually the slaves did as little as they possibly could unless they were under the eye of the overseer. The land itself became very poor. There were no great rivers, as in Egypt and Mesopotamia, to spread over the land each year a new and fertile soil.
Whatever aspects of this brief story may not be totally accurate, the essence of the story can still be seen. The very same relationships between low farm prices, crushing debt, displacement and political disempowering of independent farmers and the concentration of land and food production into the hands of the few, continues today.

The example from ancient Rome highlights the twin forces that have worked historically to force farmers off their land and resulted in a consolidation of land in the hands of the rich.

The first is the process of farmers borrowing money, and then being unable to repay the loan. In ancient Rome it occurred often when a farmer was called away to fight in a war. Today, the reasons are likely to be government enforced low farm prices and skyrocketing interest rates.

The other force that has worked to destroy local farmers and food self-sufficiency throughout history is "cheap grain". When farm products are imported into a country at extremely low prices, it is impossible for local farmers to produce food on a profitable basis. They are ultimately forced to go deeper into debt and then to quit.

The end results are the same in the United States today as they were in ancient Rome: unemployment, which depresses wages for everyone, political manipulation, urban crowding, destruction of the very soil itself, and generally much less effective use of scarce cropland.

Dis-Investment

The most common terminology for this process is dis-investment, roughly equivalent to the concept of de-development elaborated by writers such as Andre Gunder Frank. For farmers, this dis-investment occurs in three stages.

The first stage is the taking of crops and livestock from farmers at prices below the cost of production. Since the early 1950's prices for most farm products in the US have been set by our federal government at levels well below full parity. The parity ratio is a statistical measure of farm family purchasing power, comparable to a Cost of Living Index used for urban workers, computed by comparing costs of goods and services needed to produce a crop with the price received for the crop produced. Parity is used to imply an equality, or parity, between the income of urban workers and farmers.

As an example, let's look at the last three years. Farm prices have reached the lowest point of this century, going as low as 55% of parity in March of 1983. They now (November 1984) stand at 56% with a number of key crops such as wheat,
rice, barley, and soybeans below 50%. In dollar terms, this means that corn, that costs a highly efficient farmer $3.30 per bushel to produce, is sold for only $2.55, and for the best wheat, farmers are getting only $3.50 per bushel when it costs them $5.00 to grow it. On an annual corn harvest of 8 billion bushels, this means that US farmers will lose another $6 billion dollars this year. Since each dollar of farm income is "multiplied" at least 3 times throughout our economy, this will mean a total loss, from corn alone, in the range of $25 billion.

Farmers in the US often refer to this policy as a "cheap food policy" which is a serious mistake. It is clearly a "cheap raw material policy" which companies around the world are all seriously engaged in pursuing. But that same corn is being sold to the US consumers for over $200 per bushel in the processed form of breakfast cereals. Hardly cheap. Although farmers only receive 5 cents for the wheat in a loaf of bread, it costs the consumer over a dollar.

These are two of literally hundreds of examples where farmers are being pitted against consumers, and vice versa. Instead of asking what happened to the other dollar in the loaf of bread, consumers often question farm price support programs that are barely keeping farmers alive, and farmers view the consumers as people getting such a "good deal" on food yet they remain ungrateful to the farmers who produce this food. Farmers need to demand a higher percentage of retail food prices, not higher prices for consumers.

Although there are obvious economic reasons for this exploitation of farmers, there are equally important political motivations as well.

The then Director of the US Office of Management and Budget, David Stockman, in an interview with The Atlantic Monthly, a leading US publication, outlined his domestic political strategy for weakening the political power of farmers in Congress. His plan was to propose farm-policy legislation that would be so economically devastating that it would splinter the entire farm community.

The most important political motivation for maintaining this "cheap grain policy" is the continued use of what the Administration has called "food as a weapon" in US foreign policy. Ranging from the emergency grain shipments to Europe after 1945 as part of the Cold War, to the recent cutting off of the sugar quota from Nicaragua, food exports and imports have been subjected to the whims of foreign policy objectives. Maintaining a large supply of cheap grain is critically important to these strategies.

I would imagine that the farmers in ancient Rome faced pretty much the same policies in their time as well.
This first stage of dis-investment - the extraction of raw materials at below cost-of-production prices - leads directly to the second stage of this process. This is the expansion of debt by farmers to cover their losses caused by the low prices or to expand in an attempt to cover their rising costs. This results in the extraction of large amounts of capital through interest payments to the banks, insurance companies, wealthy investors, and other lenders.

Farm debt in the US has risen steadily since the 1950's. In the last decade, however, it has skyrocketed. In 1970, farm debt was around $20 billion, but today (1984) it stands at over $225 billion, an increase of over 1000%. By comparison, the foreign debt of Brazil is $100 billion, a burden shared by over 100 million people. This US farm debt of $225 billion is, however, shouldered by only 2 million families.

And, just like Brazil, climbing interest rates, and declining prices for raw materials, have become the dominant economic factors. Interest payments by US farmers are now their largest single operating cost, taking over 20% of farm income. This form of debt peonage, just like the example from ancient Rome, sets the stage for the third step in the dis-investment process, the forced liquidation of independent farm families and the acquisition of their farms by the banks, insurance companies and wealthy investors.

Effects of dis-investment

In 1981, this stage of the process came on in full force in the United States. Farmland prices began to fall, farmers became unable to continue borrowing to cover losses due to low prices. Forced liquidations put so much land, machinery and livestock on the market that it sent prices into a downward spiral, dragging down the entire rural economy.

In Minnesota, we are losing about 1% of our small and medium-sized family farmers each month. In a recently completed State Department of Agriculture study, over one third of our farmers reported that they will be forced off their farms within the next 5 years. Over 13,000 families out of 95,000 will be forced out before the end of next year.

The social costs of each stage of dis-investment are extremely high, with suicides, spouse and child abuse, alcoholism and drug abuse and other economically created personal tragedies are at record levels. Violent confrontations between desperate farmers and police who are attempting to carry out the evictions and foreclosures ordered by the lenders. It is becoming increasingly common for the land to be taken over by the original lender or other corporations to be managed as an absentee-owned farm, with deep environmental and political implications.
Environmental costs are quite high. Our experience in the United States has shown that as the control over farmland has passed into the hands of large corporations and absentee investors, they have generally treated the irreplaceable natural resources with the same narrow short-term profit orientation that has characterized their treatment of many of our factories, railroads and other capital resources.

The earth is being used and abused as long as it can show a high enough profit or be a tax shelter for other profits. Once worn out or depleted it is being abandoned or covered over for so-called development purposes. Ground water is being pumped and rivers diverted.

But even more important is the political impact of this dis-investment. At our present rate of forced liquidation, we will lose over 50% of our family farmers before the end of the decade. This will mean the transfer of food-producing assets, including farmland, livestock, machinery and buildings, worth up to $500 billion out of the hands of working farm families and into the hands of banks, corporations and wealthy individuals. This will bring about an enormous shift in political power within our country, with consequences not yet appreciated by most.

Fighting back

This conflict between different class interests, has a long history in the United States and around the world. We have been on the brink of wiping out family farm agriculture in the past, but farmers were able to organize and turn back the tide of corporate domination and financial control. I want to trace a bit of that history to help create a frame of reference for understanding the positive actions that are being taken again today, and to facilitate discussions on cooperative efforts in this struggle.

From the earliest days of European colonization, commercial agriculture production, meaning production for sale beyond family subsistence and local trade, was dominated by large-scale agriculture. This included the slave plantations in the Southeast, huge Spanish land grants in the Southwest and the bonanza farms of wheat and cattle out West. Most of these were in the hands of wealthy individuals.

In the middle of the 1800's, the federal government took specific steps to alter the structure of commercial agriculture for political, social and economic development reasons. The military defeat of slavery in the South and the opening up of major portions of the Midwest are two examples of political actions that helped independent family farmers to displace the landed gentry as the major force in control of commercial, cash crop production.
But from the very moment families took possession of land, whether they were freed slaves or immigrant families, they were forced to struggle to retain their ownership and control. Farmers found themselves caught in the classic historic squeeze between rising costs for the items they needed, like seed, credit and transportation, and monopoly control over the prices they received for their crops.

This squeeze between costs, especially interest rates and transportation and falling prices from the grain-marketing corporations became worse. There were a number of Depressions and Panics in the late 1800's and early 1900's, often spawning radical farmer-based political movements, including the Populist Party, Greenback Party and the successful Non-Partisan League in North Dakota.

In North Dakota, for example, the farmers took over the state legislature and proceeded to establish our nation's only government-owned bank. In addition, they passed a number of laws to protect farmers from the predatory practices of the railroads, banks and grain companies, including laws to prohibit corporate ownership of farmland, and to create cooperatives and state-owned grain elevators.

The 1914-18 War was followed by a period of extreme farm economic crisis. Agriculture entered one of its deepest depressions in the 1920's, almost a full decade before the 1929 collapse of the New York Stock Market. Economists who have studied that period have argued that it was this prior depression in the farm economy that precipitated the urban collapse, coining the phrase, 'Depressions are farm led and farm fed'.

The period of the 1920's and 30's was an enormous challenge to the very survival of family farm agriculture in the United States. The actual hardships in some of the more remote regions, especially those that were without electricity or other minimal services, were quite extreme. The severity of the crisis spawned a resurgence of the farmer organizing that had died down during the war. Farmers throughout the country, from Black sharecroppers in the South to immigrant Scandinavian grain farmers in the Upper Midwest, began to develop an economic and political analysis of their crisis, and they began to organize a political response. In some states, like Minnesota, farmers united with urban workers to form a Farming-Labor Party which took control of our state government during this Depression. They passed laws designed to protect farmers, workers and small businesses from the worst effects of this crisis, including such measures as a moratorium on all foreclosures by banks or other lenders.

By the early 1930's, the situation of farmers across the country became so desperate that food riots occurred in several states. Farmers put tremendous pressure on the natio-
nal government, finally forcing through immediate relief measures and then ultimately winning passage of a "supply management" farm program that gave farmers the ability to force the grain cartels to pay a fair price, by holding their grain off the market. These legislative victories prevented, for the moment, the elimination of family farms as the dominant form of commercial agricultural production in most, but not all, of the United States. Family farmers lost the struggle against corporate agriculture in California, and I think it is important to take a closer look at why this happened, and what we might learn from that experience.

Although the vast majority of the farmer organizing in the 1930's was linked closely with labor and other progressive movements, we had some of the same problems with fascist ideologies that faced many European countries. This was especially true among farmers who were desperately searching for an explanation for their crisis, and for any solutions.

In a few states, progressive action by farmers was subverted and defused by banks and agribusiness corporations, through the creation of neo-fascist front organizations. In California, the largest and most successful of these front groups was called the Associated Farmers, and was financed almost exclusively by major Californian banks and agribusiness corporations. The largest single source of funds was the Bank of America, the largest private farm lender in the world. One of its most effective strategies was to keep farmers divided among themselves and in conflict with farmworkers by using racism and anti-Semitism. In California, it was successful enough to weaken and destroy all legitimate organizing among family farmers. The end result was the actual defeat of family farm agriculture as the dominant form of commercial production, and the renewed control by corporations, banks and wealthy families over the richest agricultural regions in California.

The victory of corporate agriculture in California paved the way for the development of agribusiness-controlled industrial food production that now threatens to eliminate family farming around the world.

What is important about this entire period is that family farmers were pushed to the brink of extinction, became politically organized and forced through legislation that restored their strength and stabilized the family farm economy in much of the country. As in the days of the Non-Partisan League in North Dakota, the gains made by farmers were often at the expense of many corporations and banks.

**The corporate response**

Just a few short years after the situation had stabilized, the United States entered the War. During this time their
political and economic situation remained relatively stable, and we had a lessening of certain problems, such as soil erosion. But the end of hostilities touched off the conflict anew. Only this time the corporations were ready. And a whole lot smarter.

As early as 1943, US economists and policy makers had begun planning for the post-war economic and social structures. The partnership among the federal government, corporations and academia developed during the war was viewed as the key to continued success. And the ability of the US to dictate major elements of the post-war global re-adjustments was translated down to the assumption that economists and planners could solve whatever problems we faced, be they urban ghettos or farm crises.

In the United States, corporations even sponsored contests among economists to develop plans to handle post-war unemployment and farm depressions. Policymakers began to develop a general consensus on what to do with farmers.

Policymakers, both government and private, believed that agriculture was using too many "resources", which was their code word for farmers, and that these "resources" could be more productively used in other sectors of the economy. This would of course open the way to greater capital investment in agriculture, and require the increased use of energy-intensive methods, such as more mechanization and greater reliance on chemicals, to replace the "resources" that they wanted to push off their farms.

The primary strategy developed for moving farmers off the land was the enforcement of commodity prices below cost of production, which could eventually squeeze enough farmers off the land. To accomplish this, however, they recognized that they would have to repeal the farm legislation that farmers had won in the 30's and 40's in order to be able to force prices down. A number of divergent interests, including the US Department of Agriculture, the military establishment and academia were recruited to assist in this lobbying campaign.

University professors were drafted into a propaganda effort to convince both farmers and the general public that we needed fewer farmers because of so-called "productivity gains" and that the parity legislation passed back in the early 1940's that helped farmers resist the grain monopolies were the major obstacles to removing unnecessary farmers. The same general process was taking place in Europe right after the war, perhaps at a slightly slower pace. The general direction was to reduce the number of people involved directly in farming, and to replace those people with energy and capital-intensive methods developed and controlled by the industrial and financial sectors of the economy.
Farmers in the US were able to prevent the repeal of their key farm programs until the early 1950's. Since that time, however, with a few exceptional years, farmers have either lost money or broken even on their actual farming operations as a result of government enforced low commodity prices.

