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HOMENAJE A MANUEL PÉREZ GUERRERO

Reproducimos a continuación el texto de la presentación de Julio César Gil e Imelda Cisneros a La Justicia Económica en la Paz, Homenaje a Manuel Pérez Guerrero (Caracas: Banco Central de Venezuela, 1988) 166 pp + fotografías. Nuestro amigo y compañero PG, un fundador de IFDA, falleció el 24 de octubre de 1985. Los autores de esta presentación, Julio César Gil, quien se desempeñó actualmente como ministro de Energía y Minas, e Imelda Cisneros, actual directora de Consulta y Coordinación del SELA, estuvieron estrechamente asociados a la obra de Manuel Pérez Guerrero.

Esta compilación de testimonios y citas relativas a la obra de Manuel Pérez Guerrero, a quien alguien justificadamente llamó "un venezolano de excepción", tiene como propósito proyectar públicamente dicha obra, por las enseñanzas que encierra para nuestro país y el mundo. La nobleza y generosa ampliidad que animaron el quehacer de Pérez Guerrero, reflejados en una permanente e infatigable vocación de servicio público, con un mensaje de particular relevancia hoy cuando la serena risa que vivimos nos reclama la superación de extremos sectarismos en aras de las grandes exigencias que tenemos planteadas. Su visión para pensar en grande y estar inserto con frecuencia "adelantado a sus tiempos" con sus concepciones y propuestas para solucionar los problemas de Venezuela y la comunidad internacional, con una invitación a la creatividad e imaginación para enfrentar los tiempos difíciles que vivimos. Su capacidad de asertiva visión renovación, así como su bien conocida devoción a estimular la formación de una nueva generación de calificados servidores públicos, son un ejemplo para la honestidad y democratización de nuestro liderazgo político, en aras de los mejores intereses de la patria.

El Dr. Pérez Guerrero fue conocido ante todo como diplomático y internacionalista, pero con una visión amplia basada en un conocimiento y una activa participación en la vida pública venezolana. Con esa clara percepción del desarrollo de una diplomacia al servicio de los intereses del país sentó las bases de los que podría ser una nueva estrategia para muchos países del Tercer Mundo a partir de América Latina.

En la medida que se analiza la situación que confrontan los países en desarrollo, particularmente los países de la región, se encuentra que uno de los obstáculos al cual enfrentan los diferentes intentos de interpretar y encontrar soluciones a la crisis, residen en la dificultad de distinguir el impacto de los factores externos de la acción de los factores específicamente vinculados a lo interno. Esta dificultad es mayor porque la intensidad de los factores externos a los cuales han estado sometidas las economías de la región en los últimos años, ha conducido a recortar importancia a los obstáculos, desajustes y conflictos internos. Si privilegiar unilateralmente los factores externos se interpreta que la necesidad de buscar soluciones a la crisis se reduce a un pro-

(continuación, pag 54)

* cf. IFDA Dossier 51, p 104
FROM SOCIAL TO POLITICAL POWER

COLLECTIVE SELF-EMPOWERMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

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This paper is about the urban poor in Latin America. But to label people poor is the wrong way to frame the question. They are not so much poor as disempowered citizens of their own countries. The term citizen here has a double meaning. On one hand, it refers to the rights and duties of membership in a political community. Amongst the most important of these rights is voting; of the duties, paying taxes. On the other hand, citizenship can also be claimed in an economic community where rights to a decent livelihood are staked out. The second meaning of economic citizenship is not universally acknowledged. Like the vote, it is a right that has to be fought for.

The disempowered citizens of Latin America are the majority of the people. I recently visited five of the large cities in South America: Bogota, Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires and Sao Paulo. In the metropolitan areas of these cities, four of them national capitals, live approximately 40 million people. More than half of them belong to what in Spanish is called the sector popular. There is no precise equivalent of this term in English. Working class covers some but not all of the sector popular where unemployment, or irregular employment, is rampant. What unites them is their physical segregation in massive suburbs of poor people's housing far from work and out of sight of the middle and upper classes, and their incorporation into the economy at the very bottom of the scale.

Perhaps a third of the 20 million plus who belong to the popular sector live in absolute poverty: hunger is their steady companion. Of the first job-seekers, young men and women between the ages of 16 and 25, perhaps 40 percent are without regular incomes. Families of 5 or 6 members get by on $100 to $150 a month. And their numbers are rapidly increasing. Precise figures are not available, but it is almost certain that if total urban population is growing at an average of 3 percent, the popular classes are increasing at 5 percent. That would mean a doubling of population in fourteen years. By the end of the century, the urban poor in the five cities I visited will have grown to forty million, equivalent to the total population of these cities now.

There are several reasons for this difference in growth rates. Young people continue to migrate to cities from a countryside where they can no longer scrape a livelihood together - a countryside from which in many cases they are expelled by agribusiness and large-scale commercial
farming. And, being younger on average than the remaining population, they also have a higher rate of natural increase. Young people in the popular sector tend to marry ten years younger than middle class couples and consequently have more babies. A third reason for the extraordinary high doubling rate is downward mobility. What we are witnessing in Latin America is a process of gradual impoverishment. Industrial restructuring, as in Chile, leads to massive and permanent layoffs in formal-sector workers. The purchasing power of wages is decreasing, a result of hyperinflation, even as the wage itself is declining because of official income policies and the weakening power of labor unions. In many countries, real wages have slipped back to what they were twenty years ago. Income distribution in Latin America, not to speak of the distribution of wealth, has of course always been uneven. But in the last two decades, such limited evidence as we have suggest that the spread between rich and poor has become even greater. The top ten percent of households receive between 40 and 60 percent of all income. At the bottom, where the majority live, income shares have shrunk to 5 percent for the 40 percent of the poorest households.

None of these figures is very precise, and there are important differences in the incidence of poverty among countries and even among cities. But the contours of the social disaster which is Latin America today are there for all to see. What is less clear is how this disaster might be mitigated. Only this much is certain: you cannot escape the pressing needs of day-by-day survival if you are unlucky enough to be among the 'urban poor'.

What I should like to do in the next few pages is to introduce a few concepts that I believe may be helpful in understanding people's struggle for survival. Being clear about concepts is important in two ways. First, because private organizations trying to help the poor secure a livelihood in the city need to have a better theoretical grasp of what is happening, so that their praxis (which is action grounded in knowledge) may be improved. And second, because we need a language that allows us to talk about new social policies by national governments whose energies are now almost certainly absorbed by the difficult problems of debt-restructuring, but which need to face the social realities that are accumulating in large cities.

Political and economic citizenship are linked, and the future of democracy in Latin America depends in part on whether economic rights can be secured for the majority. But even the violent abolition of political citizenship, an ever-present threat in Latin America, would not be an effective answer to the massive impoverishment to which we are witness. I shall argue instead that it is precisely the active participation of disempowered people in the processes of their own empowerment, which is an exercise of their fundamental political rights, is also the surest way, for them as well as for us, to recover a sense of hope in the future.

The household economy and strategies for survival

When talking about survival and livelihood, especially in a Latin American cultural context, we must take the household as the smallest unit of analysis. Households, of course, are composed of individuals
who share a roof and eat, to speak, out of the same pot, but their separate livelihoods are intertwined to such an extent that one can treat each household as a separate decision-making unit. Not all households are families in the traditional sense; what is important is the extent of personal interaction in what we may call the production of life.

As with all social inputs, there is a certain arbitrariness about where we place its limits. Extended families may be to certain extent interdependent even when they are composed of several households. And the internal governance of households—their modes of arriving at decisions about the use of resources, for example—will vary. Typically, Latin American households have a male head, though the number of female-headed households is large and perhaps growing. One can also think of them as constituting the smallest political community. Like political communities, households are characterized by relations of power which are heavily influenced, in turn, by the access of adult household members to the outside world, such as having a job or running a small business. The job or business can be turned into a power base in the struggle for household domination. This becomes especially apparent when women, whose usual occupation is at home, begin to enter the labor market, earning a little money of their own. Financial independence is not usually appreciated by their menfolk, though increasingly it is the only way that households can meet critical needs. Broken homes are sometimes the result.

The household economy participates in five spheres of potential action. The relative weight attached to these in the way household resources are allocated among them will vary a good deal. The allocation of the time and skills of each household member among the five spheres with a view to survival is what we call survival strategy. The term strategy is perhaps a misnomer, conjuring up, as it does, the imagery of a command economy. Nothing so grand is intended. But households do make decisions about whether to send their children to school, whether to enter the labor market, or whether to participate in a self-help community effort. Every such decision produces a different pattern of resource allocation and a different set of outcomes.

What are these spheres of action or participation? The first and most important is obviously that of the household itself. A minimal life space must be secured for households survival. It is here that household members eat, drink, sleep, and procreate; that they prepare food, nurture the young, tend to the sick; that the dramas of their daily lives are enacted. All of this work takes place outside the market sphere and is therefore not remunerated. Most of it is women's work, though older children also contribute, as to some extent do men.

