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TUNISIE: LE RETOUR D'AHMED BEN SALAH

par Marc Nerfin

Depuis le 16 juin, Ahmed Ben Salah est de retour en Tunisie après quinze années d'exil et de clandestinité 1/.

Jeune ancien Secrétaire général de l'Union générale des travailleurs tunisiens (UGTT), Vice-Président de l'Assemblée constituante (d'où il présida la Commission de la Constitution) et Secrétaire d'État à la Santé publique et aux affaires sociales, il devint, dans l'hiver 60-61, Secrétaire d'État au Plan et aux finances, responsabilité à laquelle s'ajoutèrent bientôt le Commerce et l'Industrie, l'Agriculture et, plus tard, l'Education nationale, ainsi que celle de Secrétaire général adjoint du Parti socialiste destournier. Ministre donc du développement, Si Ahmed s'attacha à traduire dans la pratique les Perspectives décennales de développement 1962-1971, nées du Rapport économique adopté en 1966 par l'UGTT: décolonisation économique en vue de l'autodéveloppement, réforme des structures - commerciales, agraires, institutionnelles, coopératives agricoles, développement régional, complémentarité des trois secteurs (étatique, privé, social), une nouvelle approche de la coopération maghrébine et internationale, changement des mentalités, l'ensemble tendant à la promotion des hommes et des femmes... Les résultats en sont reconnus par tous.

Le 8 septembre 1969, un Président déjà malade mit abruptement fin à un exemplaire effort de développement. Le 25 mai suivant, Ahmed Ben Salah fut condamné à dix ans de travaux forcés pour 'haute trahison' par des gens qui, eux, trahissaient réellement, avec les promesses de l'Indépendance, l'espoir de tout un peuple. Il s'évada le 4 février 1973 et fut condamné, par contumace, deux fois encore, à cinq puis à sept ans.

Peu après son évansion, nous préparâmes, à Lövdalen, en Suède, nos Entretiens sur la dynamique socialiste dans la Tunisie des années 1960, explication et premier bilan de la bataille du développement 2/.

Depuis lors, tout ce qui a fait l'IFDA, nous l'avons fait ensemble, le rapport Dag Hammarskjöld 1976, Que faire? - Un autre développement, la création de la Fondation, des séminaires dans tous les continents, d'Arusha à Vienne, de Caracas à Colombo, de la Grenade à Rome, d'Uppsala à Nyon, le 'projet tiers système', le Dossier, la solidarité avec nos amis chilen... Durant ces années, ne demeurant jamais longtemps au même endroit, constamment menacé qu'il était dans sa vie, l'IFDA servit à 'ABS' de point fixe d'où messages et documents pouvaient toujours lui être transmis rapidement.

(suite page 10)
HUMANISING HOUSING

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Women are the primary users of housing which for the majority of them is a workplace as well as a residence. Yet, they have been and are more and more marginalised in the housing process. Housing programmes calculate the requirements on the basis of family as a unit and the design, location and details are planned to suit the needs of the head of the household who in India is always assumed to be a man. Yet, according to UN micro-studies, one third of the households are women-headed - a fact that is not reflected in either designs or in women's participation in the process. In fact, the degree of women's involvement in the housing process is a clear indication of women's position in society.

This paper is to highlight the following:

. The difference in design and use of space, in social status and thereby decision making powers of women in communities where they design and build houses as against in the communities where men do so.

. Reasons for the system changing more and more in men's favour.

. Struggle to empower women in the housing process.

Women designed and built housing

In many communities in India, women have been designing and building their own houses and still do so even though the numbers of these communities have shrunk greatly. These communities today mostly consist of rural communities who still are or were herders, tribals and semi-nomads.

Certain peculiarities are common to all these communities. There is an acknowledgement of inter-dependence between men and women and also of women's work being economically productive. The responsibility for the housework lies with the

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women, yet the women also do out-of-the house work such as gathering firewood, herbs, etc. Selling the produce in markets including dairy products and articles produced by both men and women of the community is a woman's job. On the other hand housework is not degraded and men help with it whenever at home.

In these communities men and women mix freely and women participate in decision making on family and community matters. The lifestyle is usually on commune style with each family having its own house and possessions yet sharing many activities. House building is one of the shared activities but it is shared only among women. The concerned women decide the number of rooms, their disposition, the layout, etc. and women together build the house. The lifestyle and therefore the house design changes from community to community but they all have certain common features:

- All the spaces in the house are designed for the use by the whole of the household with no demarkation of spaces between men's and women's areas.
- All houses have an open plan and are built around a community courtyard.
- Cooking is recognized as an important activity and is accommodated either in the main living space or, if a separate kitchen is planned, it is always at the front of the house. Quite often cooking is done in a semi-covered space in the communal courtyard.

The system probably started when men had to spend days, sometimes weeks or months, away from home in search of grass for grazing animals or hunting, leaving women in charge of the house. Yet it still continues even when these communities have settled in one place and taken up other methods of regular livelihood such as cultivation or wood-carving. It also cuts across all religions and castes such as Hindus, Muslims, Harijans and tribals. Though each group has its own community they also have respect and tolerance for each other's ways.

**Men designed and built housing**

On the other hand, when women are totally excluded from the housing process, different social structures and design patterns become obvious.

- Men design for themselves as primary users and women as secondary users. Thus the prime areas such as front otlas (platforms) and rooms are demarked as men's areas and women are relegated to back rooms and the rear courtyard - if any.
- Usually the common front courtyard is replaced by individually marked courtyards denoting private property.
Kitchens are invariably at the back and in most cases are poorly lighted and ventilated. In fact, all women's activities are relegated to back areas.

Socially, not only there is no free mixing between men and women but all public areas and functions are taken over by men. Men gather together in the common space or in the front orias while women come together only on special occasions and there is no sharing of activities among them. Women are considered more of a liability whether or not they are economically productive and they have no say in family or community matters.

Change to patriarchal values

Many of the communities practicing the first lifestyle, design and building of houses have changed over to the patriarchal system. There are many reasons for this change, some of which are noted below:

- **A change in social attitude**: when society becomes more and more possessive, every family insists on more security for its possessions and the communal way of life and sharing in community is reduced.

- **Family as an ideal basic unit of society**: the trend has been from the community as a social unit to the nuclear family. In the Indian society, the ideal of a nuclear family has always assumed the man to be the head of the household and given a secondary place to other members of the family i.e. women and children.

- **Rise in religious fundamentalism**: in India, family laws are religious or customary and different for each religion. These laws determine the relationship and power balance between men and women. Without exception, they are all heavily tilted in the favour of men. With religious revivalism, not only communities draw lines amongst themselves on a religious basis but women in these communities get relegated to the service of men.

- **Changes in livelihood pattern**: when both men and women earn their livelihood by working for other persons or agencies, and when women are paid less than men for the same work, women's economic role is reduced and they are downgraded in social status. Further, their economic role is considered secondary and only supportive to that of men. This is most noticable in industrialised societies where women are the last to be hired and the first to be fired and where they are relegated to the worst of the jobs. Even when economically productive, women's work in and out of the house and thereby women's value is negated to such an extent that women lose rights even to their own earnings and all the decision making powers.
Economics and building methods: when women built their houses, it was with materials that they had easy access to such as stone, bamboo, tree branches, mud, cow-dung, thatch, grass etc. Moreover, they used their traditional skills such as weaving, plastering with cow-dung etc. With these natural materials either depleted or getting commercially exploited, women's access to these has got limited. Now these materials need to be bought, not gathered. At the same time, a need for pucca (permanent) houses involves the use of materials such as burnt bricks, tin sheets, cement etc. which are all man-made and need to be bought. With women being considered more and more economically non-productive, men control all the finances and therefore buy the building materials. Eventually, the house and decision-making regarding it come to be seen as men's rights.

Thus it becomes obvious that the difference in housing design and construction methods is not a difference only in physical structures but involves a fundamental change in attitudes, living patterns, men's and women's roles in family and community and in women's value as human beings. Further, empowering women in the housing process also helps bring about a fundamental change in society.

Struggle to empower women in the housing process

As seen before, housing is major instrument of control in a society. In India, traditionally housing has favoured not only property owners over others and state over individuals but also men over women. A drastic change in housing policies is therefore required to bring about social change. In response to the UN Declaration of an International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (IYSH), the Indian Government also published its programme for IYSH, paying lip service to social objectives. The published programme said "The housing policy in India is not merely viewed as aiming at providing shelter. It is being treated as an instrument of social policy to ensure growth with social justice", yet it neither clarifies the relationship of housing to the social system nor specifies means of achieving social justice. The programme identifies the poor as its 'target' group and aims at providing a roof for each family. The Draft National Housing Policy published in 1987 deals mostly with legal, administrative and financial problems involved in increasing construction activity.

Many non-governmental organizations and individuals felt the lack of social perspective and the lack of people's participation in the government's programme and joined hands under the banner of National Campaign for Housing Rights (NCHR) to take another look at what housing means in relation to our total system. The central aim of NCHR is to draft a People's Bill of Housing Rights and to get it passed through parliament. In its definition of housing, NCHR
states "Housing is not just the buildings. To be complete is must have access to the basic things that sustain life. Good housing is a vital base in society for citizens to build free and equal relationships among themselves and in turn to build cultural identities and society itself". It concludes that the right to housing is a fundamental and human right - "the right to live with dignity".

Precisely because NCHR recognises the significance of many different issues involved in the housing campaign and that housing touches many different areas of life, it has attracted a varied group of organizations and people including many women's organizations all over the country. NCHR had realised the importance of gender and housing issue at an early date and given it priority in the issues to be researched and studied. Yet, the focus of gender and housing was on providing relief to women rather than to change the system. The Draft Approach Paper (DAP) prepared by the Legal Working Group of NCHR concentrated on problems such as:

1. property rights for women - inherited and matrimonial;
2. single women's (unmarried, divorced, widowed) problems in obtaining housing, soft loans, housing subsidies etc.;
3. provision of plots for women's housing in town-planning;
4. resettlement primarily to suit women's needs;
5. provision of battered women's homes, women's hostels which would also take children and provide child care facilities, women centres etc.;
6. provision of creches at work and residential places.

When the DAP was presented for national discussion and a National Consultation (NC) was held in Bombay in May 1987, the focus suddenly changed. The discussion at NC was very lively and as points started coming up, it was obvious that it was necessary to break out of the framework in which housing and rights to housing are seen and raise new concepts on what housing means to men and women in our social context. Here one can go back to the differences observed between societies in which women designed housing and those in which men did so and pinpoint some of the differences in social context:

1. that women consider the requirements of the whole of the households as of equal importance. When women design and build, it is for the whole household. Men always give primary importance to their own needs when designing and constructing;
2. that the housing process has continued according to this value system, thereby empowering men and oppressing women;
that community support and sharing is more pronounced when women participate in the housing process;

there is more tolerance of other religions and different life styles in these communities;

single, aged and inform persons are integrated in and cared for within the community.

From these it becomes obvious that just giving more rights to women in the same system will not change the system but may even strengthen it. What is required is that the proposed Bill act as a catalyst for changing the man-woman relationship which at present continues to be that between oppressor and oppressed as well as creating a stratified and intolerant society.

To many of the men who attended NC, it was a shock to realise how entrenched was the value system whereby man and his needs are considered superior to women and their needs and how it spreads to create an oppressive society. It was realised that the first priority is to humanise the man-woman relationship and that the whole concept of the Bill needs to be re-examined from the perspective of "Humanising Housing".

Humanising housing is a very wide concept and many of its implications are just beginning to come to the fore. Much more study, thought and discussion are required to transform the concept into a viable proposal. Some of the areas proposed for the study are:

Realisation of non-material values of housing:

. Realisation of emotional involvement of women in housing.
. Giving value to physical labour involved in making a house into a home.
. Understanding insecurity and fears in women due to homelessness such as physical violence, brutality, child-rearing problems, etc.

Removal of artificial limitations imposed on women:

. Granting of equal rights to women to ancestral as well as matrimonial property.
. Removal of the division of social roles by gender.
. Removal of demarkation of men's and women's interests and activities within and without housing.

De-nuclearising family:

. Removal of isolation and thereby control of women in a nuclear family.
Re-generating communal living structures whereby community support and sharing can be achieved without eliminating privacy and individuality.

Though interim reliefs are certainly required, the thrust of the required change needs to follow the above mentioned guide-lines. The concept of humanising housing will have to be eventually concretised into proposals for inclusion in the Bill. Yet neither this concretisation, nor the Bill are seen as an end in themselves but only as stepping stones in the continuous struggle for social change. In fact the Bill is only one arm of the three-prong struggle:

. Legal i.e. passing of the Bill for Housing Rights and acceptance of the fundamental right to live with dignity.
. Campaigns and movements to further awareness of rights and the change required in existing value system i.e. consciousness raising.
. Grass-root work to help women take advantage of their rights and to train them in new skills so that they can break out of the traditionally imposed roles.

Many organizations have already started work on one or the other of these three components. Just as NCHR has taken up the legal struggle for housing as a basic unit, there are other organizations such as the Forum Against Oppression of Women fighting for a 'non-sexist, secular, civil code', which will also equalise property rights between men and women. Others such as Stri Kriti Samitee have taken up campaigns for awareness. Still others such as SPARC are involved in grass-root work. There is a long and arduous struggle ahead but the first steps have been taken in the right direction.

ANNOUNCEMENTS * ANNONCES * ANUNCIOS

. Alternatives aqricoles et autosuffisance alimentaire. Pour une agriculture économique, respectueuse de l'homme et de son environnement, tel est le thème de la 7e Conférence scientifique de la Fédération internationale des mouvements d'agriculture biologique. Elle se tiendra du 2 au 5 janvier 1989 à Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso (IFOAM, Oekozentrum lmsbach, 6695 Tholey-Theley, RFA).

. El cuento feminista latinoamericano es el tema de un concurso organizado por FEMPRESS con el objeto de sacar a la luz los talentos escondidos y como una manera más de tomar la palabra e ir construyendo nuestra identidad de mujeres. Los cuentos no deberán sobrepasar 120 líneas. Fecha límite de recepción: 30 de agosto 1988 (Casilla 16-637, Santiago 9, Chile).
Après ces années, on me permettra, à titre personnel et au nom de ses amis du monde entier, dont quelques-uns l'ont accompagné à Tunis le 16 juin comme ils l'avaient accompagné dans l'exil, de dire trois choses.

D'abord, la qualité rare de l'homme Ahmed Ben Salah. Je ne parle pas de son intégrité proverbiale, modèle pour beaucoup, menace pour quelques-uns, mais de son équanimité - même si elle est parfois masquée par la passion. Frappé par une injustice primordiale, empêché, pendant les 16 années qui auraient dû être les plus productives de sa vie (il avait 43 ans quand il a été arrêté) de servir la renaissance de son pays, non seulement il n'est pas amer, mais, bien au contraire, il a gardé intactes la vision et la confiance, l'énergie et la volonté qui l'ont toujours animé, jeune militant de la lutte anticoloniale, responsable syndical, responsable politique.

Il me sera aussi permis de dire notre espoir. Le Président Ben Ali, qui a eu le courage d'amorcer un redressement démocratique, le 7 novembre dernier, a pris les premières mesures (restitution de son passeport, grâces et annulation des peines à courir) qui devraient aboutir non seulement à la pleine réhabilitation de notre camarade, mais à lui donner les moyens de jouer un rôle à sa mesure et, surtout, à la mesure des besoins de la Tunisie.

La crise profonde, économique certes, mais surtout sociale et culturelle, dans laquelle 18 années de décadence - les années de sable - ont laissé le pays, demande à l'évidence que toutes ses forces vives se mobilisent pour définir et mettre en œuvre un autre développement, répondant aux besoins populaires, comptant d'abord sur les ressources de la société tunisienne et les multipliant par la coopération maghrébine, fidèle à sa culture et la renouvelant, utilisant prudemment l'environnement écologique, respectant l'autonomie des citoyens - travailleurs, jeunes et femmes notamment, en un mot, restituant la Tunisie au peuple tunisien.

La démocratisation a commencé. L'espoir renait. Le nôtre, c'est que le retour d'Ahmed Ben Salah puisse contribuer à l'approfondissement du processus engagé le 7 novembre: si ce retour l'enrichit, il rend possible et appelle à la fois une impulsion nouvelle.

Enfin, Ahmed Ben Salah sait que, demain comme hier, ses frères et ses sœurs de partout sont avec lui et avec ce peuple tunisien qui une fois de plus domera raison à son poète Abdoul Kacem Chaabi: 'Quand un peuple veut son destin, force est au destin de répondre'.

1/ Si tout se passe comme prévu au moment où ce Dossier va à l'imprimerie (17 mai).
L'ENDETTEMENT DE L'AFRIQUE

ACCEPTER LA RESPONSABILITÉ DE NOS PROPRES ERREURS

PROPOSITIONS POUR UNE ISSUE DANS LA DIGNITE

par Juvenal Habyarimana
Président de la République du Rwanda
Kigali, Rwanda

Les chefs d'État ou de gouvernement des pays membres de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine (OUA) ont tenu à Addis Ababa à la fin du novembre dernier une réunion extraordinaire consacrée à la dette africaine. Le discours prononcé à cette occasion par le Président du Rwanda a frappé par sa franchise et par les leçons qu'il tire de l'expérience. Le voici in extenso:

Nous sommes réunis aujourd'hui pour mettre ensemble nos expériences et les solutions que nous tentons d'apporter, dans chacun de nos pays, au problème de l'endettement qui hypothèque de plus en plus gravement nos efforts de développement, pour que nous puissions en bénéficier tous ensemble afin de renforcer notre position commune en prévision des négociations à mener avec nos partenaires.

Les problèmes économiques qui sollicitent notre attention pèsent d'un poids d'autant plus lourd que leur impact négatif se trouve exacerbé par d'autres préoccupations inhérentes aux défis d'ordre politique que notre continent doit relever dans un contexte qui lui est hostile.

S'agissant du problème spécifique auquel nous allons consacrer l'essentiel de nos réflexions à l'occasion des présentes assises, un constat s'impose: les pays africains ont tous aujourd'hui dépassé la limite de leur capacité d'endettement. Aujourd'hui donc, autant que l'ensemble des pays africains, et, à certains égards, davantage - car les potentialités de nos ressources pouvant nous apporter des devises sont par trop limitées - le Rwanda se trouve confronté, brutalement, à la mise en danger de ses acquis, confronté au cycle infernal de l'endettement... pour l'endettement.

Les facteurs conjoncturels actuels - soit la baisse éffarante de nos recettes d'exportation, ne nous permettant plus de faire face à nos engagements en devises, baisse due à l'effondrement des prix de la plupart de nos matières premières exportées et à l'anarchie des marchés monétaires - donc, la conjoncture actuelle, pour le Rwanda, n'a fait
qu'accélérer une évolution qui était inéluctable, car de
l'hostilité structurelle et fonctionnelle de l'environnement
economique international à notre égard nous ne pouvions ab-
solument pas douter.

Tôt ou tard, il aurait fallu revoir nos approches au déve-
loppement. Tôt ou tard, il aurait fallu trouver des solu-
tions fondamentales, ériger des principes clairs pouvant
nous guider en matière d'endettement, voire proposer, impos-
er les règles du jeu pour que, au-delà de l'accès à des
ressources financières, sans doute indispensables, nos pays
puissent disposer de toutes garanties afin que cet accès à
des ressources jugées indispensables ne soit synonyme de
déchéance, de perte de dignité, synonyme d'échec de nos as-
pirations vers un progrès équitable et digne de nos peuples
respectifs.

La conjoncture économique internationale actuelle n'est rien
de moins qu'un garrottement des économies africaines. Elle
nous force impérativement à identifier, immédiatement, des
solutions conjoncturelles permettant de remédier rapidement
aux urgences les plus dramatiques, mais aussi des solutions
structurelles destinées à faire éviter à jamais les im-
passes, les goulots d'étranglement, que le système actuel
nous impose.

Il nous faut aussi des réformes en profondeur, des réformes
audacieuses dans des domaines vitaux pour l'Afrique, comme
par exemple, le domaine monétaire. Pour l'Afrique, la gravi-
té sans égale de la conjoncture économique internationale,
et ses implications décourageantes pour les perspectives de
développement socio-économique du continent africain - l'in-
finie lassitude qu'elle engendre devant l'éternel recommen-
cement, sans espoir, de la lutte de nos peuples pour un pro-
grès réel - tout cela exige que les pays africains revoient
les mécanismes de l'endettement, revoient les règles du jeu,
quittent à opérer, si nécessaire, quelques révisions dans les
priorités de développement - pour que l'espoir puisse re-
naître.

La session spéciale de l'OUA qui nous réunit aujourd'hui
pourrait et devrait être ce détonateur puissant, ce réveil
brutal, cette sonnerie étourdissante rappelant au monde au
loin, et à nous-mêmes, pris au piège, à nos propres pays
pris au piège, les responsabilités qui sont celles du monde
de dehors, qui sont celles de notre continent, de nos pays.
Si notre réunion était cela, la crise actuelle aurait en fin
de compte eu un impact salutaire, elle nous aura été béné-
fique, nous forçant à agir, nous forçant à devenir davantage
encore solidaires, nous permettant de déclencher le proces-
sus qui nous assurera un jour que l'inacceptable humiliation
de nos économies appartiendra au passé.

Pour nos pays, il s'agit d'identifier les éléments pouvant
expliquer pourquoi ils se sont trouvés subitement dans une
situation quasi inextricable, alors que tous ceux qui les avaient encouragés à s'endetter les avaient en fait convaincus qu'ils devaient s'endetter toujours plus pour réaliser leur développement, mieux - qu'ils pouvaient le faire sans danger, sur la base de critères d'appréciation qui aujourd'hui prouvent leur caractère totalement inapproprié.

Il s'agit de nous assurer que les convictions qui sont les nôtres en matière d'auto-développement n'ont rien perdu de leur justesse, de leur actualité; l'important étant de pouvoir garantir que nos économies nationales soient en mesure de prendre en charge, par leurs propres moyens, ce qu'elles ont permis de construire, à savoir, nos acquis et en faisant cela, de réduire autant que nous pouvons l'effet délétère des coups pervers qui leur sont portés par l'environnement économique international hostile.

Le corollaire de cette conviction que nous nous efforçons de traduire par nos politiques et nos priorités et qui soutend la plupart de nos approches est cette autre conviction, à savoir que l'auto-développement, au fond, n'est que cette expression fondamentale qui est celle de la dignité bien comprise des peuples.

Pour l'Afrique, il serait alors inconcevable d'accepter l'idée de devoir un jour se soumettre à ceux qui, profitant de son endettement, ou de ses besoins de financement, voulaient lui dicter leurs politiques, lui imposer leurs volontés, lui montrer comment il convient de rembourser, et comment l'Afrique eût dû faire pour éviter d'aller au-delà de ses capacités - et là les amateurs, comme nous le savons, sont nombreux!

Pour pouvoir agir en connaissance de cause, il faut ne pas se tromper sur les causes profondes qui ont amené notre continent à la situation critique dans laquelle il se trouve aujourd'hui. Mais il faut aussi résister à cette tentative de vouloir d'emblée tout mettre sur le seul dos des autres. Nous devons commencer par voir où, et pourquoi, nous n'avons pas été suffisamment vigilants, pourquoi le contrôle de la situation risquait de nous échapper. Il faut commencer par accepter la responsabilité de nos propres erreurs.

En me fondant sur l'expérience du Rwanda - et vous m'excusez des écarts inévitables dans toute comparaison - il s'avère que nos responsabilités étaient particulièrement sollicitées, lorsqu'il se serait agi, précisément, de résister à trois types de tentations.

Il y a d'abord la tentative de vivre au-dessus de nos moyens. Vivre au-dessus de ses moyens, ce n'est pas la suite à une décision prise dans ce sens; ce n'est pas un phénomène subi. C'est un processus imperceptible, insidieux, comme un poison qui se distille lentement. Ce processus a plusieurs
facettes, il se manifeste de diverses façons: une bonne année de recettes d'exportation, faisant vite croire que c'est la norme; un déficit budgétaire vite comblé par une avance de la Banque Centrale, mais qui devient l'habitude, et dont le financement ultérieur ne pourra se faire que par un endettement public progressif; des décisions d'investissement prises dans l'euphorie du moment; des politiques, bonnes en soi, mais qui, pour leur réalisation, ne sont pas approfondies en termes stratégiques; la disponibilité de fonds, via la coopération, surtout multilatérale, entraînant, presque par la force des choses, leur acceptation, sans que toutes les conséquences en aient été bien étudiées. Voilà la première tentative.