Since the early 1950's we have witnessed the most recent historic example of the first two stages of dis-investment. In 1981 our farmland prices began to fall, resulting in a widespread liquidity and credit crisis for farmers who were unable to borrow in order to stay in business. We have now entered the final stage, where banks and other lenders have touched off an epidemic of liquidations, bankruptcies and foreclosures unseen in our nation's history.

In Minnesota, the state government just completed a survey of farmers throughout the state. At least 50% will be forced to leave farming over the next 5-7 years. We will lose 13,000 farm families during the next 12 months. Economists now predict that all rural communities with a population of under 900 will become ghost towns within ten years.

The United States is facing an unparalleled social transformation, with enormous international implications.

First, there is every reason to expect that the current Administration will continue to respond to this economic crisis from a strictly ideological approach, relying on the invisible hand of the "free market" to solve the problem. They believe that if farmers could only sell more products, prices would increase and things would be all right.

With stagnant US population growth resulting in limited increases in domestic food consumption, the only hope, according to their ideology, is increased exports. Although US grain exports have been failing over the past few years, and will continue to fail according to all analysts, this is the path President Reagan is committed to. He is trying hard to get farmers in the US to back his approach, but he has a little trouble with the international contradictions. He is saying to them "The only way to get farm prices up is to increase exports, but unfortunately the only way to increase exports is to lower your prices".

It is disturbing how well this particular line of illogical reasoning has worked, within both major political parties and among otherwise progressive-minded people. It is an especially attractive message to the agribusiness corporations who profit from the fencerow-to-fencerow planting policies of the current administration. This approach will have three dangerous, perhaps deadly effects.

The first is that the Administration has chosen to attack the food security programs of Europe, Japan and other na-
tions in an attempt to display local farm products with imports from the United States. In addition, it is aggressively trying to displace them in overseas markets. The trade wars of the past few years are mild compared to what we are about to witness.

In several instances, senior Administration officials have spoken openly about their intention to bankrupt the European Community in order to force Europe into opening domestic markets to US goods, and to make it impossible for Europe to continue providing credit assistance to trading partners.

They are also clear that bankrupting the EEC to make Europe more dependent on US food would make it easier to influence other matters, like the placing of nuclear weapons or European support for the US war against Nicaragua.

Our government can and will lower domestic US prices on feed grains and wheat to force the EEC to spend large sums of money in an attempt to keep European farmers solvent in the midst of US manipulated world grain prices.

But the most serious crisis would be for farmers and domestic food production in Third World countries. Caught in the middle of price wars, resulting in failing international prices, most Third World farmers will find themselves unable to compete with the below-cost prices of the US. Early casualties include the dairy farmers of Colombia and the rice farmers of South Korea, unable to compete with underpriced exports from the US and Europe. It is just like the cheap grain from Sicily that destroyed Roman farmers.

But today the end results are not simply the impoverishment of farmers and the rural business and workers who depend on them for employment. The destruction of local farming and food production creates a dependency on food imports that must be paid for out of precious hard currency. In many poor countries, this amounts to a death sentence for millions of people. It forces governments to choose between importing food or importing medicines. And it is the cause of the forced displacement of millions of rural families into crowded urban areas, like Mexico City, Chicago and Lagos.

It is cruel irony that farmers in both the North and the South are both seriously, perhaps fatally, damaged by low commodity prices. We must be able to articulate this critical economic evolution of the direction of world food production policies, along with the relatively well-developed social and environmental critiques that are already widely understood.

I believe, however, that there is an even greater danger inherent in the current policies being pursued by the Reagan Administration. The most serious problem is that the poli-
cies are destined to fail. And their failure will surely precipitate a much deeper economic crisis, just as farm failures led to the Depression in the 1930's. And the current Administration truly believes that military spending and war are solutions for economic problems.

What makes this quite dangerous is that many people in the US believe it. We have been told over and over again that military spending creates jobs, and that it took the 1939-45 War to bring us out of the previous Depression. The real solutions to our previous Depression, employment and farm income support programs of the federal government, are never acknowledged. They simply do not fit the current ideology.

Many people, especially our youth, who feel the greatest effects of our economic problems, are quite susceptible to the argument that we need more military spending to get the economy moving, or that we might just need a "little war" to get us out of the next Depression. The most frightening event of the last four years was the use by the governments of Britain and Argentina of a "little war" in the Malvinas to take the attention of their citizens away from their economic crisis at home.

The United States is caught up in a deadly spiral. Farmers will not be able to solve their economic crisis if people do not understand the real solutions that have worked in the recent past, or if they believe that only military spending can stimulate the economy enough to pull us out of a crisis. And if we cannot solve our rural economic crisis soon we will drag much of our entire economy down with it. The world simply cannot afford another serious US Depression.

There can be no "little wars" anymore. The threat of nuclear holocaust makes this impossible. We must be united on a global basis in clear opposition to all dangerous trends towards the use of wars as solutions to domestic economic or social problems. We must organize together to implement real solutions to the economic problems that push us to look towards such desperate assumptions. This means opposing all efforts to underprice raw materials, be they wheat, cocoa or germplasm, opposing all forms of labor exploitations and any destruction of our environment. The North American Farm Alliance is working to build direct links between farmer movements around the world, including a historic International Farm Crisis Summit held last summer in Canada. These efforts must be expanded and cooperative activities developed. The survival of this world for our children, for my 5-year old daughter Rachel, hangs in the balance.
THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY, FACTOR MOBILITY AND WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract: The author alludes briefly to the history of West Africa whose endogenous development, however promising, was halted by external interferences such as the slave trade and the "scramble for Africa". Against this background, he shows the necessity of regional arrangements for integrated national development. He attaches special importance to "factor mobility" in particular workers migrations, which he discusses first under colonialism before analysing restrictions affecting them after independence. He examines regional integration efforts through ECOWAS and the Nigerian economy and formulates four policy recommendations which may be seen as a way of redressing the effects of balkanization of West Africa imposed by the colonial powers.

L'ECONOMIE DE LA NIGERIA, LA MOBILITE DES FACTEURS ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUE DE L'AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE

Résumé: L'auteur évoque brièvement l'histoire de l'Afrique occidentale, dont le développement endogène, si prometteur qu'il ait été, a été arrêté par des ingérences extérieures comme la traite des esclaves et les résultats de la conférence de Berlin. Dans ce contexte, il montre qu'un développement national intégré appelle des arrangements régionaux, et il examine surtout la mobilité des facteurs, notamment les migrations de travailleurs, tout d'abord à l'époque coloniale, puis au travers des restrictions qui les freinèrent après l'indépendance. Il examine la co-opération régionale et l'économie nigérienne et conclut avec quatre recommandations qui pourraient contribuer à atténuer les effets de la balkanisation de l'Afrique imposée par les puissances coloniales.

LA ECONOMÍA DEL NIGERIA, LA MOBILIDAD DE LOS FACTORES Y EL DESARROLLO ECONÓMICO DEL AFRICA OCCIDENTAL

Resumen: El autor evoca brevemente la historia del África occidental, cuyo desarrollo endógeno tan prometedor que ha sido, fue interrumpido por las injerencias exteriores tales que la trata de esclavos y los resultados de la Conferencia de Berlin. En este contexto, muestra que un desarrollo nacional integrado requiere arreglos regionales, y examina especialmente la movilidad de los factores, en particular las migraciones de los trabajadores, primeramente en la época colonial y luego a través de las restricciones que los han frenado después de la independencia. Examina la cooperación regional y la economía nigeriana y concluye con cuatro recomendaciones que podrían contribuir a atenuar los efectos de la balkanización del África occidental impuestos por los poderes coloniales.
THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY, FACTOR MOBILITY AND WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

The earliest development of statehood in West Africa was in the dry savanna lands of the Senegal and the upper and middle Niger valleys. Tekrur was a state of the Senegal valley in the 11th century, while in the upper and middle Niger valley Ghana, Mali and Songhai followed one another between the 9th and 16th centuries. Further east, the Hausa-Kokwoi and Bornu states developed about the 14th century, surviving today as the mainly Fulani-ruled emirates of Northern Nigeria 1/. Despite these well-known historical facts, Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper has maintained that there was no African history worthy of the name before the arrival of the Europeans in that continent 2/.

Indeed, during the 14th and 15th centuries pre-colonial civilisations are known to have flourished in certain parts of West Africa, especially in the area around Berlin. African blacksmiths knew how to work gold, copper, bronze and even iron. They had even developed the agricultural system of rotational bush fallow. But any orderly and natural development towards large economic units was abruptly halted. The introduction of slave trade in the sixteenth century following the territorial conquests in the Americas and the consequent opening up of rich lands to develop and exploit destroyed the earliest chances of evolution and development of large economic units 3/.

There is no way of gauging where the agrarian or technical African civilisation would be today if it had been able to follow a normal course of development in contact with European techniques. History cannot be remade. The most one can

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2/ Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Rise of Christian Europe", The Listener, 18 November 1981, the first of six lectures given on BBC Television and originally delivered at the University of Sussex.

say, in retrospect, is that if these African communities had been left alone and undisturbed to engage in peaceful trade with the outside world, they might possibly have evolved into cohesive and integrated political and economic units.

Scramble for Africa

The years 1830-85 saw an epoch of change and revolution: it was in essence a period of transition from a predominantly slave-trading economy to one based on trade in raw materials of the West African forest. Before this era, West Africa was the key slave market for Europe. But with the abolition of the slave trade through a complex variety of factors - political, economic, strategic and humanitarian - Europe sought to establish legitimate trade in its place.

European traders initially limited their activities to trade and avoided entanglement in African politics. They were of course forced to adopt this attitude by the African attitude to land, the hostility and suspicion of coastal chiefs, physical impediments and climatic barriers to penetration. Up to the beginning of the 19th century, the hostility of the well-armed coastal states was a factor in preventing European invasion of their territories and of their politics 4/.

By the mid-nineteenth century, however, African opposition and resistance had started to crumble in the face of a concerted European movement directed chiefly towards the invasion of the West African interior. Because the territorial struggle involved different countries - notably Britain, France, Belgium and Germany - intense national rivalries were generated. Consequently, these colonial powers decided to call a conference with the ultimate objective of settling territorial claims in Africa once and for all. This was the Berlin Conference.

One aim - in a sense the major one - of the Conference of 1884-85, as defined in the third "basis" 5/, was to limit the effects of future African disputes upon international relations in Europe by prescribing a new code of conduct. The final Act provided that any power acquiring territory or establishing protectorates on the coasts of Africa should at once notify all other signatory powers, and declared that possession of territory on those coasts implied a responsibility for "the establishment of authority sufficient to


protect existing rights, and, as the case may be, freedom of trade and of transit upon the conditions agreed"[6].

Thus, having succeeded in cutting up the continent into narrow strips of territory each running from the coast into the hinterland, the colonising authorities concentrated their energies on trade, tapping raw materials and enjoying unbridled monopoly supply of manufactures. Roads, railways and waterways were organised to serve these interests. No internal transport network was independently developed to connect different parts of the same territory, therefore no national or territorial economies were created as a matter of deliberate policy except of course where two adjacent territories happened to come under one flag and where such integration lessened administrative costs.

The colonial frontiers, determined by distant and often ill-informed negotiators and in some cases settled by ruler and compass alone, were not well-adapted to African needs. Even ethnic divisions appear to have exerted little influence: for example, the Ewe people were divided between the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and Togo; some Yorubas live in Dahomey (now Benin), while the majority of their kinsmen are Nigerians; the Gambia and Senegal, though for long two different countries, are ethnically the same. Until the unification of the Cameroons in 1961, the South was a part of Nigeria under the British and the rest was under the French. Nevertheless, the metropolitan authorities, true to their policies, tightened their grip on these territories by means of customs, tariffs and monetary arrangements.

It was therefore within these new borders that the technology, culture and institutions of the several colonial powers gradually made their impact during the twentieth century. The two major colonial powers, Britain and France, tried to achieve strong inter-territorial links within their own area of authority, albeit for political, economic and administrative convenience. In 1895, for instance, Paris took the first step to coordinate the activities of the individual colonial governments and to direct them towards common objectives by creating the overall government of French West Africa (AOF). The eventual formation of independent governments in the individual colonies, even in the distant future, seemed ruled out. Within the French and British territories, trade and migration took no account of territorial boundaries.

The spill-over effect of education also contributed in no small measure to reinforce this trend towards colonial eco-

nomic integration as institutions of higher learning were established only in a few strategic centres and they drew recruits from all parts of the dependencies.

**Factor mobility under colonialism**

It can be asserted without any exaggeration that West Africa, with its irrational imbroglio of small states, is perhaps the region of the world where factor mobility or at least the avoidance of immobility of factors, is most imperative for economic development. Evidently, factor mobility was in vogue during the colonial era. For, as noted earlier, Britain and France took positive steps to achieve strong inter-territorial links within their own area of authority. On this, France had a remarkable success, having pursued its favoured policy of assimilation and direct rule. The colonies were both de facto and de jure an integral part of the French union, even to the extent of having seats in the French Parliament. Furthermore, there was the unifying influence and the spirit of belonging which the adoption of a common language in education created - although this has also created and fostered the polarisation between the Francophone and Anglophone parts of West Africa which to date remains an important divisive element.