The second sphere is that of civil society. This is the sphere of special relations, of friendships and reciprocities, or church membership and participation in the activities of social clubs such as Centros de Madres (Women's Centers), soccer clubs, and Neighborhood Assemblies (Juntas de Vecinos). It, too, constitutes a relatively autonomous space where the capacity for action is not fully controlled by either the state or the corporate economy. Under conditions of prolonged economic crisis, it is
the sphere which must substitute in part for the loss of market power (wages and other income). It is now undergoing rapid expansion in terms of the quantity of household resources invested in it.

The third sphere is that of the state. It is not so much a sphere of potential action as of participation. Two modes of participation make claims on household resources; education for the young and military service. Not all countries have compulsory military service, and education is obligatory only to a certain age. Still, the sphere of the state is important to the household economy. The young going to school are not available for work in either the household or the market and may make additional economic demands on households for uniforms, books, fees, etc.

On the other side of the ledger, some household resources may be saved through school lunch programs, and there is the long-term contribution which education makes to household income, just as military service may lead to the acquisition of skills that may later be translated into civilian income.

The fourth sphere is that of the market which, in our case, means specifically the labour market. This is the principal source of monetary income, and it is the only one of the five spheres for which accounts tend to be kept on a regular basis. An important exception to this is the so-called informal or unenumerated sector which, though part of the market economy, functions outside the usual accounting systems even as it plays an increasingly critical role in Latin America. Labor markets are controlled by employers and are partially structured by legislation. But relatively unskilled and inexperienced workers from the popular sector, the young especially, find access to labor markets difficult. The same is true of skilled industrial labor that has been displaced from their jobs in the formal sector. These are the least protected groups by legislation such as the minimum wage, and are therefore also the most exploited. Under conditions of hyperinflation, wage adjustments inevitably lag behind the cost of living, taking their bitter cut out of people's already meager livelihood.

The fifth and final sphere of potential action is the political community. As the political face of civil society, it is the sphere in which civil society attempts to convert into political power. The central institutions of the political community are political parties independent of the state. Social movements whose objectives are ultimately political, such as the human rights movement in Argentina, also occupy the space of political community. Under military dictatorships, political communities are not allowed to function, or are severely restrained. The ensuing struggle for democracy is thus essentially a struggle for the reconstitution of a free political space in which social power can be transformed into political power.

Popular sector households are severely limited in the kinds of choices they can make among these spheres. The domestic sphere, for one, is inescapable, since it ensures the social reproduction of the household. It consumes an enormous amount of time: eighty to ninety hours of women's work a week is not unusual. The state also makes compulsory claims on household resources. An iron minimum of cash is needed to
buy essential food and water, transportation and clothing. So the necessary time must be saved from other activities to ensure that minimum cash flow into the domestic economy. But the needs of most households are likely to exceed this minimum, and so community associations are flourishing, as people cooperate with each other to start allotment gardens, soup kitchens, collective food purchasing arrangements, sewing circles, day nurseries, and the like.

Organized civil society is not always viewed benignly by the state which may regard civil empowerment as a potential threat to its own power. During the period of military dictatorship in Brazil and Argentina, as is still the case in Chile today, the majority of acts of physical repression were carried out against the leadership of popular neighborhood communities. At the same time, the state is attempting to wean people from community action through direct subsidies of some household expenditures, such as food, in return for traditional clientilistic relations.

There are still other reasons why people may not want to take part in community action. Time is always in short supply, and there may be better ways for the households to use its scarce resources. Male heads of households may put pressure on their women to stay home rather than venture forth in the community where they would find support groups among women neighbors: a case where household patriarchal rule feels threatened. There is also the very physical danger of going out at night. Poor people's neighborhoods have become unsafe places, especially for women. Drug abuse, youth gangs, muggings and rapes are part of everyday reality in communities where a third or more of the population may be without regular employment. It is the dark underside of the household economy which preys on its own as victims.

When all of these restrictions are accounted for, however, there remains the fact that organized civil society has become a vital force in securing household survival. As many as 10 or 15 percent of households may at one time participate in community organizations, finding strength in numbers and a new social identity in the intimate circles of self-help groups.

Poverty as lack of access to the bases of social power

If we were to understand what happens in popular sector neighborhoods, we have to revise our notions of poverty. Being poor is usually defined by those who are not poor, such as bureaucrats or social workers, in terms of low income; in the extreme case of 'absolute' poverty, a more physical measure may be used, such as caloric intake. Those who fall below an imaginary 'poverty line' are defined as poor. It would be more accurate, however, to speak of poverty as condition of relative powerlessness. Power, in this case, means social power (in contrast to political and economic power); more precisely, it refers to households access to the bases of social power. One of these is financial resources, including income as well as credit and financial subsidies. But money is only one of the bases. There are at least seven others.

First, there is time over and above that required to ensure minimal subsistence; in other words, free, unstructured time. Without time at
their disposal, households are unable to improve their situation. Making time available can thus be an important step in helping households achieve their goals. Examples are reductions in the time required for the journey to work (which may take up to three to four hours each day), or for gaining access to key social services, such as health, or freeing women's time through the installation of creches and communal kitchens.

Another critical base of social power is the necessary space to carry out life-support activities. The most obviously necessary space is a secure place for the household economy itself: a bit of land, basic utilities, a shelter, access to transportation. People who are forced to live on sidewalks or under bridges are disempowered; they are poor in the most basic sense. They are citizens without any rights; they are disenfranchised citizens. The most elementary requirement for economic (and indeed political) citizenship is to have a permanent address, a defensible space. But the requirements for adequate space goes beyond this. Any productive activity requires a certain amount of secure space, whether it is a small repair shop or even an ambulatory trade. Street rights may have to be bought from willing police or through the more formal channel of business licensing. A bit of space must be rented to run a TV repair service. Educational services require a school, health services a clinic. The right to a life space (as I shall call it) is thus one of the most elementary of human rights. Where this right is denied, there we shall also find the greatest incidence of poverty.

A third basis of social power is relative knowledge (knowing what and knowing how). The key word here is relevant. A knowledge of Latin may be not be very useful to a 16-year old apprentice auto mechanic. Knowledge of how to take apart and reassemble a carburetor would be relevant. Other knowledge relevant for people living in popular sector neighborhoods would include techniques of family planning, nutritional knowledge, environmental sanitation, baby care, how to conduct neighborhoods meetings, and citizenship rights and entitlements.

A correlative basis of social power is accurate information which is needed to make most kinds of knowledge effective. Since it is variable, information introduces a time element into knowledge. One of the most important kinds of information concerns conditions in one's own community: who are your neighbors; how many of them there are; what parts of the community are served by electricity and which are not; what skills are available; what are the environmental conditions in different sectors; and so forth. It is the kind of information that can become available through self-study. But information originating in the outside world is also important. It is here that community newspapers can play a vital role.

A fifth basis of social power is social organization. Those who are isolated from others lack an important dimension of power. Once mentioned, this is pretty obvious, but unless they are controlled by the state (or by the dominant political party), community organizations are often perceived as a threat. And yet, without organization very little can be accomplished. The struggle for space is typically a collective struggle (squatter invasions), and the effort required to provide es-
sentential community infrastructure is a collective effort, required organization. In a highly politicized environment, it would be naive to expect that community-based organizations will remain free of political influence. But political influence does not render them ineffective; on the contrary, it is often the very condition of their effectiveness.

A sixth and correlative basis of social power is household access to social networks. Typically, social networks are of three kinds. There are the networks which are formed by kin and fictive kin (like the Latin American institution of compadrazgo). There are clientilistic networks usually involving some intermediary person who has useful 'connections' in the world of works and politics. And finally, there are networks that grow out of associations with community-based organizations and which may lead to international funding agencies, the Catholic Church, political parties, and so on. The importance of networks in securing a livelihood may help explain the persistence of familistic relationships in contemporary Latin America. But this much is clear: those who are disempowered need the 'protection' of the strong. Clientilism in Latin America is thus alive and well despite its traditionalistic taint. What is new is self-organization, usually involving an outside catalyst, such as a Church-based group, and finding within these organizations new ties beyond traditional kinship and client networks through which households objectives may be materially advanced.

Finally, there is the social power which derives from having access to the instruments and tools of production. Here I mean to include access to good health, for I consider the body of a person the most important 'instrument of production'. If a healthy body is empowering, then, among disenfranchised citizens, it is also the rarest of powers. Infant mortality is high, and so are serious nutritional deficiencies. Intestinal and pulmonary disease are prevalent. Drug and alcohol abuse are rampant. Work place accidents are far higher than in industrial societies. Access to good health among the urban popular sectors is thus in jeopardy and this is one of the reasons why they are poor. In addition, having access to the tools of production means having a job or the capital to start a small business of your own, say a fruit stand in the market, or, more ambitiously, a delivery van. That is why the correlative base of power here is access to financial resources, especially credit.

This attempted redifinition of the meaning of poverty in terms of access to the bases of social power has far-reaching implications. The poor no longer appear as 'consumers' (low-income persons) but as producers of their livelihood. The new definition shifts the emphasis from the individual to the household as the relevant economic unit. And it considers a wide range of 'powers' which can be variously used by households in the achievements of their own objectives.