Il y a ensuite la tentative de considérer, les circonstances aidant, comme le succès des missions confiées à nos fonctionnaires et à nos Ministres le décrochage, souvent à n'importe quel prix, de tous les financements possibles et imaginables! Il est vrai que nos pays ont un besoin évident de financements extérieurs pour pouvoir imprimer à nos économies un rythme de croissance acceptable. Mais la tentative était de regarder l'endettement massif dans tous les domaines comme un critère d'excellence de la gestion de ceux-ci: plus il y a de l'argent, de prêts, de donateurs, d'experts, d'études, de missions, plus les choses progresseraient, mieux le domaine serait géré, mieux il apparaîtrait comme maîtrisé! Sans compter l'attrait de voir le travail fait par d'autres!

Commencer par penser qu'il suffit de promouvoir n'importe quel projet, ce qui ne pouvait se faire qu'au détriment de la cohérence globale, simplement parce que l'on a trouvé un financement, un prêt, ou parce que l'on est sûr d'en trouver un rapidement, était une attitude séduisante, une tentative à laquelle il a été souvent difficile de résister. Y a-t-il en effet aujourd'hui quelque chose de plus aisé que de trouver des financements, pour n'importe quoi, tant l'argent international semble abondant, ne cherchant qu'à se placer, à condition de payer le prix, et surtout aussi longtemps que l'État doit en garantir le remboursement ou assurer la rentabilité des investissements.

Une dernière tentative à laquelle nos pays ont souvent succombé était celle de s'endetter pour des choses pour lesquelles ils n'avaient au fond aucun besoin de s'endetter, mais qui faisaient partie intégrante de l'arrangement de financement conclu, qu'il s'agisse de matériaux disponibles localement, de primes pour les fonctionnaires travaillant dans ces projets, de services que l'on pourrait satisfaire sur place, de gadgets superflus, ou de marchandise luxueuses qui auraient pu être remplacées par des produits moins extravagants. Notre propre faiblesse était ainsi, lors des négociations, la force de nos partenaires.
Chose tout aussi inquiétante: par exemple pour bien des projets que le Rwanda a entrepris dans le cadre d'un financement sur prêts, il n'en reste plus rien aujourd'hui, sauf... les dettes à rembourser; tout de ces projets a disparu; on n'en retrouve plus aujourd'hui nulle trace qu'ils auraient laissée dans le paysage, sauf le remboursement des dettes, avec force devises fortes, alors que ces projets auxquels nous avons souscrit, sur la base souvent de la confiance accordée aux bailleurs de fonds, n'ont jamais génére, ni directement, ni indirectement, la moindre devise remboursable. Ici encore, c'est notre faiblesse qui a fait la force de nos créanciers.

L'expérience du Rwanda nous a conduit à ces analyses; l'analyse sans fard et sans ménagement de la situation, et des causes qui l'ont amené, à laquelle nous devons procéder, est pour nous tout autant une interpellation des plus sérieuses quant à notre dignité, à la dignité de l'Afrique, quant à sa capacité de définir elle-même ses orientations politiques en matière de développement, d'identifier ses priorités, de comprendre la signification d'un oui ou d'un non qu'elle prononce.

Les pays africains doivent ainsi commencer par agir vigoureusement sur ceux des facteurs qui sont de leur propre ressort, qui sont à leur portée, afin de voir le spectre d'un surendettement dont ils pourraient être tenus pour responsables par le laxisme de leurs politiques, ou le manque de vigilance.

Afin de voir s'éloigner aussi le spectre insupportable de la perte de notre marge de manœuvre - infime, il est vrai, mais qui nous garantit notre dignité, qui donne un peu de sens au concept, et à la réalité d'indépendance.

La maîtrise de la capacité d'endettement, nous pourrions l'obtenir (c'est la voie que le Rwanda a choisie de suivre) par:

1. la définition stricte des conditions, des critères, des règles, des procédures, des domaines et des responsabilités en matière d'engagements financiers de l'État;
2. l'excellence de la gestion administrative de l'endettement du pays, les implications de l'endettement sur tous les paramètres importants de l'ensemble des engagements jusqu'à leur liquidation totale;
3. la révision scrupuleuse des engagements actuels pour en différer ou geler ce qui peut l'être, pour retarder ceux pour lesquels les fonds de contrepartie ne sont pas disponibles, et pour en éliminer tous les aspects qui peuvent être pris en charge par les efforts locaux;
4. la suppression, dorénavant systématique, dans nos accords de financement entraînant un endettement, de tout ce qui peut être assumé.
localement, sans recourir à un endettement en devises (construction de bâtiments, utilisation de matériaux locaux, mise à contribution de ressources et services nationaux etc.) de sorte que notre endettement futur ne portera essentiellement que sur des dépenses inévitables en devises;

. le recours à un endettement dans les seuls cas où toutes les autres possibilités de financement, autres que sur crédits, auront été épuisées ou introuvables.

La maîtrise de notre capacité d'endettement fait partie d'un ensemble de politiques concourant toutes à nous donner un jour la main-mise sur les destinées de nos économies.

Les engagements à prendre, en matière de principes de politique économique, sont clairs: maîtrise absolue de notre endettement, maîtrise totale de notre programmation budgétaire, maîtrise aussi complète que possible de nos relations économiques extérieures.

C'est de la maîtrise de ces équilibres vitaux que l'auto-développement que nous visons, sur le plan économique, dépendra en partie essentielle. Tout particulièrement, notre marge de manœuvre est fonction, me semble-t-il, de la façon dont nous soumettons à la logique de nos besoins et de nos intérêts nationaux nos relations économiques extérieures.

Il est de la conviction du Rwanda que la maîtrise de l'endettement dépend largement de la cohérence d'ensemble qui doit faire l'originalité, dans le cas de chaque pays, de ses politiques et stratégies concernant la restructuration des économies nationales. Une certaine cohérence des politiques nationales, cependant, ne suffit pas pour faire face aux efforts paralysants de la dépression actuelle. Quel que soit le sérieux avec lequel nous essayons de gérer nos économies respectives, une crise comme celle-ci, résultant en une dépression durable, peut en quelques semaines bouleverser tous les efforts, aussi soigneusement qu'ils aient pu être bâtis, elle peut détruire les résultats positifs de plusieurs années, elle peut compromettre jusqu'à l'espoir d'avoir un jour des perspectives d'avenir encourageantes.

Voilà pourquoi nous devons accorder toute notre attention aux propositions globales élaborées par les diverses instances de l'OUA et le secrétariat conjoint OUA/CEA/BAD/CAEM en vue de trouver des solutions acceptables et durables au problème de la dette extérieure de l'Afrique.

L'urgence des actions devrait être accordée

. au refinancement automatique des dettes à court terme, portant un intérêt élevé, par des prêts du type IDA;
. au placement automatique des prêts déjà accordés, mais non encore entamés, sur des comptes, dans la devise du prêt, portant intérêts
selon les taux du marché, et dont le rendement devrait, en étroite collaboration avec le bailleur de fonds concerné, être affecté obligatoirement à la constitution d'un fonds de remboursement en faveur du pays débiteur;

à l'élimination pure et simple de tout paiement pour des prêts non encore entamés, mais pour lesquels souvent les intérêts courent dès leur attribution.

Si ces dispositions permettaient d'alléger rapidement la situation actuelle de plusieurs de nos pays, elles ne résoudraient pas pour autant les défis à moyen et à long terme, surtout ceux qui attendent le groupe des pays les plus démunis, dont fait partie le Rwanda. C'est pourquoi il conviendrait de mettre en place des solutions institutionnalisées prévoyant certaines garanties facilitant le remboursement ultérieur des emprunts contractés.

Ainsi, pour ce qui est des PMA, dont la majorité des emprunts ont été contractés à des conditions non commerciales, souvent du type IDA, il serait parfaitement concevable qu'une certaine fraction - cinq pour cent, dix pour cent - de ces emprunts soit réservée d'emblée en vue d'un placement aux conditions du marché, dans la devise dans laquelle il faudra les rembourser, et dont les rendements, d'un commun accord, serviraient au seul remboursement des emprunts contractés, la fraction à être placée pouvant être fonction du montant et des conditions du prêt, ainsi que des risques de l'investissement et de sa rentabilité en termes de devises.

Une telle formule constituerait une approche élégante, et pour le crééditeur et pour le pays débiteur: en effet, les ressources supplémentaires à être mobilisées, le cas échéant, bien qu'il y ait d'autres possibilités, seraient modestes, mais une telle formule donnerait à la fois au crééditeur et au débiteur une sécurité importante, et qui n'est point contradictoire avec l'idée d'un transfert de ressources financières concessionnelles en faveur des pays les moins bien lotis, mais qui sont de bonne foi.

Une autre solution devant également être envisagée est le renouvellement quasi automatique des prêts du type IDA, par exemple, s'il s'avère que leur remboursement se heurte à des difficultés conjoncturelles particulières. Il s'agirait ici d'une forme de rééchelonnement institutionnalisé, donnant la possibilité aux PMA de choisir entre de nouveaux emprunts, dont les obligations s'ajouteraient à celles déjà contractées, et le refinancement éventuel de certains emprunts, dont les charges de remboursement constitueraient une contrainte par trop paralysante. Une telle formule sauvegarderait à la fois l'intérêt et la réputation des bailleurs de fonds concernés et l'honneur du pays débiteur.

Les deux solutions proposées permettraient de fournir non seulement un répit vital aux PMA les plus accumulés, des ga-
ranties de sécurité évidentes à moyen et à long terme aux bailleurs de fonds et aux PMA emprunteurs, mais de telles solutions respecteraient fondamentalement aussi la dignité et l'honneur des intervenants, le respect des hommes, des institutions et des pays, c'est-à-dire, le respect de valeurs auxquelles les pays africains accordent la plus grande importance. Le Rwanda se propose d'explorer concrètement de telles possibilités avec certains de ses bailleurs de fonds dont l'intérêt pour son développement est évident.

Parallèlement à la mise en place des deux approches proposées, il serait urgent d'entamer les discussions avec nos bailleurs de fonds sur les problèmes suivants, dont le bien-fondé ne permet guère de doute.

Il s'agira, d'urgence, d'entamer les discussions:

- sur le partage des risques du change;
- sur l'annulation des dettes de projets dont il n'existe plus aujourd'hui aucune trace dans la réalité;
- sur le remboursement en monnaie locale d'une partie des dettes contractées;
- sur la seule prise en charge, le cas échéant, des prestations réelles dépensées dans nos pays, afin d'éviter que nos paysans ne subventionnent certains secteurs des pays industrialisés.

Voilà donc quelques idées que le Rwanda soumet aujourd'hui à la discussion, dans l'espoir que, même si elles ne permettent pas de résoudre tous les problèmes des PMA, elles contribuent néanmoins à stimuler les débats.

La présente conférence extraordinaire répond concrètement à la conviction, notre conviction, que nous devons continuer à nous connaître mieux, à connaître mieux nos approches respectives face aux problèmes qui nous sont communs, problèmes auxquels nous devons faire face en un front uni. Se connaître mieux, travailler ensemble à la solution des graves problèmes de nos pays, de notre continent, n'est-ce pas aussi la clé pour une coopération régionale accrue et par là la clé aussi pour la paix et la prospérité de notre continent?

Mais nos problèmes ne sont pas seulement les nôtres, ils concernent tout le monde. L'intérêt bien compris des pays industriels ne veut-il pas que l'Afrique soit forte, un jour, économiquement, culturellement, pour qu'elle soit un jour un partenaire plus valable, apportant à l'humanité la part essentielle qui pourra être la sienne? Ensemble, il s'agira d'assumer la responsabilité commune pour l'avenir prospère de ce monde qui est celui de nous tous.
CRISIS Y DESAFIO: CIENCIA Y TECNOLOGÍA
EN EL FUTURO DE AMÉRICA LATINA*

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Introducción

La confluencia de un contexto internacional turbulento y circunstancias difíciles en los países de América Latina (presiones sociales, limitaciones económicas, incertidumbre política, cambios culturales y ecosistemas vulnerables) configuran una situación crítica para la región en los años que restan hasta fines de siglo. Sin embargo, estos problemas pueden generar también un conjunto de oportunidades. En medio de crecientes dificultades América Latina constituye un basto "laboratorio social" en donde se están generando respuestas inéditas a todo nivel - desde el surgimiento de organizaciones populares de base hasta el establecimiento de empresas de alta tecnología, y desde la aparición de movimientos locales de autogobierno hasta la adopción de posiciones de liderazgo en política internacional.

Estos desafíos hacen que algunos analistas vean con pesimismo las perspectivas de América Latina. Por ejemplo, Wiarda (1985, p. 28) arguya que "es difícil para cualquier observador objetivo y realista ser optimista acerca del futuro de América Latina". Lo mejor que anticipa es "un período de tanteos, tropezones y experimentación, absorción y acomodo mientras mantiene sus instituciones tradicionales". Sin embargo, como se hace cada vez más claro, es poco probable que el nuevo contexto internacional y la crítica situación social de la región permitan continuar con el modo latinoamericano tradicional de enfrentar problemas. Las reacciones positivas que empiezan a vislumbrarse hacen que el pesimismo sobre el futuro de la región no se justifique del todo.


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Anticipar lo que podría suceder en América Latina durante los próximos tres lustros es una tarea difícil y aventurada. Sin embargo, es posible identificar cuatro conjuntos de problemas comunes que plantean desafíos y exigen respuestas, así como se une el cambio que Latinoamérica está experimentando en su forma de inserción en la economía mundial.

En primer lugar, América Latina enfrenta un proceso acelerado y masivo de cambio social, que no podrá contenerse mediante estrategias convencionales de cooptación y de reprisión. En segundo lugar, América Latina enfrenta una creciente heterogeneidad, diversificación y segmentación en el ámbito de la producción de bienes y servicios, lo que demanda la formulación y puesta en práctica de una variedad de políticas, estrategias y respuestas articuladas entre sí. En tercer lugar, América Latina enfrenta una estrechez económica generalizada y una escasez de recursos financieros, que requieren una nueva concepción del manejo económico y financiero en los países de la región. En cuarto lugar, América Latina enfrenta un proceso de obsolescencia acelerada de su capacidad científica y tecnológica que limita severamente su posibilidad de responder tanto a los desafíos del nuevo contexto internacional como al conjunto de demandas internas que aumentan continuamente. Por último, es posible plantear la hipótesis de que en un contexto internacional cambiante y turbulento, América Latina atraviesa por un período de flexibilización de sus vinculaciones con la economía mundial, lo que permitiría buscar una nueva forma de inserción en la división internacional del trabajo que sea más favorable para la región.

**El Cambio Social**

El proceso de cambio social acelerado y masivo que experimenta América Latina en la actualidad - y que se prolongará por lo menos hasta fin de siglo - se caracteriza por el rápido crecimiento de las demandas sociales vinculadas a la explosión demográfica y a la pobreza generalizada en la mayoría de los países de la región.

El contraste entre las expectativas de mejora en los niveles de vida para una amplia gama de sectores de bajos ingresos, por un lado, y las limitaciones económicas, por otro, está exacerbando en la región las ya fuertes tensiones sociales. A esto se une la virtual pérdida de los logros obtenidos por amplios sectores de la clase media durante la posguerra y la polarización social que ha acompañado a un proceso regresivo de distribución del ingreso durante el último decenio. En algunos países estas tensiones han desembocado en violencia criminal y terrorista cuya solución se vislumbra sólo en el largo plazo. Se anticipa también un período de experimentación y puesta en marcha de medidas redistributivas para reducir las desigualdades extremas prevalecientes en la actualidad. Entre otras medidas, esto im-
plica generar empleo en forma masiva, lo que es imposible lograr mediante la sola expansión de las actividades pro-
ductivas modernas que requieren de altas inversiones por
puesto de trabajo. Por lo tanto, una tarea de suma urgencia
para el diseño de estrategias de desarrollo en América La-
tina consiste en explorar opciones tecnológicas con mayor
capacidad de absorción de mano de obra, pero sin sacrificar
excesivamente los niveles de productividad.

Es posible prever también un esfuerzo por mantener la vi-
gencia de los procesos de democratización que están en mar-
cha en la mayoría de los países de la región. Si bien el
aumento en las presiones sociales introducirá un cierto gra-
do de inestabilidad, es necesario aceptar – como lo ha enfa-
tizado Hirschman (1986) – que la incertidumbre es una carac-
terística intrínseca de los procesos democráticos, sobre
todo en períodos de cambio social acelerado. La tensión que
acompañará el escenario político de los próximos años en la
región ha sido resumida por Wolfe (1985, p.166) en los si-
guientes términos:

La exploración de las alternativas democráticas afirma la permanen-
cia de una contradicción o tensión entre la necesidad real de con-
tar, por una parte, con una transformación planificada de las es-
tructuras sociales y económicas, de contar con una dirección cen-
tral capaz de vencer las resistencias y, en las palabras del Dr
Prebisch, administrar la socialización del excedente generado por
el crecimiento económico; y por otra, la necesidad de contar con
instituciones democráticas en el plano local y nacional que sean
autónomas y críticas, capaces de innovar dentro de sus propias es-
féras de acción, desafiando constantemente a los líderes políticos,
los tecnoburócratas y las estructuras de poder locales o nacio-
nales.

La tarea de expandir, consolidar y reorientar la capacidad científi-
ca y tecnológica de los países de la región en un
contexto de estrechez económica requiere de esfuerzos se-
lectivos y sostenidos a lo largo de varios años, lo que a su
vez demanda un consenso entre los diversos agentes sociales
en el ámbito político. Esto implica que el desarrollo cien-
tífico y tecnológico debe convertirse en una causa movili-
zadora y en una reivindicación social básica compartida por
amplos sectores de la población, tal como lo fuera la re-
forma agraria hace algunos años en la región.

Otros aspectos del proceso de cambio social acelerado que
tienen importantes consecuencias de orden científico y tec-
nológico se refieren a la urbanización masiva, que genera
demandas por nuevas tecnologías vinculadas a la provisión de
servicios urbanos de bajo costo; a las presiones y amenazas
sobre el medio ambiente, que hacen necesario el empleo de
technologías en armonía con la capacidad de regeneración de
los ecosistemas; y a la necesidad de emplear los avances en
las tecnologías de administración, ciencias de gestión e
informática en el manejo de las actividades públicas y privadas.

**Heterogeneidad Productiva**

Puede anticiparse que la heterogeneidad, diversidad y segmentación en la producción de bienes y servicios continuará aumentando en la región durante los próximos tres lustros, y que las diferencias entre los distintos componentes del aparato productivo en los países de América Latina se acentuarán y profundizarán. La "heterogeneidad estructural" identificada por Aníbal Pinto (1973) es un rasgo permanente de la realidad latinoamericana: las diferencias tanto entre los sectores agropecuario, industrial, minero y de servicios, como las diferencias entre las unidades productivas al interior de estos sectores, exigen la formulación de políticas y estrategias diferenciadas al nivel de rama de actividad.

Existen muchas maneras de clasificar las actividades productivas y de servicios; por ejemplo, en función del destino de los bienes finales producidos, del contenido de insumos importados, o de acuerdo a la dotación de capital por puesto de trabajo, entre muchas otras. Lo importante es identificar categorías de unidades relativamente homogéneas en la producción de bienes y servicios, que permitan el diseño de políticas tecnológicas específicas para cada una de estas categorías de unidades productivas. Durante los próximos años será necesario administrar deliberadamente la heterogeneidad y la diversidad de las actividades productivas con plena conciencia de que el "pluralismo tecnológico" puede generar ventajas, siempre y cuando se evite la conformación de "ghettos" tecnológicos aislados sin interacción entre ellos.

Por ejemplo, es posible identificar un conjunto de actividades productivas ligadas principalmente al procesamiento de recursos naturales, a la exportación de manufacturas, a la industria artesanal y en pequeña escala, así como a la utilización de tecnologías avanzadas. Las políticas de desarrollo científico y tecnológico pueden diferenciarse para apoyar mejor a cada uno de los sectores, enfatizando ya sea la investigación tecnológica, el control de calidad, la mejora de la productividad o la vinculación con centros de excelencia internacional. Entre otras líneas de política esto implica proveer la "mezcla de tecnologías" (technology blending) para insertar componentes de tecnología avanzada en las actividades productivas convencionales y tradicionales a fin de aumentar su productividad y mejorar su desempeño (Bhalla, 1985; Colombo, 1985; Rosemberg, 1986).

**Escasez de Recursos Financieros**

La estrechez económica y la escasez de recursos financieros serán una constante en la economía regional durante los pró-
ximos quince años. Esto está vinculado al agotamiento de los patrones tradicionales de crecimiento económico y acumulación basados en la exportación de productos primarios, las transferencias del sector agropecuario rural hacia la industria urbana, la inversión extranjera, la sustitución de importaciones y el endeudamiento externo. Aún no se vislumbra con claridad la transición hacia un nuevo patrón de acumulación, cuya materialización adoptará diferentes formas en los distintos países de la región, Sin embargo, es probable que estos nuevos patrones de acumulación incorporen componentes tales como la exportación de manufacturas, el procesamiento de recursos naturales con tecnologías avanzadas, la articulación intrarregional de empresas y sectores productivos, y la ampliación de los mercados internos.

Un problema clave durante los próximos quince años será el de administrar la escasez con eficiencia y con respecto por la dignidad humana. Entre otras cosas, esto implica: reducir drásticamente la transferencia de excedentes al exterior, asociada principalmente a la pesada carga de la deuda externa y a la fuga de capitales; evitar la inversión improductiva, sobre todo en armamentos; concretar y racionalizar la inversión en líneas de proyectos rentables en el corto y mediano plazo, abandonando proyectos excesivamente costosos y de larga maduración; y enfatizar la integración económica, buscando el manejo eficiente y pragmático de los recursos de inversión en un marco de cooperación regional.

Por otra parte, como lo señalará Lange (1961) hace un cuarto de siglo, el factor esencial de crecimiento económico es el aumento en la productividad del trabajo - pudiendo lograrse esto a través de la inversión en maquinaria y equipo, del cambio tecnológico o de mejoras en la organización de la producción. En situaciones de estrechez económica y de escasez de recursos financieros los dos últimos factores adquieran gran importancia.

Por ejemplo, Katz y sus colaboradores (1985) han identificado la posibilidad de introducir cambios tecnológicos menores en las plantas y en la administración de la producción para mejorar la eficiencia en la industria metalmeccánica latinoamericana. Asimismo, Katz (1986) sostiene que en la Argentina "la verdadera forma de mejorar la productividad media de la industria en conjunto debe necesariamente pasar por un masivo esfuerzo empresario en tareas de ingeniería, de organización y métodos de producción, entre otras, del tipo que el economista normalmente clasifica como cambios tecnológicos 'desincorporados' para diferenciarlos de aquellos que se introducen con los nuevos equipos de capital". Otro aspecto a destacar es que la escasez de recursos financieros obligará en los próximos años a una mayor selectividad en las inversiones para el desarrollo de una capacidad científica y tecnológica, sobre todo considerando su larga maduración. En consecuencia, muchos países de la re-
sión deberán abandonar algunas de sus actuales líneas de trabajo científico y tecnológico, lo que destaca una vez más la importancia de la cooperación regional en ciencia y tecnología.

Obsolescencia Científica y Tecnológica

Todo indica que durante los próximos años la capacidad científica y tecnológica de la región experimentará un proceso de obsolescencia acelerada que acentuará su desfase con las necesidades productivas y sociales de la región - particularmente en vista de los avances internacionales en el campo de la microelectrónica (Pérez, 1985). Est no implica que la solución sea una loca carrera por alcanzar a los países tecnológicamente avanzados o un profundo desaliento cuando se comprueba que esto es imposible. Por el contrario, se requiere un esfuerzo sereno de reflexión y análisis sobre los objetivos y la orientación del desarrollo científico y tecnológico regional, tomando en cuenta tanto el contexto internacional de crisis y turbulencia, como las perspectivas latinoamericanas de cambio social acelerado, creciente heterogeneidad productiva y escasez de recursos.