Thus, within the French or British territories, trade and migration took no account of territorial boundaries. In other aspects of economic life, effective colonial integration operated. The monetary systems in colonial West Africa were centralised. French West Africa had a common currency (which has survived), a range of common services and a customs union (UDEAC) which served as a mechanism through which resources were distributed from the wealthier coastal states of Senegal and Ivory Coast to their less-endowed peripheral inland neighbours. Even in British West Africa, which was less closely tied together, there was a common currency issued by the West African Currency Board. The establishment of research institutes and the organisation of common services and marketing boards was also on an inter-territorial basis. The politico-socio-economic framework under colonialism favoured factor mobility and its attendant salutary effects.

**Income disparities and migration**

Differences in natural conditions and economic opportunities give rise to migration. Movements of labour - both permanent and temporary, within and across territorial or national boundaries - have been an indispensable condition of economic growth in West Africa and a means by which the benefits of that growth have been diffused. Redistribution of labour to the naturally more favoured areas was demanded by the labour-intensive character of agricultural production for export overseas and of the trade and transport, building and
urban services, which export agriculture fostered. Even mining (other than oil extraction) would not usually have been possible on the scale achieved but for the readiness of labour to migrate.

The migrants sought employment as share-croppers or wage-labourers in commercialized agriculture, especially in the forest zones of the Gold Coast, the Ivory Coast and southern Nigeria and in the groundnut-growing areas of Senegal, the Gambia and northern Nigeria. The periodicity of movement was largely governed by the long dry season in the northern savannas. Employment was also found in public works, urban services and commercial activities.

By the 1950s, it was estimated that 300-400,000 persons moved annually between the Gold Coast and the neighbouring French territories, 200,000 between the Northern Territories and other parts of the Gold Coast, 60,000 into and out of the cocoa-growing areas of western Nigeria, and 40-55,000 between Senegal and the Gambia and the surrounding territories. A census of outward migration taken in Sokoto Province in northwestern Nigeria during the dry season of 1952/53 recorded the passage of 259,000 migrants, whose destinations were mostly elsewhere in Nigeria but also included the Gold Coast 7/.

The income-redistribution and factor-price equalization effects of these influx and efflux of labour have had a favourable impact not only on the overall development of West Africa but also on the growth of individual countries.

The development of plantations and forestry in the Ivory Coast owes much to the Malian and Voltaic immigrant workers, and the growth of cocoa production in Ghana prior to, and immediately after, independence.

Post-independence restrictions on factor mobility

Given the level of economic integration achieved in West Africa before independence by each colonising power within its area of authority, one might have expected unimpeded progress towards closer economic cooperation after the achievement of self-rule. But this has not exactly been the case. Admittedly, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established in 1975 after a decade of hard work, yet its achievements so far are very scanty.

One may now ask what are the forces that have militated against effective integration in West Africa? One of the

most important factors here seems to centre around the question of national sovereignty. The cadre of African leaders who fought for independence did so on the basis of the nation-state and the right of each country to govern itself. Hence there was a strong feeling among African nationalists that political and economic salvation lay within the independent nation state. Kwame Nkrumah's popular slogan "Seek ye first the political kingdom" seems to have reflected the mood of most of the African leadership on the eve of independence. Because integration involves a conscious surrender of a measure of national sovereignty in policy formulation and execution, or at least a pooling of it, it was therefore not hard to see how the consciousness of newly-won independence exerted strong influence on the general approach to economic integration and, ipso facto, factor mobility.

Indeed, aside from the issue of whether economic integration holds out the promise of improving the viability and performance of each territorial economy, the key question for the countries under examination is that of reconciling themselves to the (real or apparent) economic sacrifice of part or all of its sovereignty - the degree of sacrifice being a function of the kind of market arrangement. Thus the present weakening of economic ties is justified on the grounds that political power was transferred at independence to the territorial, not to the supranational units. Therefore, maintaining the status quo after independence was a natural corollary.

Furthermore, the post-independence trend towards disintegration has been rationalised on the grounds that unity under colonial rule was illusory. Thus intra-area factor mobility which was enhanced in the colonial period by integrated wider areas of common government was drastically reduced with the attainment of political independence and the sovereignty of the nation state.

Regional integration and the Nigerian economy

With the formation of ECOWAS in 1975 the place of intra-regional mobility of factors in the face of fierce nationalism came to the fore again. Articles 2 (2d) and 27 (1,2) of the Treaty of ECOWAS recognise the need to maintain, if not encourage, intra-regional migration as a way of rationalising and optimising resource use at the regional level. But the treaty also realises its limits; hence the Protocol, relating to free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment, clearly and meticulously stipulates how to handle the delicate issue without excessive costs to both the labour exporters and the importers.

Of course, the benefits and costs of emigration to the host countries are well-known: (i) the most widely recognised immediate benefit is the flow of remittances, which not only
augments scarce foreign exchange earnings but also provides - especially in the poorer arid states - a potential source of additional savings and capital formation; (ii) the migration of the unskilled and the unemployed, in addition to decreasing domestic employment, can even increase employment to the extent that remittances stimulate demand for goods and services in the home country; government welfare and social overhead expenditures may decrease, and the resultant savings can be channelled to investment (and hence produce more jobs); and (iii) the foregone consumption of the migrated unemployed may also increase the savings of those hitherto supporting them.

Against these benefits to the labour exporters are, at least, three sets of costs: (a) costs of loss of output (withdrawal of a few skilled workers at the margin can severely impair certain industries) (b) costs of additional education and training to replace the emigrating workers; and (c) foregone output of the unskilled labour under training. As for the labour importing countries the gains of the exporters constitute the losses of the former. Because of the danger of the displacement of workers in the host country, pressures on social services, particularly housing, medical and education, and, sometimes, increase in crime wave, governments often intervene to bring the alien population to a culturally and economically tolerable level.

Nigeria and ECOWAS migrants

As noted above, the Treaty of ECOWAS provides, by stages (emphasis mine), for the free movement of persons, residence and establishment. Sub-paragraph (d) of paragraph 2 of Article 2 of the Treaty says: "The Community shall by stages ensure the abolition as between the Member States of the obstacles to the free Movement of persons, services and capital" 8/. Furthermore, paragraph 1 of Article 27 confers the status of Community citizenship on the citizens of member states and also enjoins member states to abolish all obstacles to freedom of movement and residence within the community. Realising the implications of Article 27 (1), Article 27 (2) categorically states: "Member states shall by agreements with each other exempt community citizens from holding visitors' visas and residence permits and allow them to work and undertake commercial and industrial activities within their territories".

The above citations bring out two distinct things. First, the Treaty provides for the free movement of persons, residence and establishment; and second, it recognises that

these cannot be automatic, hence the qualifications implied in the use of the terms: "by stages", and "by agreements with each other". However, the Treaty did not spell out in detail the stages to be followed and the time-table for the mutual agreements. These details were left for a Protocol, which was later annexed to the Treaty, to fill in.

The Protocol on Free Movement of Persons was signed and annexed to the Treaty by the Authority of Heads of State and Governments at its annual meeting in Dakar on 29 May, 1979. But it did not enter into force until over a year later when it was ratified by at least seven states. It is pertinent to point out here that of all the protocols signed since 1978 only two: the one on free movement of persons and the protocol on the ECOWAS Brown Card Scheme have been ratified by the required number of states for them to enter into force. Thus, progress in the implementation of the protocols has been remarkably slow.

Although Article 2(1) of the protocol states that "the community citizens have the right to enter, reside and establish in the territory of Member states", Article 2(2) qualifies it. According to the latter:

The right of entry, residence and establishment... shall be progressively established in the course of a maximum transitional period of fifteen (15) years from the definitive entry into force of this protocol by abolishing all other obstacles to free movement of persons residence and establishment.

The protocol left no doubt as to how and when to achieve the right of entry, residence and establishment. It is proposed to be accomplished in three phases over a period of the protocol. The protocol came into force on 24 May 1980, when Senegal, the 7th country, ratified it. Therefore, the operative time-table, as envisaged under the protocol, for the attainment of full free mobility of factors of production would look like this:

Phase I - Right of Entry and Abolition of Visa: 1980-85
Phase II - Right of Residence: 1985-90
Phase III - Right of Establishment: 1990-95

Even the transition from one phase to another in the above schedule is not automatic.

It is planned that, after a maximum period of 5 years of the effective implementation of the first phase, the Trade, Customs, Immigration, Monetary and Payments Commission, based upon the experience gained from the implementation of the first phase, should make proposals to the Council of Ministers for further liberalization towards the subsequent phases; also, that these phases would be dealt with in subsequent Annexes to this protocol.
What clearly emerges from the foregoing is that ECOWAS countries are still in the first phase of the General Principles on Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment. And, ipso facto, any citizen of the community who wishes to enter the territory of any other member state is required under Article 3(2) of the protocol to possess a valid travel document and international health certificate. Besides, such a citizen must enter through the official entry point free of visa requirements but cannot stay longer than ninety (90) days without requesting and obtaining permission for extension. Indeed, there is even an escape clause (Article 4) which empowers member states to refuse admission into their territory any community citizen who comes within the category of inadmissible immigrants under its laws.

One important conclusion one can immediately draw from the above provisions of the Treaty and Protocol on the subject under consideration is that the bulk of the more recent population movements in West Africa took place outside the framework of the ECOWAS Treaty and Protocol. For a careful study of the recent influx of the Guineans into Sierra Leone and Liberia or the Voltaics, Malians and Ghanaians into Ivory Coast or, particularly, the Ghanaians into Nigeria reveals some important facts.

Firstly, most of these immigrants entered their host country (through the cooperation of immigration officials) without any valid papers at all and they are therefore, de facto and de jure, illegal immigrants. Secondly, many of the immigrants entered their respective host countries before the protocol on free movement of persons was signed and, subsequently, ratified. Thirdly, many of those who entered with or without valid papers stayed beyond the 90 days limit without obtaining permission for extension against the spirit and letter of the protocol. And, finally, a very high proportion of these immigrants entered the territory of their host(s) through unofficial entry points due to our extensive and unpolicable borders.

Those who have committed any one or all of the above offences could be classified as illegal immigrants and Article 4 of the protocol empowers a member state to deal with such immigrants according to its laws. It is therefore very important to recognise the inalienable right of member states of ECOWAS to deal with immigrants who contravene not only the provisions of the Treaty and Protocol but also their national immigration laws.

Policy issues

The decision to expel or not to expel illegal immigrants may not be easy. Prior to February 1983 when Nigeria expelled a large number of illegal immigrants from other West African countries, the latter provided a source of cheap labour for
industries, especially the construction, hotel and other manual occupations. Indeed, some state governments relied to a considerable extent on the estimated 35,000 Ghanaian teachers in Nigeria for the execution of their educational policy, in particular, the Lagos state. The professional groups, like doctors, nurses, lawyers, accountants, engineers and pilots, supplied additional critical skills while the technical groups supplied needed middle level manpower.

Even allowing for the above positive contributions, one important question must be resolved first. What is the absorptive capacity of the labour receiving economy? Can it cope with an ever increasing number of foreign immigrants? It was in recognition of the limited capacity of any economy to absorb new entrants that the Treaty and Protocol prescribed specific conditions to ensure that the entry of immigrants are regulated to the mutual advantage of both the importer and the exporter.

It is important to remember that: (i) there is a politico-economic limit to the size of immigrant population any society can tolerate. This limit is a function of the size of the country, the absorptive capacity of its economy, socio-cultural factors and allied parameters. Once it is exceeded, tensions will begin to build up and, if not checked, could give rise to tragic developments; (ii) any increase in labour supply - whether through domestic sources or immigration or both - anticipates a corresponding increase in the growth of job opportunities. Otherwise the flow of additional labour into the job market will remain unemployed, and a pool of unemployed young people has its socio-political consequences; (iii) the presence of a large immigrant population has other costs. This could be a regular source of large outflow of foreign exchange through remittances.

Similarly, the demand for social and welfare services, such as housing, health, education and the like, may entail some additional investments on the part of the government.

On balance, a compromise approach would be to establish a trade-off between national and regional interests in such a way that neither is compromised. It means that Nigeria will continue to accommodate immigrants from ECOWAS countries in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Community's Treaty but only in sectors and subsectors of the economy where they will complement rather than displace local workers. In other terms, acceptance of immigrants must be strictly regulated to the mutual advantage of all. This would not only reduce pressure on the principal countries of immigration in West Africa, like Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Senegal, but also help check mass exodus from the labour exporting states.

Furthermore, when it becomes irresistible to expel some of the immigrants - as has been the case in recent years in the
sub-region – the countries involved would be informed in advance through the diplomatic channels to prepare to receive their people. Needless to add that sufficient time must be given to the departing immigrants to play with and the expulsion exercise must be thoroughly planned and executed to ensure an orderly and less costly exit in terms of human suffering.

Summary and recommendations

The aims of ECOWAS cannot be achieved without the enforcement of the principle of free movement of peoples within the sub-region. But, given the dissimilarities in the economies of the sub-region, this must be regulated, which means that the provisions of the Protocol on free movement of persons must be strictly adhered to. To do otherwise would be counterproductive. Thus, in order to avoid occasional expulsions and their unfavourable consequences, the following policy recommendations would be in order.

1. ECOWAS member countries should always ensure that their citizens adhere strictly to the provisions of the Treaty and the Protocols attached to it. To effect this, it might be advisable for West African governments to issue exit visas to their citizens wishing to migrate to other parts of West Africa. Evidently, this would not only ensure adherence to the Treaty and Protocol but also help to check mass exodus.

2. West African countries should strengthen the policing of their borders. This would necessarily entail the institution of measures to deter border guards and immigration officials from collaborating with illegal immigrants and the reorganization of the existing inefficient immigration departments in several countries.

3. Labour importing countries should try to accommodate their immigrant labour force in such a way as to avoid displacement or clashes with their natives. A system of periodic or annual registration of aliens (as is done routinely in places like United States and Britain) might be useful here.