The reason I refer to them as bases of social power is that all of them, to be secured, require a socially organized effort. There is very little that the disenfranchised household can do to improve its situation with respect to these bases, unless it joins with other households in organization and struggle. It is for this reason that we can speak of the process as one of collective self-empowerment. But this way of speak-
ing, although correct in one sense, is misleading in another. It seems to suggest that the poor can escape poverty simply by joining in community-based efforts. This is an oversimplification. Cooperation and organization are necessary but not sufficient conditions. What is needed as well is a state whose social policies facilitate, complement, and support community efforts at self-empowerment. For instance, only the state can legalize access to urban land.

I emphasize the role of the state, because in recent years there has been a tendency to downplay its role in favor of non-governmental organizations, or NGOs. These organizations have blazed a trail into the relative unknown territory of community self-organization, and we have learned important lessons about what it means to mobilize effective participation in community self-help efforts. But the growing scale of urban poverty in Latin America far exceeds the ability of even all NGOs in the world. It requires a new kind of social policy which sees the organized community as a 'partner' in gaining access to the bases of social power.

The groundrules for this 'partnership' remain to be worked out. They will involve the allocation of new resources, the definition of new roles for provincial and municipal governments (the local state), the democratization of the local state, the representative organization of the local community, and the opening up of a new political terrain in the regional and local spaces. This is large agenda that will take many years to accomplish. But without it, the problem of urban poverty remains without solution.

A major focus of the new strategy is what I call the neighborhood or barrio economy. It is to a discussion of this 'economy' that I now turn.

The Barrio economy

The intimate environment of life space of popular sector households is the neighborhood or barrio. Middle and upper middle class households are less dependent on their immediate surroundings. They live in houses (or apartments) that are completely serviced and they can buy whatever services they need. For transportation they enjoy the mobility of the private automobile which, in less than one hour, takes them anywhere in the city. Their networks are established at the university, at work, in social clubs to which already their parents belonged. Their life space, then, which is the space they need for the achievements of their goals, is the city entire, perhaps even the country as a whole. Middle class people start life with a lot of access to the bases of social power.

Poor people are more restricted in their movements. What they want to do will often depend on the willingness of neighbors to do favors for them, or on their willingness to work cooperatively together. Poor people live in bare shelters, they cannot afford to buy the services they need, they are dependent on public transportation, their social clubs are not designed to give them a head start in life. And so, popular sector barrios, the neighborhood areas which we may arbitrarily define as lying within 30 minutes on foot from any domicile location, may be
considered as an extension of the household economy, as that area which is essential to the production of life (and its social reproduction from one period to the next).

We can perhaps better understand its economic role, if we consider that households are likely to regard the *barrio* economy as a vital resource. On closer examination, of course, it may not be the *barrio* as a whole which serves as a resource but only certain networks defined by reciprocity relations and built on mutual trust, or community-based organizations serving some specific purpose, such as negotiating with the municipality, the cooperative production of some necessaries, or the joint purchasing of bulk food items at reduced prices. Some of these organizations, called popular economic organizations (PEO) in Chile, also promote convivial activities: fiestas, picnics, anniversaries, sporting events. In the *barrio*, the convivial and the functional tend to merge, reinforcing each other as they bring people out of impotent isolation into a group of friends and neighbors - *los vecinos* - where their joys and sorrows can be shared. The breaking down of isolation barriers is a particularly important achievement of women, traditionally confined to the domestic sphere. Women have assumed leading roles in the organization of PEOs, thus providing further evidence that household and *barrio* economy are closely linked. Like household work, work in neighborhoods goes largely unremunerated. But even though they may be difficult to quantify, returns on community 'volunteer work' are likely to be very substantial.

Because the *barrio* economy constitutes a major life space for its population, we are justified in referring to it also as a political community. By this I mean that its inhabitants will tend to think of their *barrio* as a relatively autonomous space over which they can exercise something like a 'sovereign' right. It is this self-perception that lends legitimacy to claims for social participation in decisions affecting the community. *Barrio* inhabitants will refer to themselves as a collectivity, as 'we', and spokespersons may be elected to defend the community's interests vis-a-vis the state. Their claim to sovereignty, of course, as a relative one: full sovereignty is rather set of national rights and obligations. The desire for limited autonomy at the *barrio* level is nonetheless real and related to the territorial rights people claim over the domestic space of households, rights that in many countries are secured in constitutional law. In the future, *barrio* citizenship may also require legal definition, especially if it is to play the increasingly important role assigned to it in the formulation and implementation of social policies.

If we are prepared to consider the *barrio* as a political community, it ought not to surprise us that more than one community-based organization should compete for citizen's attention. Reflecting linkages to the outside world, such as the Catholic Church, evangelical churches, political parties contending for votes, and even the state, this competition for citizens allegiance is not necessarily a bad thing, though it will tend to divide a community that needs to discover its strength in solidarity relations. The liveliness of competition is a sign that the *barrio* economy (and its correlative political community) exists as a vital dimension of national life. From a localist and pragmatic perspective, the question posed by *vecinos* is simple enough: which of several outside
agents can effectively deliver the most resources for barrio development? And which of them will do the most for the progressive self-empowerment of individual households? In a national perspective, on the other hand, ideological questions tend to predominate.

Barrio self-organizations will sometimes extend beyond the barrio itself into federations of community-based organizations in the municipal (or regional) spaces. But such organizations may become top-heavy with their own bureaucracy, they may fall prey to factionalism, and may pursue objectives that are not necessarily in the immediate interest of barrio populations. A favelado organization in Rio de Janeiro, for example, does not appear to be a very effective advocate of favela interests, and a similar organization in Mexico City is driven by factional disputes. A more positive story comes from Lima, Peru, where a mass organization of neighborhood women, the Comites Vaso de Leche, have been successful on a metropolitan scale in directing resources from the state towards their own communities.

Whatever the experience to date, one thing remains certain: Popular sector barrios cannot remain encapsuled in the localism of their own communities for long, without becoming entrapped in their powerlessness. We have already argued the case for 'bringing the state back in'. Just as organized labor has to struggle for a national voice to defend its interests, so the organized barrio must strive for influence in the national space. To remove the stringent limits on access to social power, such social power as barrio populations already have, must ultimately be translated into political power.

From social power to political power

Experience of barrio populations in their encounters with the state has been largely one of antagonistic struggle. In the lead is the perpetual struggle over land, as migrants from small-town and rural areas seek to gain a foothold in the city. Squatter movements, land invasions, and confrontations with police and politicians are part of almost everyone's history, the lore on which poor people are raised and which is etched deeply in their memories. Some have a more bitter story to tell, recalling how entire communities were eradicated by bulldozers, and how families were uprooted and displaced towards the distant periphery of the city among strangers. And although they would not speak of it in these terms, the language being unfamiliar, most have been systematically denied their economic and political rights as citizens. Anti-inflation and pro-accumulation policies have shifted economic costs to the waged sector of the population, whose real incomes declined, and many of whose jobs were lost as industries, unable to compete against cheaper imports, had to close down. Police harassment, early morning police sweeps into the barrios, and the arrest (and occasional torture) of community leaders are part of the unwritten history of poverty. There is, thus, every reason to resent the state. Occasional counterevidence only confirms the general trend. During the 1960s, under General Velasco in Peru, an attempt was made to shift toward a more benign posture, and squatter areas were renamed pueblos jóvenes, young settlements. It is perhaps a sign of the times that they are now called campamentos, encampments, a term at once more military and defiant.
And yet, without appropriate action by the state, the massive impoverishment of the popular sectors will only get worse. By common consent among Latin American intellectuals, the economic crisis which, with slight variations, has held the countries of the region in an iron grip for over a decade, shows no signs of slackening. It is structural crisis marked by hyper-inflation, high levels of international indebtedness, capital flight, and slow, even negative growth. There are few prospects of productively absorbing additions to the rapidly growing urban labor force. Modernization in the countryside, encouraged by countries' need to export, drives small peasants from the land and into the cities where they remain unemployed, earning irregular incomes that are insufficient to sustain life. Given this context, and the state's need for legitimacy, something other than continued antagonistic struggle is needed to halt and, if possible, reverse the further deterioration of conditions.

What poor people need above everything is improved access to the bases of social power at a scale commensurate with the scale of urbanization. Community action is vital to the success of an approach that respects people's own priorities and enlist their resources in the implementation of new programs. The desire for active participation on all facets of program development, from initial conception to enjoyments of the benefits from collective efforts, is genuine and deep. The question therefore is not whether the state will solve the problem of disenfranchisement and massive poverty; it cannot. The question is rather whether the state is prepared to support the processes of collective self-empowerment we have discussed.