Por ejemplo, las proyecciones realizadas en base a tendencias históricas indican que la región gastaría en el año 2000 alrededor del 0.55% de su Producto Bruto Interno (PBI) en investigación y desarrollo (IyD), nivel ligeramente superior al actual. Bajo el improbable supuesto de que el gasto en IyD crezca a un ritmo del 10% anual promedio entre 1980 y el año 2000, se llegaría en este último año a un nivel de gasto en IyD de aproximadamente 0.72% del PBI, comparable a de países europeos pequeños al iniciarse el decenio de 1980 (Sagasti y Escobal, 1984; Sagasti y Cook, 1985). Estos niveles de gasto, que pueden considerarse ciertamente como un límite superior para el crecimiento de las inversiones en IyD, no permiten esperar un gran salto hacia adelante en la configuración de una capacidad científica y tecnológica regional.

Las limitaciones en los recursos humanos altamente calificados parecen aún más serias, sobre todo en aquellos países de la región cuyo sistema universitario se encuentra en crisis. Cada vez es más evidente la necesidad de una profunda reforma y reestructuración del sistema universitario latinoamericano. Una buena parte de las universidades latinoamericanas vive presa de esquemas ideológicos sobre la responsabilidad social de la universidad que no guardan relación con las exigencias del nuevo contexto internacional, con el período de turbulencia política que prevalece en la actualidad, y con la crisis económica que afecta a la región.

Brunner (1985) ha puesto de manifiesto los problemas que enfrentan las universidades latinoamericanas en la actualidad y ha destacado que los conflictos de valores - excelen-
cia vs. compromiso social, libertad vs. intereses de seguridad nacional, igualdad vs. selectividad, autonomía vs. responsabilidad - condicionan las opciones de desarrollo universitario en el futuro. A su vez, no es posible visualizar un desarrollo razonable de las actividades de investigación científica y tecnológica (que se realizan principalmente en las universidades) a menos que se defina claramente una política y una estrategia para la reconversión del sistema de educación superior en América Latina.

Por último, la creciente interrelación entre los factores de orden científico y tecnológico por un lado y los de orden económico, financiero, social, político, ambiental y cultural por otro, exigen un tratamiento integrado de las políticas de desarrollo. Esto implica una toma de conciencia por parte de los dirigentes políticos, funcionarios públicos, intelectuales, educadores, trabajadores y empresarios, así como una modificación sustantiva del marco institucional en el cual se formulan las políticas de ciencia y tecnología en la actualidad. Es necesario darle mayor visibilidad política a los aspectos científicos y tecnológicos del proceso de desarrollo; más aún: es preciso darle el carácter de "cruzada nacional" a los esfuerzos para establecer y consolidar una capacidad científica y tecnológica propia en los países de la región.

La Inserción Internacional de América Latina

Los cambios que está experimentando América Latina en la actualidad sugieren la hipótesis de que - rodeada por un nuevo contexto internacional turbulento y experimentando profundas transformaciones internas (Sagasti y Garland, 1985) - América Latina puede cambiar significativamente su forma de inserción en la economía mundial. En cierta medida, el deterioro de los precios de las materias primas que exporta la región y la crisis de la impagable deuda externa demuestran la no viabilidad del modo actual de inserción de la región en la economía internacional, y han contribuido a la toma de conciencia sobre las nuevas perspectivas que se le abren a Latinoamérica.

La región está pasando por un proceso de relativa disolución y flexibilización de sus vínculos tradicionales con la economía internacional - de la cual le es imposible desligarse. A este periodo de debilitamiento de sus estrechas interrelaciones económicas con el resto del mundo, sobre todo con las economías de los países industrializados, seguirá una etapa de reacoplamiento y un nuevo patrón de fuertes interacciones con la economía mundial. No es posible anticipar con precisión la duración del actual período de mayor flexibilidad relativa, pero para la región en conjunto es probable que la nueva etapa de reestructuración de patrones de interacción económica empiece a cristalizar hacia fines del decenio de 1990.
La forma que adoptará el nuevo patrón de interrelaciones de América Latina con la economía mundial aún no está determinada ni decidida. Existen grados de libertad para influenciar la reinserción de la región en la economía internacional del futuro. Desde este punto de vista podría considerarse que el próximo decenio configura una "ventana de oportunidad" que quizás no vuelva a presentarse en mucho tiempo para América Latina.

El desarrollo de una capacidad científica y tecnológica jugará un papel de primer orden como condicionante del patrón de reinserción que finalmente prevalezca al agotarse el período de flexibilidad y desacoplamiento relativo. Durante los próximos años, coincidiendo con el período de turbulencia en el contexto internacional, se generará un espacio regional para emprender esfuerzos científicos y tecnológicos orientados hacia las demandas sociales y económicas internas - lo que a su vez facilitará y exigirá la recuperación selectiva de la base tecnológica tradicional, la promoción del cambio tecnológico "desincorporado" en la producción de bienes y servicios, y la introducción de componentes de tecnología avanzada en las actividades productivas convencionales y tradicionales. Además, será necesario prestar mayor atención a la explotación racional de los recursos naturales de América Latina y al imperativo de respetar la capacidad de regeneración de los ecosistemas regionales (trópico húmedo, regiones semi-áridas, zonas marinas.)

Igualmente, será necesario diseñar nuevos patrones de vinculación comercial con la economía mundial, atendiendo a la reestructuración industrial, desarrollando nuevos productos y mercados de exportación, reinventando los procesos de integración regional, y adecuando tecnológicamente la explotación y el procesamiento de las materias primas que tradicionalmente ha exportado América Latina. Las demandas de orden científico y tecnológico que impone el establecimiento de estos nuevos patrones de interacción comercial son considerables, por lo que será necesario evitar la dispersión, concentrar esfuerzos en unos pocos campos específicos e intensificar la cooperación regional.

Para aprovechar las oportunidades que presenta este período de relativo desacoplamiento será necesario también promover y reformar al máximo posible la capacidad de innovación social y cultural de los países en la región. En este sentido es instructivo el ejemplo de España, que en unos pocos años ha dado un salto cualitativo en términos de su capacidad social de innovación, que se refleja en la vertiginosa expansión de su capacidad científica y tecnológica durante los últimos años. El "que inventen otros!" del egregio rector de Salamanca, Miguel de Unamuno, ha quedado atrás, aparentemente de manera definitiva, con el ingreso de España al Mercado Común Europeo.
Por último, también es conveniente ejercitar la imaginación y adelantarse varios decenios para especular sobre las posibilidades de América Latina durante la primera mitad del Siglo XXI. Aún si no se llega a cristalizar un nuevo patrón de inserción internacional favorable en los próximos dos decenios, sería interesante identificar las medidas que le permitirían a la región aprovechar mejor las oportunidades que podrían presentarse en el largo plazo. Por ejemplo, si bien es probable que América Latina pierda una vez más el tren de la historia que representa la revolución microelectrónica actualmente en proceso, la naturaleza y el impacto de la revolución biotecnológica ya que se vislumbra podrían examinarse para anticipar las características de una posible nueva "Onda Larga" basada en la difusión masiva de innovaciones biotecnológicas, y para especular con mucha anticipación sobre las respuestas latinoamericanas a esta situación hipotética.

Nota Final

La toma de conciencia sobre la simultánea confluencia de un proceso de cambio social acelerado, de una creciente heterogeneidad productiva, de una aguda escasez de recursos financieros, de una obsolescencia acelerada del capital físico y humano, y de un proceso de desacoplamiento relativo de América Latina en su relación con la economía mundial presenta un conjunto de desafíos y oportunidades sin precedentes en la historia reciente de la región.

No hay nada mágico ni especial en el año 2000. Sin embargo, la transición hacia un nuevo milenio constituye un momento poco usual para reflexionar sobre las perspectivas de desarrollo a largo plazo para América Latina y para estimular la imaginación y el interés de quienes toman decisiones. Se sabe que la ciencia y la tecnología pueden jugar un papel fundamental en el futuro de la región y los pocos años que nos separan del Siglo XXI definirán si se aprovecha o desperdicia esta oportunidad. La crítica realidad de la región debe ser vista como un dato y no como una restricción y, como dijo Simón Rodríguez, el maestro de Bolívar, "O inventamos, o erramos!".

Referencias:


ANNOUNCEMENTS * ANNONCES * ANUNCIOS

INNOTECH, the Southeast Asian Regional Center for Educational Innovation and Technology is sponsoring an International Conference on Education and Development to take place in Manila, Philippines, 16-18 November 1988. The theme emerged from the disappointing results of decades of development wherein expensive material inputs have mostly widened the gap between the haves and the have nots (UP POB 207, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines).

Congresso del arte correo 1986, reuniones entre artistas en todo el mundo, descentralizado sin centro ni administración, 160 hojas, publicado por Cunter Ruch, 115 rue de Peney, 1242 Peney, Ginebra, Suiza. En Tepotzlan pidamos Cual es la diferencia entre arte correo y la correspondencia? Pueden hacer la correspondencia la gente que no escriben? Paz (Centro de correspondencia de Tepotzlan, Apartado 121, Tepotzlan, Morelos, Mexico).
ON THE CAUSES OF TERRORISM AND THEIR REMOVAL

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To discuss terrorism—causes, consequences and possible remedies—conceptualization, typologies, and an effort to place the phenomenon of terrorism inside a theory of the world space are indispensable. We cannot just start with a journalistic, vague idea that terrorism is what happens when somebody "innocent", of our own kind, is taken hostage or killed by unknown people in "unpredictable" ways and with motives we either do not understand or do not accept. Nor with the primitive idea that "our side" does the same thing, then they are just "freedom fighters".

So let us start with the point of departure of traditional social science as the study, of who does what to whom, where, when and how, and why. Seven small words that cover it all relatively well: those who act and those who are acted upon, the content of the act, the space and time coordinates and further circumstances, and the motivation. This conceptual net should be broad enough to catch what we are looking for.

Which of these seven words holds the key to the understanding of terrorism? Obviously no single word, but some combination. Let us specify the "what" to something destructive and the "whom" to individuals. One of the milder forms of terrorism would be to limit the freedom to move of the individual by taking him or her prisoner, hostage. Then there is a scale from hitting and hurting mind and/or body to killing. But in all of these cases the target we are most concerned with will tend to be human beings. A passenger plane may be destroyed; but the target is the passengers, not the plane. Perhaps we should add that this may not remain so in the future. Terrorism may also be extended to more material objects, things, and it may be argued that this is already the case like in the many actions carried out against U.S. military installations in Western Germany and Italy. But even so there is a difference between terrorism and regular warfare. The destructive act in terrorism is more specific; this and that particular military or police installation, governmental or corporate office. If anything is indiscriminate violence it is not terrorism but state-sanctioned carpet or nuclear bombing /1/. Relative to this, terrorism has pin-point accuracy and specificity.
We get, however, more insight into the nature of terrorism looking at the where, when and how. One key to the understanding of terrorism is the element of surprise, unpredictability. This breaks down for fixed objects since the where is already given; surprise would then be limited to when and how. But it does not break down for human beings for they have a tendency to move around, themselves providing the full range of unpredictability in the where, when and how simply by traveling 2/. Individuals targeted should feel safe nowhere, at no time - that is a key aspect of terrorism as terror. Terrorism may hit at any point at any time. Unlike war it shows great discontinuity in space and time - hence the unpredictability.

The individual whom should also be unpredictable, however. Under the Rule of law, the state administers evil in the form of something destructive, in the now traditional forms, in western law, of fines and imprisonment. Occasionally evil takes the form of maiming the human body (Islam) or killing it (Islam and Christianity). But there is a high element of predictability. The where and the when, and how punishment is carried out, is prescribed by the law; the why is defined by the illegal act, and the whom is in principle knowable to the individual(s) transgressing the fine lines of law in advance. The Rule of law is predictable; the Rule of terror is unpredictable. A typical Rule of terror technique against a group of people, for instance lawyers in the early periods of the Nazi regime, might be to single out every ten of them for punishment including imprisonment, possibly execution. There would be nothing specific about that ten percent, no way in which those individuals might know in advance, through their own reading of their own action relative to the terrorists, that they would be singled out for destruction. By this method the terrorist wants to control a whole group - a profession, an entire country - into exercising internal control so that no individual will incur the wrath of the terrorists against the group as a whole. That is the essence of the theory of terrorism.

We are now left with the first and the last words in the sentence: the who, and the why. Since the why becomes very evident the moment one studies the who, let us start with the former. For that purpose we need a typology of actors in world space. The simplest typology would be to divide them into state and non-state actors, and strong and weak:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. A typology of world space actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-state</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30
This division is logical rather than empirical, and in no way excludes combinations, e.g. alliances between state and non-state actors - very important in the field of terrorism.

"Strong states" would of course include those that are strong at the world level, such as the super-powers, but also those that are strong only in a regional context, such as Israel and Iran, Libya and South Africa. "Weak states" are weak relative to the strong; essentially meaning that there is no context in which they can win in open warfare.

The non-state actors are much more complicated. First of all there is a basic division between national and transnational non-state actors. Among the latter would be not only transnational corporations, but also the numerous international peoples' (or 'non-governmental') organizations and, as we shall see later, Terrorism International (TI). Most non-state actors would, however, be intra-state, such as national corporations and national organizations in general. This is the "private sector", including private terrorism.

Let us then go one step further on the basis of these four types of actors, looking at the 16 inter-relations, using them both as the who and the whom in conflict, to see more clearly where terrorism emerges.

Table 2. A typology of world space relations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>to whom who</th>
<th>strong state</th>
<th>weak state</th>
<th>strong non-state</th>
<th>weak non-state</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strong state</td>
<td>super-power conflict</td>
<td>conquest; bullying (ST) (fr. above)</td>
<td>penetration; co-optation</td>
<td>repression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak state</td>
<td>insubordination (ST) (fr. below)</td>
<td>conventional conflict</td>
<td>accommodated; penetrated; co-opted</td>
<td>penetration; co-optation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strong non-state</td>
<td>internal war; accommodation</td>
<td>non-territorial terrorism (from above)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak non-state</td>
<td>guerrilla TERRORISM</td>
<td>internal war; accommodation</td>
<td>non-territorial terrorism (from below)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inside this table some indications of possible meaning are given. The table divides into four regions (A, B, C and D) and each region has its own logic. Proceeding from the upper left through upper right to lower left, and then to lower right, all combinations are covered.

In region A we are dealing with conventional inter-state relations. They are reasonably clear-cut and territorial. The territorial system owes much of its present sub-division, configuration to the exercise of violence for the sake of moving territorial borders, or removing political obstacles in other states. But the methods may be state terrorism (ST). I suggest that this is particularly true when the power relations are asymmetric, strong vs. weak. Symmetry makes for battles, for open warfare; asymmetry for more covert, unpredictable methods. Such as terror.

In region B we are again on a well-known turf: the states trying to control non-state actors. If they are of comparable strength some kind of bargain may be struck whereby the non-state actor is co-opted into the state by being suitably penetrated - the assumption being that in doing so the state is able to maintain its monopoly on coercive power. If they are of different strengths the situation becomes more complex. There is little the weak state can put up against the strong non-state, such as very strong corporate forces opposed to the state, or a military non co-opted and non-penetrated, pitting itself against the governmental structure. If there is penetration and co-optation to be done it is likely to be the other way around: the weak state will accommodate and then be penetrated and co-opted by corporated, land-owing and/or military forces. Many states in the world of today are already of that type.

The strong state will not give in to weak non-state actors, so this is where the repression takes hold, eventually resulting in State Terrorism - the Jacobin state against French opposition. If Terrorism goes international State Terrorism would also do so by major state terrorist states banding together in State Terrorism International (STI). This was US policy at the Tokyo 1986 Summit and relative to the Western "allies" in NATO and the EC; purportedly as a reaction to Libyan co-ordination of international terrorism (a mix of state and non-state?).

In region C what has just been said is seen from the other angle, with the non-state actors taking the initiative. Again the distinction would be between comparable power and asymmetry. Symmetry, created by major popular revolt, leads to internal war (as opposed to the external war of region A, particularly its main diagonal) and ultimately toward accommodation, possibly after a change in the composition of the major powers in the state. Asymmetry in region C, as for region B, is seen as leading to very different situations.
The strong non-state will penetrate and co-opt the weak state. The weak non-state will not be able to do anything similar relative to the strong state. The weapons of weak people inside a strong state will be civil disobedience and riots. Terrorism is a further step along that line - against military, economic, cultural and/or political penetration (called "integration" by the strong), people's defense.

Thus we get, in Table 2, the two basic typologies of terrorism, from below and from above, and people terrorism versus state terrorism. Diagonally opposed to each other, in opposite corners, we find the two extreme combinations, but there are also others. Terrorism is usually the weapon of the weak against the strong state; state terrorism is the weapon of the strong state against the weak. That the two are dialectically related goes without saying. Who started becomes a chicken-egg problem. The two terreurs, private and state, are simply aspects of the same world space system as it is presently structured. Terrorism is related to asymmetry of power, including in sections A and D of the Table. But it is not only the weapon of the weak; it is also the weapon of the strong.

According to somebody, war is the continuation of politics by other means. Thus, external wars are the continuation of international politics and diplomacy by other means, and internal wars are the continuation of domestic politics by other means. This way of thinking handles analytically the main diagonal cells in regions A, B and C of Table 2. But it offers no insight into the slower, more silent form of violence: the structural violence identified as penetration/co-optation, and in some cases eventually as institutionalization of highly asymmetric situations, leading to the diametrically opposed extremes of terrorism and state terrorism. Neither does it shed light on region D which is more volatile and subtle, possibly also more for the future. But as we shall see, that future may already be here, with private bands of terrorists fighting each other rather than weak or strong states.

So, let us continue where Clausewitz left us: terrorism (in all four combinations), by definition directly violent, is the continuation of violence by other means. It is a very particular form of warfare, popular terrorism bring a further elaboration of guerrilla warfare to which it is intimately related, and state terrorism being a further elaboration of state repression to which it is equally intimately related. Like regular war it is fought for political ends. It maims, kills and destroys. But it is less predictable in space and time, because of lack of contiguity and continuity. And less predictable in the individual choice of victims, however precise it may be in the political choice.
What, then, is the continuation of terrorism by other means? I have no name or term to suggest. All I can do is to point to region D for a possible explication of a phenomenon which may already be present among us. In a sense the case of total anarchy, of bellum omnium contra omnes, the war of all against all, without any organizing, monopolizing power of the state. That power may still be present, only that all these other things go on, discouraged or encouraged by powerless states. As an indication of what it might mean, consider Arab and Jewish terrorist organizations fighting each other all over the world, being each others' who and to whom, keeping the unpredictability of the where and the when and the how at the maximum, being about equally convinced where the why is concerned, trying to outdo each other as to the destructiveness of the what. Or the contras against the Sendero Luminoso all over South America? Vigilante groups against the New People's Army all over the Philippines?

Let us now leave the typologies and turn to more concrete analysis asking the simple question: what is new about (state) terrorism basically seen as a dialectic between the strong state and the weak non-state? Or, put differently, why do we have so much of either terrorism today? The following is a first attempt at a catalogue of decisive factors.

1) **The strong state has become stronger, and even more repressive.**

At this point I will distinguish between three ways in which the strong state has become more repressive and I would tend to see these as the three major causes of the rise in terrorism/state terrorism, in other words as being the soil out of which both phenomena, right now, are growing and of course reinforce each other. Common theme: increased asymmetry between ruler and ruled.

a) **There is an increase in structural violence.** Let us only look at two types: depriving people of land, and depriving people of soil. The former is what happened to Palestinians in West Asia and to Africans driven out by the whites in the southern part of Africa. In both cases the victims became non-citizens or second class citizens in their own lands. The latter is what happens when rich land owners, transnational corporations and others buy up soil and deprive people of the basic production factor for subsistence. This is what happened in Central/South America and South/East Asia. In short: terrorism as a response to increased structural repression. Terrorism as a means to regain land (to plant a flag) and soil (to plant food).

b) **There is an increase in direct violence.** Torturism is reported to be more widespread today than ever before; it is not only our perception of the phenomenon that has expanded
due to the excellent documentation by Amnesty International and other organizations. Torture always was one of the classical instruments of repression, and is on the continuum between repression and state terrorism. Related to torturism comes the changing character of the state in the twentieth century along Orwellian dimensions, with the state trying to imitate God by being omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent, catching all dissidents through the surveillance techniques of the secret agencies, and imposing their power on them by various means. In short: terrorism as response to increased torturism.

c) There is an increase in the threat of direct violence. The ultimate direct violence at the disposal of the state are the weapons of mass destruction, atomic, biological, chemical, ecological and radiological and, now coming, laser and particle beams. With a capability of destroying everything within large areas those who want to fight the strong state evidently have to disperse their forces. Guerrilla is one such example of dispersion down to small groups. Terrorism takes this dispersion one step further, down to the unit of one person, the individual terrorist equipped with his or her means of destruction. In short: terrorism as response to nuclearism.

(2) Transnationalization takes place more quickly than ever before due to better means of communication and transportation.

This applies not only to terrorism from above, but also from below. As indicated above both TI and STI can make use of highly improved interaction, the states presumably having the upper hand by being more able than the non-states to control transnational communication and transportation. I say "presumably" because non-state actors might respond by infiltrating, having its agents deep inside the corporations running communication and transportation, for instance air companies. Thus, if terrorism takes place more often in connection with one air company than others it may not be because that air company is in the "to whom" category but because it is in the "who" category - only not at the managerial level. The same applies to airports.

(3) The means of violence on either side are improving, with higher quality, better availability and at lower price.

Thus, there seems to be an increase both in hostage taking, which is a relatively mild form of violence used by the terrorists, in taking prisoners as is so often done by the state terrorists, and in killing (by both sides). Terrorists at airports may proceed directly to killing. Agents supervising the airports do the same and not only to save the lives of innocent bystanders, but also to kill the terror-
ists before they disappear. This presents the strong states with a dilemma. They possess very strong means of destruction indeed. But they are more suitable to territorial warfare, with a high level of indiscriminate killing of everybody, including everything within a certain area and time frame - less finely tuned than terrorism focussing on specific targets.

The state can resolve this dilemma in two rather different ways. Terrorism can be redefined as coming out of another state, and in that case the preference for weak states is obvious since they are less in a position to hit back. The raids of the major strong terrorist states today, United States on shiite villages in Lebanon and on civilian living quarters in Tripoli; Israel on Southern Lebanon (killing 20,000 Palestinians and Lebanese in connection with the 1982 invasion) and on Tunis; South Africa in its air raid on three neighboring states (Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana); and Soviet Union in its long lasting war on the people of Afghanistan are examples 4/. They hit more or less well, usually less, in addition to contributing to the vicious circle described under point 1 above.

The other approach would be to adjust the violence machineries of the state to the more dispersed nature of terrorism as is done under the doctrine of low intensity conflict (LIC), with death squads, etc 5/. This seams today the dominant US technique as increasingly revealed by the Tower Commission, the Iran-Contra hearings and The Chrichtic Institute reports.

To assume that there will no be a terrorist response to this state terrorism response, with corresponding escalation in means of destruction is to attribute to the other side an extremely low level of intelligence, an attribution only understandable as arising from the same deplorable condition. One possible prediction would be that terrorism in a relatively short span of years will go nuclear 6/ as a response to US, Israeli and South African nuclear capabilities. Suitcases and backpacks rather than cumbersome missiles would be delivery "vehicles". The targets would be buildings and concrete people, not the structural phenomena that are the real problems, rather than particular people and a particular use of buildings above and under-ground. Violence is destructively not sophisticated. All very different from the subtlety of nonviolent civil disobedience in making structures inoperative, bringing in new ones 7/.

(4) The means of delivery of violence are improving with higher quality, better availability and at lower price.

The ability to hit wherever, whenever and in any way, whatever, essentially depends upon human imagination, and that is an open, not a closed system. The use made by the Japan-
ese terrorist group Chukahuha of rockets in Osaka in September 1984, in Tokyo one year later, and in May 1986 in Tokyo (against the summit meeting) of home made rockets, gives some insight in the future of terrorist technology in general and integrated circuits in particular. That Japanese terrorists should be ahead of others in the use of electronics should surprise nobody. Through the networks of TI it is only to be expected that the technology will be well disseminated. If the rocket is nuclear tipped the situation will become rather intolerable. A first prediction of what is coming.