4. Where and when expulsion becomes inevitable, the countries whose citizens would be affected should be informed in advance, to be followed by joint preparation and execution of the expulsion order, if possible within the framework of ECOWAS.

Finally, the historical pattern of labour migration in the West African sub-region is a legitimate challenge to the artificialities of the balkanisation of Africa by imperialist powers for their selfish interests. Since we have accepted and stamped the colonial national boundaries, we have to settle for the second-best option of effective regional cooperation and development as a way of redressing the effects of balkanisation.
ARAB INTELLECTUALS STAND IN DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

140 intellectuals from nine Arab countries (Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Tunisia) made public the following statement in which they commit themselves and call on all Arab intellectuals to 'abstain from taking part in any cultural or political activity organised or financed by any Arab regime which violates the basic human rights of the Arab individuals'. Among those having signed the document are many university professors, journalists and lawyers, including Ismail-Sabri Abdalla, Samir Amin, Taoufik Baccar, Mohamed El Basri, Khair Eddin Hasseeb, Mohamed Haykal, Lotfy El Kholy, Abdel Rahman Moneef, Yousef Sayigh and Antoine Zahlan. (Further information from the Third World Forum, FOB 43, Oman, Cairo, Egypt).

IN DEFENSE OF BASIC RIGHTS OF THE ARAB INDIVIDUAL

Almost all Arab intellectuals agree that the respect of basic human rights is a major value in the system of principles and that it is a practical necessity for the success of any endeavour aiming at the liberation of the nation and its progress. However, this message has no echo among the masses. An explanation of this phenomenon may be the widespread repression in the Arab world, repression which makes the advocacy of human rights go beyond what authorities may tolerate. Nevertheless, the success of other patriotic and progressive ideas suggests that this explanation may not be sufficient. All major changes started with a minority acting as an early vanguard which proved eventually able to rally the masses.

An attempt to delineate our responsibility as Arab intellectuals with regard to the lack of credibility from which our call for human rights suffers, brings about the following facts:

First, as intellectuals, we show laxity in playing our role as guardians of thought and expression.

Second, a substantial number of us indulge ourselves in minor struggles for either political parties or professional, cultural and educational institutions. Without denying the importance of the struggle of the various social forces within the society, the general cause of human rights should be ever present.

Third, and more significant, is the fact that many of our daily activities stand in absolute contradiction with what we call for. This inconsistency is manifest in the explicit or implicit collaboration with repressive regimes. What appears to be beyond the control of the intellectual within
his/her country does not force him/her to collaborate with regimes in other countries with the same record of violation of human rights. For, at least, that which cannot be wholly achieved, should not be entirely renounced.

Bearing this in mind we call upon all Arab intellectuals who believe in the respect of human rights to abstain from taking part in any cultural or political activity organized or financed by any Arab regime which violates the basic human rights of the Arab individual. This should apply, among other things, to the participation in congresses and seminars, to the collaboration with 'research centres', to writing in journals and magazines and all other practices which represent part of the external propaganda of this regime and in which the participation of the intellectual might contribute, one way or the other, to giving a sort of legitimacy to this regime.

More specifically, we condemn the following acts:

- arresting political opponents or passing sentences through exceptional regulations and tribunals and punishing them by imprisonment or by expropriation of their sources of livelihood (whether money or jobs);
- withdrawal of nationality or withdrawal of passport not based on court decisions concerning non-political crimes;
- violation of the privacy of homes and the barbarian assault on individuals through hired men;
- torture of political opponents regardless of the charge;
- physical liquidation of any political opponent either through gangs inside the country or abroad, or through nominal trials.

We thus call upon the Arab intellectuals to abide by the contents of this document and to propagate its adoption. We also wish to foresee a time in which the "Arab Organization for the Defense of Human Rights" gains strength and accessibility to both means and modes of action, a time in which the organization would be able to issue a documented annual report describing the condition of human rights in various parts of the Arab world.

Finally, in our view this is the minimum level from which we, in our capacity as Arab intellectuals, could start, at least for the sake of self-esteem and for reconciling what we say and what we do. It is even more important to throw a glimpse of light amidst the deep darkness which imprisons the individual in the Arab world.
Aims and objectives of Thaba Khupa are to show young men and women that agriculture can provide a satisfying and financially worthwhile life; to help to improve the standard of agriculture in the country; and to help alleviate unemployment and migration by showing that agriculture provides a viable commercial alternative to more sought after modes of employment. The aim is also to demonstrate that young people with differing church and political backgrounds can live and work together.

One of the objectives is to provide an opportunity for people of any age or academic ability to further their interest in agriculture by offering short courses and through these courses to provide a better understanding and standard of agriculture in Lesotho.

The idea of Thaba Khupa evolved at a time when there was a serious crisis in Lesotho over the number of school leavers and over unemployment. In 1972 the Lesotho SODEPAX Commission of the Christian Council of Lesotho founded Thaba Khupa Ecumenical Centre (Farm Institute) on a 60 hectare site granted by the Principal Chief of Thaba-Bosiu.

The first full-time students started in 1973. Since then more than 230 have graduated from the school. Girls have in general outnumbered boys by two to one. Of all students 65 per cent have remained as farmers. Those in more recent groups have remained in agriculture in larger proportions than earlier groups. In an evaluation report made by the University of Lesotho this is partially explained as a result of the work of the extension staff at Thaba Khupa.

The number of school leavers in Lesotho is still very high. Statistics show that 244,000 children were enrolled in Primary School Education in

Small and mountainous

Lesotho is a small and mountainous kingdom of about 30,000 sq. km. Two thirds of the country consists of rough mountains up to 3500 m above sea level.

The population of the country is approximately 1.4 million. With the existing growth of population of 2.8 per cent per year the figure will be more than 2 million in the year of 2000.

The Gross National Product is approximately US$610 per capita. GDP is US$260 per capita.

Lesotho is completely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. Around 55 per cent of the male labour force in Lesotho is under contract labour in South Africa, especially in the mines. In Lesotho farming is the most important sector in that it constitutes the producing part of the national economy.
1980. Of these 19,700 were doing Standard 7. Only 8,100 were accepted into Secondary School. 1,200 were accepted in vocational schools. This leaves 10,300 with nowhere to go.

Training at Thaba Khupa starts with a probationary course of 6-8 weeks. At the end of this period students are interviewed for acceptance. Successful students continue with the residential course. In the first months they are taught basic techniques of vegetable growing, poultry production, artisan skills, fisheries, home economics and rural crafts. Second year students study subjects further, but with more emphasis on simple costing and opportunity to manage small enterprises within two of the main subjects taught. On completion of the second year, students undergo the extension programme.

The course at Thaba Khupa is highly intensive. The programme is very tight, from 6.30 in the morning to 6.15 in the afternoon. After supper they often get to study again. 70 per cent of the time is spent on practical work. Each student has a plot for vegetables and a poultry pen. They sell the products through the school's marketing officer. In that way they can build up minor capital while they study at the school.

Each student is assisted in establishing his or her own farm on the basis of what he/she has learnt in his/her 1 1/2 years of studies. Extension staff regularly visit students in their villages to give technical assistance and management advice. The extension department visits each student 3-4 times yearly.

Normally Thaba Khupa has more than 150 applicants yearly. Around 50 are accepted for the probation course. After the interviews only 30-35 remain at the school. The students come from all over the country. Most of them however come from the lowlands (1500 m above sea-level). At the moment (May 1985) the centre has around 60 residential students and 100 extension students.

The plan is to increase the number of students from maximum 70 per year to 100 from the beginning of 1987 when new dormitories have been completed.

(Ecumenical Centre, Farm Institute, PCB 929, Maseru 100, Lesotho).

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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.
SINA: SETTLEMENTS INFORMATION NETWORK - AFRICA

This Network links people working on community based self-help projects. Through workshops, exchange visits and a newsletter, SINA draws together the practical experience of community development workers, teachers, planners, health workers and others who share a concern for improving the quality of life in human settlements. Our members are engaged in a variety of activities including building construction, employment projects, education, and in developing productive skills that range from agriculture to bookkeeping. Whatever our individual skill type or level, our common focus is on community self-help, a strategy which enables people to make the most of limited resources.

SINA began in 1981 after a small group of workers from nine Eastern and Southern African countries organized a workshop in Lusaka, Zambia to discuss their experiences in human settlements training. The participants were mostly junior and middle level workers who had direct involvement with project implementation. By the end of the workshop the benefits of exchanging views on practical issues and problems became clear. The participants resolved to continue this process and to involve more people by starting an information network. Coordinated by Mazingira Institute, a Kenyan non-governmental organization, the network has been growing steadily ever since. It now has over 300 members in 26 African countries and 12 countries outside the region.

SINA continues to bring together people who have developed expertise in self-help initiatives and to consolidate and disseminate that experience in the region. Two more workshops have been held, one on community participation and one on income generation for women and youth, and in 1985 the first SINA exchange visit was organized. Three SINA newsletters are produced each year, carrying feature articles, news items, announcements, resources and document listings. Members actively participate in the network through the "news from members" column. Ongoing work is described, along with problems and requests for information to which other members can directly respond. This forum links people working on technical and community aspects at all levels and in different countries.

Guided by members' input through the newsletter, and to an even greater extent by the workshops, the network's focus has continuously broadened from shelter to a wider range of issues which concern people at the grassroots level. Through exchange visits, members examine their views on approaches that reach the low-income majority. During the first visit, 15 settlements workers from Kenya and Ethiopia visited site and service schemes, upgrading, health, sanitation and income generation projects in each others' countries over a three week period. In a very practical and direct way, participants observed, questioned, compared notes and offered suggestions. Another exchange visit and workshop for people involved in cooperative forms of housing is planned for 1986.

SINA welcomes new members who share our concern for improving human settlements through community self-help initiatives. Annual newsletter subscription fee for members outside Africa and those earning in foreign exchange is US$ 25.

(More information from Mazingira Institute, POB 14550, Nairobi, Kenya).
ILET UNIDAD DE COMUNICACION ALTERNATIVA DE LA MUJER

BOLETIN MUJER

Este servicio es una publicación mensual basada en recortes de artículos sobre temas relacionados con la mujer aparecidos en revistas, boletines y diarios de países latinoamericanos y en artículos escritos por nuestra red de corresponsales permanentes, Fempress.

Mujer se distribuye a los medios alternativos de la mujer y llega también a organizaciones y centros de estudios de la mujer. Esta publicación es la única que da información periódica y regular sobre la mujer en América Latina y ha demostrado la utilidad que presta a sus usuarios como medio de acrecentar la información y el contacto entre mujeres organizadas del continente.

ESPECIALES MUJER


FEMPRESS

A partir de 1983 la Unidad cuenta con corresponsales en diez países de Américas Latina, más la sede de Santiago. Además de colaborar con la recopilación de recortes de artículos aparecidos en la prensa local, así como en la promoción del uso de nuestras publicaciones, las corresponsales escriben artículos analizando la situación de la mujer en sus respectivos países. Este servicio produce entre 100 y 150 artículos anuales analizando y "editorializando" los principales hechos relacionados con la mujer y teniendo en cuenta que los lectores son mayoritariamente extranjeros. Este servicio complementa, en nuestras publicaciones, el panorama que entregan los recortes. Las actividades de las corresponsales incluyen la representación de la Unidad de comunicación alternativa de la mujer a nivel local y la realización de talleres y seminarios sobre la mujer y los medios.


COLECCION COMUNICACION ALTERNATIVA DE LA MUJER

Esta colección de folletos relata el por qué, cómo y con qué medios se han echado a andar medios alternativos de la mujer en América Latina.

* Agotados
Estos estudios de casos aportan luces sobre las dificultades y logros, temáticas, lenguaje, relación con el público, formas de distribución y otros, de las experiencias de comunicación alternativa de la mujer. Los casos ya publicados son:

"Mulherio" (Brasil), "Nueva Mujer" (Ecuador), "María, liberación del pueblo" (México), "Fem" (México), "Club Mencia" de Radio Enriquillo (Rep. Dominicana), Isis (Internacional)*, "La causa de las Mujeres" (México), "Las Mujeres en el mundo" (México), "Suplemento la Mujer" (Argentina), "La Tribuna" (Internacional)*, "La barra de las Mujeres" (México)*, "Publicaciones Alternativas"* (Directorio Latinoamericano), "Colectivo ven seremos"* (México), "Red radiofónica de Mujeres"* (Directorio latinoamericano).

RED DE RADIO

Reconociendo la importancia de la radio como un medio capaz de llegar a las mayorías de mujeres, esta Unidad ha iniciado la identificación de espacios alternativos para la mujer en el medio radial y la recolección de programas de radio producidos por mujeres en América Latina. Una selección de parte de esos programas y, en algunos casos, el programa entero, serán regrabados para ser enviados en cassettes a los programas de la región para transmitirse por sus espacios. Esta producción viene a palear un problema de atomización entre las experiencias en el campo de la radio y permite aprovechar estos esfuerzos más allá del espacio local en el cual operan actualmente.

ANTECEDENTES

El Institute Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales, ILET, es una entidad sin fines de lucro que, desde 1976, se propone conocer las formas políticas, culturales y económicas de la expansión transnacional en América Latina. Junto con ello pretende definir alternativas de desarrollo que respondan a auténticas formas de participación democrática en todos los escenarios de la realidad cotidiana. Dentro de ese marco tiene especial preocupación por la creación de formas alternativas de comunicación, frente a un sistema informativo transnacional creador de estereotipos, de silencios y aislamientos. La mujer latinoamericana es principal víctima de este fenómeno.