It is true that the states don't usually act on their own initiative; they have to pressured, pushed, and cajoled into new policies and forms of practice. Converting social into political power, therefore, will require concerted citizen action. It will require political mobilization. Three examples may be cited. In Colombia within the last two decades there have been over 200 paros civicos (civic strikes) protesting various injustices. As with labor strikes, these paros have been quite focussed on specific issues, such as electricity, water, urban services and prices. How successful they have been is debatable, but they have demonstrated and extraordinary capacity for massive multi-class action rooted in civil society. In Peru, the United Left (Izquierda Unida) has been successful in mobilizing barrio populations for a number of campaigns, which the Vaso de Leche, already alluded to, was perhaps the most spectacular. And in Brazil, the so-called ecclesiastical base communities were instrumental in the formation of the Brazilian Labor Party (PT) which in recent elections in Sao Paulo polled nearly a fifth of the votes.

Other instances of this latent capacity for political mobilization could be cited. Whether institutionalized or not, these mobilizations have potential for influencing government policies.

The critical point of encounter between civil society and the state is the municipality, which is the lowest until of general-purpose government and local administration. Until quite recently, and despite energetic efforts to reform municipal government in countries such as Venezuela and Brazil, municipal authorities were appointed rather than elected,
thus ensuring complete state control over local affairs. Most municipalities had barely enough financing to cover the salaries of the local bureaucracy. Its functions were few: city beautification, traffic lights, supervision of the municipal slaughterhouse. Mayors spent a good part of their time sitting in the antechambers of national ministers, in the hope of extracting some resources for public works in their communities. But all this is changing now. The first elections ever for the mayoralty of Colombian cities was to be held in 1988. In Chile, the government of General Pinochet has channeled additional resources to municipal administrations, and municipal powers have been greatly expanded even though there are no local elections, and mayors are employees of the Ministry of the Interior. In the state of Sao Paulo, well over a thousand programs conceived and carried out by local government and involving the intense participation of barrio populations have been recorded. There and elsewhere (for example in Bogota), the first cautious steps are being taken in the direction of 'popular planning' or what in Anglo-Saxon countries we would call counter-planning. All these examples suggest that a new political ballgame is being mounted. The national state is too preoccupied with managing the debt situation, battling inflation, and promoting a few superinvestments with international agencies to attend closely to the details of daily life in the thousands of barrios throughout the country. I believe that this is the main reason for renewed interest in local government. Local government must now reach out to the barrio populations in a partnership beyond the old antagonisms.

Here are some of the things that may need doing: facilitate permanent access to land and the progressive incorporation of new settlements into the fabric of urban public services at prices that people can afford; create a legal framework for community-based organizations; encourage self-reliance and self-provisioning in the poorest areas, including such innovative approaches as communal gardening; promote the production of wage goods through labor-intensive methods and their distribution through cooperative channels; organize urban extension services, especially focussed on women, channelling useful knowledge and information on nutrition, health practices, etc; assist in the organization of nurseries and kindergartens designed to relieve women's work and free them, if they desire, to take on income-generating work.

This list is no more than a suggestion of the sort of things that may be worth doing in barrios populares. But non-antagonistic relationships between barrio community and local state, which this agenda implies, require a still more fundamental reform: the devising of a charter of political and economic citizenship rights in all political spaces, from household and barrio at one end to region and country at the other. A citizen charter would recognize claims for the relative autonomy and inviolability of life spaces: for participatory decision-making; and for certain basic rights of access to the bases of social power. Like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it would establish a historic benchmark for legitimate social struggle. It would define a consensus on goals and an agenda for action.
About 60 persons, doctors and non-medicos, came together in Jaipur on 20 and 21 January 1988 to discuss public health issues related to child health. This meet was organised by the Medico-Friend Circle. It was a 'professional' conference with a difference, in fact a number of significant differences.

The MFC is primarily a group of medicos and some non-medicos dissatisfied with the existing health system and searching for alternatives. They have developed a basic common approach while continuing to maintain different ideological positions. The common critique sees the present health system as commercialized, 'profession oriented rather than people oriented, over-emphasizing the curative rather than the preventive and social measures', and one 'that reflects and reinforces the negative, unhealthy cultural values and attitudes of our society, e.g. glorification of money and power, diversion of labourers into manual and intellectual workers, domination of men over women, urban over rural, foreign over Indian...'. Their shared approach wants medical care to be available to everyone, to develop methods of medical intervention strictly guided by the needs of our people and not by commercial interests, to develop a pattern of medical care geared to the predominantly rural character of our country and towards a medical curriculum suited to it, and to work towards popularization and demystification of medical science.

Many of its members are allopathic doctors who have been or are working in non-government rural health projects attempting to evolve and experiment with optimal means of providing preventive, promotive and curative health services to rural peasant and tribal populations. Others are involved with researching, documenting and publically raising health-related issues from the people's point of view, rather than from that of 'professional interests', commercial interests or for the furthering of technological advances as an end in themselves. In fact, they also attempt to discover and point out the influence of such vested interests in any medical research and health programmes. Examples of these are the campaign for rational drug therapy and a rational drug policy which take the need, the cost and the side-effects into account; the campaign against sex-detection of foetuses; the campaign against injectable hormonal contraceptives, etc. Some are involved with the 'people's science movement', while others are interested in exploring herbal and other indigenous forms of health care. Some of its members are also on the faculties of medical colleges and research institutions such as the National Institute of Nutrition (NIN), attempting to do 'relevant work' through them. Non-medico members include those with backgrounds in sociology, social work, etc, and now engaged in
women's development and child development programmes, in organising people's concern on various issues, in research, and in journalism on such issues.

Every year the MFC organises a two-day conference to discuss a topical issue concerning the health of the Indian population. Issues taken up in previous years include the tuberculosis control programme, the family planning programme, the sexist bias in medicine, the drug issues, etc. Child health, the theme for this meet was chosen because of the current interest in national and international health organizations in developing strategies to improve the health of the children. Participants to this meet included the members of the MFC as well as other persons interested in the area of child health.

Discussions centred around four 'technical' public health areas under focus in national and international programmes today - immunization, growth monitoring, supplementary feeding, and acute respiratory infections. Two topics with wider ramifications were also taken up - 'Child survival versus child health' was discussed in the context of shift emphasis from 'child health' to 'child survival' in international and national pronouncements and programmes. Gender bias in survival and nutritional status of children was discussed to arrive at insights on why the higher mortality of girl children as compared to boys.

Immunization

A section of the participants felt that the universal immunization programme (UIP) being advocated by the UNICEF and implemented by the Government of India in large parts of the country was inherently a good programme but owing to the lack of 'will and intention on the part of the Government to carry out the programme of UIP efficiently and successfully' it will not show impact. Immunization coverage data of the government itself show the poor performance. However, they felt that it is a feasible programme because many other countries with socio-economic conditions similar to ours have done much better and in small pockets in India itself we have achieved high rates of immunization coverage without unduly high investments. A very good voluntary response was evolved from the people in some programmes by simple means. An effective communication about immunization and the time and place for vaccination followed by strict adherence to the given schedule by the vaccination team brought villagers with their children in large numbers to the vaccination 'camps'.

On the other hand, those cautious in their enthusiasm about the immunization programme felt that it must be kept in mind that only 8 out of 100 child deaths are due to diseases covered by the UIP or EPI (Expanded Programme of Immunization) and so that is the maximum impact this programme can have in terms of child survival.

Both diarrhoea and respiratory infections, the most common causes of child death, are multi-factorial in etiology and are not preventable by vaccines available today. With measles, it is a well known fact that mortality increased by 400 times in under-nourished children. Yet we are going to be spending Rs. 161 crores, 70% of which will come from the
Government, on a vertical immunization programme. If the intention was to reduce childhood mortality, surely the vaccination technology provides a second best alternative?

Also, if an area is well-covered by immunization for sometime and then not covered the next the chances of an epidemic of severer forms of the disease is likely, specially in the case of diseases like measles and polio. With the condition of our health services today where sustained efficiency is known to be unlikely, are we justified in taking this risk? Documented instances of such epidemics of measles and increase in incidence of paralytic polio in India itself have been cited in previous editorials of the MFC bulletin.

The question was also raised of whether children in all parts of the country suffer from these diseases to an extent justifying a national/global programme of immunization against them. Even if some pockets of disease-free populations exist, are we justified in either wasting resources in these pockets or in inflicting useless vaccination on them?

The possibility of side-effects of vaccines, not only immediate but also long-term as allergies, auto-immune diseases, tumors, etc. was voiced but not discussed at any length.

Child Nutrition – Growth-monitoring and supplementary feeding

Two papers by Dr. C. Gopalan (ex-director NIN and presently director of Nutrition Foundation of India) were circulated. One of them discussed some basic issues regarding growth-monitoring. Growth monitoring is the method of regular recording of weight of each child on a chart showing the accepted range of weight at each age and the curve of a normal weight gain graph. Comparing the child's weight gain graph with the normal range curves shows the child's state of nutrition and health. It is one of the components of the UNICEF sponsored 'child survival programme' - GOBI - growth monitoring, ORS, breast feeding, immunization. The point of growth monitoring is to identify malnourished children, the degree of malnutrition and then to do something about it. It is thus not an end in itself 'but a means to a means'.