It will not be more intolerable, however, than it is already for the victims of state terrorism, as any detailed study of what the Soviet Union did in Afghanistan, the United States in Central America and earlier in Indo-China, Israel in Lebanon, and South Africa in the front line states and inside South African territory, would indicate 8/. Drawing on the way in which the modern strong state sees itself as the successor or instrument of God in its push for omniscience, omnipotence and omnipresence satellite surveillance with dissolution powers sufficient to spot what passes for individual terrorists could be combined with extremely precise laser beams reflected from outer space in an impulse sufficient to eliminate, like God's lightning bolt, that very same individual terrorist. A second prediction of what is coming.

(5) A general increase in religious/ideological fundamentalism; partly as a cause, partly as a consequence of the other four conditions.

The prospects are ominous, to put it mildly. In these five points I have tried to spell out the basic why as originating in the increasingly repressive character of the modernizing state, the who and to whom in the phenomenon of transnationalization of both terrorism and state terrorism, the what in the escalation of violence and the where, when and how in the escalation of the surprise factor. All of this is a very far cry away from the Hague Convention of 1907 that stipulates that states are supposed to declare war before any such act is engages in. Law and order, even in the execution of violence! That very same system, the inter-state system, is by no means to be extolled for its virtues. On the contrary, it was and is replete with direct and structural violence. That system is today threatened, particularly the part of the system which more than other parts is at the very center of structural violence and more than other parts is capable of direct violence and threats of direct violence. So, how do they react, the power-wielders in the state system?

In addition to trying to turn the clock of history backwards by acting as if terrorism is an act of war of one state
against another and not also of people against states and states against people, there is another effort to redefine the terrorists. Instead of being rational, calculating head-of-state (currently Qhadafi, Assad and Khomeiny of Libya, Syria and Iran are favorites) the terrorist is seen as crazy criminal, sub-human. He comes out of nowhere, has no face. All that can be said about him is that he is totally violent to totally innocent people in a totally unpredictable way. He has no grievance or motivation except one: that of exercising evil, simply because he is evil. He represents terrorism without a cause. He is mad, a mad dog, and like a dog suffering from rabies not to be killed - that would be to promote him to rank of human beings - but to be wasted, destroyed. There is no shadow of reason why Americans should be targets except for one reason: that Evil always selects its victims among the Good. Infinite Evil against infinite Good, the eternal battle in a dualistic universe, fueled by hatred and envy, and by religious/ideological fundamentalism.

Needles to say, this approach to understanding terrorism, construed as driven by sub-human actors, does not exclude an approach in terms of super-humans actors, the state actors above. The connecting link is found in the definition of, for instance, Qhadafi as a "mad dog", precisely to be destroyed or wasted. The craziness is then also attributed to "Muslim fanaticism", assuming that a person who holds or to his faith, come what may, does not engage in cost-benefit analysis and for that reason cannot be bought by any exercise of economic power, is irrational. This may be true, but then certainly applies to all kinds of terrorists, also state terrorists. And who is to say that cost-benefit analysis is the criterion of rationality, and rationality the criterion of being human? Who is to say that it is human to be unprincipled?

Thus, the obvious prediction in connection with the phenomenon of terrorism is its continuation and escalation. It is very hard to believe that any effort of the terrorists will not intensify the efforts of the state terrorists to beat them, which again will intensify the efforts of the terrorists to beat the state terrorists. The state terrorists increasingly use the methods of the terrorists. And the terrorists will increasingly have to organize themselves as if they were a state, equipped with omniscience/omnipotence/omnipresence. Which leads to the obvious question: is there no way out of this?

Let us return to the second paragraph of this paper. The state terrorist approach is to attack the who, containing them, eliminating them. But if they are the result of certain objective conditions that are even strengthened through state terrorism this will not work. A more modest approach would be to control the what and the where/when/how through an immense effort to control the means of violence and to
limit the range of unpredictability. The security screening devices at the airports are good examples. The assumption is that means of violence are opaque to x-rays, an assumption that obviously does not hold for a molotov cocktail in a plastic bottle. Neither does it hold for a gun with parts made of plastic (the Austrian state-made gun). Dogs capable of smelling plastic explosives may be fooled by coating those explosives with something with stronger smells. Super-dogs capable of detecting explosives in spite of this may be fooled by super-coating, and so on. Those who refuse to think are condemned to this spiral.

Conclusion: there is no other way than trying to approach the why of the dilemma, the causes translated into motivations. Given the way the issue has been cut here this means nothing less, but also nothing more, than reduction of structural violence, direct violence and threats of violence. In other words, these being the three major components of violence, it simply means moving towards peace. That, of course, is unacceptable to particularly exploitative and aggressive regimes, and even more so to those who see themselves as chosen peoples who do not only have the right to impose their will on others, but indeed the duty to do so. Not quite by coincidence, the (descendants of the) Puritans in the United States, the (orthodox) Jews in Israel and the Boers in South Africa combine state terrorism with a sense of being chosen people - and so do Khomeini, Qadhafi and Abu Nidal, and the Soviet Union leaders to some extent.

However, I see no reason why only the state terrorists should be seen as initiators of a more desirable state of affairs. The major causes are in their hands, for which reason the major responsibility for a reduction of terrorism along rational lines as opposed to the two types of irrationality indicated above, is theirs. But the escalation in use of violence, taking hostages in order to release captives, or taking captives with a hope that this may detain terrorists from taking more hostages, killing to avenge killing to avenge killing and so on is an actio-reactio phenomenon between two actors. This vicious circle can be redefined from either side.

What if the weak non-state actor turned to non-violence instead? It is another of the weapons of the weak. And there are still others: riots that are dispersed in time in an unpredictable manner as sudden bursts, much like terrorism (which in addition is dispersed in space). Religious/ideological fundamentalism also belongs, partly as a cause, partly as a consequence, of all these phenomena.

The basic point about non-violence is that in order to be effective it has to be massive - a phenomenon Gandhi under-
stood so well. There is a transition from quantity to quality in these matters. For ages acts of civil disobedience by one, ten, one hundred, even one thousand people may have been important. But when the magnitude enters higher orders such as $10^3$, $10^5$ not to mention $10^6$ - $10^7$ even the strong state is shattered in its foundations. The Pentagon Papers talk about the fear of massive civil disobedience in the United States as a major constraining factor on the war machine unleashed upon the unfortunate Vietnamese. Personally I have experienced both in Rhodesia before it became Zimbabwe, and in India in its fight with the Sikh community, top police officers telling me that they would have relatively little difficulty handling violence but no idea what to do if "100,000 Africans should march non-violently on Salisbury" or "the Sikhs should turn themselves into a massive civil disobedience campaign with millions of participants" 13/.

What we simply do not know, or at least do not know sufficiently well, is how to increase the quantity of non-violence without decreasing its quality until the point of no return for the exercise of illegitimate state power, of the structural or direct kinds. Nor is it obvious that this would work against what is probably the most self-righteous of the state terrorist states today, the United States, Israel and South Africa. In fact, I could imagine all of them using nuclear arms against massive disobedience. To the extent this is anticipated terrorism, and riots - informed and inspired by fundamentalism - will be more likely forms of resistance.

Terrorism is a fundamental challenge to the Weberian state as the wielder of ultimate power monopoly in a given territory 14/. Terrorism and state terrorism, national and international, will tend to make the rule of law, municipal as well as international, backed up by the ultimo ratio regis of national or world governments, less realistic than ever. It is not obvious that order can be restored, or obtained internationally, through the old formula of power monopoly to the center, the government, under anything like the present circumstances. The five factors mentioned are too conducive to terrorism, and in turn conducive to state terrorism. It is also possible that the mode of governance has to be compatible with the means of destruction, to use an old formula in a new way. In short, we may be at the end of an era, and terrorism is only one of the causes and consequences.

And that points towards a less controlled, more decentralized national as well as world order; because more centralized control, with direct and structural violence, makes the system less, not more controllable.
NOTES

1/ But there is no sharp borderline here. The abduction of a president's daughter in El Salvador is certainly specific, but much of the terrorism inside Israel does not appear to have high specificity, nor airport terrorism. To this the terrorist might retort that his enemy is any Israeli, any American - in other words within the traditional logic of war. There are no innocent bystanders! But this distinction is real to the ingroup as also to third parties, so those who fight for a cause they deem just should rather pay attention, if not for moral then at least for pedagogical reasons.

2/ The American public seems to have drawn the full conclusion from this and simply stayed at home, in North America, summer 1986.

3/ A type of violence that does not meet the naked eye. US study of international relations, with its tendency to stay at the surface of the phenomena of power and violence, has difficulties capturing the silent working of structural violence, and, consequently tends to be surprised when there is a sudden and violent reaction, e.g. in the shape of terrorism. What to the US is unprovoked aggression may to the terrorist side simply be defense against structural violence.

4/ The air raids are similar to ground terrorism in being specific - as opposed to the Israeli ground war in Lebanon. However, so far air force capacity of the type needed is monopolized by the state, hence the attacks come under the category of state terrorism. This is not all out war, but a string of strikes.


6/ This has been foreseen for a long time and been a major argument in forging the strong link between nuclearism for civilian purposes and the police a basic factor in Robert Jungk's Der Atomstaat: to protect nuclear power plants against terrorists out to get plutonium. Whether this is the main motivation or to protect the nuclearists against insight from the population and/or citizens out to protect themselves against nuclearism can be debated. Clearly there may also have been a self-fulfilling prediction in this, giving terrorists some ideas.

7/ The basic point in gandhian nonviolence is not only to make the wrong structure inoperative through successful application of civil disobedience, but also to build an alternative structure through successful operation of constructive action. See Johan Galtung, Gandhi Today (Turin: Abele, 1987; Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, 1987, ch.3 on "The Political Gandhi").

8/ For an excellent documentation of US-supported state terrorism particularly in South and Central America and the Caribbean, see Edward S. Herman, The Real Terror Network (Boston: South End Press, 1982). I find it important, and I think Herman could have been more clear on this point, however, to see that both terrorism in the more "private initiative" sense and state terrorism in the public sector sense are practised by both the US side and the other side(s). In connection with the Hasenfus case, fall 1986, US authorities emphasized very strongly the right of private citizens to fight the way they deemed right without government interference; a doctrine with grave consequences for the US if or when it is universalized.

9/ An example in this direction is the statement by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, former US Ambassador to the United Nations, in Harpers, October 1984, pp.44-46. "Both/terrorists and to-
talitarians reject the basic moral principles of Judeo-Christian civilization". Clearly Kirkpatrick rejects terrorism and thinks it is only practised by one side. She does see terrorism as a form of war, but does not see or does not want to see the basic condition of asymmetry that gives rise to terrorism.

10/ The answer to that rhetorical question is rather obvious since cost-benefit analysis is the hallmark of economic rationality. Merchants, economists and the products of their civilization, in other words. But market relations are not the only grammars of human interaction; normative and coercive relations also exist and may be equally important. P. Sorokin deals with this at length in his Social and Cultural Dynamics (Boston: Porter and Sargent, 1957).

11/ Soviet Union as the country chosen by History to bring socialism to a humankind waiting exactly for that. I say "to some extent" because I am not convinced that the Soviet leaders any longer believe so much in that historical mission but are more bent on trying to catch up with much of the rest of the world than to preach any gospel.

12/ The two major examples in our century are probably the massive campaigns associated with Gandhi in India against British state rule, and associated with Martin Luther King in the US South against white supremacy rule. Imagine both has used terrorist violence, where would we have been today?

13/ This is explored in Johan Galtung, "Occupied Palestine: Is a Nonviolent Solution Possible", Conference on Non-violent Political Struggle, Arab Thought Forum, Amman, Jordan, 15-17 November 1986 (to be published in The Proceedings, P. Grant and R. Crowe (eds), Ballinger, Boston, 1988).

14/ But this is, of course, a double-edged doctrine, delegitimizing others, but also legitimizing the state violence monopoly.

ANNOUNCEMENTS * ANNONCES * ANUNCIOS

Marc Macy, publisher of Solutions for a troubled world (1987) is now soliciting papers for his Peace Series Volume Two, which will look at fundamental changes that need to occur at all levels of our lives (global, international, social, personal) as a move towards a peaceful future... any changes imaginable as long as they are basic. If you want to submit an idea, please do so soon (POB 11036, Boulder, Colorado 80301, USA).

Dette, droits de l'homme, démocratie: A l'occasion du 40e anniversaire de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme, l'Université de paix organise sur ce thème (Bruxelles, 29.08 - 03.09.88) une rencontre internationale pour discuter des conséquences éthiques de la dette. (B: du Nord 4, 5000 Namur, Belgique).
TOWARDS A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY AND ACTION PROGRAMME FOR THE SOUTH

OBJECTIVES AND TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE SOUTH COMMISSION

(Editors note) IFDA did salute, last year, the establishment of the South Commission (‘A gleam in the South’, IFDA Dossier 60). The Commission held its inaugural session in Geneva (October 1987); a second meeting took place in Kuala Lumpur last March and the third one is scheduled in Mexico (August). A small secretariat has been set up in Geneva under Dr Manmohan Singh, formerly vice-chairman of India’s Planning Commission. At its Kuala Lumpur meeting, the Commission adopted its objectives and terms of reference, its work programme and a statement on external debt. We reproduce below the full official text of the ‘objectives and terms of reference of the South Commission’ as an invitation to our readers in the South - policy-oriented research institutes, citizens groups, media and committed individuals - to establish contact with the Commission through its secretariat and/or its members, convey their views and thus contribute to approaching the goal of a self-reliant Third World and a better world for the whole of humankind (addresses appear after the document proper).

A. THE PURPOSE OF THE SOUTH COMMISSION

1. As the 20th century draws to a close, it is imperative to make a fresh and objective analysis of the formidable economic, social and political challenges confronting the nations of the Third World, and of the ways to meet these.

2. The South Commission is meant to respond to this need. Its purpose is to produce such an analysis and to derive from it a strategy and a set of policy and action-oriented proposals which stem from the South and are based on the needs of the South.

3. The Commission is an independent body. Its members are all from the developing countries. They act in their individual capacities and bring to their assignment a diversity of development experience acquired in their own countries and internationally.

4. This is the first time that a group of thinkers and practitioners exclusively from the South, broadly reflecting interests and conditions of different regions and countries that make up the Third World, will apply their collective mind, over a period of time, to the issues of sustainable, people-centred, self-reliant development. By that is meant development which is socially just, economically efficient and ecologically sound.

5. The Commission will seek to fashion a well-founded, realistic and practical strategy and programme of action for the Third World. It will
highlight the immense potential of South-South cooperation as a means of widening development options open to the Third World. And, it will also address itself to the task of equitable management of an increasingly complex and interdependent world economy.

B. THE SETTING - CRISIS AND OPPORTUNITY

6. The drive for development received a massive impetus following post World War II decolonization. The newly sovereign nations recognized that political independence would acquire its true meaning and substance only if they could overcome the state of chronic poverty and underdevelopment which they had inherited.

7. In their quest for development and modernization, developing countries faced formidable obstacles. Their economies were weak and underdeveloped, and were lined in a subordinate manner to the economies of developed nations. Their political structures were fragile, and their social structures were involved in processes of change that were frequently painful for those involved. These conditions often severely limited their absorptive capacity for the productive use of resources and their ability to mobilise additional internal resources for development.

8. Further, they had to contend with the inequities of the post-war international trading and financial system, which had been designed and set up by the developed countries to promote their own interests. The system was not geared to be sufficiently responsive to the needs of development. And the South was seen by and large as a minor appendage to the world economy, a geographic and political periphery that was supposed to continue to play a well-defined role in support of the traditional centres of economic and political power.

9. Despite these handicaps, the overall record of national development in the countries of the South was fairly impressive until the closing years of the 1970s, even though the pace of social and economic change fell short of their aspirations and objective needs.

10. Judging by the trends of growth rates, savings and investment ratios, industrialization and the modernization of traditional agriculture, and such sensitive social indicators as school enrolment and life expectancy at birth, several developing countries amply demonstrated their capacity to make productive use of available physical and human resources. Yet there were a number of unsatisfactory features of the development scene. In particular, fair distribution of the gains of economic development, and the creation of new productive employment opportunities for the growing labour force, had received inadequate attention.

11. The decade of the 1980s, however, has witnessed a severe discontinuity and reversal of the earlier more hopeful trends in growth performance. It has been characterized by a profound development crisis in which both current consumption and productive investments have continued to fall year after year in a large number of developing countries. Financial systems and resource mobilization have experienced an unprecedented strain. Development processes have been shaken to their
very foundations in many Third World countries. Many of them are in a state of political, economic and social disarray. Important economic and social goals and programmes have had to be shelved, while a number of basic development indicators show a sharp retrogression.

12. Development is a multidimensional process in which a large number of variables, both internal and external, interact and influence the pace and direction of social and economic change. The current economic crisis had highlighted the deficiencies of development and of the development planning process in Third World countries, including the allocation and utilization of resources and the management of public financial systems and public sector enterprises.

13. However, it is clear that the sharp deterioration in the international economic environment for development in the 1980s has played by far the major role in triggering off the acute development crisis which now afflicts Third World countries. Among the indicators of this unpromising environment are the unsustainable and crushing burden of external indebtedness, substantial decline in export earnings due to acutely depressed commodity prices and increasing protectionism, steeply declining flows of resource transfers from developed to developing countries, and the chronic instability of international currency markets as well as the prevalence of abnormally high levels of real interest rates.

14. Yet, apart from some rather tentative, ad hoc and often unsuccessful efforts at international crisis management, there has been no attempt to grapple with the basic task of systemic reform so as to make for the efficient and equitable management of global interdependence in the interest of all countries.

15. Instead, international development cooperation has virtually come to a standstill. North-South negotiations have been stalemated. International actions aimed at promoting development, which had been agreed earlier, remain as distant as ever in terms of implementation. The United Nations and international development institutions have been in retreat.

16. The income and development disparities between developing countries and the industrialized North have widened. New gaps are emerging, mostly based on rapid scientific and technological advances in the industrialized countries. These have significant yet still only dimly perceived implications for economic and power relationships between South and North, and for the shape of the world's political economy in general.

17. In the major developed market countries in the North, shifts in the political balance of forces have led to increased emphasis on the role of market forces and a diminished role for the state in the management of social and economic processes and change. These shifts have had a significant global fall-out. The emphasis on the primacy of market has further weakened the already fragile structure of multilateral cooperation in support of Third World development. There has been a serious questioning of the basic principles of multilateralism and of the appropriateness of cooperative international action, especially that aimed at altering
or modifying the outcome of market forces. Moreover, prescriptions for
domestic development based on this new orthodoxy have been pressed
upon the developing countries through the conditionality criteria of in-
ternational financial institutions. This was done without regard for their
realism or relevance, or for the feelings of these countries and their
peoples.

18. Yet, every crisis also carries in itself the opportunity for change.
The countries of the North have not been spared from mounting and
very serious domestic problems and social tensions, unemployment, and
economic stagnation. They have also been experiencing increasing con-
flicts of interest and problems in mutual relations. With growing fre-
quency, doubts are now being expressed regarding the adequacy of the
established models to deal with contemporary problems and demands.

19. In particular, the recent instability of the stock and foreign ex-
change markets and the repercussions of this on the international eco-
nomy have highlighted the urgent need for a significant degree of col-
lective management of the world economy. Even those circles and deci-
sion-makers in the North most opposed to such cooperation now appear
to realize, albeit with continuing reluctance, that present practices
cannot continue for much longer, and that it may be in the best in-
terest of their own countries to consider new approaches.

20. Important structural and political changes are also occurring in the
North, spearheaded by continuing scientific and technological change.
These changes have significant implications for humankind, for interna-
tional cooperation, for the developing countries and for the shape of
things to come in the years ahead. Were they to be used for the com-
mon good of the peoples of the world and given appropriate policy gui-
dance, new vistas could be opened up and many challenges overcome.

21. Following many decades of global confrontation and an accelerating
arms race, the first promising steps are being taken to defuse tensions
and reduce the risk of nuclear war. The improvements in East-West re-
lations and the efforts to reduce the nuclear arms race may increase the
possibilities of global cooperation and create a political environment fa-
vourable to resolution of the outstanding issues on the international de-
velopment agenda. An additional factor in this evolving environment
arises from changes taking place in the centrally-planned economies,
their greater outward orientation and participation in international eco-

22. In the South itself, where social tensions and economic crises have
become the main feature of the 1980s, there is a new consciousness that
the severe deprivation and retrenchment forced on it in the name of ad-
justment has reached the limits of endurance. The need for purposeful
domestic reform is appreciated. There is renewed emphasis on national
self-reliance and greater South-South cooperation as a means of coping
with the South's continued victimization by a global system in the de-
sign and management of which the South has very little to say.

23. In the North also, there is a growing awareness that the destitu-
tion to which many Third World countries have been reduced in the
wake of the debt crisis has severe disruptive consequences for the world economy as a whole. There is now a somewhat greater, albeit limited, willingness to recognize the contribution that growth in the Third World could make to a more healthy world economy, to a faster growth of international trade and to easing the payments imbalances that exist among major developed countries.

24. The evolving situation thus contains a number of elements which, if harnessed properly, could provide the basis for a fresh start in the task of devising a new global system of collective economic security in which promotion of Third World development would be a key constituent. These positive and more hopeful tendencies are, however, still not strong enough to break the powerful hold of the status quo.

25. But an opportunity now exists for change. This opportunity must be seized. With all interests and countries represented, a global agenda and framework for action needs to be worked out. It should allow for a collective resolution of the existing problems and challenges and also those which will arise in the coming decades. And, it should enlist the promise of scientific and technological change for the good of all peoples and for sustainable development. In the absence of such a new global design of international cooperation for development, the world community will remain mired in mounting contradictions and multiplying crises. These will be a constant threat to peace and lead to a highly unstable world, divided into some countries with the prospect of expanding opportunities and the power to dominate, and the majority locked in poverty, destitution and dependence.

26. The South must take an active part in this process. It must begin by reassessing its own situation and options. New ways must be found to revive and sustain the development process by relying to the maximum extent possible on the South's own capabilities and resources. The creative potential of national self-reliance and South-South cooperation must be fully harnessed. Simultaneously, there must be a careful reassessment of the role of the South as an actor on the global scene, including the role it could play as a new engine for sustaining the momentum of economic expansion in the world economy. The South's power and influence in ensuring a more equitable management of the world economy will certainly be enhanced thereby. The South Commission has been created to respond to this challenge.

C. TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE SOUTH COMMISSION

27. Taking this situation as its starting point and in order to assist in the process of positive change and to help mobilize the peoples of the South, the Commission has set for itself the following closely interrelated objectives which constitute its terms of reference:

(a) Analysis of national development experience in the South and elaboration of an integrated perspective and vision of the future

The Commission will undertake a critical analysis of post-World War II development experience and the lessons it holds for development planning in the future. Having defined development, it will assess
the weaknesses and strengths of the developing countries; their development prospects; the constraints they face; the options open to them; and the scope for improved mobilization and utilization of their physical, financial and human resources.

On the basis of this analysis, the Commission will outline development goals and objectives for the year 2000 and beyond. In doing so, it will take into account the changing demographic, social and economic conditions in the Third World, and the evolving global environment.

The Commission will also make suggestions for reformulating and updating, wherever necessary, the patterns and strategies of growth to achieve the goals of self-reliance, development and equity. In doing so it will take into account both the immense promise and potential offered by modern science and technology and the current human and other resource realities. In all its work the Commission will pay special attention to issues relating to poverty and hunger, the satisfaction of basic human needs, human resource development and industrialization of the Third World.

(b) Analysis of the global environment

The Commission will analyse and comment on the evolving global environment as this is influenced by political, economic and technological changes in the North; it will assess the implications of this evolution for the South and for the planning of development in the South.

It will study: the nature of the evolving interdependence of the world; the impact and effects of the transnationalization process; the interrelationship between development and issues relating to world peace and security; the state of the biosphere, with the challenges this poses to humankind and the management of the global commons. On the basis of these studies the Commission will make appropriate proposals for the equitable management of global interdependence and the building of a new world order.