Una mujer sujeto participa de nuevas formas democráticas; una mujer que, desde su expresión particular, se integra en un proceso general de transformaciones solidarias; una mujer que, al construir y rescatar su propia identidad, otorga a la historia latinoamericana la mitad que le falta.

Para hacer de esta red de comunicaciones una realidad, necesitamos cooperación. Queremos saber de las mujeres que están produciendo revistas, diarios, suplementos, programas de radio o televisión, videos, diapositivas, posters, etc. ...en países latinoamericanos, o que saben de estas producciones hechas por mujeres, sobre mujeres o para mujeres.

(Adriana Santa Cruz, ILET, Casilla 16-637, Santiago 9, Chile).

* En existencia
PARAGUAY: EDUCACION, CAPACITACION Y TECNOLOGIA

Tenemos el agrado de dirigirnos a Uds. con el objeto de poner a vuestro conocimiento la creación y funcionamiento desde el 10 de Junio de 1985, del Centro de Educación, Capacitación y Tecnología Campesina (CECTEC). Conforman el mismo un grupo de investigadores, educadores, agrónomos, científicos sociales, promotores y profesionales con varios años de trabajo y experiencia en el área rural.

El CECTEC desarrolla sus actividades con campesinos en una de las áreas del país de más intensa colonización en los últimos 20 años, muy favorecida por la naturaleza en cuanto a recursos naturales, pero muy deteriorada a la vez por efecto de tan rápido y desproporcionado proceso de asentamiento. En efecto, la población de la región está conformada por: un gran número de pequeños productores campesinos; de medianas fincas de productores agrícolas; y de un reducido número de empresas transnacionales.

Mientras que para los medianos y grandes productores se desarrollan en el área programas productivos adaptados a sus necesidades, con los pequeños productores campesinos, hasta el presente solo se han implementado programas educativos y modelos productivos orientados preferentemente hacia los rubros agro-exportadores, modelos estos de producción que por lo general no responden a la realidad socio-económica y cultural de los mismos.

En la búsqueda de alternativas y respuestas a esta situación – socio-económica, cultural y tecnológica – el CECTEC desarrolla sus actividades en las áreas de: Educación sobre producción, organización y desarrollo comunal con jóvenes rurales hijos de agricultores; en Capacitación sobre sistemas de producción, tecnologías apropiadas y organización con los pequeños productores y sus familias; y en la Investigación, desarrollo y difusión de tecnologías campesinas, apropiadas y apropiables por los mismos. En todos estos procesos los jóvenes y los productores campesinos participan activamente, buscando de este modo, respuestas y soluciones concretas a sus problemas, que apunten a mejorar sus niveles de vida y de participación en la sociedad nacional.

Deseamos nos hagan saber en qué áreas podríamos establecer relaciones con Uds. Desde ya ofrecemos gustosamente nuestra colaboración en todo aquello que esté a vuestro alcance. A la vez quisiéramos conocer las áreas de trabajo de vuestra organización, y las posibilidades de relacionamiento futuro. De responder nuestro trabajo a los objetivos de vuestra institución, les rogamos nos indiquen en qué aspectos podrían prestarnos algún tipo de ayuda (materiales bibliográficos, apoyo económico, intercambio de experiencias e informaciones, publicaciones, asistencia con personal técnico, etc.).

CECTEC, Casilla Correo 1730, Asunción, Paraguay.
ECUADOR: CATER, CENTRO ANDINO DE TECNOLOGIA RURAL

CATER, creado en 1980 está ubicado en la ciudad de LOJA en la zona Sur de la Sierra Andina del Ecuador. Depende de la Universidad Nacional de LOJA (UNL). CATER tiene como finalidad la promoción de tecnologías apropiadas al desarrollo de la zonas rurales marginales de la región andina de América Latina y en especial del ECUADOR.

Sus objetivos incluyen: conocer las tecnologías existentes y utilizadas por las poblaciones rurales de la región andina; recopilar informaciones sobre tecnologías experimentadas y/o utilizadas en otras zonas o regiones de América Latina y el mundo; promover a través de los proyectos de desarrollo rural integral que están a cargo de las instituciones especializadas, la utilización de las tecnologías seleccionadas; apoyar los proyectos de desarrollo de la zona andina, a través de los Organismos de desarrollo y de las comunidades rurales, en particular mediante la circulación de informaciones, los estudios de diagnóstico y los programas de investigación y de capacitación; propiciar la reflexión sobre estrategias alternativas de desarrollo rural para la zona andina; formar el personal técnico y académico necesario para la transferencia de tecnología hacia el medio rural andino y hacia otras regiones del mundo; preparar investigadores capacitados para realizar trabajos de investigación en tecnología; desarrollar en el profesional en ejercicio, una alta capacidad innovativa, técnica y científica.

Sus funciones son tres: una función de investigación que permite conocer el contexto socio económico, cultural, ecológico andino y sus implicaciones en el campo tecnológico; conocer las tecnologías endógenas; generar nuevas tecnologías a partir de la existente en la zona y de lo existente en otras regiones del mundo; desarrollar un trabajo metodológico sobre investigación tecnológica para el desarrollo rural; implicar a la Universidad Nacional de Loja en el proceso de desarrollo rural, en particular al cuerpo docente y al estudiantado, mediante labores de investigación aplicada.

Una función de comunicación que permite de colectar informaciones sobre tecnologías disponibles en la zona andina y conocer tecnologías de otros lugares del país y del extranjero; codificar estas informaciones para que sean directamente utilizables por los que las necesiten, desde el campesino hasta el planificador; estar permanentemente al tanto de nuevos resultados a nivel de tecnología rural; transferir las informaciones codificadas a los utilizadores; afinar las metodologías de comunicación para el desarrollo rural.

Una función de capacitación que permita capacitar a los campesinos así como a los promotores rurales en el uso de las tecnologías para las comunidades rurales; capacitar al personal de investigación, comunicación y capacitación del Centro, así como participar en la capacitación del personal docente y del estudiantado de la Universidad; introducir cambios en la docencia universitaria en función de los imperativos de desarrollo de la zona andina; desarrollar las metodologías de capacitación, en el campo de las tecnologías para el desarrollo rural.

(CATER, Casilla 399, Loja, Ecuador)
JAMAICA: INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL AND WORKSHOP ON
"MATERIALS SCIENCE, ENERGY AND DEVELOPMENT"

Under the sponsorship of the International Centre of Theoretical Physics (ICTP) Trieste, the Association for the Advancement of Physics in the Caribbean Basin (APCB) will conduct, in collaboration with the Department of Physics of the University of the West Indies, a school and workshop on "Materials Science, Energy and Development" to be held from 23 March to 10 April 1987, on the Mona Campus of the University of the West Indies, Jamaica. The purpose of the programme is to initiate, stimulate, to make applicable research and training related to locally available resources. Based on these principles, the aims of the school are:

1. To demonstrate that any creative application of energy oriented technology in the Third World requires a good basic understanding of the physics and chemistry underlying the properties of an increasing number of new materials.

2. To present the latest developments in the fields of: amorphous silicon solar cell physics and technology; composite materials, ceramics, and polymers and their application to coating surfaces in photo-thermal conversion, passive cooling systems for the building industry and energy conversion and storage; molten salts and electrolytes and their application to high performance batteries; mineral waste treatments.

3. To stimulate new intensive regional collaboration in the Caribbean Basin.

4. To encourage on the ground a debate between experts from industrialised countries and scientists, teachers and economists of the region on the concrete problems and difficulties of science and technology transfer to the Third World with the purpose of defining some practical recommendations.

Participation: The School is open to research workers from all countries of the world that are members of the United Nations or UNESCO. Participants are expected mostly from the Caribbean Basin countries (Venezuela, Columbia, Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean Islands). The participants will be at least of the Master's level. The application of students who are in the final stage of their post-graduate research recommended by their supervisors will also be considered. The School will be conducted in English.

As a rule, travel and subsistence expenses are borne by the home institution. However, funds are available which will permit the APCB to grant a subsistence allowance to a limited number of participants from Caribbean Basin countries who will be selected by the coordinators. In special cases, this allowance will also cover travel expenses, but preference will be given to those who can obtain their fare from their home country.

The closing date for participation grants is 30 September 1986.

(Applications to be sent to: Prof. F. Brouers, Department of Physics, University of the West Indies, Kingston 7, Jamaica).
WOMEN WRITERS OF THE AMERICAS FOR CARIBBEAN PARLEY

by Valerie Wint-Bauer

The first ever Conference of Women Writers of the Americas is being organised for 30 May to 4 June 1986 at the Mount Irvine Hotel in Trinidad and Tobago.

Organised by the Women and Development Unit (WAND) and the Women's Studies Group and Extra-Mural Department of the Regional University of the West Indies (UWI) the Conference will take place on the tiny island of Tobago. Its theme will be 'consciousness, commitment and creativity' says a report from the Caribbean Women's Feature Service (CWFS). Some 150 writers from the Caribbean, Latin America and North America, will come together to share historical and creative experiences. It is hoped that the Conference will identify common perceptions and problems facing women writers and explore the possibility of establishing a permanent framework through which to promote and support the hemisphere's women writers.

Papers will be presented, there will be panel discussions, workshops, performances, a film and video festival, a book fair, an art and photographic exhibition, and opportunities for open readings. Twenty-one leading writers will present papers on poetry, drama, fiction, video/films, journalism, criticism, children's literature, and publishing.

The list of participants includes celebrated US novelist Toni Cade Bambara, who has been asked to make a keynote presentation on 'form/language/structure'. Another major paper 'Perspectives on Feminist Consciousness and Literature in the Caribbean', is expected from Trinidadian writer and UWI lecturer, Merle Hodge. Both writers will cover the 'new thinking' which has become necessary in addressing the issues of writer and writing in the context of the Americas, relative to the changing perspectives of women on a global scale.

A contribution by the acclaimed US poet/novelist Alice Walker, is also anticipated. She is slated for a theoretical grounding which will seek to provide a broad historical and sociological overview of women, examine the place of the woman writer in society and the present state of the art. Other well-known Conference invitees include novelists Toni Morrison, Michelle Cliff, Paule Marshall, Jamaica Kincaid, Barbara Chase-Ribold, Simone Schwartz-Bart, and Erna Brodbber. Poets Christine Craig, Audrey Lorde and Nancy Morejon, dramatists Hortence Lindsay Wilson, Honor Ford-Smith; journalists Barbara Gloudon, Joy Eliot, Diana Mahabir, and critic Sylvia Wynter are among the others.

The Conference's sub-themes suggest a rich, cross-fertilisation of ideas that will allow creative women to explore their perceptions of and ability to apprehend social reality, according to the organisers. Participants will also be able to look at the impact of women writers' work on questions of national identity and cultural integrity. The idea of a Conference of Women Writers of the Americas was conceived by Trinidadian writer/lecturer Marina Omowale Maxwell.

(Inter-Press Service, 2 Balmoral Ave., Kingston 10, Jamaica).
The Centre for Development Studies (Ootru* Organisation) was established in 1972 by a group of young academics of the University of Peradeniya, who were concerned by the popularisation of science, technology and the transfer of technology to primary producers and small-scale industrialists. At the very inception they commenced publication of a science journal entitled Ootru in the Tamil language devoted to science, technology and development issues and maintained a continuity of publication for over 13 years, catering mainly to the needs of students, primary producers and small-scale industrialists. Concomitant with this activity, seminars are conducted to study the economic and social problems of the people and evolve possible solutions. The proceedings of some of the seminars, along with basic text books, handbooks and manuals on the transfer of technology, have been published.

The scope of the organisation was enlarged in 1981 and since then its membership has expanded by attracting not only more academics, but also professionals from all walks of life, such as industrialists, bankers, engineers, architects, medical personnel, marketing and managerial specialists.

The Centre's functions include bringing together the knowledge and experience of development available in various countries; adapting such knowledge and experience to the needs of the countries of the South Asian region in the process of development; and placing the results at the disposal of the countries and developing suitable models appropriate to the region in general and to Sri Lanka in particular. In pursuance of these functions, the Centre undertakes studies of national and international developments in science and technology.

The objectives include: studies of applying science and technology, technical processes, and manpower; formulation of development projects in farming, agro industrial projects, marine, engineering, and chemical industries, financial and educational institutions, commerce and marketing organisations; formation and promotion of suitable operative institutions for the implementation of the proposals arising from the above studies and "Nursery Management" of these institutions until they reach the "take off" stage; monitoring socio-economic trends in the country with a view to promoting participatory development activities amongst communities, social groups and regional sectors; stimulating cultural development and exchange amongst the various social and ethnic groups and sponsoring cultural activities for the betterment of the quality of life of the communities and people of Sri Lanka as a whole.

(Ootru, Mari Amman Lane, Thirunelvelly South, Jaffna, Sri Lanka).

*Ootru is a Tamil word meaning eternal spring.
MALAYSIA: BUKIT MERAH RESIDENTS WIN COURT INJUNCTION AGAINST COMPANY PRODUCING RADIOACTIVE WASTE

The CAP Legal Centre won a historic court case in the Ipoh High Court in Malaysia on 14 October 1985. In a landmark decision, the court awarded the people of Bukit Merah an interim injunction to stop a factory from producing and storing thorium hydroxide, a radioactive substance with a half life of 10 billion years, without the necessary precautions. Lawyers from CAP’s Legal Centre filed the injunction and acted on behalf of the residents. The environment group, Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM) has been involved in helping the residents take up the issue to the authorities over the past years.