Programmes such as the ICDS (Integrated Child Development Service, a very large national programme providing services through the 'anganwadi') seem however to be doing growth monitoring as an end in itself. Many participants recounted experiences with ICDS projects in their areas where all children whether within the normal range or with mild, moderate or severe malnutrition were being given the same supplementary feed (though on paper the severely malnourished are to be given double the feed). It was also said by many that the severely malnourished child often does not come to the anganwadi at all or if he/she comes, is unable to consume more food than the others. Further, they need specially prepared food. In fact, such children need intensive rehabilitation. And anyway, for identifying the severely malnourished children one does not need growth monitoring, the eye is enough.

The role of growth monitoring is thus in early detection of growth faltering, i.e. when a child is in the mild or moderate categories of mal-
nutrition or is just beginning to go from the normal into the malnourished range. This is the time to act and prevent the child from further deterioration by detecting the cause, treating the infection or worms etc. and introducing an appropriate diet. Supplementary feeding is useful here as an educational method for the mother. But with all the emphasis being given to weighing and drawing up the growth charts, to making and giving the feeds and to keeping records in innumerable registers, this facet of the ICDS programme, namely, health and nutrition education of mothers, is totally neglected. And it is the only measure which can show some long-term effects on nutritional status of children. Here it was suggested that to shift the emphasis the anganwadi workers performance should be seen not only by service targets such as the number of children fed, but also by impact output. Supplementary feeding programmes, it was generally agreed, should only be seen as fire-fighting measures in situations such as flood and drought and not as on-going long-term programmes. Often children are given little or no food at home when feeding is done elsewhere so that there is substitution and not supplementation. Without adequate medical care to treat infections, etc. again the feeding has little impact in terms of improvement in nutritional status.

Some studies on ICDS projects done as part of the scheme itself claim a high degree of success in decreasing the number of mild, moderate and severe degrees of malnutrition while other independent studies show absolutely no impact.

Some smaller non-government programmes have shown impact in terms of decrease in number of children with mild and moderate malnutrition but severe malnutrition has been resistant. However, it is generally accepted that the more practical and sustainable solution to mild and moderate malnutrition even under existing socio-economic conditions is nutrition education of mothers.

That government supplementary feeding programmes as they are being run today are fairly useless was generally agreed. They were felt to be basically political gimmicks to convey the message that 'there is a benevolent entity called the government'.

Practical problems experienced commonly in programmes were also discussed, such as the bulky nature of cheaper foods so that children are unable to consume adequate calories. Adding oils increases calories without adding bulk but raises costs. A recently devised method for decreasing the bulk of starchy foods cheaply was told by a participant. Germinated dals, dried and ground can be stored easily and a small amount of the powder added to starchy foods while cooking will make it less bulky.

Growth monitoring was thus seen to be useful as a measure for individual medical care of a child and for education of mothers and not as a method for screening of children at a mass level for supplementary feeding.

Supplementary feeding too has a demonstration and educative effect but there is no conclusive evidence to say whether it has any direct and
immediate impact on nutritional status. Therefore, taking a stand that supplementary feeding programmes are useless is difficult but with the experience at grass root level there is little hesitation in saying that generally the programmes are being run shabbily and cannot deliver the goods they promise.

**Acute Respiratory Infections Control Programme**

Acute respiratory infections include conditions from the common cold to pneumonias as well as specific infections like diptheria or whooping cough. They are supposed to be, along with diarrhoeas, the prime conditions causing childhood deaths (27% of all childhood deaths is one estimate). A programme for their control has been initiated by the WHO and is being worked out in many Third World countries including India. A paper prepared for the MFC meet by Dr. Abhay Bang (M.D. Medicine, MPH from Hopkins and presently engaged in research in community health as well as in action by optimising services at the Government district hospital and PHCs of Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra) reviewed the epidemiological and operational rationale of this programme and identified problem areas for discussion.

The review of data showed that the frequency of attacks of ARI per child per year is very similar in industrial and Third World countries. Also that frequency of attacks is much higher in urban than in rural areas. Rates of urban areas in the South are comparable to those of urban areas in the North. This suggest that socio-economic development is not a major determinant of the frequency of ARIs. But data also shows that it is a crucial factor in the severity of infections and the resultant mortality. A recent study from Manila shows that while there was no difference in the number of attacks of ARI per child between well-nourished and malnourished children, the outcome of lower respiratory infection was grossly influenced by the nutritional state. General malnutrition, Vit. A deficiency, a high population density, smoke from chulhas, tobacco, automobiles etc. all increase the severity of ARIs and child deaths due to them. General malnutrition is known to have the most drastic effect. Control and prevention strategies could:

i) be aimed at minimising these factors

ii) make use of immunisation against measles, diptheria and whooping cough which are said to be capable of taking care of 25% of deaths due to ARIs. Attempts are also on to develop vaccines against major organisms causing pneumonias.

iii) attempt to control deaths, through 'case management'. The WHO has strongly recommended this approach. This requires that a simple and effective regimen be worked out to be taught to peripheral health workers so that they are able to diagnose pneumonia and treat it with a suitable antibiotic. An increased respiratory rate of 50/min and/or history of breathlessness by the mother is to be taken as indication for starting antibiotics.

A study from Papua New Guinea shows that combining these two criteria gives 93% true positive diagnoses of pneumonia. The question was raised whether the stethoscope should also be given to peripheral health work-
ers to aid in diagnosis. Through discussion it was felt that the stethoscope findings are difficult to decipher even by doctors and therefore not much purpose would be served by adding this to their armamentarium. Some, however, felt that this was a skill which was learned through experience and not something which required extra 'knowledge' and therefore peripheral workers could be as good or as bad at it as doctors. The question of necessity or not of X-ray facilities was also raised.

Another important question that arose was that of the possibility of large scale overuse of antibiotics in viral pneumonias. How many cases of pneumonia in children are viral, and therefore antibiotics useless, is not known. Studies of lung puncture aspirates of serious cases not responding to treatment have shown that 60% are due to bacteria. But can this figure be taken as applicable to all pneumonias? Does it not come from a very special category of pneumonia patients? In this state of knowledge where we do not know how many community acquired pneumonias are viral are we justified in launching a large-scale programme with this strategy? If launched, should antibiotics be given in the hands of non-doctors like VHWs (village health workers) or ANMs (Auxiliary nurse midwives)? Should they be allowed to give injection penicillin in the field (reaction rate in children being very low, 1 in 250,000, and the skin test being useless, no testing is necessary)?

As this discussion took place before the programme has been launched the questions raised are timely and need attention.

Gender bias in survival and nutritional status of children

A paper presented by Leela Visaria, a demographer at the Gujarat Institute of Area Planning, set the discussion going. Another paper, by Kamala J. Rao (retired joint-director NIN) presented a similar thesis. Visaria reviewed existing literature to try and delineate the actual mechanisms by which social bias in favour of boys operates resulting in higher mortality among girls 1-5 years than among boys. She found there there is little 'hard data' to suggest the presence of gender bias in food intake. A Bangladesh study is the only one which has done actual measurement of caloric and protein intake for boys and girls 0-4 years and found a significant difference. Another study from the same region shows that improvement in the household resources raised the nutritional level of all children, but it benefitted male children more than female children. However, in spite of the results of those lone study with direct measurement of intake and with other studies suggesting differentials, Dr. Visaria concluded that little discrimination is practised in everyday food. Special food taken only occasionally, like ghee, butter, milk, sweets, non-vegetarian foods are given preferentially to boys. These occasions are however so infrequent that they were not felt to be capable of making any appreciable impact. This conclusion also comes from the results of a study in Kacch area with which she has been associated over the past 3 years.

According to her, a number of studies do, however, show a definite discrimination in the resort to medical care which is much less, or delayed, in the case of girls compared to boys.
Her first conclusion (tentative at present) was immediately pounced upon, it being pointed out specially by those working in close contact with the community that a discrimination in feeding of girls as against boys has been observed by all of them. What is probably at fault is the statistical tools used or the inferences drawn from them. The issue that came through in the discussion was whether what is commonly observed by many is to be considered as the reality or what the so-called scientific studies and data tell us is to be taken as the reality.

In terms of possible intervention for reducing the extra mortality among girls, the paper suggests that as differential resort to medical care seems to be the point of discrimination, this should be the point for intervention. Most participants, however, saw this as too narrow a view of a wider problem. The main aim of the paper, however, was well taken - that the mechanisms by which social bias against girls is practised such as to result in higher mortality are not exactly known and need to be studied further.

Child Survival Vs. Child Health

It was pointed out that there has been a shift in national and international pronouncements and documents from 'Health for All' to 'Child-health' and then to 'Child Survival!'. UNICEF is talking of a 'Child Survival Revolution'. This shift was seen as indicative of greater and greater narrowing of focus for programmes and of commitments made by the government.

Some questioned whether there was any difference between 'child health' and 'child survival' in operational terms?