(c) South-South cooperation for collective self-reliance

The Commission will carefully assess the role of South-South cooperation in widening the options for development strategies. It will analyse the experience acquired by current and past efforts to achieve such cooperation at every level. It will draw upon this experience to identify weaknesses and obstacles to South-South cooperation, and propose measures that will help to overcome them and to promote a fuller use of the existing potential for collective self-reliance in the South. The Commission will thus seek to foster various modes of South-South cooperation (sub-regional, regional, interregional and global) as an essential support to processes of self-reliant national development.

The Commission will examine the need for and the value of a permanent, institutionalized support mechanism for South-South coop-
eration. It will thus consider whether there is a need for a Third World secretariat and a forum at the global level which, inter alia, would promote greater knowledge of the South among the countries and the peoples of the South, serve as a focus for continuing interaction and mutual consultations among developing countries, carry out research and support their negotiations with the North, and act as a focal point for the exchange of information relevant to development.

(d) South-North relations

The Commission will assess the state of South-North relations, and analyse their post-war evolution. On the basis of this assessment, and its analysis of the present and probable future global environment, and the imperatives of development, the Commission will examine: the current position of the South in relation to the North; and see how the voice of the South can be strengthened, and its role enhanced, in the search for and implementation of greater equity in a new world order.

The Commission will seek to rethink, to update and, where necessary, to reformulate the intellectual foundations, the strategy and tactics, and the institutional structures of the South in its dealings with the North. The Commission will highlight the close linkages that exist between the international arrangements for money, finance and trade and their impact on the pace of development in the world economy in general and in the South in particular. It will pay special attention to issues related to a reform of international arrangements for trade, science and technology, money and finance, and intellectual property; the management of transnational actors and processes; the global commons and the human environment; and the future of multilateralism and reform of the United Nations system.

D. THE TASK OF THE SOUTH COMMISSION

28. The task of the South Commission is an exciting and challenging one. It hopes to act as a catalyst that will help set in motion a fresh process of public consciousness-raising and also an intellectual reassessment of policy, of action, and of institutional initiatives on the part of the developing countries. For, it bears repeating, the mobilization of the polities and peoples of the developing countries is essential if their future is to be shaped by them, and in accordance with their own wishes; if they are to improve their position on the global scene; and they are to meet the domestic challenges of growth, development and equity.

29. The terms of reference that the Commission has set for itself are broad and flexible. They will enable it to deal with the major problems now facing the countries of the South. Further, the Commission is an independent body, made up of people acting in their individual capacities. It will thus be free from the constraints which inevitably inhibit governments or government representatives in commenting on problems or in arriving at common positions.
30. The Commission is primarily speaking to its own constituency in the South. It intends to express its views unequivocally, and to concentrate its efforts and energies in a quest for clarity in defining the problems facing the South, in seeking answers to these problems and in suggesting a concrete action programme to be taken — especially by the South.

31. But the Commission is addressing global problems, and the shared interests of the community of nations. Thus, it will also speak to the world at large. It will aim at enlightening, provoking, and persuading an audience in the North, both among public opinion in the Eastern and Western countries, and among those who decide and shape the political processes in these countries and whose decisions have profound consequences beyond their national and regional boundaries for all peoples in this increasingly interlocked and interdependent world.

32. The Commission will be concerned with the past, present, and future. It will deal with ideas, conceptual frameworks, as well as action-oriented programmes. Indeed, one of its main objectives will be to suggest practical measures to cope with the problems facing the South to which policy- and decision-makers and the peoples in developing countries will give serious consideration.

33. The South Commission's objectives, as outlined above, are ambitious and all-encompassing. It is confident that it will not be alone in its undertaking. It will rely heavily on the support of peoples, government and institutions of Third World countries, and welcome that of friends and well-wishers in the North. Indeed, the extent to which the Commission fulfils its objectives will depend on the degree and quality of the support it received from outside its own membership, and on its ability to mobilize and benefit from such support.

34. By the end of its three-year mandate, the Commission expects that a self-sustaining political and intellectual process will be under way, carrying forward the ideas and actions which emerge from its work.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOUTH COMMISSION

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IN PRAISE OF MULTILATERALISM

IN AFFAIRS AMONG NATIONS, COOPERATION IS THE KEY

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St. Valentine's Day is about love. Today's puzzle: Find traces of love, or at least tolerance, humanity and cooperation, in world affairs.

Most of the news about international cooperation is its absence: distrust, suspicion, controversy, conflict, war. International cooperation itself is seldom highlighted - on TV, in the newspaper, in the history books our children read, or (let's face it) in our personal interest-level.

The study of international relations is hung up on what's wrong with the picture: riots and their suppression, military takeovers, drug traffic, corporate raids, financial psychoses, arms races, wars and rumors of wars. Yet if you stand back and look at the whole scene, you see all kinds of international systems and arrangements that are working more or less the way they are supposed to work:

. Weather forecasting: The World Weather Watch daily merges observations from more than 100 countries with cloud pictures and wind and moisture data from satellites. You use the results in your personal planning, every day of the year [WMO].

. Infectious diseases such as small-pox and diphtheria have been wiped out, malaria and others tackled, by combining medical science with an information system that requires the cooperation of almost every nation on Earth. Next on this never-ending agenda: AIDS [WHO].

. Civil aviation: Planes of all nations use each other's air space, control towers and airfields with astonishingly few mishaps [ICAO, IATA].

. Radio waves are divided up among all uses and users by international agreement. What a mess our radio and TV reception, our satellite phone connections, our space program - and our military preparedness - would be if the frequency spectrum were a free market [ITU]!

. Nations bordering the Mediterranean, some of them otherwise at war with each other, agreed a dozen years ago to do something about the pollution they share. Parts of that once-lovely sea are already blue again [UNEP].
To protect Earth's ozone shield, 50 nations agreed last September to slow down the use of such ozone-eaters as chlorofluorocarbons [UNEP].

Antarctica: A dozen nations (later joined by a few others) agreed in 1959 to suspend their national claims and open up an entire continent to scientific research, banning nuclear tests or waste disposal in the huge frozen no-man's-land [UN].

Outer space: The nations have agreed by treaty that outer space and its bodies (including the Moon) are "the common heritage of mankind" [UN].

Law of the Sea: By an extraordinary act of consensus, the world's nations spent 15 years rewriting ocean law in a book-length treaty, leaving only one loose end (the Reagan administration's last-minute decision to oppose an international regime for the deep seabed) [UN].

Refugees: The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has been doing an energetic and imaginative job as catalyst and coordinator, stimulating actions that have saved millions of people from international homelessness.

It's hard to know where to stop. This illustrative list leaves out arms control, which is just beginning to get somewhere; (...) the World Bank, UNICEF, the Children's Fund and other parts of the United Nations' unfinished war on poverty; transnational corporations, which do so many things (not without controversy) that governments seem unable to do even when they work together; and global media events like Live-Aid, the Concert for Bangladesh and "We are the World".

I've also left out something hard to classify: the increasingly global flow of information. The fusion of computers and telecommunications is unsettling most governments, investors, speculators and criminals. But it sure does "work".

Why does international cooperation work - when it does?

Over the past years, my Humphrey Institute colleague Geri Joseph and I have worked with two groups of graduate students to analyze how the programs that work are working, and why. Here's an interim report on the priceless ingredients of "success".

1. There is a consensus on desired outcomes. Folks can agree that small-pox is a threat to all, more accurate weather forecasts are needed, enclosed seas should be cleaned up, civil aircraft shouldn't collide, somebody should help refugees. There's no comparable consensus about armaments, trade or money.
2. No one loses. We didn't get an INF treaty until each side concluded that its security could actually be enhanced by getting rid of unusable weapons systems.

3. Sovereignty is "pooled". Whenever a nation can't act effectively without combining its resources, imagination and technology with those of other nations, cooperation doesn't mean giving up sovereignty but pooling it — that is, using it together to avoid losing it separately.

4. Cooperation is stimulated by "a cocktail of fear and hope". Fear alone produces irrational, sometimes aggressive behavior. Hope alone produces good-hearted but unrealistic advocacy. Reality-based fear and hope, combined, seem to provide the motivation to cooperate.

People, not bureaucratic structures, make things happen. In each of the cases, a crucial role has been played by a few key individuals able to lead, inspire, share knowledge, and generate a climate of trust that brushes off the distrust still prevailing in other domains.

6. Key roles are played by nongovernments — scientific academies, research institutes, women's groups, international companies and "experts" who don't feel the need to act as representatives of their governments.

7. Information technologies are of the essence. Needs for complex data-processing and rapid, reliable communication seem to be common to the success stories in international cooperation.

8. Flexible, uncentralized systems work best. The more complicated the task and the more diverse the players, the more necessary it is to spread the work around so that many kinds of people are "improvising on an agreed sense of direction".

9. Educated "local talent" is essential. Especially where Third World countries play a big part, cooperation works best when they use their own talent to do their own thing. The colonial days are past: Imported experts shouldn't plan to stay.

10. The United States is a key player. For better or worse, American initiative, resources, and entrepreneurial bias seem to be indispensable. If the United States is "dead in the water", as Washington is just now, the international system is likely to be be calmed as well.

When the current political shootout brings us a new president, maybe Americans can get back to being leaders in international cooperation. The world needs our Valentine greetings again.

(Excerpted from Harlan Cleveland's Valentine Day column for the Scripps-Howard syndicate).
LES NOTES DE LECTURE D’IGNACY SACHS*  

UN AUTRE SENTIER?


Le livre contient une description détaillée de trois secteurs de la "ville illégale" à Lima: l’auto-construction de logements; le petit commerce et les transports "informels". Rarement on aura vu des données statistiques aussi précises et si bien présentées. Le seul reproche qu’on peut faire à cette partie de l’ouvrage, c’est que le secteur "informel" est décrit comme un tout homogène et, par implication, convivial. Les auteurs ne s’attardent guère sur l’analyse des rapports sociaux à l’intérieur de ce secteur et n’ont pas grand chose à dire sur les différentes formes d’exploitation qui, de toute évidence, y existent.

La partie la plus originale de leur recherche consiste à montrer le coût prohibitif de la légalité pour les petits entrepreneurs désireux de créer une entreprise fonctionnant en accord avec toutes les lois et règlements et munie des innombrables permis dont l’obtention demande beaucoup de temps, d’efforts et d’argent dépensé en pots de vin. Les auteurs démontrent d’une façon convaincante que la légalité au Pérou est un privilège coûteux et donc l’illegalité l’état normal pour le commun des mortels. Leur dénonciation du malfonctionnement des institutions étatiques est exemplaire. En revanche, les conclusions idéologiques qu’ils en tirent ne me paraissent guère acceptables.

De Soto renvoie dos à dos les gouvernants de la gauche et de la droite qui se sont succédés au Pérou, en les accusant de fonctionner comme des groupes de profiteurs manipulant à leur avantage l’Etat "mercantiliste" (pourquoi ce terme?). Ce sont les méfaits de cet État qui expliquent à la fois l’insurrection gauchiste du Sendero Luminoso et "l’insurrection massive mais pacifique des informels".

Alors que les gouvernants de gauche et de droite se préoccupent uniquement de la répartition des richesses en leur faveur, les informels, eux, s’adonnent à la production. Ce sont, à l’œil de Soto, de véritables entrepreneurs schumpeteriens en puissance qui ne demandent qu’une chose: de voir supprimées les entraves à l’épanouissement de l’économie de marché. "Au Pérou, l’informel a converti un grand nombre de personnes en entrepreneurs. C’est-à-dire des individus qui savent profiter des opportunités en administrant avec une certaine efficacité les ressources disponibles, y compris leur propre travail" (p. 286).
La sortie pacifique du mercantilisme passe par la dérégulation tous azimuts. Il faut "dépolitisier l'économie, aussi bien pour protéger l'Etat contre la manipulation de la part des coalitions redistributives que pour protéger l'économie des politiciens, de la même manière qu'on a procédé à la séparation de l'Église et de l'État" (p. 304).

Voilà qui est clair. Démantelons l'État, abolissons l'économie politique au profit de "l'économique". Contentons-nous d'assurer l'accès équitable au marché à tout le monde - petits vendeurs ambulants, artisans et transnationales - et la main invisible se chargera d'accomoder tout ce monde et d'assurer le règne de la justice sociale. Nul doute que les grands y trouveront leur compte. Mais les petits?

Quel dommage qu'une recherche faite avec beaucoup de moyens et de compétence ait été dévoyée au profit d'une apologie somme toute primaire du libéralisme, le rôle de l'État étant ramené à la seule fonction de régulation à travers la législation.

A juger par ce qui se passe dans les pays industriels, les politiques néo-libérales se traduisent par une sérieuse aggravation des inégalités sociales. Dans le Tiers Monde elles ne pourront avoir qu'un résultat encore plus catastrophique.

L'heure n'est pas au démantèlement de l'État ni à la réduction de l'aide publique au développement sous prétexte qu'elle est mal utilisée par des gouvernements incompétents. Il nous faut au contraire redéfinir le rôle de la "main visible" de la planification tout en postulant une nouvelle donne des rapports entre l'État, la société civile et le marché.

L'avatar populiste du néo-libéralisme prôné par de Soto ne nous rapproche pas de cette tâche. Il essaie de nous en éloigner. C'est pourquoi ce livre brillant est aussi un livre dangereux. En tout état de cause, je ne vois pas comment la voie qu'il indique pourrait constituer "une porte de sortie du sous-développement" comme le voudrait Mario Vargas Llosa, auteur d'une préface qui se lit comme un manifeste politique d'une nouvelle droite, n'en déplaise aux auteurs de l'ouvrage.

THE CONCLUDING PHASE OF THE ADVENTURE
OF THE GREAT PEACE JOURNEY
by Inga Thorsson

I have had the privilege of reporting, in an earlier issue of the Dossier, on the truly popular initiative called the Great Peace Journey (Dossier 50, Nov/Dec 1985). This initiative called for disarmament, peaceful solutions of conflicts, development and justice among peoples. Then I told about the first phase of this adventure, carrying delegations of the GPJ to the capitals of 28 European countries, demanding clear and unequivocal yes- or no- answers to the GPJ's Five Questions.

Since then, the project has become worldwide, carrying the Five Questions message to the capitals of UN Member States in all continents, reminding governments of their obligations under the UN Charter which they have freely signed and - for that reason - making governments accountable to "We the peoples of the United Nations".

But let me briefly repeat the Five Questions and the response in European capitals.

The questions, based on the UN Charter and the obedience to the UN Charter by Member States, read as follows:

1. Are you willing to initiate national legislation which guarantees that your country's defence forces, including "military advisers", do not leave your territory for military purposes (other than in the United Nations peace-keeping forces) - if all other Members of the UN undertake to do the same?

2. Are you willing to take steps to ensure that the development, possession, storage and employment of mass-destruction weapons, including nuclear weapons which threaten to destroy the very conditions necessary for life on this earth, are forbidden in your country - if all other Members of the UN undertake to do the same?

3. Are you willing to take steps to prevent your country from allowing the supply of military equipment and weapons technology to other countries - if all other Members of the UN undertake to do the same?

4. Are you willing to work for a distribution of the Earth's resources so that the fundamental necessities of human life, such as clean water, food, elementary health care and education are available to all people throughout the world?

5. Are you willing to ensure that any conflicts, in which your country may be involved in the future, will be settled by peaceful means of
the kind specified in Article 33 of the United Nations Charter, and not by the use or threat of force?

The final result of the European phase was that out of 28 European UN Member States, 21 answered yes to all five questions with an additional four answering yes to some of them. Two states stand out as particularly indifferent to the idea behind the GPJ: Great Britain and France. Not surprising!

In 1986, the GPJ message of obedience by the UN Member States to the Charter of the UN, in order to secure justice, security and peace to the human beings of this earth, was carried to all continents of the world. Delegations visited 105 capitals - the questions were sent in writing to all UN Member States - during the autumn of 1986 and received complete yes-answers from 90 governments, in addition to a number of governments answering yes to one or more of the questions.

In early December 1986, on one and the same day, two delegations visited the capitals of the two superpowers. In one of them, Moscow, the reception was at a high political level and the answer was yes to all five questions, followed by a personal letter from General Secretary Gorbachev. In the other, Washington, the result was less satisfactory: reception at a low level and yes-answers only to questions two and four. That means that - even if all other UN Members undertake to do it - the US is not willing to keep its defence forces on its own territory, nor is it willing to solve any future interstate conflict by peaceful means, in accordance with Article 33 of the UN Charter. This, I submit, is quite revealing.

Soon afterwards, the report on the achievements so far of the GPJ was presented to the Secretary-General of the UN, who answered by the following words:

The record of the Great Peace Journey is impressive. In the course of just one year a grassroots network has been established worldwide. Representatives of the Journey met with a large number of Heads of State, which in itself is a recognition of the powerful force that this peace movement was able to create on an international level. What started as a daring idea has now grown into a major action.

It is my fervent hope that the support with the Great Peace Journey received from Heads of States as well as the peoples of the world will indeed be translated into measures that will benefit all of humanity.

Follow-up actions since then have included:

- acquiring additional answers to the Five Questions by governments of UN Member States;
- strengthening the international network of the thousands of supporters to the GPJ idea.

Now the GPJ is preparing for its final phase. The reason for this approach is that the project was an original idea, never intended to be
turned into a permanent institution but - as an original idea of new thinking - aimed at permitting activities for peace, development and justice in times to come.

The first part of this final phase consists of organizing - in spring, summer and early autumn of 1988 - regional follow-up conferences, arranging for the meeting of minds of peace activists, researchers, parliamentarians and government representatives on how to carry on the ideas and the principles of the GPJ: the accountability of governments of UN Member States to the peoples of the UN. Such conferences have been, or are going to be held in South Asia, East and Southeast Africa, North Africa, Latin America, Europe, the Nordic countries (including Canada).

The second, and final, part of this concluding phase will be the GPJ Global Popular Summit, organized in New York in connection with the convening of the 43rd regular session of the UN General Assembly, on 21-23 September 1988. On this occasion the intention is to confront an international panel of eminent persons with experience of different aspects of international peace activities with representatives of the regional GPJ follow-up conferences. There will be sessions of reporting and discussions on what should and could happen in the future. On the last day the regional representatives and the international panel members will meet with invited heads of official UN delegations, known for their involvement in efforts to establish worldwide disarmament, development and justice.

It is the hope of the organizers of the GPJ that its final phase will turn out to be a worthy conclusion of an effort which has a truly popular origin, which has produced support and initiative power among thousands of people around the world, thereby creating response to the demand of the peoples that governments are responsible to their peoples for the way in which they act in international relations.

The GPJ as an operative activity is approaching its end. But the GPJ idea, as an aim and a direction for activities, by the peoples and for the peoples intervening in the political process as constructive pressure groups for a future in peace and a human existence in dignity, this idea will continue to live.

(Inga Thorsson, a founding member of IFDA and member of its Committee, is the President of the Great Peace Journey. For years, she was the representative of Sweden to the Conference on Disarmament. The Secretariat of the GPJ is located in Sweden - POB 288, S-751 04 Uppsala).
INTERNATIONAL CONSUMER MOVEMENT ACTS
TO PROTECT THE OZONE LAYER

The International Organization of Consumers Unions (IOCU) - a federation of some 170 consumer groups in some 60 countries - commemorates World Consumer Rights Day (WCRD) on 15 March each year.

The theme for the 1988 WCRD was 'Our Common Future', based on the concept of 'sustainable development', as advocated by the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development ('The Brundtland Report').

On the occasion of this year's WCRD, IOCU has produced a resource kit which addresses several key issues on sustainable development as they relate to consumer rights and responsibilities, including the issue of ozone layer depletion.

In this context, IOCU's Head of Information and Research, Martin Abraham, stresses that 'depletion of the ozone layer is a truly global problem, and as such warrants a concerted global response from governments, industries, UN agencies and citizens groups the world over'.

According to Dr Abraham, 'the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) has played and continues to play a leading role in international initiatives to protect the ozone layer via the 'Vienna convention' of March 1985 and the 'Montreal Protocol' of September 1987. But even the Montreal Protocol recognises the fact that contracting parties may need to take more stringent measures to adequately protect the ozone layer'.

On the part of IOCU, a resolution calling on its members to actively help in protecting the ozone layer was unanimously adopted at the 12th IOCU World Congress held in Madrid, Spain, 15-20 September 1987.

Following up on the Madrid resolution, IOCU is, on the occasion of the 1988 WCRD, urging its member organisations worldwide to:

. Lobby their respective governments to ratify the Vienna Convention and the Montreal Protocol.

. Pressure governments and manufacturers to immediately label all products containing CFCs and related ozone depleting compounds, as well as to intensify research into alternatives and substitutes.

. Demand that manufacturers, particularly of aerosols and some kinds of packaging/insulating materials (which account for a substantial portion of the global consumption of CFCs), phase out the use of CFCs within two years.

As part of its ongoing campaign to protect the ozone layer, IOCU is preparing an action-oriented kit, which will contain relevant background information, a checklist of products containing CFCs and related compounds, suitable alternatives and substitutes, and several ideas for action, including, where appropriate, the boycott of certain products.

( IOCU, POB 1045, 10830 Penang, Malaysia).
1. The situation in the occupied Palestinian Territories

The Board discussed the mounting campaign of repression being launched by Israel against the Arab Palestinian popular uprising in the occupied territories. Expressing its full support for the struggle of the Palestinian people to put an end to the occupation and to restore their legitimate rights, especially the right to return to their homeland and the right to self-determination as recognized in international conventions and instruments; renewing its condemnation of acts of racial discrimination, killings, expulsions and deportations carried out by the Israeli government; and affirming its solidarity with all victims, the Board called upon Arab states to extend material and moral support to the Palestinian people and to refrain from the suppression of the natural Arab popular expression of solidarity with the legitimate uprising. The Board further calls upon the international community, especially NGO's, to intervene, by all means possible, to put an end to the campaign of repression.

2. The situation of human rights in the Arab region

The Board noted the continued deterioration of human rights in Arab countries. The absence or violation of fundamental rights and freedoms in the Arab region contributed to a large extent to the deterioration of the general situation in other fields. Some of the most salient aspects of the situation during the previous year were:

a. The Board noted with satisfaction Democratic Yemen's accession to the International Human Rights Covenants, which made Democratic Yemen the tenth Arab state to become party to the covenants. The Board also noted with satisfaction the decision of the Sudanese cabinet to pass a bill ratifying the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Once the bill is endorsed by the Constituent Assembly, Sudan will become the first Arab state to have ratified the Protocol. AOHR calls upon states which have not yet done so to ratify the two covenants. It further calls on all Arab states party to the Convention to follow the example of Sudan by acceding to the Optional Protocol. However, the Board note with regret that a wide gap still exists between the international contractual obligations undertaken by those states and their actual fulfilment.

b. The Board noted the continued abuse of emergency laws, the proliferation of emergency legislations or the suspension of the constitutions in Jordan, Syria, Bahrain, Kuwait, Egypt and Libya. Similarly, in 1987, emergency laws were imposed in Sudan.

c. Several acts of assassination or assassination attempts were made against opponents of the regime in Libya in violation of the right to life. Some public personalities were attacked by opposition groups in Egypt. Iraqi and Syrian political opponents were assassinated.
Palestinian artist Nagui El Aly was also the victim of an assassination attempt. Reports were received on the assassination of children in Iraq as well as a large number of Kurds who, reports said, were killed by poisoning.

d. Arbitrary arrests, torture and degrading treatment continued in several state prisons. In fact, such cases are too numerous to list. All this took place in states party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Particular accent was placed on cases of kidnap- ping of citizens and foreigners in Lebanon. Political opponents continued to be tried before special courts in many Arab countries, a situation which deprived defendants of the right to a fair trial.

e. The freedom of opinion or expression remained under attack in most Arab countries.

f. Serious deterioration in the field of rights of association and assembly were observed, especially the right to form associations and political parties, the right to participate in public office and the right to free elections.

g. The AOHR Report also cites incidents of violation of cultural, social and economic rights and of unions' freedoms which are non-exist- ant in most Gulf states and which exist only nominally in a number of other states, all of which are members of the ILO. However, the Egyptian judiciary, invoking Egypt's commitment to the provisions of the Interna- tional Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, approved the right of trade unions to strike in the rail-roads workers case.

h. Although the Arab world in general in 1987 displayed an increased interest in the rights of the child through the establishment of nation- al institutions for the protection of those rights, no tangible progress in the respect for the basic rights of women was noted despite the fact that the ten Arab states party to the International instruments remain committed to achieving equality in rights between the sexes.