The court victory is another major step in the residents’ battle against the production of radioactive wastes by Asian Rare Earth Sdn. Bhd. in their neighbourhood. Asian Rare Earth is jointly owned by Mitsubishi Chemical Industries of Japan and local companies. The factory produces yttrium (an element with several industrial uses) from monazite, a substance found in tin tailings. In the process, the radioactive thorium hydroxide is produced. The Malaysian government decided to store it as it was considered potential nuclear fuel.

In 1982, the authorities first proposed storing the wastes at Parit, a small town in Perak. Following protests from the residents there, however, the plan was scrapped. In April 1984, another site was chosen, about a kilometre from Papan, a nearby town. Strong protests and demonstrations by the residents again forced the plan to be abandoned. An alternative dump site had to be found and, in the meantime, the waste was stored at the factory site in Bukit Merah, Lahat.

The residents of Bukit Merah however believed that the factory was not storing the wastes in compliance with international safety standards. Instead, the wastes were loosely stored in drums and plastic bags in the factory’s compound and adjoining land.

Reports from experts such as Professor Sadgo Ichikawa and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) showed that the measures employed by the factory were wholly inadequate to prevent escape of radiation. Recommendations were put forward by these experts on the necessary steps for temporary as well as permanent storage.

The court, in awarding the injunction, also instructed the factory to abide by 12 safety measures stipulated by the IAEA in its report. The court’s decision was greeted with much cheering and applause from the crowd of 3,000 residents from Bukit Merah, Lahat and Papan, who had been waiting anxiously for 5 hours since 8 that morning to hear the outcome.

This is the first time in Malaysia that a radioactive waste issue has been brought to court and the victory is a significant one, not only to the local population, but also in the Third World context.

(Consumers Association of Penang, No 87, Jalan Cantonment, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia)
The Centre for Development Studies and Activities started functioning in August 1976. It is a multi-disciplinary agency focussed on the promotion of professional skills and planned change. The research, seminars and training programme of the Centre are particularly concerned with the delivery to the poorest sections of society, of services to fulfil basic human needs. The field of development planning draws upon the disciplines of sociology, social work, economics, geography, agriculture, statistics, public administration, architecture and allied fields.

CDSA does not see rural and urban development as mutually isolated phenomena. There is a dynamic interrelation between the two and all types of settlements participate in the same interrelated process of development, which by its very nature is rational and non-violent.

The Centre believes that solutions to problems grow out of the context in which the problems are found. Hence it is essential that the people for whom plans are prepared participate in the preparation of plans. Priority in any developmental work should be given to the deprived and vulnerable sections of society - the poor, the ill-housed, the under-nourished and the non-literate.

With the above premises in mind, the Centre has brought together a group of professionals from various social and applied science backgrounds, as well as with training and experience in planning, to work as a team to study, do research, offer advisory services, do action projects and train future cadres in development planning.

It is an attempt of the Centre to engage itself in a number of activities which strengthen each other. Thus, the outputs of research become inputs for training, advisory work and action projects.

The Centre has established a library and documentation centre in the memory of Barbara Ward, whose contribution to development in the Third World is well known, and who was the first patron of the Centre. It has a large collection of documents and books related to planning and development processes, and plans to house a small computer, data bank and reprographic facilities. The main work of the documentation centre will be the documentation of case studies of community and voluntary efforts, and the sharing of experiences, techniques and information between such local level groups. There will also be facilities for voluntary and activists to spend short, reflective periods in the library for informal study, to discuss with various professionals and to write up their own case studies. There will also be facilities for workshops and seminars on micro-level development. The BWLDC is a depository library for World Bank publications and for UNESCO/TRANET publications on appropriate technology in the Third World countries.

(Further information from E.M. Radhakrishnan, Development Officer, CDSA, PB 843, Deccan Gymkhana Poona, 411 004 India).
LAWASIA

Lawasia is an association of lawyers - private lawyers, government lawyers, judges and law teachers. Any lawyer and any association of lawyers in the region may join.

Lawasia is purely professional. It is non-governmental and does not engage in political activities. It promotes mutual understanding, friendship and cooperation to see that the law will best serve the peoples of the region.

Lawasia is regional. Membership is restricted to Asia and the Western Pacific. Initially, membership is open to lawyers in countries which are members of ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific). Other Asian and Pacific countries may be included by decision of the Council.

Lawasia is controlled by the representatives of the member associations of practising lawyers in these countries. Such associations nominate the member for their country to the Council. Should more than one association in a country join, they jointly nominate the Councillor for that country.

Lawasia was formed at a conference called by the Law Council of Australia in Canberra in August, 1966. Invitations were extended to the lawyers' associations of each country which was a member of the then ECAFE and representatives of eighteen countries attended.

Lawasia's objectives include:

- promoting the administration of justice, the protection of human rights and the maintenance of the rule of law;
- advancing legal education;
- diffusing knowledge of the laws of the member countries;
- promoting development of the law, and uniformity where appropriate;
- furthering international understanding and goodwill;
- fostering relations and intercourse between lawyers in the region;
- upholding and advancing the status of the legal profession in the region.

Lawasia operates through research groups studying particular legal problems in the region, by putting visiting lawyers in touch with lawyers in countries they visit, by organising conferences and seminars of members and by setting up local groups to work for its aims. It publishes a journal Lawasia and the result of its research projects.

Lawasia journal

Between November 1966 and June 1969, Lawasia published six numbers of a Bulletin. In December 1969, this was replaced by a journal, Lawasia. In 1971 the size of the journal was increased and it was further streamlined. The New Series journal issues annually and members receive copies at no extra charge. Non-member subscription is A$15.00 per annum.

(Lawasia, 170 Philipp Street, Sydney, NSW 2000, Australia).

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USA: A PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE ON THE FATE OF OUR FORESTS

ON SUMMER SOLSTICE WEEKEND AT SLIPPERY ROCK, PENNSYLVANIA

The problem

Forests worldwide are disappearing at a virtually unimaginable rate. Obvious causes are greed, shortsightedness and apparent blindness to the critical role of forests in balancing global ecologies upon which humans and millions of other species depend for survival. Forests are cut for fuelwood by peasants, logged for woodchips, destroyed for slash and burn agriculture, or cleared to support ecologically unsustainable practices such as sugar cane farming for ethanol manufacture or cattle grasslands to feed the American hamburger habit in the likes of Burger King restaurants.

Increasingly, deforestation has caused shifts in global weather patterns which, compounded by weakening from soil demineralization and air pollution, have resulted in recent forest fires consuming millions of acres of timber from the (formerly) wet tropics to cold Montana. Forests in central Europe and Scandinavia now are "spontaneously" dying as a result of lethal effects of air pollution, a process we can also observe in the United States over all the regions for which our conference is called.

The solution

The Earth Regeneration and Reforestation Association (TERRA) has invited about 1,000 groups worldwide to hold people's conferences in their own regions on the solstice weekend of 20–22 June 1986. Our conference will be held at the home of our co-sponsor, The ALTER Project, Slippery Rock University, Slippery Rock, PA. While our conference is open to all people, we will specifically address the forest concerns of the Mid-Atlantic, Mid-West and North-East sections of the USA and contiguous south-easterly sections of Canada.

By holding many regional conferences, we achieve broader participation, develop strategies appropriate to local conditions and keep down the conference costs, especially transportation.

Joining our voices together on the same days, we will be better heard in our protest of destruction of the planet's green and our affirmation of Earth's innate beauty. Together we can achieve a spiritual power and a public relations force which can gain us the ears of our brothers and sisters. Joining hands in practical work on what is realistic in our respective regions, we can turn from planetary destruction to healing our Earth Mother.

(TERRA, POB 202, Orange, MA 01364, USA).
THE DANISH CENTRE FOR RENEWABLE ENERGY
RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING FOR LOCAL PRODUCTION

What is the Danish Centre for Renewable Energy? A non-profit organisation located on a 25 acre site in the north-west corner of Denmark, with demonstration plants for wind, solar and bio-technology. Funded by the Ministry of Energy and local councils to: do research and development; be an information and training centre; be open to all and make public all results.

What does the Centre do? Designs, develops and experiments with renewable energy systems suitable for construction by local workshops. The prototype systems are tested and certified by national authorities.

Who benefits from the Centre? Small and medium scale industry with otherwise insufficient resources to do their own research and development, and private persons and groups interested in renewable energy.

How do small industries benefit from the Centre's work? The Centre specialises in the transfer of production know-how. Detailed engineering drawings, parts-lists, construction principles and test results are printed as a builder's handbook. Using the handbook a local workshop or cooperative of workshops produce the finished system.

Why local production? Due to small industries lacking the capacity for development and marketing of new products a progressively greater share of production has gone to larger concerns. Local areas lack work places and population moves to centralized industrial areas. By making technologies which are in the forefront of industrial growth publicly accessible, small industries can maintain their independence and strengthen local communities by the provision of work places. In a wider context home production achieves self-reliance.

Renewable energy systems suitability for local production. Windmills, solar collectors, biogas and other renewable energy systems need not require more specialized equipment than an average metal or wood-working workshop in normal use. Specialized electronic and other components can be bought from suppliers and built into the construction. A workshop can undertake the complete construction or cooperate on production of various components, such as tower, wings and foundation for a windmill. Similarly a sales and marketing organisation can be made viable by cooperation.

What are the training functions of the Centre? Courses are held for: blacksmiths, windmill technicians, wood workers, administrative personnel, workers from overseas, solar collector producers, plumbers, pipe fitters, overseas aid workers, young unemployed, private persons and groups.

Technology for Third World countries. Some of the Centre's constructions are developed specially for Third World use; for example solar and wind pumps. In cooperative projects the Centre will adapt prototypes to the local technology and available materials. A special section of the cen-
tre works with overseas contracts, training and cooperative projects. Research and development expertise is offered in the following areas:

wind power for water and electricity (grid-connected and autonomous) production; biogas; biomass; solar heating, cooling and water pumping; energy planning.

How to avail of cooperative development projects. If the local area lacks the resources to research, develop or produce renewable energy systems, the Centre will investigate the technology, develop a prototype, prepare handbooks, follow the course of local production and assist with demonstration projects.

Does the Centre give scholarships? Occasional stipends of up to 6 months offer access to the Centre's workshops, library and personnel, plus return air-fare, pocket money and lodging.

Who may apply? Persons working in the field of renewable energy who are established within their discipline and can offer an exchange of information and technologies.

(The Danish Centre for Renewable Energy, Asgaard, Øst. Ydby, 7760 Hurup Thy, Denmark).

AN INVITATION TO THE PEACE SERIES

Earthview Press is soliciting material - primarily articles, essays and opinions - for a series of peace books which we will begin publishing this year.

Economic instability in the West, conflict in the Middle East, buildup of environmental pollutants, famine in the Third World, superpower incompatibilities and the growing threat of nuclear war... These and other conditions will be the focus of the Peace Series as contributing writers give us a close look at steps that could be taken now and in the future to ensure lasting peace and stability.

We want to keep the subject flexible enough to encourage diverse views and creative, viable solutions. At the same time we would like to see all material fit into a broad but well-defined, world-oriented framework.

Everyone is welcome to submit material. The views and findings of members of world-oriented institutions and recognized peace organizations are particularly desirable and will be given top consideration. All submissions will be reviewed, and if they meet the conditions in the Writers' Guidelines, will probably be selected for use in one of the books. Replies will be mailed within eight weeks after solicited manuscripts are received.

(Earthview Press, POB 11036, Boulder, Colorado 80301, USA).
DE ARGENTINA:
Vuestro número 49 es excelente, especialmente el Editorial y los materiales que lo complementan. Sería de gran importancia estimular a los lectores para que sigan contribuyendo enfoques en tal dirección, ya que indudablemente los enemigos de la ONU van a incrementar su tradicional política de socavamiento y tergiversación. Los grupos no-gubernamentales son óptimos puentes para la consigna. "Get closer to the People", y contamos con la trifada de la Universidad para la Paz (Costa Rica), el programa de UNESCO sobre Educación para la Paz, la Comprensión Internacional y los Derechos Humanos, y el programa de la Universidad de las Naciones Unidas sobre Paz y Transformación Global. Felicitaciones por el paso que han dado en tal dirección.

Miguel Grinberg, Buenos Aires.

FROM AUSTRALIA:
A note to thank you very much for sending me your IFDA Dossiers. I particularly enjoyed No.49 for September/October 1985. I hope you will continue to send your very stimulating publications. In return I enclose some of our publications to indicate the nature of our work on transnational corporations which we have been undertaking for the last 10 years.

E.L. Wheelwright, University of Sydney.

FROM CALIFORNIA:
We have recently been receiving copies of the IFDA Dossier, to be specific, Nos. 49, 50 and 51, and we have found some of the articles to be the best and most challenging in fields that directly parallel a lot of the work we're doing here in San Francisico. Your journal is held in high regard around here. Keep up the good work.

Robert C. Watts, Planet Drum Foundation, San Francisico.

FROM INDIA:
Thanks for sending regularly the Dossier and reviewing our articles. Through your information many people write to us, including Indians! Keep up the work.

Ardhendu Sekhar Chatterjee, Calcutta.

FROM MALAWI:
Many thanks for the copies of IFDA Dossier. They are much appreciated here - for attempting to tell us the real news (i.e. about people at the bottom struggling for survival) rather than the distorted mediagenic superficialities which the Northern international press usually peddles as news. I'm working with a team of drama professionals at the University of Malawi, and our work involves using theatre with peasants and wor-
kers as a tool of conscientization. The articles you've already published in this area by Obah, Mwansa and others have been particularly useful to us.

Z.D. Kadzmira, Zomba.