It was pointed out to them in operational terms it meant the imposition of yet another vertical programme - the immunization programme. As has happened earlier with the malaria programme and the family planning programme, targets are set from above and the whole health infrastructure gets mobilized to fulfil them irrespective of whether the desired output is obtained or not. This also leads to a neglect of basic health services and building up or maintenance of basic on-going programmes. An intensity which is impossible to persist in, and a failure to build-up basic health services are known to be two of the reasons for failure of the malaria programme. Will we continue to repeat past mistakes endlessly?

It was also pointed out that this shift in emphasis from morbidity or mortality was already affecting the attitudes of medical students and interns in the way they handle public health tools like immunization and growth monitoring. It had long-term implications in terms of the emphasis given to disease and death, as if all that mattered was to prevent death, the amount of disease and the quality of life already receive less attention and will receive even less if this trend continues. In concrete terms the diarrhoea programme is an instance. ORS was projected as 'the key' while what it does is prevent death. The water and sanitation programmes, much more fundamental for diarrhoea control, receive much less of the limelight as well as concrete attention.
The mechanics of this process of shift at WHO-UNICEF level was explained by Dr Bang as a question of which two lobbies in these bodies get the upper hand. One lobby believes in the vertical programme kind of approach - carrot dangled to Third World countries, whips issued, army regimentation organised and results obtained. The other believes in the Primary Health Care approach (more democratic, talks of community participation etc). It is the second which dominated from 1977 to 1983 at the WHO (the Health for All by 2000 A.D. and Primary Health Care declarations signed in 1977-78. Then Salk, the inventor of the polio vaccine, convinced UNICEF that another eradication programme such as small-pox eradication is possible - either polio or measles. WHO also got convinced. The Rockefeller Foundation backed the idea. But with their previous public commitment (Primary Health Care - integrated services, inter-sectorial development, community, participation, etc) they could not have talked of a single disease eradication programme. So the idea of GOBI came up. On the other hand was the failure of the family planning programme at national level with demographers saying that infant mortality will have to be lowered to decrease birth rate. This gave added support to 'child survival' strategies.

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The discussions, as one can see from the reporting of sessions, were open-ended; not attempting to necessarily come to final conclusions but raising issues and questions some of which may be possible to discuss in detail there and others to be kept in mind and answers sought later. This is in keeping with the general style and purpose of MFC.

The purpose of MFC appears to be two-fold: (1) to be a group of mutually supportive friends, which is very important when working against the general current and (2) to be a forum for exchange of ideas and in-depth discussion on health-related issues among socially concerned persons of diverse ideological positions and from different perspectives but all relating to 'the people' as the centre-point. The aim of these discussions is to clarify each one's understanding of issues and of what can be done about health problems so that each one can do better in whatever he/she is involved. The discussions were generally free and frank, no one seemed to be 'making a point' just to score over the other, serious involvement in issues was obvious. And this seriousness coupled with an informal, free atmosphere 'is most conductive for learning'. Besides these annual meets, the MFC also brings out a monthly bulletin in order to promote the two aims referred to above as well as a third i.e. the spread similar questioning among other medicos and non-medicos interested in these issues. No direct action as a group is envisaged unless it emerges spontaneously, for instance at the time of the Bhopal Gas Tragedy when epidemiological investigations as well as medical relief operations were undertaken by MFC.

Organised in the hostel of a government Agriculture Training Centre the setting of the conference was strictly austere by any Conference standards. All the same some members were heard complaining that MFC members were being 'spoilt' at this meet because they had been provided matrasses and quilts! Food was good, simple every-day 'roti-sabzi-dal' and the plates were washed by each one himself/herself. Ex-
penses were borne by the participants themselves; no sponsors, no 'special dinners' hosted by pharmaceutical companies, no gifts presented by anyone.

The atmosphere was one of informality and comraderie. One could see why older members said that this was one place where they could 'relax and be themselves', 'where they came for emotional reasons as well'. Conscious care was also taken to integrate new comers into the friends' circle even though at times it was difficult because older members have their on-going debates.

That such a group with members having different perspectives and ideological positions (though with some basic consensus) and working in different areas has managed to stay together for so long (initiated in 1974-75) is in itself an unusual happening. The truly democratic spirit of the group is one of the obvious reasons. Organisationally, there is a convenor for executive purposes and an editor for bringing out the bulletin with an editorial board. Both change every two years. There is what is called a 'core group' which works out details of each annual meet and other organisational matters. It is composed of the original members as well as many later entrants who have shown interest in the thinking of MFC as well as organisational matters. That later entrants are also as much 'core' as others and have become convenor and editor as well is indicative of the openness of the organisation.

That the discussions remained confined to the realm of programmes being undertaken nationally and internationally was pointed out by some participants. There is more to child health than what is being addressed by these programmes and by confirming to them we have restricted our own view of the problem as well as of possible means of improving the status of health of children. One of the participants and an older member of MFC, Dr Binayak Sen (now working with the Chattisgarh Mines Shramik Sangh helping organise the union's own hospital as well as community level work among mine workers as well as the villages around) for instance gave the example of 'time available to the mother to attend the child' as an important factor in determining health status of children. In the mines at Chattisgarh there are workers who break stones manually and those who load them into trucks. Stone-breaking is done by couples while loading is done by men alone, the wives generally staying at home. While economically the first were better off because double wages came in it was observed that health of children was much better among the loaders' families than among the stonebreakers. Thus suggest developing some social forms of child-care by which women can work and the children get cared for, not by 5-10 year old sibling. But it was explained that as health personnel we could undertake only medical interventions and health education. We should realise the limitations of such intervention in making real improvements in health status of a population and not spread ourselves out into other areas. The lack of a wider perspective in the discussions on child health was however felt by many.

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BEHIND THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING
A Journey Through The Occupied Territories

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Malaysia) US$6.00
MONNAIE ET ENDETTEMENT EN ALGERIE

OU LE GRAIN ET L’IVRAIE

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Il n'y a deux ans, en novembre 1986, un ami maghrébin nous avait communiqué le texte que l'on va lire. Les récents événements d’Algérie nous l'ont fait relier et nous avons pu prendre contact avec l'auteur, un économiste tunisien. Enseignant pendant quinzaine ans à l'Université d'Alger, il travaille actuellement en France. Il nous a autorisé à publier son texte, espérant ainsi ouvrir un débat dont l'intérêt n'est pas limité à l'Algérie, même si l'explosion d'octobre donne à ce cas une importance particulière. Voici donc, sans changement, le texte de 1986.

L'économie de l'Algérie demeure caractérisée par une situation monétaire chaotique. Des émissions monétaires incontrôlées, censées officiellement financer les seuls investissements, mais dont une partie notable a alimenté la consommation, ont entraîné, du fait des déficits répétés de l'Etat, la formation de véritables lacs monétaires souterrains. Instables en raison de l'absence de garantie offerte, recherchant l'occasion spéculative, ces encaisses oisives, thésaurisées sous forme de monnaie fiduciaire, constituent un danger formidable de rupture du système. Depuis 1974, l'Etat et la société civile se disputent le quart du revenu national. Le résultat en est la formation de revenus monétaires largement en avance sur la valeur ajoutée dégagée par l'activité nationale et sur les ressources additionnelles procurées par l'endettement auprès de l'intérieur. Il n'est point étonnant, alors, que les risques d'une inflation explosive s'annoncent, aujourd'hui, par différents canaux: d'abord l'émergence d'un véritable réseau bancaire parallèle dont l'objectif est la conversion des liquidités excédentaires détenues en place-ment sûrs (biens fonciers et immobiliers, achats de devises sur les marchés parallèles, investissements à l'intérieur...), ensuite la tendance à la voracité d'un marché noir phagocytant, de manière rampante, les rares secteurs où les transactions sont demeurées régulières, enfin l'instabilité des prix et la montée des insatisfactions sociales qu'une politique de rationnement habilement discriminatoire ne parvient plus à étouffer. C'est que les causes d'une situation aussi anormale sont profondes et méritent d'être explorées.

L'on peut dire qu'en Algérie, tout est devenu banque et que l'entreprise publique a réussi, par une extraordinaire perversion de sa mission, à partager, avec d'autres institutions le privilège de "battre monnaie nationale"; la pratique illimitée du recours au découvert sans que celui-ci soit sérieusement questionné est une forme manifeste de création incontrôlée de la monnaie. La pratique, anormale, au sein d'un système
bancaire contrôlé entièrement par l'État, du réescompte, a conduit les banques primaires à penser qu'elle concouraient à la création de richesses dès lors qu'elles faisaient engager par la banque centrale toutes sortes de créances douteuses quand celles-ci n'étaient pas franchement fictives. C'est que la délinquance comptable des entreprises publiques est devenue une recette courante. Le schéma normal qui veut que les avances des banques s'appuient sur les surplus dégagés par les entreprises n'est guère respecté. Une conception naïve à base d'activisme monétaire et prêtant à l'argent un pouvoir de transmutation instantanée a amené les institutions publiques à faire de la création de monnaie l'objet normal de leur activité. La détention de l'argent suffirait pour sommer le réel à produire les biens désirés et les résultats comptables escomptés. Les manifestations ultimes d'un tel comportement pervers sont aujourd'hui un fuite devant la monnaie nationale parce que la gestion de cette monnaie par l'État aboutit à fragiliser les souffreurs économiques sur lesquels repose la confiance, condition de la durée d'une règle. Le robinet monétaire laissé continûment ouvert (10 milliards de Dinars algériens d'impasse budgétaire au début des années 80) a fini par emporter dans un déluge de papier-monnaie les qualités tant nécessaires à la confiance et au maintien de la crédibilité de l'idéologie socialiste. Déjà s'amorce une méfiance accrue vis-à-vis de la monnaie scripturale et un recours qui s'amplifie, au papier-monnaie pour les placements spéculatifs. La bonne monnaie ( devises, biens immobiliers, biens importés...) se cache et le dinar est devenu l'actif le moins intéressant.