3. AOHR affairs

Since its establishment, AOHR has been facing a series of difficult cir- cumstances. This is not due solely to the difficulties associated with work in the field of human rights in the Arab region, or to the lack of cooperation on the part of most governments in permitting the establish- ment of local branches of the AOHR, but is also due to the hostile atti- tude of several governments towards the AOHR, so much so that these go- vernments hampered AOHR acquiring a consultative status with the ECOSOC. These difficulties only increased AOHR's determination to pursue its efforts to promote the protection of human rights in the Arab region.

In this respect, the Board decided to intensify its efforts to develop human rights movements in the Arab countries and to improve communica- tion between their leaders. It is resolved to concentrate on fact-find- ing missions and to support effective field movements in Arab countries utilizing the moral pressure of international human rights organisations to assist it in its task. The Board further decided to expand activities at the grass-roots level.

(17 Midan Aswan, Muhandessin, Giza, Egypt).
Since its beginning in 1969, Southern Mutual Help Association Inc. has worked toward the abolition of plantationism in the sugarcane area of Louisiana. The plantation system has kept farm workers in a state of peonage. Its elimination requires many kinds of actions such as advocacy, community organizing, housing, health care, adult education, job training and skill training in self-reliance. Confronted with a huge problem that has been traditionalized and rewarded by southern institutions of church and state, SMHA works in a unique way to remove "plantationism" from sugar production. Southern Mutual Help Association has received considerable recognition for accomplishments in the areas of advocacy, assessment and development.

Advocacy

1969-70: Three SMHA workers were arrested on a plantation and jailed for criminal trespass and vagrancy. SMHA won a decision from a three judge panel which recognized the right of plantation workers to "free association" as guaranteed by the US Constitution.

1974: Federal District Court issued a landmark decision in the Freeman vs Butz case where the wages of farmworkers were illegally frozen by Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz. Two SMHA farmworker board members filed a class action suit for collection of all back wages that would have been paid under the 1971 Sugar Act wage determination. The Court froze over 60 million dollars in grower subsidy payments, appointed SMHA the inspector of all the growers' books to determine the amount owed to Louisiana farmworkers, and subsequently awarded nearly a million dollars in back wages to plantation field workers from the subsidies. Because the US Court also ordered future annual wage increases to begin the first day of harvest season instead of later in the season, the total economic impact to farmworkers was in the millions of dollars.

1980: SMHA won a favorable US Supreme Court decision in the "Itinerant Workers Law" case. SMHA filed suit against the State of Louisiana and St. Mary Parish for enacting a worker registration ordinance which required all persons applying for a job to be photographed, fingerprinted, answer personal questions on themselves and family members, and to pay $10 for the privilege. The Court ruled the ordinance unconstitutional and ordered compensation.

1971-80: SMHA has, at the request of various committees of Congress, testified on the living and working conditions of Louisiana sugar cane plantation workers.

1980-81: SMHA documented and presented to various forums evidence of pesticide poisoning of plantation workers.

1980: The first legal services corporation for farmworkers in the state was co-founded by SMHA.

1982-84: SMHA documented the use of herbicides containing dioxin, the deadly agent in Agent Orange used as a defoliant in Vietnam, and prepared legislation outlawing the use of such chemicals in the state. Silvex and 2,4,5-T are no longer used in Louisiana.
Assessment

Documented for the first time the number of farmworkers in Louisiana's sugar cane fields. They were 18,000 in 1969, 16,500 in 1971 and 10,000-12,000 in 1981.

Designed, conducted (with Tulane medical students, public health officials, and plantation field workers), and published the only health survey ever done on Louisiana sugar cane plantations.

With the co-operation of several universities, SMHA has conducted several surveys documenting the living and working conditions of sugarcane farmworkers.

Development

Sample stories of leadership:

Joyce - born on Patout Plantation where her father lost both legs from frost bite trying to get the cane in for the bossman. Joyce enrolled in an SMHA job training program, then became director of all development, advocacy, organization and assessment, completed her master's degree in rural development at the University of Massachusetts as one of ten National Rural Fellows in the country, and returned to Louisiana to work on behalf of the farmworker community at the Acadiana Legal Services. She is now executive director of a community action agency.

Bernadette - born on Hayes Plantation, Bern organized the first group of farmworkers to build their own houses under the self-help concept, is a specialist in plantation culture, was elected by representatives from twelve southern states to the Board of Rural American Women, spoke at the White House on the special problems of women fieldworkers, and currently works as an organizer with farmworkers around legal issues.

Bessie - born on Fortier Plantation, Bessie walked miles to the SMHA job training program, finished five grade levels to obtain her high school diploma, became a specialist in outreach to other farmworkers, director of SMHA job training activities, has been honored at the White House as one of two outstanding VISTAs in the country, and is currently working in the community as an organizer and educator around economic development.

Also: Formation of a pesticide task force to document and stop pesticide poisoning of farmworkers by chemicals; formation of an energy task force with farmworker energy commissioners in training; sponsored the first farmworker youth forum ever held in the state in 1980.

Economic development: SMHA has built rural rental housing units in two civil parishes and created two independant corporations to manage them; built 50 self-help housing units with farmworkers in three parishes, trained the first woman farmworker construction supervisor in self help housing in the country, and is currently developing new alternatives in housing, using local resources (banks, realtors) and low interest loans from socially conscious individuals and church groups. Over a period of seven years, SMHA has involved 700 farmworkers in its job training activities, training fieldworkers for alternatives to unemployment caused by
displacement from increased mechanization in the sugar cane fields. SMHA conducts small business development and resource management programs with rural families.

Rural Center: In 1981, SMHA created the first rural center in Louisiana. The Center works with farmworkers and other rural residents in economic self-development around food and energy using small greenhouses, gardening, do-it-yourself solar components for efficient heating and cooling of homes as well as re-learning old skills and developing new skills that can become viable small businesses.


(P.O.B 650, Jeanerette, Louisiana 70544, USA)

SOLOMON ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT TRUST

In September 1982 the Board of Trustee's set out SIDT's work pattern. From its beginning years the organisation determined to carve out an identity for itself which clearly distinguished its role in development. This year's Summary Report underlines its distinctive development role: a Disaster Awareness and Preparation program, the publication of a village-voice magazine, its village outreach program and how it finances the program.

Village outreach program

The outreach program asks villagers to become more aware, better prepared and deepen their plans for both natural and man-made disasters. Mobile Team members tour the many scattered, small-population villages. Disaster awareness and preparation, however, is understood in a development context. The bracing, strapping and strengthening of village homes is not simply to prepare for the next cyclone. It is a program that centres on improving village life as the normal and useful way to begin and sustain development.

SIDT's first village outreach program began in 1984 when it joined forces with Government's Rural Water Supply and Sanitation (RWSS) program. In the 1984–1986 period, more than 1,200 village-level workshops were held. Cyclone Namu devastated these islands in 1986 and proved that village people were the most vulnerable and least prepared for natural disasters. This three-year program is designed to address this weakness.

Has the program changed anything?

What changes have come about from the Village Outreach Program? Has all this time, efforts and finances been worthwhile? Have all these workshops and villager discussion produced better patterns of living,
changed minds to new ways of thinking, strengthened institutions and rooted beneficial structures?

Good changes have come about. Some are only now surfacing and will need more years of work to bloom. Others are more clearly seen.

The national development debate has been broaden from concern only about economics to the social, cultural and local resources of villagers. A recent government initiative, for example, focuses on Rural Human Resource Development, the first of its kind in the country.

Villager participation in the development process has gone from rhetoric to reality. The Constitution Review and the Provincial Government Review committees are only the most recent examples of government's greater awareness of the need of villager consultation, involvement and participation.

Cooperation between government and non-government has grown appreciatively. The use of NGO personnel to accomplish governmental projects: Nutritional Research Survey, Home Gardening Project, etc. are signs of the increasing acceptance and cooperation between the two.

Personal growth of our field personnel is a striking feature of a program that can change people. Our MTMs are 'dropouts' from the school system. With training, village touring and a caring organisation these very 'dropouts' have become highly productive and creative rural citizens.

To have villagers more capable of asking the right question, seeking ways of using the political and bureaucratic systems, empowers. The MTMs share information and bring new ways of thinking which in turn enriches both giver and taker.

Some program results - attitudinal change, skill enhancement, individual accomplishments - are the more obvious fruit of the village reachout program. Some results, however, like awareness building are only beginning to root. Once allowed to bloom even more far reaching changes will occur.

LINK MAGAZINE

SIDT reaches out to village people through its bi-monthly publication, LINK. This magazine responds to a hunger. Villagers thirst to know what is happening to their world; they hunger for information about their world: their forests, seas, land, resources and government.

Many villages problems are rooted in Honiara. Policy and decision makers and planners invariably live in the capital. Villagers know that the big agricultural, educational and medical decisions come mostly from Honiara. Decision making by a few at the top no longer works.

Villagers, long the silent majority, are welcoming the chance to publicly voice out their concerns. They are telling us that they want their feelings and thinking about the big issues of land ownership, development and the future of the country be made better known. LINK intends to have their voice heard.

(Solomon Islands Development Trust, POB 147, Honiara, Solomon Islands).
AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST: WANAD
par András Biró*

Faire rencontrer des journalistes du Sahel avec ceux de la Côte, des francophones avec des anglo- et lusophones, faire interviewer des ministres, mais avant tout des paysans et des pêcheurs, c'est déjà assez rare. Mais chercher à construire le nouvel ordre de l'information dans la pratique, c.à.d. donner place et voix aux acteurs principaux mais muets du développement, aux femmes, hommes et enfants du village, ce l'est encore plus.

Voilà ce que beaucoup d'organisations et militants du tiers système veulent ou aimeraient faire mais n'y arrivent que rarement. Voilà ce que - une fois n'est pas coutume - ceux du côté du Prince, des gouvernements africains et un gouvernement européen ont réussi à faire avec l'UNESCO comme intermédiaire.

Depuis quatre ans déjà, un projet nommé WANAD (voir encadré) est arrivé à infuser ce désir à quelque 250 communicateurs professionnels de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Certes, feuilletant la presse des capitales respectives, il est difficile de déceler une percée. Mais faire changer les priorités, se défaire de l'urbanocentrisme, voire le "scoop" dans l'utilisation de boeufs attelés à la place de la daba, ce n'est pas aisé.

WANAD donc a commencé par de petits pas. Là où l'agence nationale de presse manquait d'infrastructure technique, le projet fournit des appareils et des lignes de communication. Les correspondants locaux furent dotés, ici et là, de petites motos pour pouvoir visiter les villages sans être obligés d'attendre la prochaine tournée du préfet, condition jusque là nécessaire pour rencontrer les paysans chez eux.

Ceux qui furent choisis pour participer au module de formation 'développement rural et économique' ont reçu un entraînement de "marines du télétype". Pendant une bonne semaine, ils furent envoyés dans les villages non seulement pour visiter mais cohabiter avec des paysans Hèvès, Yourouba ou Mahis. Cela veut dire qu'ils dormaient sur des nattes dans les cases, accompagnant leurs logeurs sur les terres lors des semis ou au marché, discutaient - bloc-notes à la main - le soir avec les vieux du village les prix (souvent peu motivants) du coton ou suivaient pas à pas les paysannes dans la préparation du gari. Ils notaient tout sur l'histoire de la localité, parfois participaient même à des cérémonies d'initiation de féticheuses, interviewaient l'AVA (agent de vulgarisation agricole) sur les statistiques de production de la saison écoulée ou le seul cultivateur du village qui ait accepté la culture attelée, préparaient un spécial sur l'exode des jeunes ou faisaient un portrait de la sage-femme.

Il leur arrivait de rentrer exténués et affamés, après une longue journée dans une coopérative agricole, à l'hôtel du bourg (sans climatisation) pour s'entendre dire par leur encadreur (une sorte de sergent de "marines"): "Bon, il est 19 heures 23, vous faites une dépêche de 300 mots sur la visite d'aujourd'hui pour 20 heures 20, et dactylographié,
et à la minute près, please... et que le chapeau soit attrayant et informatif, pleasease."

Images: Ce journaliste ghanéen attendant patiemment, pendant une visite au Togo, que les interprètes traduisent du hévé en français, puis du français en anglais ce qu'un paysan racontait, puis, interrompant cette chaîne babélienne, entamait dans la langue du paysan, qui était également la sienne, une conversation des plus vives pour en sortir, en anglais, un des meilleurs papiers de la promotion. Où ce Burkinabé, fasciné par la technique de collecte de l'eau de pluie dans des citernes par des canaux couverts au Zou, ou ce Congolais faisant un inventaire des plus détaillés de la pharmacopée d'un guérisseur qui vendait ses produits sur le marché de Cotonou, ou le Nigérien remerciant chaleureusement son encadreur de lui avoir appris l'existence même du genre profil.

En somme, si le nouvel ordre n'est pas encore à la une des médias nationaux, les porteurs de cet ordre, les "marines du développement rural" sont déjà sur place. Le flux de nouvelles provenant des correspondants locaux a doublé ces derniers temps, des desk centraux du développement rural ont été établis dans certaines capitales, des séminaires de formation sur le tas des correspondant locaux se multiplient.
WANAD est en train de mettre sur pied un réseau de communicateurs avertis et engagés. Tout n'est pas réussite, certes. Parfois les nouvelles des villages ne passent pas sur le télétype car les rédacteurs ne les trouvent pas assez "sexy". Parfois la ligne est muette pendant des heures ou des jours. Parfois les salaires tardent 2-3 mois à arriver, et trouver de l'essence à mettre dans la moto suppose de racier les fonds de poche. Le rythme "marines aéroportés" auquel ils ont pris goût n'est pas toujours celui des fantassins poussiéreux des provinces. Et parfois on perd un peu l'espoir. Mais quand, une fois, on a fait sien le slogan (inofficiel) de WANAD: "Il faut rapporter les choses telles qu'elles sont et non telles que nous aimerions qu'elles soient", le ver est dans le fruit.

Il reste à donner une explication à cette réussite: comme dans toute entreprise humaine réussie, il faut chercher au WANAD aussi l'élément moteur. Il a la trentaine bien tassée, père de trois enfants, parle un wolof épiqué, a rédigé des revues sur l'Afrique à Londres, dirigé le desk Afrique d’IPS à Rome, étudié à Montréal et enseigné à Dakar, et n'arrête pas du siège à Cotonou d'asticoter les directeurs des 13 agences nationales pour qu'ils envoient leurs journalistes les plus prometteurs aux séminaires de spécialisation, fait des dizaines de milliers de kilomètres, souvent sur des pistes, va chercher les encadreurs et animateurs d'ateliers dans les pays voisins, ou dans d'autres continents pourvu qu'ils soient les meilleurs (selon lui), dort peu, fume beaucoup, élabore les programmes, des cours en dialogue avec stagiaires et enseignants, et pense toujours à la phase suivante de son projet. Il s'appelle Babacar Fall.

* Andrés Biro, un 'fellow' de l'IFDA, a passé récemment un mois avec le WANAD.

URUGUAY: COMUNICACION PARA LA DEMOCRACIA Y EL DESARROLLO

El Instituto de Comunicación y Desarrollo (ICD), asociación civil privada, sin fines de lucro, independiente y pluralista, fue fundado en Montevideo en 1986.

Dedicated to la investigación, documentación, capacitación y difusión en el área de la Comunicación Social desde una perspectiva de desarrollo, el ICD ha reunido a técnicos y profesionales provenientes de diversas esferas de actividad.

Creado como un ámbito para la reflexión y la acción, el ICD entiende que la información y la comunicación son recursos sociales. Actuando en este campo específico, el ICD contribuye al fortalecimiento de la sociedad
democrática mediante la promoción del debate público sobre los temas de comunicación y la problemática vinculada al desarrollo nacional.

Siendo la sociedad civil un potente escenario de iniciativas y acción, de propuestas y solidaridades, ámbito privilegiado para el fortalecimiento de una cultura democrática, el ICD promueve prácticas que faciliten una amplia y activa participación de los actores sociales en la toma de decisiones, impulsando su acceso efectivo a la producción y difusión de información en tanto recurso esencial en el proceso del desarrollo.

Un trabajo en cinco dimensiones - Desde un enfoque independiente centrado en el protagonismo del mundo no gubernamental en la consolidación de la sociedad democrática y el papel de la sociedad civil en el proceso del desarrollo, el ICD sustenta en el campo de la Comunicación Social cinco dimensiones de trabajo:

. La dimensión no gubernamental, generando nuevas prácticas informativas mediante la creación de mecanismos de intercambio entre Ongs y de relación de éstas con el conjunto de la cooperación internacional particularmente en la región.

. La dimensión informativa, articulando nuevas flujos informativos, promoviendo la participación de actores no tradicionales en la producción y la difusión de los contenidos informativos; colaborando en la creación de nuevas estructuras de comunicación; apoyando la integración informativa de las zonas rurales, entre éstas y la capital y en su conjunto con el exterior. Con este propósito actualmente se encuentra en fase de ejecución un Servicio Nacional de Información sobre temas de desarrollo (SENI), dirigido al interior del país.

. La dimensión tecnológica, propiciando la aplicación de nuevas tecnologías, adaptando las innovaciones telemáticas en la recepción, procesamiento y transmisión de datos, así como los nuevos recursos audiovisuales, a los requerimientos y necesidades de la sociedad. El ICD participa de un proyecto de alcance regional dirigido por ILET de Chile para la creación de una Red Experimental de Prácticas Periodísticas Computarizadas y estudia la instalación en Uruguay de una Red Experimental que conecte medios periodísticos y Ongs.

. La dimensión de investigación, analizando científicamente la realidad comunicacional del país y sus posibilidades de superación, al tiempo que se generan mecanismos de cooperación interdisciplinarios con otros centros de investigación y se generan los ámbitos necesarios para procesar un debate que incluya a los diversos actores involucrados.

. La dimensión de capacitación, que interpreta los nuevos desafíos que la sociedad democrática plantea a la función de los periodistas y otros comunicadores sociales. Actualmente se ha encarado el diseño de pequeños cursos básicos sobre Técnicas de Información, dirigido a un público no especializado que desarrolla tareas afines en Ongs.

(Rincón 810, Piso 5, Montevideo, Uruguay).
ECUADOR: CEPLAES

El objetivo general de CEPLAES es promover y aportar al desarrollo de las ciencias sociales en el país, y sustancialmente, contribuir al conocimiento comprometido de la realidad económica y social del Ecuador.

Desde su fundación, CEPLAES ha intervenido en diversos debates. Especial mención tienen sus aportes en torno al problema agrario del país. Investigaciones, publicaciones y eventos de capacitación sobre la modernización del agro serrano: descomposición de la hacienda serrana tradicional, capitalización del agro, descomposición de las economías campesinas, diferenciación de las economías campesinas, diferenciación campesina, formación de la agro-industria ecuatoriana, etc., son las temáticas que tuvieron preferencia en los primeros años de vida de CEPLAES.

Paralelamente a estas discusiones, se fueron abriendo nuevas líneas temáticas y modificando el carácter del Centro.

Se definieron dos ejes articuladores:

Reforzamiento de modelos alternativos de organización popular, en el contexto del proceso de redemocratización vivido por el país. Ello se concretó en investigaciones multidisciplinarias sobre las formas organizativas campesinas y populares urbanas existentes y, a la vez, en el diseño de formas alternativas de organización, conjuntamente con la población imbricada. Estas actividades recogieron elementos de la cultura campesina y popular urbana, integrando no sólo la lógica económica sino los fenómenos simbólicos (religiosidad, cuyes) y las vivencias cotidianas de sus actores (vg. comida tradicional y nutrición entre las mujeres populares de Quito, estrategia comunitaria de salud y nutrición, etc.).

Busqueda de modelos alternativos de desarrollo, a nivel macro social. El acercamiento sistemático y problemáticas como la industrialización del país, las relaciones Estados Unidos - América Latina, etc., se inscribieron en este esfuerzo. Esa línea de trabajo obedece a la necesidad de comprender los procesos macro sociales y de responder a la incapacidad de las proposiciones programáticas oficiales para superar la crisis social y económica que afecta a toda la región latinoamericana.

Este nivel de reflexión permitió una convergencia de los dos ejes enunciados, otorgando sentido y viabilidad a las inquietudes y reivindicaciones de los sectores más desfavorecidos de la sociedad con proposiciones alternativas integrales, coherentes y democráticas.

Teniendo como eje la investigación y la planificación sociales, acompañan a este quehacer académico la capacitación, las publicaciones y el servicio de un pequeño centro de documentación.

Entre las investigaciones en curso: Organización y promoción de la mujer en barrios populares de Quito; Estrategias de sobrevivencia en barrios populares de Quito; El sector informal urbano en Ecuador; Evaluación de experiencias en el sector informal urbano en Ecuador; Perspectivas de la agroindustria en una estrategia alternativa de desarrollo; Evaluación de la literatura social y nacional en la perspectiva de los modelos alternativos; Modelo médico. Estructura y dinámica de la ocupación médica en
PAKISTAN: RURAL DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

RDF was established in 1978 as a non-governmental, non-political and non-profit making organisation. Its objectives are to sensitise, conscientize and organise Village Development Committees (VDCs) supported by Rural Volunteer Corps (RVCs) to undertake comprehensive socio-economic development of their villages primarily on a self-help basis with the help of RDF Mobile Task Force (MTF). The focus is on marginal farmers, landless labourers, tenants, share croppers, artisans, women and youth.

Activities: Acts both at macro and micro level. At the macro level, the work involves seminars, workshops, innovative research, discussions with the policy-makers, planners/practitioners. At the micro level, the Foundation, acting as a catalyst, stimulates, activates and organises Village Development Committees and Rural Volunteer Corps with the help of Mobile Task Force (MTF) to carry out surveys of villages, formulation of projects, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The emphasis is on maximum mobilisation of local human and material resources to carry out projects in the villages on a self-help basis. The ultimate aim is human development based on the strategy of development of the people, for the people and by the people.

Strategy: The VDCs with the help of MTF prepares the village profiles based on the socio-economic survey of the village. The profile forms the basis of various projects which include three components: (i) self-help projects (ii) marginal support projects and (iii) major support projects. The Foundation acting as a bridge between the village people and various government departments, donors, international agencies, assists in providing necessary support to the VDCs to complete these projects. Efforts are made to improve the income of the local group by introducing small income-generation projects. RDF has selected focal villages throughout the country to apply this approach. It is envisaged that the development of these villages would spill-over the surrounding villages and with the passage of time more and more villages would develop under the RDF strategy. At present, the RDF Mobile Task Force is actively involved in 81 focal villages throughout the country.

Publication: RDF (Shadab) Newsletter is issued bi-monthly.

External relations: RDF as an apex Ngo in the national space has grass-root Ngos in the villages. The Foundation is a member of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), Geneva, the Development Innovation and Networks (IRED), Geneva, the Asian NGO Coalition for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ANGOC), Manila, Philippines, the Asian Institute of Rural Development (AIRD), Bangalore, India, and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation of West Germany.
The African Center for Technology Studies is a regional not-for-profit research organisation established in Kenya as Technoscan in 1982. The name was changed to ACTS in 1988 to reflect the extent of its mandate. The need to set up the organisation resulted from the realisation that most African development policies did not adequately reflect the role played by science and technology in economic growth. In addition, there is now a considerable number of people trained to handle science and technology policy issues yet there is no institution that is dedicated to such work.

Rationale. Recent economic and ecological problems in Africa, as highlighted by recent famines, have underscored the need to re-examine the future of the continent. One of the ways of dealing with these problems is to increase the application of science and technology. However, this requires careful understanding of the complex relationship between technology and society. This need has led to formation of science and technology policies in the industrialised countries.