FROM NEPAL:
I got a chance to read your IFDA Dossiers 46 and 48. I found them very useful, informative, educative and thought-provoking. I am a political and social worker involved in rural development activities. (...) As a vice president (called Upa-Sabha party of Tanahun District parishal) I work on planning and implementation aspects of rural development activities of my district. Feeling the importance and usefulness of IFDA Dossier I would be thankful to get my name to be included on your mailing list. I hope it will be so.

Govinda Adhikari, Tanahun.

FROM NIGERIA:
As a Third World development scholar, your journal has indeed opened up an invaluable source of new knowledge on alternative development strategies, with particular reference to contemporary Third World development paradigms. Thanks immensely for including my name in your mailing list.

Ikechukwu G. Eziakor, Bauchi.

FROM SPAIN:
In answer to your letter of 15 November, I am enclosing a cheque of 48 Swiss francs. I believe the IFDA Dossier is an important element in the thinking about development and would like to encourage you to follow in the same line.

Miren Etxezarreta, Barcelona.

FROM SRI LANKA:
During the last years during which I have been working in numerous development projects in fisheries I have been an avid reader of your valuable journal as a result of which my mental horizons on aspects of total human development have been considerably enlarged.

L.C. Perera, Battaramulla.

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

LOCAL SPACE

James Robertson, Future Work (Aldershot: Gower Publishing Co.Ltd., 1985) 220pp. In this new book, the author of The Sane Alternative looks at possible scenarios for the future of work in our society. It concludes that only one offers any real hope for a satisfying and sustainable way of life, what James Robertson labels the 'sane, humane, ecological' scenario. Our present problems, let alone those that are pressing towards us, cannot be solved either by an attitude of 'business as usual' or by some super-high-technological fix. In particular, mass unemployment will never be cured by revival of old industries or by the rise of new 'sunset industries' on their own. We have to look to a whole new approach to work itself. (Croft Road, Aldershot, Hants, UK).

Gita Sen, Development, Crisis, and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives (New Delhi: DAWN Secretariat, 1985) 111pp. An ever widening group of activists, organizers and researchers committed to search for alternative and more equitable development processes has launched DAWN. This study is an integral part of this process. It aims at synthesising women's experience with development, particularly the impact of the global economic and political crisis, and the concomitant cultural changes. Strategies are proposed which lead to a redistribution of power and resources, and to the dissolution of hierarchies. (SMM Theatre Crafts Bldg., 5 Deen Dayal Upadhyay Marg., Delhi 110002, India).

Comite de Mujeres Asiaticas (CAW), Trabajadoras Industriales en Asia (Roma: ISIS Internacional, 1985) 122pp. Con estudios de Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh, Japon, Hong Kong y las Filipinas. (Via Santa Maria dell'Anima 30, 00186 Roma, Italia).

Monica Frölander-Ulf and Frank Lindenfeld, A New Earth (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984) 225pp. This book tells the story of a movement to transform the oppressive social structure of three large Jamaican sugar plantations during the 1970s. It focuses on cooperatives organized among the 5,000 workers at the Frome, Monymusk and Bernard Lodge Estates on land formerly owned by two transnational corporations. (4720 Boston Way, Lanham, MD 20706, USA).


. Guillermo Sunkel, Razon y Pasion en la Prensa Popular (Santiago: ILET, 1985) 228pp. Analiza el proceso histórico de las relaciones entre cultura popular, cultura de masas y cultura política. Muestra como las principales formas de periodismo popular de comienzos de siglo - la prensa obrera y la lira popular - evolucionaron hacia dos tipos de diarios populares de carácter massivo: los de izquierda y los sensacionalistas. Examina como, durante el régimen democrático, los diarios populares de masas se apoyaban, recuperaban y reformulaban elementos de la cultura popular. Este estudio surge de la crisis de representación de los sectores populares. A partir de esta reflexión se sugieren elementos para la reconstrucción democrática de una prensa popular. (Casilla 16, Santiago 9, Chile).

. Nicolás Casullo (coord.), Comunicación: La Democracia Dificil (Buenos Aires: ILET, 1985) 202pp. Como pensar a los medios masivos de comunicación desde nuevas perspectivas democráticas? ILET organizó una serie de jornadas de debates para analizar el tema. Los participantes fueron los propios trabajadores y productores de la comunicación diaria en la Argentina. Las cuestiones: los criterios privados de las empresas, la función de los periodistas, el papel del Estado, las concepciones nacionales y liberales en la materia y el mundo interno de los medios informativos.


. Carlos Pina, La vergüenza de la Senora Ana (Santiago: FLACSO, 1985) 34pp. La tercera de una serie titulada Crónicas de la Otra Ciudad. A través de estas crónicas se intenta mostrar ciertos fragmentos significativos de la vida cotidiana en Santiago. En particular, se quieren contar pequeñas historias que reflejen, al menos en parte, las esperanzas, frustraciones, conflictos y relaciones que cristalizan en la otra ciudad. (Casilla 3213, correo Central, Santiago, Chile).


NATIONAL SPACE

Ignacy Sachs, "Les quatre jettes du Brésil" dans Problèmes d'Amérique Latine (Paris: La Documentation Française, No 78, 1985) pp.96-114.


Fernando Soler Ríosco (ed.), *Medio Ambiente en Chile* (Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1985) 413pp. (CIPMA, Casilla 16362, Santiago, Chile).

Fundación Natura, *Evidencias del Deterioro Ambiental en el Ecuador* 52pp. (Jorge Juan 481, Quito, Ecuador).


Darryl D'Monte, Temples or Tombs? Industry versus Environment - Three Controversies: The Silent Valley Hydroelectric Project; The Mat-hura Oil Refinery; The Thai Vaishet Fertilizer Plant (CSE, 1985) 285pp. (807 Vishal Bhawan, 95 Nehru Place, New Delhi 110019, India).


Nezha Benamour Lahrich, Energie et Tiers Monde non pétrolier - De la problématique générale à l'étude du cas marocain (Editions Maghrébinès, 1985) 840pp. (5-13 rue Soldat Roch, Casablanca, Maroc).

A bunch of papers from the Third World Studies Center of the University of the Philippines: Share Tenancy and Landless Rural Workers: Reflections on the Feudalism and Capitalism Debate (52pp.) by Yoshiko Nagano; Nuclear Power in the Philippines: The Plague that Poisons Morong! (25pp.) by Walden Bello et al; National Consciousness in a Dependent Society: A Brief Sociological Note on Philippine Culture (8pp.); The Theory and Practice of Unarmed Popular Resistance (14pp.) and Key Problems of the Philippine Educational System (10pp.) by Randolf David (Philippines Univ., PO Box 210, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines).

Lennart Arvedson et al (eds.), Economics and Values (Stockholm: Secretariat for Future Studies, 1986) 136pp. Three of these six essays are on the Swedish experience as seen from the points of view of the economic historian, the cultural historian and the organizational consultant. (PO Box 6710, 113 85 Stockholm, Sweden).


John Gever, Robert Kaufmann, David Skole and Charles Vörösmarty, The Threat to Food and Fuel in the Coming Decades: Beyond Oil (Bailinger Publishing Company, 1986) 304pp. This is the first detailed comprehensive effort at predicting the United States' future energy and agricultural problems which goes well beyond the year 2000. It uses mainframe computer stimulation to examine energy resources and other "inputs" to the economy rather than "outputs" like other studies. Sponsored by Carrying Capacity Inc., the study was conducted by the University of New Hampshire's Complex Systems Research Center over a period of three years. The study concludes that future energy supplies will not be as plentiful as is currently believed. For example, it appears that by 2005 at the latest, and perhaps as early as 1995, on average it will take more energy to explore for new US oil and gas than the wells will produce. US oil will be virtually exhausted by 2020. Neither the supply of alternative fuels nor the nation's energy efficiency can be increased quickly enough to completely offset the effect of declining supplies of...
oil and gas, which now account for 75 percent of US fuel use. A long-term downturn in US gross national product is likely soon, probably starting in the 1990s. Because US agriculture is heavily oil-dependent, it is vulnerable - so vulnerable that it could lose its ability to be a net exporter of food within the next twenty to thirty-five years, unless agricultural energy efficiency is raised dramatically. (1325 G Street NW, Suite 1003, Washington DC 20005, USA).

REGIONAL SPACE

Samir Amin, La déconnexion: Pour sortir du système mondial (Paris: Editions La Découverte, 1986) 334pp. Peut-on sortir des contraintes imposées par le système économique mondial? Le tenter ne conduit-il pas nécessairement à la terne stagnation du "socialisme des casernes"? Quelle est la marge de manœuvre dont dispose un quelconque État du Tiers Monde? Est-il condamné à la dépendance? L'auteur défend dans son nouveau livre la thèse d'un "décrochage" non seulement possible mais nécessaire de la logique centre/périphérie. La déconnexion - concept stratégique proposé en complément de celui de développement autozentré national et populaire - s'impose aux peuples du Tiers Monde qui veulent éviter les réajustements dramatiques provoqués par la crise, telle la famine ou la guerre. Mais elle concerne tout autant le Nord, en redéfinissant les règles du jeu planétaire. L'auteur voit d'ailleurs dans les mouvements "Verts" européens comme dans le regain du fait religieux dans le monde entier les signes de la nécessaire réadaptation des stratégies et des tactiques politiques œuvrant pour un autre développement. Approche globale et renouvelée des grandes mutations du système mondial contemporain, ce livre offre aussi au lecteur une présentation claire et synthétique des concepts-clé de l'oeuvre de Samir Amin.

Michael Brzoska and Thomas Ohlson (eds), Arms Production in the Third World (Stockholm: SIPRI, 1986) 391pp. Domestic arms production in the Third World is today growing faster than military expenditures or arms imports. This is the first study of the subject to contain comprehensive statistics. It also brings together the political, economic and military aspects of arms production in these countries. Case studies on the leading producers focus on descriptive analyses of the motives, limitations, problems and achievements. (Pipers väg 28, 171 73 Solna, Stockholm, Sweden).


Robert Repetto, Paying the Price: Pesticide Subsidies in Developing Countries (Washington: World Resources Institute, 1985) 33pp. Third World governments subsidize pesticide production and sales through access to foreign exchange on favorable terms, tax exemptions or reduced rates, easy credit and sales below cost by government-controlled distributors. The report studies in detail subsidies in China, Colombia, Ecuador, Egypt, Ghana, Honduras, Indonesia, Pakistan and Senegal. In those countries, subsidies ranged from 15% to 90%, with a median of 44%. The annual value of those subsidies ranges from $4 million in Senegal to $285 million in China. The side effects of pesticide use in Third World countries include accidental poisonings, contaminated food and water supplies, and destruction of beneficial species. Yet, pesticide regulation is usually ineffectual. Disrupting nature's own ingenious balancing act by indiscriminate pesticide use has often increased the variety and severity of pest infestations.

GLOBAL SPACE


Allan S. Krass, Verification: How Much is Enough? (Stockholm: SIPRI, 1985) 271pp. Many advocates of arms control believe that effective verification would reduce tensions and lessen the risk of war. This book analyses the two main issues of verification. One is technological: what are the present capabilities of various verification techniques and what is their potential? The devices and methods currently employed by the two major nuclear powers and by international organizations to monitor the compliance of states with arms control or disarmament treaties are examined. The second issue is political: how do US and Soviet approaches compare, what are the roles of domestic and bureaucratic politics, and on what criteria can a workable standard of adequacy be based? In short, how much is enough? (Pipers väg 28, 171 73 Solna, Stockholm, Sweden).

John Gever, Robert Kaufmann, David Skole and Charles Vörösmarty, The Threat to Food and Fuel in the Coming Decades: Beyond Oil (Ballinger Publishing Company, 1986) 304pp. This is the first detailed comprehensive effort at predicting the United States' future energy and agricultural problems which goes well beyond the year 2000. It uses mainframe computer stimulation to examine energy resources and other "inputs" to the economy rather than "outputs" like other studies. Sponsored by Carrying Capacity Inc., the study was conducted by the University of New Hampshire's Complex Systems Research Center over a period of three years. The study concludes that future energy supplies will not be as plentiful as is currently believed. For example, it appears that by 2005 at the latest, and perhaps as early as 1995, on average it will take more energy to explore for new US oil and gas than the wells will produce. US oil will be virtually exhausted by 2020. Neither the supply of alternative fuels nor the nation's energy efficiency can be increased quickly enough to completely offset the effect of declining supplies of oil and gas, which now account for 75 percent of US fuel use. A long-
term downturn in US gross national product is likely soon, probably starting in the 1990s. Because US agriculture is heavily oil-dependent, it is vulnerable - so vulnerable that it could lose its ability to be a net exporter of food within the next twenty to thirty-five years, unless agricultural energy efficiency is raised dramatically. (1325 G Street NW, Suite 1003, Washington DC 20005, USA).


Roland I. Perusse (ed), Relaciones entre los Estados Unidos y Puerto Rico: Documentos Basicos. Este manual llena un vacio en la consideracion y el estudio de las relaciones entre los Estados Unidos y Puerto Rico durante el Siglo Veinte. Presente una fuente de informacion util sobre los textos completos de los documentos basicos mas importantes que bregan con este tema. Se presentan los documentos en orden cronologico, empezando con la ley basic vigente al momento de la invasin de Puerto Rico por los Estados Unidos en 1898 (La Carta Autonomica) y continuando hasta el presente, incluyendo los textos de las resoluciones mas importantes de la Asamblea General de la Naciones Unidas y de su Comite de Descolonizacion, relacionadas con el caso de Puerto Rico en la ONU. (Editorial Instituto Interamericano, Penthouse G, Condominio El Monte Norte, Hato Rey, Puerto Rico, 00918 USA).