Si l'État a réussi jusqu'ici à réprimer l'explosion inflationiste et à masquer la faillite menaçante, les moyens utilisés accentuent précisément la menace sur la monnaie. En effet c'est en déniant à la monnaie détenue par les particuliers tout pouvoir décisif de sélection des processus de production et de consommation ainsi que de différenciation franche des patrimoines que les pouvoirs publics parviennent à imposer l'irrationnel comme rationalité par excellence. L'on aboutit ainsi à une contradiction qui devient de plus en plus sensible: l'État se sert de l'arme monétaire pour détourner la quasi-totalité des ressources au nom "d'objectifs planifiés", mais refuse à la société civile la possibilité économique de contester la rationalité de ses choix en lui opposant les aspects chaosiques de sa gestion monétaire. Ce qui est monnaie pour l'État cesse de l'être dès qu'elle se trouve en d'autres mains. Ainsi l'État continue à s'approprier des ressources qui devraient revenir à d'autres agents, leur interdisant, ce faisant, d'accéder effectivement à un usage de leur propre surplus. Devant engager passivement du papier-monnaie, ils continuent à être sommés de ratifier, par leur passivité même, les choix stratégiques de l'État et l'usage qu'il fait de toutes les ressources. Les possibilités quelconques de réforme ou d'aggiornamento se trouvent alors sans cesse reculées. L'inertie d'une gestion politique ou policière des ressources s'amplifie et recueille toute velléité de réactiver une gestion économique plus fine par la monnaie. Pourtant les risques de rupture se multiplient et cette stratégie de l"endettement sans pleurs" qui a été suivie jusqu'en 1985 ne peut se poursuivre indéfiniment.

Le conflit latent entre l'État et la société civile d'une part, et l'État débiteur et ses créanciers extérieurs devient de plus en plus aigu et pose la question de la poursuite ou de la réforme d'une expérience aussi
ambié. L'endettement vis-à-vis de l'extérieur a été d'autant plus aisément accepté que l'État faisait le pari enthousiaste que la croissance du produit national et du surplus escomptés engendreraient à terme un renversement du signe de la balance des opérations courantes, le rendant apte à enclencher un processus rapide de déendettement continu jusqu'à la réalisation tant espérée d'une autonomie industrielle et financière assurée. Ainsi la dette contractée restait-elle gagnée essentiellement par les résultats de l'activité, c'est-à-dire par les revenus attendus du capital, le patrimoine demeurant par conséquent intouchable. C'était là le même activisme monétaire naïf supposant que la détention d'un capital en devises permettait ipso facto de jouer au jeu fascinant de la plus-value et de l'accumulation. C'était compter sans les aléas de la gestion industrielle et de la compétition internationale. Pierrette avait seulement rêvé.

D'abord la gestion quotidienne a commencé par dévoiler des limites qui ont vite transformé les excédents attendus en déficits, déficits devenus tels qu'ils ne pouvaient être partiellement masqués que par une conception singulière des changes et la tentation d'une manipulation inflationniste des prix intérieurs. Le premier expedient affectait un taux de changes théorique variable, dévalorisant ou valorisant la monnaie nationale, au calcul de l'output, selon que l'entreprise était exportatrice ou non. Le second consistait à enfler artificiellement la valeur du produit cédé, au sein d'un marché protégé administrativement et dominé par les pratiques collusives des vendeurs. Le résultat est un processus permanent de dévalorisation de la monnaie nationale coïncidant avec l'enregistrement d'un taux de rentabilités pourtant artificielles. Les écrans de fumée avancés empêchaient que l'on prît franchement la mesure des gaspillages et des insuffisances... Partout l'on discutait sur le coût de l'apprentissage et sur les prix inévitables d'une indépendance économique proche. Cette politique laxiste alimentée par le vertige de considérations idéologiques a bloqué les efforts de recherche d'une efficacité et d'une discipline minimales pour l'entreprise qui auraient été stimulées par un comportement financier strict de l'État.

A la faveur du flou comptable et en plus des pertes essuyées par les entreprises publiques sont venues se greffer au système économique national des pratiques économiques délinquantes qui se sont accélérées depuis 1977, aggravant la menace d'explosion inflationniste et de fuite généralisée devant la monnaie nationale. Dès lors, l'endettement vis-à-vis de l'extérieur cessait d'être gagné par les surplus escomptés d'activités industrielles supposées rentables pour devenir une créance sur le patrimoine national et un droit potentiel du créancier à un regard au moins sur la gestion de l'Entreprise-Algérie. A ce premier type d'endettement est venu s'ajouter un second, plus insidieux, moins apparent, mais contenant en germe une extrême tension entre la société civile et l'État. Ce second type d'endettement est contenu dans le mode de gestion de l'économie par l'État. Les performances des entreprises publiques ayant été dans l'ensemble médiocres, la valeur ajoutée ayant été inférieure aux salaires distribués (lorsque les valeurs internationales sont prises comme valeurs de référence, le renouvellement du capital fixe lui-même cessait d'être assuré), l'État n'a eu d'autre ressource que de s'approprier par avance les ressources dégagées par les entreprises commerciales publiques ou privées ou par le secteur industriel privé.
plus rentable. Toute l'économie, du fait du poids excessif de ses besoins statiques et de la pauvreté de sa gestion productive, a commencé, ces dernières années, à n'être plus qu'une pyramide de marges greffées sur le seul commerce extérieur et taxant une productivité supérieure réalisée ailleurs. Chaque partie ne s'est plus souciée que de l'étendue de sa marge, les prélèvements étant effectués dans un climat malsain, inflationniste. L'apport de chacun à l'économie ne pouvait alors être questionné. Les entreprises publiques, qui étaient censées concourir à l'élargissement du marché intérieur jusqu'à le rendre un jour apte à porter un processus de reproduction autonome à un haut niveau d'absorption, sont, du fait de leur incapacité à produire économiquement, à exporter éventuellement et même à satisfaire à un coût raisonnable les besoins intérieurs, devenues de véritables pièges à devises et des fabriques d'inflation pour toute l'économie. Elles continuent à tirer l'ensemble de la nation vers l'appauvrissement.

A son tour, la réduction du revenu national à une somme de marges greffées sur l'import-export hâte la tentation de la spéculation et invite au non-effort, en encourageant les délirences latentes au sein de la société. L'État lui-même, devant le déséquilibre de plus en plus évident du couple dépenses-recettes publiques, est incité à la manipulation des prix intérieurs des biens importés et voilà qu'un dollar d'importation a tendance à se transformer en dix ou quinze dinars de recettes au niveau de l'État. Les opérateurs privés ont alors tendance à prolonger de plus en plus spontanément un esprit et une pratique dont l'État lui-même est parfois l'initiateur. Il n'est point étonnant alors que la pratique des changes dominante devienne, eu égard à la variabilité du "multiplicateur" devises-dinars, caractérisée par l'existence de taux de change multiples, à peine déguisée par l'État pour ses opérations de commerce extérieur, et franche pour la société civile. Ainsi tout se passe comme si la société, ne pouvant empêcher la gestion monopoliste de l'État sur ses ressources en devises, s'appropriait potentiellement ces mêmes fonds, avec le consentement tacite de l'administration. La même logique vaut pour le patrimoine foncier ou immobilier et les actifs productifs. L'on assiste, progressivement, à la montée des prétentions des segments les plus dynamiques de la société à des sûretés réelles pour les créances qu'ils détiennent, du fait de l'endettement de l'État vis-à-vis de la société. La formation de véritables lacs monétaires souterrains, contrepartie des déficits répétés du trésor (financés principalement par la création monétaire pour la partie couverte par les moyens nationaux) ont abouti paradoxalement à un dessaisissement potentiel d'une partie du patrimoine public au profit des entrepreneurs et speculateurs. Le Boutiquier finit par déloger le Général.