The need to set up ACTS resulted from the limited number of institutions in Africa that formulate policy options on science and technology issues. Most of the policy-related information available in Africa is generated through consultancy work or feasibility studies. This knowledge is either partisan or unavailable to the public. As a result, the information is not subjected to public scrutiny or used for educating the public on the role of technology in development. Technology still remains a 'black box' for most people. ACTS intends to work towards changing this dire situation.

Most African countries undertake economic planning in the absence of adequate information on international technological trends. No effective searches of the international market for technology are conducted and as a result, they end up investing in inappropriate sectors or choosing irrelevant technologies. It has become necessary for African researchers with the relevant skills to constitute themselves in a network that would formulate policy options on these issues.

Objectives:
(a) conduct policy studies in the field of science and technology, natural resources, environment and related public affairs;
(b) explore the links between technical change and institutional organisation so as to find ways of facilitating technological development;
(c) collaborate in research, development and demonstration of technologies with other institutions and promote innovation at the community level through local organisations;
(d) collect, assess and preserve local knowledge for purposes of using it in technological development;
(e) monitor trends in science and technology in other regions of the world and analyse their implications for Africa;
identify policy options that would ensure long-term and sustainable development;

act as forum for dialogue and exchange of ideas between practitioners and researchers in matters pertaining to science, technology, environment, natural resources and public policy;

work closely with government institutions in implementing ACTS programmes and participate in national educational programmes so as to share research results with the public, students and university staff;

provide affiliation to researchers and students whose work is in line with the long-term economic objectives offer research awards to researchers to undertake designated work.

Feasibility test. In order to prove the feasibility of the Centre, a number of projects were undertaken. The first was a study on the place of technology in economy theory which was published in 1987 as Long-Run Economics: An Evolutionary Approach to Economic Growth (Pinter Publishers, London). ACTS has undertaken a research programme on the policy implications of biotechnology and genetic resource conservation for African economies. The first product of the study will be published this summer as The Gene Hunters: Biotechnology and the Scramble for Seeds (Zed Press, London). Other feasibility projects of ACTS will result in the publication of Rust in Peace: Technological Failure and Development Policy and The Economics of Sustainable Development: Alternative Paradigms.

Mode of operation. The ACTS Secretariat includes a chief executive, administrative support and project development team. These are to be helped by a Peer Group. The Centre will maintain a small secretariat but will function mainly through networks of researchers and institutions. The policy guidance will be provided by the peer group of eminent people who have over the years accumulated considerable knowledge in the field of science and technology, natural resource management, environment, and public policy.

Specific projects will be implemented by research fellows. The prospective will be identified on the basis of their competence and research contributions. Researchers seeking to be fellows may submit their proposals to the Centre for funding or fund-raising. The tenure of the fellows will run concurrent with their project. In addition to the fellows, the Centre will seek research collaboration with 'centres of excellence' in Africa and elsewhere.

The way ahead. The Centre will initially concentrate its activities in Kenya but will eventually operate as a regional centre through links with research fellows and institutions in other countries. The fellows will be encouraged to work in their respective countries so that they can establish similar institutions. In this respect, the Centre will also play a role in stimulating public policy research in other countries.

(For further details, contact: Calestous Juma, Executive Director, African Centre for Technology Studies, POB 89313 Nairobi, Kenya).
The Institute of Cultural Affairs is a private, non-profit organisation concerned with the human factor in world development. An outgrowth of the Ecumenical Institute, the ICA was formed in 1973 to promote the design and application of methods of human development in communities and organisations.

The umbrella organisation, the Institute of Cultural Affairs International, is an international association of 28 nationally chartered and registered institutes, comprising a network of 68 centres in North and South America, Africa, Europe, West Asia, Asia and the Pacific. It is headquartered in Brussels. There are approximately 500 full-time staff of the Institute from a variety of backgrounds. Most of these people live in community settings, situated in both rural and urban locations around the globe. They are complemented by an equally large number of people working in part-time capacities to support and facilitate Institute programmes.

The ICA is interested in the design, implementation and linking of participatory approaches in community and organisational development. The International Exposition of Rural Development (IERD), a 3-year programme of exchanges of successful development approaches, is one example of such networking. Co-sponsored by number of UN and international agencies, the IERD was focussed in a central gathering in India, at which 600 representatives from 55 countries came together in February 1984. The theme for the event was "Sharing Approaches That Work". Subsequent follow-up programmes in the participating countries have continued the linking process begun in India.

The ICA also offers consultancy services in a variety of fields including planning, conferences and technologies of participation. Its LENS (Leadership Effectiveness and New Strategies) programme, a five-session strategic planning workshop, has been conducted with over 500 organizations in 23 countries. In a number of cases, the LENS seminar has been the beginning point of an ongoing relationship between the ICA and the client organisation.

On the basis of its consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the ICA has begun to undertake collaborative ventures with a number of governmental and non-governmental organisations. In Europe, the ICA has helped facilitate a continuing dialogue between Ngos and bilateral agencies on the subject of "Practical Modes of Cooperation in Rural Development". In Kenya, ICA has undertaken the training of cooperative leaders in methods of grass-roots participatory planning, in conjunction with the Swedish Cooperative Centre and the Kenyan National Federation of Cooperatives.

Education and training programmes offered by the ICA focus on participatory planning and problem solving techniques, consensus processes, team building, curriculum design and educational methods. A variety of training programmes specially tailored to the needs of each situation, are offered to organisations.

The Institute's research programmes are action-oriented and are focussed on the integration of methods of human consciousness and organisational
transformation. Specific areas of research include the dynamics of social change, ethical frameworks, personal roles, learning patterns, corporate philosophy and values and profound life understandings.

Topics of ICA publications range from rural development to spiritual practices. They include The Directory of Rural Development Projects (1985), Voices of Rural Practitioners (1986) and Approaches That Work (1988). In addition, a database known as Ruralnet is on-line with ECHO - the European Commission Host Organisation - in Luxembourg. It contains profiles of over 300 rural development projects worldwide and is being constantly expanded. Another volume on Technologies of Participation is currently in process. In a more reflective vein, The Other World: A Spirit Journal, provides opportunities for people to become more conscious about the variety of states of being their experience in everyday life.

The strength of the ICA's work is its ability to bring together its experiences in human resource development from a variety of situations, ranging from village projects to international organisations. It works with people from the private, public, voluntary and "local" sectors of society. The central concern of its diverse programmes is how to maximize the participation of people in the process of taking responsibility for their own lives and that of society at large.

(8 rue Amédée Lynen, 1030 Brussels, Belgium).
QUESTIONS FROM TORONTO, CANADA

I do not know how I came to receive the IFDA Dossier, but it has been arriving for several years, unsolicited. Although my professional work is in a very different area - computer science and cognitive science - I have from time to time found some articles of interest, and initially I welcomed the opportunity of learning something of the viewpoints on society and the future held in other parts of the world, particularly in Africa and in Islamic societies. However, over time, I have become more and more disenchanted with the thrust of the IFDA articles, and now that you, quite rightly, ask me as a "reader in the North" to either pay a subscription fee or be dropped from the mailing list, it is no longer appropriate to continue to passively accept this unasked for material.

Allow me to attempt to explain briefly (and with some difficulty) just what it is that bothers me about the message the Dossier sends to its readers and why I think it will be in the long run counter-productive to the needs of the human beings it hopes to help.

The message of Dossier authors is with relatively few exceptions a contradictory and even hypocritical one: it is that the non-communist portion of Europe and North America (the "West" or "North") has an inherently evil value system, as a result of which it does evil to a large part of the rest of the world; it is therefore required to accept responsibility for its evil and atone for it in some way. What "West" is actually to do, is something I still do not fully understand; in particular, I am as ignorant as ever as to the distinction between "development" and economic exploitation - it seems to me that the former is merely the post-colonial form of the latter, now carried out at the request and with the support of the exploited.

A related puzzle is that, from reading the Dossier, it seems that development is defined almost entirely in Western terms - in terms of economic growth based on rational application of science and technology to optimize production, universal literacy and education, public health, etc.

But these are all values developed in the West and articulated by Western intellectuals in the environment of critical thought created by the Enlightenment. Unfortunately, the intellectual concerns of the evil West seem to be, regrettably, the only source of concepts for non-Western intellectuals. I searched in vain for articles by Africans explaining how African agriculture could be strengthened by rejecting Western knowledge of climate, soils and genetics; by Latin American authors showing how Latin American societies could achieve a greater happiness by rejecting Western secularism and drawing instead on the values of their long-standing catholicism; how Islamic cultures will succeed (in their own terms) by the rejection of equality of women and Western concepts of justice; how victims in Bhopal fared better (or would have fared better) through unani and ayurvedic systems of medicine rather than "the dominant western medical system" (Dossier 64, p.66). Instead, I found that very many authors simply denounce Western values from within the intellectual framework of concepts and methods created by Western values and I fail to see how that self-contradictory approach will be of any help to non-Western societies.

From reading the Dossier (and my newspaper), I have formed the following general impressions of the situation with respect to "development": that by and large Western materialism is readily and greedily adopted by non-Western countries as a result of the "development" process; but that as a result of the values of their cultures, they have little interest in the underlying Western values of "rationality" achieved through a pluralist cri-
tical and empirical methodology, preferring instead authoritarian structures, particularly military and religious ones. As well, they have little ability or willingness to learn from the horrors of the history of the West, especially in its ghastly application of technology and social repression in warfare against its own peoples in this century. So, far from rejecting Western values imposed on the "Third World" or "the South" against its will, these cultures have adopted just the destructive parts and are eager for more.

If intellectuals in these societies are genuinely opposed to what appears (to us in the West) to be the destructive features of societies in the "South", it seems to me they should focus their critiques and their proposals for the future of their societies on the nature of those societies and the social values which engender such features. Why, for example, is it so difficult for these societies to develop sufficiently powerful educational institutions which could free them from dependence on Western technology and science? Why is it so hard for them to develop a social contract and consensus politics which would reduce their internal warfare and their consumption of massive military expenditures? To what degree do the educated people, artists and intellectuals in these societies themselves contribute to the weaknesses of their culture by contributing to and relying on Western forms of media (books, television, etc.)?

I would have formed a much greater respect for IFDA and its Dossier had I been able to learn something on these issues, and I firmly believe that were the writers in the Dossier to drop altogether the concept of "development" (in Western terms) and concern themselves instead with the issues of what it could or should mean to thrive and be a good citizen within the values and cultures of an African or Islamic or Indian or Vietnamese or Latin American society, both Western and non-Western readers would receive better value from the Dossier than they do now.

Peter H. Roosen-Runge, Dept. of Computer Science, York University.

FROM ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

Thank you very much for sending me your wonderful publication. Several of us here in the small town of Asheville are very interested in international affairs and we appreciate hearing about the many fine innovative activities going on in the Third World. Constantly I am amazed to find in your articles information about the forward looking things that are happening in the Third World. You provide wonderful models for us, while we in this supposedly developed world seem to labor behind!

Eleanor H. Lloyd

FROM TOKYO, ON A 'UN SECOND ASSEMBLY'

I found much interest in the article "For a United Nations Second Assembly: Summary of a proposal" (Dossier 64). But the proposal was for a Subsidiary Organ based upon Article 22 of the UN Charter. It is not the second assembly in its true sense. The real second assembly must be based upon Art.108 which lays down the rule of amendment of the Charter. As I have such a proposal for a real second assembly as the President of the of the Peoples' Congress (15 rue Victor Duruy, 75015 Paris), I wish to draw your attention to it. I hope you will make direct contact with the Peoples' Congress itself.

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

LOCAL SPACE


5. ISIS, Rural Women in Latin America: Experiences from Ecuador, Peru and Chile (ISIS, 1987) 122pp. Living testimonies of actual people, speaking about their experiences as women and as workers. Often the accounts are horrendous; sometimes they are uplifting, but always they are deeply enlightening. (Casilla 2067, Correo Central, Santiago, Chile).

6. Amartya Sen, Gender and Cooperative Conflicts, 58pp. and Nanak Kakwani, Is Sex Bias Significant? 24pp. (WIDER working papers No18 & 9, address at p.89 below).

7. Women Workers: Protection or Equality? (Geneva: ILO, 1987) 267pp. An unprecedented reference source on all aspects of protective measures for women workers. In one volume, the legislation of 140 countries is summarised, the rationale for keeping or rejecting protective measures explained and their significance in the light of equal employment opportunity discussed. Four parts: Introduction: a summary of national legislation, international standards and the main arguments in the debate. Fact Sheets: a presentation of the principal legislation applicable to women focusing on prohibition of night work, organisation of working time, special facilities for women, and limitations and prohibitions on women's employment in certain kinds of work. Debate: the view of government institutions, employers' organisations, trade unions and other groups. Describes recent changes in legislation. International standards: standards on the protection of women and equality of opportunity and treatment in employment. Focuses on ILO standards. Also includes instruments of the UN and regional bodies.
Alfonso Azócar A. y Luciano Martínez V., *Comunidades del maíz y comunidades de la papa* (Quito: CIRE, 1987) 52pp. Este trabajo es un esfuerzo por hacer “fotografía social”. Hasta ahora, el mundo de las comunidades indígenas ha sido visto con la óptica del turista o del tranquilizante folclor en imágenes de adorno para mostrar la parte más vendible de nuestro subdesarrollo. Sin embargo, las comunidades indígenas son una parte importante de nuestra historia, de nuestra pasado y presente. Hacia el futuro, ellas despiertan todos su potencialidad a pesar de la subordinación económica y cultural en que se encuentran. Se han escogido áreas representativas de dos tipos de situaciones socio-económicas y culturales diferentes: una de corte tradicional ubicada en Cotacachi en la provincia de Imbabura y otra más cerca al prototipo de campesina moderno, ubicada en Toacazo, en la provincia de Cotopaxi. Dos situaciones que constituyen una muestra de la gran diversidad del campesino serrano, de la complejidad de sus problemas, de la riqueza de su cultura y tradiciones. Las fotos hablan por sí solas y superan en profundidad al texto, que más que un análisis socio-económico, pretende ser una guía para la comprensión de los problemas campesinos. (Apdo 324-A, Quito, Ecuador).

Nelson Manrique, *Yawar Mayu, Sociedades terratenientes serranas 1879-1912* (Lima: DESCQ, 1987) 201pp. Desde la conquista, la historia del Perú ha estado atravesada por el sordo enfrentamiento entre indios y blancos. Pero es en las sociedades terratenientes serranas donde este conflicto alcanza su mayor dimensión. *Yawar Mayu* explora este enfrentamiento en el terreno político, en su doble expresión de conflicto étnico y clasista, siguiendo el derrotero de las complejas relaciones entre indios-campesinos y blancos-terrenos en el período de crisis abierto por la guerra con Chile (1879-1884) y que se prolongó hasta los inicios del siglo XX. (Av. Salaverry 1945, Lima 14, Perú).


Emiliano Ortega, *Transformaciones agrarias y campesinado: de la participación a la exclusión* (Santiago: CIEPLAN, 1987) 235pp. Este libro aborda la complejidad del problema agrario chileno desde la pre-reforma y pasa revista a las dimensiones económicas, políticas, sociales y culturales de un proceso dramático de transformaciones globales. Examina en profundidad el escenario previo a la Reforma Agraria de los años 60, de cuenta de la lógica que guió el conflictivo proceso de cambios en los períodos de Frei y Allende, y analizada en todas sus aristas el desenlace de la contra-reforma impulsada desde el gobierno en estos años del autoritarismo. El el curso de esas profundas transformaciones estructurales, el campesinado, originariamente sometido por las estructuras del orden hacendal, vuelve la exaltación provisoria a una condición de ‘sujeto del cambio’ para terminar después siendo un objeto de exclusión. (Casilla 16496, Santiago 9, Chile).

Mengistu Woube, *Problems of Land Reform Implementation in Rural Ethiopia: A case study of Oajan and Wolmera Districts* (Uppsala University, 1986) 174pp. Land reform was introduced in Ethiopia in 1975. This study is based on field work (1981, 1983 and 1984) in two districts which are representative of the two major types of land tenure systems, communal and private, found in Ethiopia before the new reform. The rural institutions, in particular the Peasant Associations, and the Agricultural Service and Producer Co-operatives, are described and analysed. A comparison of pre- and post-reform agrarian structure in the two districts is carried out, and an attempt is made to assess the impact of land reform (and related political and social development) in terms of the distribution of land and agricultural production. Land reform has indeed resulted in a more equitable distribution of land by eliminating landlordism and landlessness. The limited area of arable land available, relative to the population, and the fragmentation of farm land remain, however, as major obstacles, as does the lack of essential inputs. Grain production in the two districts has not kept pace with population growth, and traditional farming methods have changed little. It is suggested that co-operative forms of agricultural production and the introduction of intermediate technology are needed. (Box 554, 751 22 Uppsala, Sweden).
ANCOC, Rural Poverty Alleviation: Issues and strategies from an Asian NGO perspective (Makati: 1987) 35pp. Drawing from various data and perspectives by rural development NGOs, this report aims to highlight some breakthroughs, limitations and innovations of recent strategies in Asia. It also echoes what is increasingly being recognized in official development circles: the expanding scope and role of non-governmental organizations in the area of agrarian reform and rural development. This study is a product of a cooperative effort among Asian personalities and institutions. The sections on rural poverty and agrarian reform cover Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand. The section on NGO responses and strategies was sourced largely from the NGO country reports prepared by ANCOC's Network partners for a regional workshop held in March 1987 in the Philippines. (47 Matricno Building, 2178 Pasong Tamo Street, Makati, Metro Manila, 3117 Philippines).


De la pratique communautaire à la gestion coopérative réelle: Rapport d'étude (juin 1987), 76pp. (Union des fédérations des groupements NAAM, BP 100, Ouahigouya, Burkina Faso & FOCSIV).

Sergio Gómez, Organizaciones empresariales rurales: Los casos de Brasil y de Chile (FLACSO, 1987) 46pp. (dirección, vease pag.89).

From the Community Technical Aid Centre, helping local people improve their environment, a wealth of data sheets on 13 'enabling initiatives', 25 'project initiatives' and 2 'funding programmes' principally in the UK. Includes facts on such activities as the Community Technical Aid Centre, Manchester; a Directory of Social Change; the Trust for Urban Ecology; the Paxton Court Housing Co-operative, Sheffield; Renovation of Communal Areas of Multi-storey Flats, Keighley, W.Yorks; the Better Belfast Project; UK2000; The Architectural Heritage Fund; (1st fl, 11 Bloom St., Manchester M1 3HS, UK).


Eduardo P. Castanho F. y Luís Fernando C.A. Feijó (Coord.), Política setorial de recursos naturais para o estado de São Paulo, 131pp. (Secretaria do Meio Ambiente, Av. Miguel Stéfano 3900, 04301 São Paulo, SP, Brasil).


Susan Hanson (ed), The Geography of Urban Transportation (New York: Guilford Press, 1986) 424pp. The year of the suburban housewife and mother includes 400 hours of driving from home to school to supermarket to school to supermarket to home. It's 64 hours longer than a two-week vacation. This book lays out both theoretical and practical concerns and shows how social scientists and planners have gone about analyzing these problems. After three introductory chapters that describe the urban transportation context, the role of transportation in urban form and the urban transportation planning process, respectively, six chapters are devoted to outlining analytical approaches to transportation problems. The problem orientation of the book comes to the fore in the third section, in which each chapter spotlights a particular transportation-related policy concern: public transportation, land use impacts, energy issues, social and environmental impacts, substituting communications for travel and finally an overview of policy options. (200 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10003, USA).


Bart van der Bijl, Dialectica y educación (CEDEC, 1987) 84pp. (Casilla 906-A, Quito, Ecuador).

Martha Cajías y Lidia Girón, Manual de plantas y preparados medicinales (SEMTA, 1987) 146pp. (Casilla 20410, La Paz, Bolivia).

Bertha Turner (ed), Building Community: A Third World Case Book (1988) Based on the Habitat International Coalition NGO Project, this book contains a wealth of experience in its 192 pages and 244 illustrations. Major breakthroughs in housing are being made today by the Third World poor: unable to afford market prices, they build their own communities. Between half and three-quarters of all new homes in most Third World cities are built by low-income people. With access to available resources and freedom to use them in their own ways, people and their community organizations build up to five times more than their governments with the same funds, and to similar or better standards. How can such poor people build so much with so little? What are the keys to success? What lessons do they teach for building fulfilling and sustainable societies in rich and poor countries alike? Building Community addresses these questions with authority. Selected from over 300 cases, the 20 presented in this book highlight both potentials and problems, showing what can and must be done in rich countries as well, where so many people are discovering and reclaiming their forgotten need and capacity for community building. This book shows how people can win their rights to resources for housing and the freedom to act for themselves; how governments can enable people by supporting local initiatives; and how the essential changes of understanding can come about. Introduction and conclusion by John F.C. Turner, Co-ordinator of the Habitat International Coalition NGO Project (Mail orders: POB 28, Dumfries, Scotland DG2 0NS).£9.75 (South), £13.50 (North).

Jacques Attali, Au propre et au figuré: Une histoire de la propriété (Paris: Fayard, 1987) 533pp. Ce qui change le moins chez l'homme, ce sont les questions qu'il se pose sur lui-même. À toutes les époques, sous toutes les latitudes, dans toutes les sociétés, il a éprouvé les mêmes angoisses, nourri les mêmes doutes, formulé les mêmes interrogations sur
son identité, sur le sens de sa vie, de la douleur et de la mort, sur les meilleurs moyens d'être, d'avoir, de durer, de transmettre. Ainsi en est-il de la propriété. De tout temps, on s'est demandé quelle était la meilleure façon de l'organiser, la plus juste, la plus libre. On a cru parfois le savoir. Il m'a semblé découvrir qu'il y avait, derrière chacune des conceptions de la propriété qui se sont succédées et entre-choquées depuis des millénaires, comme un signal toujours présent, comme une obsession incontournable que je résumerai ainsi: ce que cache la propriété, c'est la peur de la mort.

NATIONAL SPACE


Chile: Seis estudios de FLACSO para entender mejor la realidad del país en un año decisivo: Manuel Antonio Carretón M., Panorama del miedo en los regímenes militares: Un esquema general, 28pp; Reconstrucción y democracia: La doble problemática del sistema polí tico chileno, 55pp; José Joaquín Brunner y Carlos Catalán, Industria y mercado culturales en Chile: Descripción y cuantificaciones, 61pp.; Educación superior en Chile: Entre el Estado, el mercado y los intereses académicos, 37pp; Leopoldo Benavides, La historia oral en Chile, 14pp; Fernando Bustamante, La Antártida y el pensamiento geopolítico de las fuerzas armadas chilenas, 36pp. (Dirección: vease pag.89).


marges de manœuvres du Nicaragua et de ses voisins et ouvre un débat sur les apports possibles de l'Europe des partis, des gouvernements, des Églises, des syndicats, des groupes constitués, des comités de solidarité à la recherche de solutions alternatives pour le rétablissement d'une paix durable en Amérique centrale. (37 quai Wilson, 1202 Genève, Suisse).

S. Barralough et al., Aid That Counts: The Western Contribution to Development and Survival in Nicaragua (Amsterdam: TIN & Managua: CRIES, 1988) 157pp. "Nicaragua, rather than having been a 'Soviet dependency' as the Reagan administration would have it, has made effective use of substantial amounts of Western development aid. This broad and well-documented study presents a convincing case for continued Western aid to Nicaragua and gives concrete recommendations for improving the allocation of this aid. An authoritative analysis of the Nicaraguan development experience, it offers new insights into increasing the usefulness of aid to all developing countries", writes Jan Pronk of this report. (Paulus Potterstraat 20, 1071 AD Amsterdam, Netherlands/Departamento postal 3516, Managua, Nicaragua).


H. Campodonico (ed), Situación y perspectivas de la minería del cobre (Lima: DESCO, 1988) 236pp. La crisis minera internacional obliga a un replanteamiento global de las estrategias de desarrollo para nuestros países. En efecto, los estudios más recientes indican que la disminución de la demanda en los países industrializados tiene causas estructurales que modificarán de manera permanente el comportamiento de los mercados mundiales. Es por ello que considerado de vital importancia analizar las tendencias y perspectivas del mercado mundial del cobre para poder determinar con claridad qué alternativas de política permitirán enfrentar exitosamente esta situación. (Salaverry 1945, Lima 14, Peru).