IEPALA, Manifesto contra el hambre en el mundo (1985) 95pp.


Peter Taylor, The Smoke Ring: Tobacco, Money and Multinational Politics (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984) 328pp. This is undoubtedly the most important document to emerge on smoking" (British Medical Journal); it is unique in the literature on the subject in that it does not debate the medical evidence and issues concerning smoking and health. Rather, it reveals and examines the power of the tobacco industry - the influential connections it has established with governments, politicians, the media, and ultimately the consumer, in its effort to sustain itself. This defensive circle is "the smoke ring."


North-South Institute, *Multilateralism Still the First Option for Canada*, 17pp. (185 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Canada KIN 5X8).


Robert Repetto (ed), *The Global Possible: Resources, Development and the New Century* (Washington: World Resources Institute, 1985) 538pp. A broad overview of the state of the world's threatened resources and, drawing on evidence from recent experiences in many countries, proposes realistic and politically practical corrective measures. Written by experts in various areas of environmental research and policy, essays range from ways in which we can improve energy efficiency in transportation, housing, industry and agriculture to evaluations of mechanisms that would control atmospheric pollution on an international level. (1735 New York Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20006, USA).
Nicolas Jéquier (ed), Les organisations internationales: Entre l'innovation et la stagnation (Lausanne: Presses Polytechniques Romandes, 1985) 280pp. Les organisations internationales sont-elles en crise, ou faut-il y voir dans les difficultés que connaissent aujourd'hui certaines d'entre elles le simple reflet des conflits entre nations? Les réponses apportées ici s'articulent autour de quatre grands thèmes: la maturation des organisations et de leur adaptation à une croissance budgétaire nulle; la politisation, phénomène à la fois perturbateur et créateur; l'innovation, et de la tension entre la fonction stabilisatrice de ces organisations, et leur fonction de changement dans l'ordre international; le management et des contraintes particulières de l'organisation internationale. Les auteurs montrent que les organisations internationales, malgré leurs problèmes, ont su innover au cours de leur histoire, et sont devenues irremplaçables.


PERIODICALS

Acid Magazine (N°3, 1985): This issue gives various accounts of the effects on flora and fauna in Sweden. As compared with the damage to lakes and forests, this aspect of the matter has hitherto received but little attention. One reason is of course that the damage to wide plants and animals is harder to assess in terms of money. (Swedish Environmental Protection Board, Box 1302, 171 25 Solna, Sweden).

Afrique et développement/Africa Development (Vol.X, N°3, 1985): "Où en est la 'théorie du développement'? par Fayçal Yachîr; 'Peasants in Sub-Saharan Africa' by Archie Mafeje; and 'Limites des alternatives capitalistes d'état ou privées à la crise agricole africaine' par Bernard Founou-Tchuigoua. (CODESRIA, BP 3304, Dakar, Senegal).

Agener (N°94, 1985): "The Nuclear Connection" (Ridderstraat 12, 1050 Brussels, Belgium).


Alternatives non violentes (N°58, 1985): "Ni rouges, ni morts - le charme discret du "pacifisme" allemand" (16 rue Paul-Appell, 42000 Saint-Etienne, France).


Ambiente y desarrollo (Vol.1, N°3, 1985): "Desarrollo sostenible, crisis y ambiente" por Osvaldo Sunkel; "Encarnando la crisis en las
grandes ciudades - el trabajo, los alimentos y la energía en el ecode
darrollo urbano” por Ignacy Sachs. (CIPMA, Cas. 16362, Santiago 9, Chile)

. Amérique latine (N°24, 1985): Dans son dernier (hélas c'est vrai-
ment le dernier, "AL" cessant de paraître), "Amérique latine - vers des
démocraties stables?" par Ricardo Sídicaro; "Chili - Partis politiques
et autres acteurs sociaux" por Manuel Antonio Carretón.

. Autogestions (N°22, 1985/86): "Brésil - La démocratie venue d'en
bas" par Ruth Cardoso, Céline Sachs. (Editions Privat, 14 rue des Arts,
31000 Toulouse, France).

"Bridging Heaven and Earth - questions of security" (Global Education
Associates, 552 Park Avenue, East Orange, NJ 07017, USA).

Janvier, 35100 Rennes, France).

. Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological
and Ethnological Research (N°25, 1983): "Race and Class in Kenya" by
Dallas L. Browne. (Institut für Völkerkunde, Universitätsstrasse 7, 1010
Vienna, Austria).

. Boletín de medio ambiente y urbanización (Ano 3, N°12, 1985): "Ci-
dades del tercer mundo. El medio ambiente de la probreza" por J.E.
Hardoy, D. Satterthatwaite. (Diagonal Roque Sáenz Pena 1110, 6º Piso,
Of.3, 1035 Capital Federal, Argentina).

. Capitulos del SELA (N°10, 1985): "Manuel Pérez Guerrero, El des-
conocido" por Frank Bracho; "El pensamiento de Pérez Guerrero en citas"
(Apartado de Correo 17035, Caracas 1010 A, Venezuela).

. CEPLA Review (N°26, 1985): "The Latin American periphery in the
global crisis of capitalism" by Raúl Prebisch. (ECLAC, Santiago, Chile).

. CTC Reporter (N°20, 1985): "A new approach to the Code negotia-
tions" by Peter Hansen; "Towards an understanding of the emerging tran-
snational system" by Osvaldo Sunkel. (United Nations, Room DC2-1254,
New York, NY 10017, USA).

. D + C (N°1, 1986): "El estado de la discusión ecológica en Colom-
bia" por Margarita Marino de Botero. (Rauchstr. 25, D-1000 Berlin 30).

debate - The case for alternative strategies" by Denis Goulet; "Corrup-
tion as a 'fifth' factor of production in the Sudan" by Ibrahim Kursany
and El-Wathig Kameir. (PO Box 1395, Budapest, Hungary).

. Development and South-South Cooperation (Vol.1, N°1, 1985): A wel-
come addition to the long list of development journals since it manages
to fill a gap, as its title suggests. The first issue of this semi-
annual journal is devoted to the external debt and features papers by,
among others, Janez Stanovnik, Sebastian Alegrett, M. Narasimhan, Amir
Jamal and Samir Amin. (P.OB 97, 61109 Ljubljana, Yugoslavia).

. Ecoforum (Vol.10, N°5, 1985): "Lac Leman - Moribond ou convales-
cent?" (BP 72461, Nairobi, Kenya).

. The Ecologist (Vol.15, N°5/6, 1985): A special double issue of The
Ecologist (Vol.15, N°1/2) contained an open letter from its publisher,
Ted Goldsmith, to the President of the World Bank in which he accused this organization "of funding environmentally and socially destructive projects that were seriously contributing to the escalation of poverty, malnutrition and famine throughout the Third World". This issue (Vol.15, N°5/6) is a continuation of the controversy and includes, in addition to the World Bank's reply, articles by a number of students of development, especially from Asia. Together with the previous issue – an important document. (Worthyvale Manor Farm, Camelford, Cornwall PL32 9TT, UK).

. Economic Review: Over the last three years the People's Bank Economic Review has established itself as the leading economic development journal in Sri Lanka. This monthly socio-economic review is published as a service by the People's Bank. It is intended to promote a knowledge of, and interest in, the economic growth process by a many-sided presentation of views and reports, facts and debate. It covers a large spectrum of issues both from a Sri Lankan as well as international perspective. A regular cover story deals in depth with a particular development issue and gives a comprehensive picture on the current state of the subject, including the latest research. (Research Dept., People's Bank, Sir Chitampalan Cardinar Mawatha, Colombo 2, Sri Lanka).

. Estudios CIEPLAN (N°18, 1985): "Logicas de acción sindical" por G. Campero y R. Cortazar; "Perspectiva de la deuda externa" por A. Foxley. (Casilla 16496, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile).


. IDOC Internazionale (Vol.16, N°6, 1985): "Migrant workers from the Third World" (Via S. Maria dell'Anima 30, 00186, Rome, Italy).


. Informativo Popular Latino Americano (N°26/27, 1985): "Los cinco puntos des Cardenal Arns" (IPLA, Rua Monte Alegre 984, Perdizes, CEP 05014, Sao Paulo, SP, Brasil).

. Interculture (N°89, 1985): "Paix et désarmement culturel" (édition française), "Peace and cultural disarmament" (English edition). (4917 St. Urbain Street, Montreal, Quebec H2T 2W1, Canada).


. Labor (N°9, 1986): "Cultivos intensivos en el altiplano, una alternativa" por L. Gustavo Birbuet (SEMTA, Casilla 20410, La Paz, Bolivia).
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

Joseph S.A. Akumbuno, The Politics of Education in Northern Ghana (253 Atlantic Hall, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana) 5pp.


Míne Cinar, Disguised Employment: the Case of Female Family Labor in Agriculture and Small Scale Manufacturing in Developing Countries (Loyola University, 820 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60611, USA) 10pp.

SKAT, Bicycle as a Means of Transportation for Latin America (Vahrnbüelstrasse 14, 9000 St.Gallen, Switzerland) 7pp.

Sary Ngoy, Critères d’evaluation de l’impact des effets d’un projet de technologie appropree sur le development d’une commune rurale (Institut Supérieur de Développement Rural, BP 2849, Bukavu, Zaïre) 10pp.

Agatha F. Nji, Women in Rural Development: Constraints of Women's Complete Integration in Agriculture and Rural Development (Department of Community Development, BP 2729, Yaounde, Cameroon) 22 + 3pp.


Taruna Tanwar and Radhika Mullick, An Exercise in Participatory Communication (Indian Institute of Mass Communication, D-13 Ring Road, South Extension Part II, New Delhi 110 049, India) 9pp.

NATIONAL SPACE

Carlos C. Aveline, Climate Disorder Worsens Ecological Crisis (Thomas Flores 133, Apto 202, 93030 Sao Leopoldo RS, Brazil) 6pp.

Onelia Cardettini, Tesis sobre el desarrollo y el medio ambiente en el Peru (10 rue Lecourbe, 75015 París, France) 20pp.

(continued on page 15)
This is not to say that the victory is definitive. The situation remains difficult and confused. The new President faces tremendous problems: the contradictory nature of her government; the need to overcome the causes of the guerrilla (especially agrarian structures and rural unemployment) and, related to this, the control of the army's chiefs; the immediate alleviation of mass poverty (70% of the urban population barely survives below the food line); the restoration of cultural identity and national dignity; the negotiation of the debt (US$ 26 billion). Where she could act quickly (human rights and institutions), the President has acted, but this is only a first step.

On the positive side, at least for a few months, is the massive mandate Cory Aquino has received, her vision and determination, and the active support of the open left. For how long she can count on the benevolent neutrality of the underground left depends largely on her actions, especially with regard to land reform.

Still, no president, whatever his/her good intentions, can ever be given a blank cheque. The balance of power being as unstable as it is, Cory Aquino needs people. They organised to get rid of Marcos, and they are organising to support her - as well as to hold her accountable for the exercise of the power they have delegated to her.

* * *

In this rare moment, the peoples of the world are following with passion the struggle of the Filipino people. What is at stake is genuine democracy - political, economic and social - indeed a renaissance of the Filipino society. What the Filipinos are doing is crucial for them, but it is equally important for everyone on this planet, starting with the oppressed people of Chile, Korea, Paraguay, South Africa, Thailand, Tunisia, Zaire and so many others. What the Filipinos have done, others may also do.

(The President of IFDA visited Manila in March where he met, among others, IFDA Council members Jose Diokno, the untiring organizer, under the dictatorship, of the Free Legal Aid Group, now chairperson of the Presidential Commission on Human Rights, and Karina Constantino David, now Deputy Minister for Social Services and Development. He also benefitted from discussions with Randy David, director of the Third World Studies Centre of the University of the Philippines)
KRISHNAMURTI (1896-1986): LA VERITE EST UN PAYS SANS CHEMIN

Je soutiens que la Vérité est un pays sans chemin: vous ne pouvez avancer vers elle par quelque voie que ce soit, par aucune religion, aucune secte. (....) Malgré cela, vous allez probablement former d'autres ordres, vous continuerez à appartenir à d'autres organisations, dans votre recherche de la Vérité. (....)

Que je ne veuille pas de disciples n'est pas une initiative glorieuse, et je l'entends bien ainsi. Dès l'instant où vous suivez quelqu'un, vous cessez de suivre la Vérité. Il n'importe peu que vous fassiez attention ou non à ce que je dis. Je veux accomplir une oeuvre en ce monde et je le ferai avec une inflexible détermination. Une seule chose m'importe et elle est essentielle: rendre l'homme libre. Je désire le libérer de toutes cages, de toutes peurs, non fonder des religions, de nouvelles sectes, ou établir de nouvelles théories ou de nouvelles philosophies. (....)

Nul être ne peut vous rendre libres de l'extérieur; nul culte organisé, non plus que votre immolation à une cause, ne peuvent vous rendre libres. Le fait de vous constituer en organisation, de vous précipiter dans le travail, ne peut vous rendre libres. Une machine à écrire vous sert à taper des lettres mais vous n'allez pas la placer sur un autel pour l'adorer. C'est pourtant ce que vous faites que vous vous souciez uniquement d'organisations. "Combien y a-t-il de membres?" C'est la première question que me posent les journalistes. "Combien de disciples avez-vous? Par leur nombre, nous pourrons juger si ce que vous dites est vrai ou faux." J'ignore combien il y en a et cela m'importe peu. S'il n'y avait qu'un seul homme de libéré, ce serait suffisant...

Mary Lutyens, Krishnamurti, Les années de l'éveil (Editions Arista, 42 rue Monge, 75005 Paris, France).

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