Suriname: An International Alert Report (1987) 38pp. In October 1987 a new Constitution was adopted by popular vote, providing the basis for a return to democratic government. In November 1987, a Parliament was elected, and shortly thereafter, in January 1988, a civilian President. Problems involving the army however still remain. In December 1987, more than a month after the general elections, there were reports that the National Army killed six unarmed civilians. This incident was taken up by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on summary and arbitrary executions. International Alert welcomes the democratic openings in Suriname, but feels that there are many reasons for continued international attention being paid to Suriname. (29 Craven Street, London WC2N 5NT, UK).


G. Skorov, Economic Reform in the USSR (1987) 19pp. (a WIDER working paper; address at p.89 below).

Le Centre de documentation Tiers Monde (20, rue Rochechouart, 75009 Paris, France) publie d'utilis dossiers de presse. Parmi les plus récents: Thaïlande, Chine, Togo, Algérie, Népal.

GLOBAL SPACE

culture represents the patterning of how we share a common space, common resources, and common opportunities while managing interdependence in that 'company of strangers' which constitutes The Public. It has to do with the interactions that create the sense of common public interest". In this book, Boulding explores ways in which a successful worldwide civic culture can be achieved, stressing the need to stay rooted in our communities and traditions while cooperating with and respecting those lives follow other patterns. The first part of the book deals with where we are now, setting a context within history and our current social systems for building a better future. The second part deals with developing the craft and skills that provide for a peaceful interdependent world. Boulding discusses the problem of knowing, of being conscious of our assumed values and those of others, and she explores problem solving and conflict resolution across cultural and national barriers. (1234 Amsterdam Ave, New York, NY 10027, USA).

Willis Harman, Global Mind Change: The Promise of the Last Years of the Twentieth Century (Indianapolis: Knowledge Systems, 1988) 185pp. "If the world that science tells us about is reality, how does it happen that we don't feel more at home in it?" That is the question asked by Willis Harman in his new book. Harman not only predicts a "global mind change", but claims "...the factors and forces to bring about its realization are already set in motion". He explores the hypothesis that a change is taking place at the most fundamental level of Western industrial society. A basic mind change is altering the way we interpret science, our respect for human intuition and creativity, our concepts of health care and education, and how we conduct business and finance. Moreover, Harman says we are in the process of "delegitimizing war and causing a total rethinking of the means of achieving national and global security." Indeed, we may discover that "...the only limits to the human mind are those we believe in". (7777 West Morris Street, Indianapolis, IN 46231, USA) Price $16.95

Antonio Papisca, Democrazia internazionale, via di pace: Per un nuovo ordine internazionale democratico (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1986) 179pp. Est-il possible de remplacer la logique du Prince par celle de Citoyen dans les relations internationales, demande l'auteur, qui note l'émergence de nouveaux acteurs, moyens, occasions pour mettre en marche une révolution internationale non-violente. Partant de l'hypothèse que l'humanisation des rapports internationaux implique, en termes politiques, la démocratisation des institutions, l'auteur explore les chemins sur lesquels les nouveaux acteurs - les groupes de citoyens - peuvent avancer pour à la fois transformer de l'intérieur les institutions actuelles, à commencer par l'ONU, et faire surgir un 'Constituante' autonome pour un nouvel ordre démocratique internationaliste. Antonio Papisca, directeur du Centre des droits de l'homme et des peuples à l'Université de Padoue (Italie) dirige également une riche revue, Pace, diritti dell'uomo, diritti del popoli dont le N°2-1987 offre un article de Marco Maccia sur les organisations internationales non gouvernementales comme nouveau sujet des relations internationales (Via del Santo 28, 35123 Padova, Italie).

Jeanette P. Haas and Robert A.C. Stewart (eds), Toward a World of Peace: People Create Alternatives, Proceedings of The First International Conference on Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies. How can we as human beings take charge of our survival? Representing 28 nations, several hundred concerned people from international bodies, government and private organizations, universities, research institutions or as individual citizens addressed, through dialogue and exchange of perspectives, the theme People Create Alternatives at the first International Conference on Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies. Hosted by the University of the South Pacific (USP), the regional university for 11 tropical island nations covering together an area three times that of Europe and where they are some 300 different language groups. This book illustrates how the contributions of many perspectives and fields of study can aid in the search for a clearer definition of the problems that face us, and their possible solutions. The book's goal is to empower and enlarge the
vision of those who are working toward human survival. (University of the South Pacific, 1986). 601pp. (POB 1168, Suva, Fiji).


. Essais sur le concept de "Droit de Vivre" - en mémoire de Yougindra Khushalani (Bruxelles: Émile Bruylant, 1988) 321pp. Le concept de "droit de vivre", tel qu'envisagé par le juriste indienne Yougindra Khushalani dans une perspective globalisante et évolutrice, favorable à de meilleures conditions de vie pour tous, est étudié ici par des auteurs de toutes les régions du monde. Trois articles examinent le concept de "droit de vivre", cinq conceptions évolutives éclairent la notion de "droit de vivre", huit problèmes d'application sont envisagés en relations avec le concept de "droit de vivre" et finalement quatre essais abordent la question de la responsabilité des États pour la protection du "droit de vivre". (Rue de la Régence 67, 1000 Bruxelles, Belgique).


. Mikio Tajima (ed) Peace Through Economic Justice: Essays in memory of Manuel Pérez-Guerrero (Geneva, 1988) 131pp. This is not only a tribute to our friend PC but also a valuable 'manual' on the history of international relations since the founding of the UN. Nessim Shallon presents the early PC, Francisco Parra the pioneer of OPEC, Raúl Prebisch, Camani Corea and Ken Dadzie the UNCTAD Secretary-General; Idriss Jazairy, Farooq Sobhan, Roberto Savio and Soburo Okita join with two of PC's Venezuelan disciples, Enrique ter Horst and Frank Bracho in a volume affectionately edited by Mikio Tajima (c/o UNCTAD, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland).


Asia Labour Monitor, Corporate Activity Catalogue 1986. This second edition is intended to give an indication of the foreign corporate activity in Asia as reported during 1986. As well as direct investment, the list of transactions includes equipment supply and installation, trade deals, subcontracts, engineering projects, technology transfer, licensing and franchising. For the 1986 list, we have also included more information on labour and legal disputes to further complete the picture of foreign corporate activity in the region. (444 Nathan Rd B-B, Kowloon, Hongkong).

Robert Richter, Hungry for Profit. (85 minutes, color, 16mm or video cassette). No other documentary conveys better the global role of agribusiness and the importance of "food first" to the hungry. (Richter Prod., 330 West 42nd Str, New York, NY 10036).


Brian M. Pollins, International Power and Unequal Exchange: A Model-Based Exploration of the North-South Terms of Trade Controversy (Mershon Centre Quarterly Report, 1988) 11pp. (Ohio State University, 199 West 10th Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43201, USA).


Francesco Ceraci, Reform of the Monetary System and International Payments, 22pp. (Istituto per il Rinnovamento Economico, Via Firenze 31, 00184 Rome, Italy).


change and environmental changes, just as previous editions have profiled the insupportable costs of nuclear power. Simply put, the question becomes: if not coal, and if not nuclear, then what? The authors sketch the vast promise that lies in improved energy efficiency and renewable power sources, and recommend policies to unleash this potential. Other chapters challenge leaders to reforest the earth, avoid mass extinction of species, redesign farming and industry to curtail toxic chemicals, renew the global commitment to family planning, and halt the costly and ill-conceived Strategic Defense Initiative. As never before, human prospects depend on such efforts to restore and manage the natural systems that underpin the global economy. (Worldwatch Inst., 1776 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington DC 20036, USA).


. David Dembo, Clarence J. Dias, Ayesha Kadwani and Ward Morehouse (eds), Nothing to Lose But Our Lives: Empowerment to Oppose Industrial Hazards (Hong Kong: ARENA, 1987) 207pp. The book explores the causes and consequences of three industrial disasters - Chernobyl (Soviet Union), Basle (Switzerland), Bhopal (India). The existing systems for dealing with such events at national and international levels are examined and critiqued and alternative methods for coping with transnational industrial disasters are discussed. It also looks at the hazards faced by workers in such industries and proposes a bill of rights to enable them to protect themselves and surrounding communities from the hazards. The book is also a very good documentation resource on UN and World Bank standards on hazards. (Ah, B-B1k, 2/F, Hung Hom Bay Centre, Hung Hom, Kowloon, Hong Kong).


. C.G. Weeramantry, Nuclear Weapons and Scientific Responsibility (Wolfeboro: Longwood Publishing Group, 1987) 227pp. From the Russell-Einstein manifesto to the recent worldwide pledge by 12,000 scientists not to accept Star Wars research funds, the driving force behind scientific reluctance to participate in nuclear weapons production and research has come from moral considerations. In this pioneering work, the author takes the case against scientific participation into another dimension - the legal. Drawing on sources ranging from the ancient legal systems to the Nuremberg trials, the author formulates a compelling thesis that deliberate participation by scientists in the nuclear weapons enterprise constitutes, under international law, a crime against humanity. Both supporters and opponents of nuclear weaponry need to know these arguments; whether one agrees or disagrees, one cannot ignore them. As Richard Falk puts it: "It is a bold, imaginative, forceful and persuasive analysis that could provide the basis for normative debate on the whole relationship between citizen and society in the setting of nuclearism." (27 S. Main Street, Wolfeboro, NH 03894-2069).
Publishers' addresses

. FLACSO, Casilla 3213 Correo Central, Santiago, Chile
. FOCISIV, Via Stradella 10, 20129 Milano, Italia
. WIDER (World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations University), Annankatu 42 C, 00100 Helsinki 10, Finland

PERIODICALS

(the addresses of the 118 periodicals mentioned below appear in alphabetical order, at the end of this section)

CHANGE: The Utne Reader was already an indispensable source for whoever wants to know and understand what is happening in the US civil society, but N°26 is truly exceptional, covering as it does 'Changing the world - Will the 90s be a new era of social activism?'. 'We are increasingly convinced, writes Eric Utne in his editorial, that America is about to explode with a new burst of social and political activism (...) We suspect, however, that the strategies for change in the 90s will be very different from those of the last several decades'. This assessment is based on a wealth of materials featuring excerpts from many publications, articles written especially for this issue as well as 'tales of 12 activists'. New Options (N°47) reports on the February Soviet-American Citizens' Summit. Alternatives non violentes (N°67) présente les mouvements indépendants pour la paix et l'éologie en Tchécoslovaquie, Hongrie, RDA, Pologne et Yougoslavie. Kalibi, témoignage d'Africans résidant en Suisse, compare 'la vie publique de Gandhi et celle de Lumumba' (N°4/1).

MUJERES * WOMEN: En La Escoba (Año 11, N°6), 'devolverle al poder su rostro femínino'. En Pueblo Abierto (Año 1, N°5), 'Lo humano no cuenta en las zonas francas' en la República Dominicana. The Ahfad Journal, Women and change (Vol 4, N°2) published by the Ahfad University for Women in Omdurman, Sudan, discusses, among others, 'Some aspects of discrimination between boys and girls in Sudanese elementary schools curriculum'. In Idoc (B7/5), 'women and labour' with cases from India, Mexico, USSR, South Africa, Europe, etc. The Kanagama, the bimonthly of the Prefectural Government in Yokohama, Japan, whose Governor believes in and practices 'people to people diplomacy', reports (Vol 34, N°5) on the Kanagama International Forum on the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless from the perspective of women and Asia.

CONSUMERS SELF-DEFENSE: The I OCD Newsletter (N°171) describes a significant step towards consumers' protection against hazardous products and processes: the FAO decision to include the principle of 'prior informed consent' in the International Code of conduct on the distribution and use of pesticides. Human Rights Forum (Oct-Dec 87) brings news on 'Indian citizens close down polluting factory'. BEUC Actualités/News, the monthly bulletin of the Bureau européen des unions de consommateurs (N°72) offers a dossier on 'term insurance in Europe'.


GRASSROOTS: In Novos Estudos CEBRAP (N°20), Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso examines the ambiguities of participation: the relations between social movements and governmental agencies.
IRED Forum (N°26) offers as usual news from the IRED network, a forum for other networks as well as 'technologies, tools and methods for action'. ADA/FYI (Vol 2, N°3) of Jamaica's Association of Development Agencies calls attention to the situation in Hannah Town where an 'urban upgrading project' seems to threaten the very existence of the community. Ghana's Search, a publication of the Centre for the development of people (Vol 2, N°1) reappears after a long silence and through 'solar water pumping research' comments about people and technologies. Dans Peuples en marche (N°27), 'De nouvelles dynamiques: le développement par l'initiative locale'.

CULTURES: Interculture, exploring the frontiers of cross-cultural understanding, publishes several papers by Dominique Temple (cf. IFDA Dossier 60, pp 39-52 & 64, p 76) with an introduction by Robert Vachon. Razvoj Development (Vol II, N°2) has a section on 'culture and development' with articles by Manmohan Singh, Mostefa Boutefnoucet, Max Mnusa and Biserka Cveticanin. In Alternatives (Vol XIII, N°2), 'The politics of secularism and the recovery of religious tolerance' by Ashis Nandy and 'Gandhi's concept of Ahimsa' by Bikhru Parekh. The Third World Quarterly (Vol 10, N°2) is a book-size issue (600 pages) on 'Islam & politics'. In Islamic Order (Vol 10, N°1), 'Economics of education as a case study for the Islamisation of knowledge' by Sohair Ahmed Ibrahim. Te whanau a matoriki is published by a group of Maori and other Pacific indigenous people working for a nuclear-free and independent Pacific. Parting Company is the newsletter of people against RTZ [Rio Tinto Zinc] and subsidiaries. En Winay Marka (N°5), oficina de apoyo al movimiento indio, primera parte del trabajo de Dominique Temple 'Que es el economicidio?'. The One Sky Report (March 88) is devoted to 'Ethnic autonomy in Nicaragua'.


ENVIRONMENT: The Elmwood Newsletter appears on solstices and equinoxes. The 1988 Winter-Solstice issue features 'Ecofeminism: our roots and flowering' by Charlene Spretnak and the 1987 Summer Solstice one 'Foundations for a global network' by Gerald Mische. Future Survey (Vol 10, N°3) provides book reviews on environment and natural resources. Dans Futuribles (N°119), Serge Antoine examine 'patrimoine et perspective: le cas de la France' tandis qu'ignacy Sachs et Brice Lalonde commentent le rapport Brundtland. En Ambiente y Desarrollo (Vol III, N°12), 'Sao Paulo: Los problemas ambientales de metropolización y su control' por Jorge Wilhelm, 'Ambiente, estrategias de desarrollo y crisis internacional' por Oswaldo Sunkel et 'El ambiente en los grandes proyectos: experiencias de 15 años y perspectivas para el futuro' por Pablo Cutman. WWF News (N°52) reports on plans to tame Europe's last wild river, the beautiful Loire. Dans Spore, un dossier 'Mieux collecter l'eau pour récolter plus'. 'Transnuclear nightmare' in Eco news (N°28), the journal of Britain's Green party. 'Chernobyl, two years later' in Wise (N°290), Unesco's Impact of Science on Society (N°148) examines 'new and renewable sources of energy'. Les Echo du Cota (1988-1) presente 'l'énergie solaire appliquée au machinisme agricole' et Silence (N°104) l'expérience européenne en matière de maisons photovoltaïques. A favor de una auténtica ciencia campesina, Minka (N°22) presenta 'granos andinos' y urge la acción de comunidades y organizaciones campesinas para enfrentar la pobreza alimentaria. En Colombia Amazonica (Vol 2, N°2), 'Estudio de un sistema agrícola tradicional en Araracuara'. Habitat, boletín del Grupo ambiental Habitat, presenta las perspectivas del uso de control biológico de insectos en la República Dominicana. Les Annales de l'ENIT (Vol 2, N°1) examinent 'dynamique solienne et télédétection des états de surface des sols du Sud tuni-
sien'. In Appropriate Technology (Vol 14, No4), 'Arid lands development: looking for alternatives'. Soil Remineralization, a network newsletter (Vol 11, No8) describes 'the Gaia initiative: Soil remineralization'. Siba Newsletter (March 88) features 'High risk research threatens Philippine rice industry'. Environia (Vol 2, No1) discusses 'biodiversity - an emerging issue in Indonesia'.

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGIES: 'The role of science and technology in development' is the theme of Development and South-South Cooperation (Vol 3, No5) with articles by Abdus Salam, Albert Saxon, Chakraverty Raghavan and Ashok Parthasarathi, among others. Nueve ensayos sobre ciencia y tecnologia en Comercio Exterior (Vol 37, No12). Dans la Revue internationale des sciences sociales (No115), 'La science cognitive - education, langage, intelligence artificielle, neurosciences'.

HEALTH * SANTE * HABITAT: 'The traditional-modern controversy' in Health for the millions (Vol XIII, No56). 'Smoking in the Third World' in the PMC Newsletter (Vol 1, No3). HAI News (No39) praises the 'spirit of Penang' in reporting on the first HAI meeting to take place in the South; it features, inter alia, Surendra Patel's keynote address, 'Towards a new international pharmaceutical order'. Sexualité et contraception, dans Famille & Développement (No47-48): méthodes naturelles, méthodes modernes, méthodes traditionnelles. Dans Santé familiale & communication, bulletin de l'URNA à l'usage des radiodiffusions africaines, 'les maladies sexuellement transmissibles'. Riche No XII de La Revue de l'économie sociale sur l'habitat social, thème également de la Lettre de l'économie sociale (No351).

COMMUNICATIONS: 'Questionnaire for the New York Times on its Central America coverage' and 'Spotlight on Gaza and the West bank' in Extra!, the newsletter of FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting). En Dialogos de la comunicación, revista teorica de la Federación latinoamericana de asociaciones de facultades de comunicación social (FELAFACS) (No19), 'Radios y publicos populares' por Maria Cristina Mata.

PEACE * PAIX: 'Let's save our children from TV violence lest we want to make gringos out of them' in Timbangan, journal of the Philippines' church-based consumers movement (Vol VI, No3. Dans K comme King, organ du Centre Martin Luther King pour l'action non-violente, un rapport sur les objecteurs de conscience en Suisse. 'Preparation for life in peace: future perspectives' by Bogdan Sucholdolski in Peace Progress, Journal of the International Association of Educators for World Peace. 'La sécurité internationale et l'espace extra-atmosphérique' dans Désarmement (Vol X, No2). 'The best war money can buy' in Multinational Monitor (Feb 88), including 'The economics of conversion', an interview with Seymour Hilleman. 'Covert operations: can they be justified' in World Connections (March 88). 'Estados Unidos frente a Nicaragua (1981-1987) en Politica internacional (No9).


SOUTH-SOUTH: The Journal of Economic Cooperation among Islamic Countries (Vol 8, No2) discusses 'joint ventures and joint investment companies'. In the Marga Quarterly Journal (Vol 9, No1), a comment on the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SARC) by
Pakistan's Finance Minister, M.M.Yasin Khan Wattoo. Dans Le Cahier de l'IPRI (N°1), le président de l'institut Panafncien de relations internationales, Edem Kodjo, examine 'le rôle géopolitique de l'Afrique d'ici à l'horizon 2000'. En Opciones (N°12), 'América latina y la Antártida: posibilidades de cooperación intralatinoamericana'.

NORTH-SOUTH: In Food First News (Vol 10, N°32), 'US Foreign aid: help that hurts'. The Network (N°6) reproduces the London-based Third World information Network's 'statement of principles for developing trade and technology exchange'. Le Sud est aussi dans le Nord: Tercio Mondo, une revue italienne trimestrielle d'études et de documentation sur le tiers monde examine 'le Tiers Monde en Italie' avec, notamment, un article de son directeur, Umberto Melotti, sur l'immigration du Tiers Monde en Italie: causes, tendances, caractéristiques.


PALESTINE: Un numéro essentiel de la Revue d'études palestiniennes (N°27): 'Soulèvement général: la révolte des pierres' avec, notamment, une interview de Bruno Kreisky qui dit clairement que les 'travaillistes' israéliens n'ont plus leur place au sein de l'Internationale socialiste, et cinq études sur le soulèvement des jeunes palestiniens, notamment 'David, Collath et Cullver: les Israéliens face à l'évidence palestinienne', par Simone Bilton. 'Non-violence in Palestin' dans Silence (N°102) et 'Genèse d'un conflit', un dossier dans le Bulletin CRIDEV (N°74). Peace News (N°2307) comments the February attempt by the PLO to sail an unarmed ship of refugees back to Palestine, 'only the most dramatic example of their use of non-violent tactics'. In Mulheres (Vol VIII, N°38), Cisjordania and Gaza, 'A terror occupation' (in portuguese).


AMERICA LATINA: 'Si J.U. gana el 90...[Peru], en Que hacer (N°51). 'Gas: Argentina y Bolivia, economia de pobres' en Informe R (N°144). 'Coca erradication: real possibility or fantasy' in the Bolivia Bulletin (Vol 4, N°1). 'Brazil in profile' in International Labour Reports.

ASIA: 'Income distribution in East Asian developing countries' in Asian-Pacific Economic Literature (Vol 2, N°1). From FRC, a voluminous and informative Indian Rundbrief (5+6/87 & 1/88). World Development (Vol 16, N°1) focusses on 'Korea: Transition to maturity'. The struggle goes on against repression in Malaysia, shows Aftan (Vol 7:11) which carries an interview with its president, Chandra Muzaffar, who was for 52 days in detention. Kasarinlan (Vol 3, N°2) provides unique insights in the evolution of the Philippines.

EUROPE: Examinant 'de la dictature à la démocratie: expériences réussies?', Recherches internationales (N°26) consacre une longue étude au Portugal, la 'normalisation d'une ré-
volution'. Peace by Peace, the monthly newspaper of the [Irish] peace people (Vol 13, N°3) provides another image of Ireland which is welcome indeed.

TRANSITION: Two periodicals disappear, victims of adverse financial circumstances: CERES, whose founder, and editor until 1975, was IFDA fellow Andras Biro, and Global Perspective Quarterly - but work will continue at Jerry Barney's Global Studies Center, renamed the Institute for 21st Century Studies.

NEW PERIODICALS: African Woman will seek 'to fill a small part of the void in Africa print and development publishing by providing a forum for African women to speak to African women about issues that are important to them'. Datos para nuevas Premisas es el boletín bimestral del Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos de Panamá. En el primer numero, 'la conexión EEUU-drogas, ganancias de 200 mil millones para economía norteamericana'. Development Mirror, published by Diakona Sweden, is a magazine about evaluations - a way to pose the question 'what is development?'. Le Forum Océanien d'appui & développement, publie par l'Institut d'études sociales de Lyon, avec des études sur le Crédit Bank du Bangladesh, les banques populaires du Rwanda, etc. Moving Pictures Bulletin will answer such questions as 'what are the latest films from around the world dealing with development and environment issues, who is making them, how can they be ordered, which programmes are in production?'. Samudra Report is publie en trois éditions (anglaise, espagnole et française) par le Collectif international d'appui à la pêche artisanale (International Collective in Support of Fishworkers). Ven'd'est, le magazine acadien, n'est pas nouveau, mais avec son N°24, il a fait peau neuve et il traite, notamment, du patrimoine de l'Acadie - 'une manière d'être de tout un peuple'. WorldWatch is a quarterly publication of the Philippine Center for Research on International Affairs (PHILCRIA) whose interests extend far beyond Asia.

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- ADA/FYI, 17 Midan Aswan-Muhanessin, Giza, Egypt
- African Action, Box 3930, Bangkok 10501, Thailand
- African Women, London Women's Centre, 4 Wild Court, London WC2B 5AU, UK
- Asian Action, PO Box 4, Canberra ACT 2601, Australia
- BEUC Actualités/News, rue Royale 29, boîte 3, 1000 Bruxelles, Belgique
- Bolivia Bulletin, Casilla 20194, La Paz, Bolivia
- Bulletin CRIDEV, 47 avenue Janvier, 35000 Rennes, France
- Burak Liberation News, 1-6-12 Kuboyoshi, Nanfu-ku, Osaka City 556, Japan
- Case social, 15-112 Kuboyoshi, Nanfu-ku, Osaka City 556, Japan
- Center for Development, CIPHA, Casilla 16362, Santiago 9, Chile
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