Souvent c'est l'État qui a avancé à ces entrepreneurs les moyens de multiplier leur fortune par la dévalorisation de la monnaie nationale, à laquelle ont concouru l'un et l'autre. La machine à corrompre la société est devenue un obstacle à une saine gestion et à la sauvegarde des patrimoines acquis. La société dispute à l'État le commandement des ressources réelles. Et l'État hésite entre la poursuite d'une politique d'endettement simultané auprès de l'extérieur et de l'intérieur (pour rembourser un service de la dette présentement de 4 milliards de dollars, l'État emprunte, environ, deux milliards de dollars, l'excédent de la balance des opérations courantes dégageant difficilement un excédent
compris entre deux ou trois milliards de dollars. Et encore il convien-
drait de se demander si certaines recettes, gaspillées entièrement, sont
régulièrement enregistrées et rendues publiques) avec le risque de
perdre, à terme, le contrôle des actifs dominants, ou l'association de
plus en plus large du capital privé national et étranger à une gestion
plus efficiente de l'économie. L'expérience de restructuration consis-
terait, en une sorte d'exercice exorciste, à sommer les anciennes entre-
prises à se comporter comme un capital nouveau et à porter au maximum
leurs efficiences productives n'incite guère à l'optimisme, si l'on considère
le précédent de la SNTF intervenu dans les années 70. Le vieux déficit
n'a pu être rebaptisé excessivement nouveau-ne. Les slogans marxistes ré-
pétés ad nauseam sur l'enfer capitaliste et les vertus des croissances
auto-centrées continuent à fasciner et l'État continue à s'interroger sur
les avantages d'une association des créanciers intérieurs et extérieurs à
la gestion quand les coups de bélier retentissent avec insistance à la
porte.

En attendant, des déséquilibres cumulatifs s'accumulent. Le taux de
chômage croît plus vite que le taux de création d'emplois (d'ailleurs
largement imprudent). D'ici l'an 2000, si la tendance actuelle se
maintient, c'est le tiers de la population adulte qui sera au chômage
(aujourd'hui un cinquième). L'exode rural persiste et l'agriculture
algérienne est une des rares à connaître une décroissance absolue du
nombre de ses paysans. L'Algérie perd ses paysans et y gagne des mi-
grants, instables géographiquement et professionnellement, formant des
ceintures menaçantes autour des villes hypertrophiées, eu égard à la
pauvreté de leur tissu productif. Une révolution agraire peu soucieuse
des réalités a littéralement inventé des latifundia... imaginaires et
ständu aux campagnes les défauts pourtant patents des domaines et
entreprises publics. Pourtant un coefficient de Gini seinent calculé
attesterait de caractères très faiblement inégaux de la possession des
terres en Algérie, si l'on excepte les domaines auto-centrés (coefficient de
Gini égal à 0,4, tombant à 0,1 si l'on introduit le facteur qualité des
terres.)

La consommation par tête a subi une chute pratiquement continue depuis
huit ans. Les indices de cette chute sont perceptibles au niveau de la
croissance de la part de l'alimentation dans les dépenses des ménages.
(La révision des pondérations, dans le calcul de l'indice des prix, du
poste alimentation dans le sens de l'alourdissement est un avantage indirect
d'une tendance à la paupérisation). Au sein de cette alimentation perçoit
la part incroyablement élevée des céréales (230 kg par personne et par
an). Plus un ménage est pauvre, plus il consomme de "biens de pauv-
re". Effets de Giffen et première loi d'Engel se conjuguent pour appor-
ter une première preuve indirecte. L'évolution des elasticités en con-
stitue une deuxième. L'élasticité-prix pratiquement nulle de la demande
de biens alimentaires montre que les ménages sont encore loin de la sa-
turation et qu'ils restent prêts à sacrifier les autres postes, devenus
résiduels, à l'alimentation. La propension moyenne à consommer, voisine
de 1 pour plus des quatre cinquièmes des ménages, signifie que pour la
majorité de la population, épargner c'est se priver encore plus. Mais les
agents économiques continuent à se disputer le contrôle de l'économie en
constant appauvrissement quand l'État parle de prospérité à généraliser.
Les réponses que les responsables continuent à apporter au problème de l'échange d'un capital réel contre un capital fictif relèvent du domaine de l'irréel. Le Plan est lui-même devenu un instrument de propagande. Ainsi 750 000 logements se trouvent superbement inscrits au plan 1980-1984. Or le simple calcul basé sur un prix minimal de 3 000 dinars/m² (on atteignait les 5 000 dinars le m² en 1984 et le trend est à la hausse) et sur la constatation que plus de la moitié du coût du logement est importée montre que le volume de devises nécessaire par un tel programme est tel que si l'on ajoute les importations incompressibles de biens alimentaires, l'activité des entreprises se trouve étranglée, faute de pouvoir se procurer les inputs nécessaires. Il ne peut alors être question d'investissements nouveaux. En réalité, c'est moins du quart qui sera réalisé. Ainsi la se créeuse le fossé entre le réel et la promesse. Tout se passe comme si l'Etat se comportait de manière à jeter le discrédit sur sa gestion. L'horizon se trouve par conséquent envahi par les contestations possibles et les répressions inévitables.

Ainsi une gestion qui a constamment hésité entre la manipulation autoritaire des paramètres et instruments économiques et la tentative de recourir à la monnaie comme instrument de dynamisation des positions et distances sociales et de la transformation stratégique des actifs a finalement abouti à destabiliser le monopole de l'Etat, y compris au niveau des institutions qui auraient dû rester incontestées (contrôle des changes, monopole bancaire...), au profit des entrepreneurs, commerçants et propriétaires et à internationaliser potentiellement le patrimoine et les actifs reçus hérités de la colonisation. De plus en plus s'affirment les prétentions de la société à vouloir contrôler la gestion de la monnaie et le comportement économique de l'Etat. Le Boutriquier triomphe et le calcul glace va remplacer l'incantation d'une idéologie immédiatement partageuse. La méfiance et le mépris de la plebe parasitaire s'installent et les appels à la discipline de travail qui s'élèvent activent une dynamique de différenciation des revenus et surtout des patrimoines à gérer privativement. La somme des revenus ésaurisés en cachette aspire à se métamorphoser en capital et les créances détournées sur l'Etat aspirent à devenir patrimoine réel.

L'échec plus général des expériences "socialistes" du Tiers Monde renvoie au climat de délinquance essentiel au sein de sociétés restées darwinienes, faute d'avoir pu s'élever moralement au dessus des pulsions crimogènes engendrées par un milieu international conflictuel. Les politiques du type "Beggar my neighbour" ont abouti à des conflits que les égoïsmes nationaux ont précipités. Chaque société a la moralité de son état économique tout comme chaque Etat a la population qu'il mérite. Parvenue à ce point, l'expérience algérienne ne peut plus se dérober au bilan, en continuant les dépenses ou les emprunts tous azimuts: soit que les échecs répétés entraînent une réaction négative de la société, soit que s'enclenche une dynamique de la privatisation associant le capital privé national et international à la gestion du potentiel productif de la nation. Mais le régime hésite et pourtant c'est "Ici Rhodes, et c'est ici qu'il faut sauter!"
I
BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM

In the past twenty five years the image of Africa has shifted from great optimism of the immediate post-independence era (the 1960s) to one of immense gloom and pessimism. The independence of Ghana ushered in the dawn of a new age for the continent of Africa and its peoples. But with the onset of the great African drought 1968-75 and the oil crisis of 1973 and dramatic shift in the continent’s image ensued. In the minds of many Africa is now characterised as a continent in crisis, a highly vulnerable region of the world — a continent caught in an inevitable downward spiral. Famine, high population growth rates and declining agricultural production have rapidly become the most common symbols of African existence to the external world, replacing other historically entrenched stereotypes. Conventional assessment of Africa’s fragile natural resource base have conjured up an international image of a continent facing imminent collapse.

This persisting negative image of Africa as a continent in crisis, if unchallenged may not only be misleading but may also cause articulate Africans to doubt their own self-determination and critical role as levers of change for a better future. The data base on which this image rests is weak and questionable; time horizons for evaluating development trends on the continent are short and often externally defined and the methodology is overly simplified neglecting the wide and rich diversity of local level cultural, social and economic basis in African society which offer an alternative interpretive framework for Africa's future and analysis is mostly
distant (done mainly by experts based in international organizations outside Africa).

In the absence of **credible alternative** visions, prevailing forecasts about Africa's future extrapolated events could become self-fulfilling prophesies, frustrating the marshalling of innovative thinking, creativity and energy needed for new directions of thought and action.

A number of Africans representing a broad range of academic disciplines and institutions who see a need to break the hold of present limited perceptions of the continent are beginning to make their voices heard around the region and in international fora concerning a possible future direction in the 21st century Africa. While they do not underestimate the legacies of the past and the structural constraints to which they have given rise, they are concerned about the need to restore confidence in the capacity of Africa to survive and indeed thrive in the 21st century and future times. Africa cannot forever be haunted by its past: after all many cataclysmic events of the past years like the Jewish holocaust or Hiroshima have not led to an eternal pessimism among the Japanese or the Jewish peoples. It might even be a tremendous basis for overcoming disabilities inherent in technological 'political' and economic incapacity to become sources of positive change in themselves.

In today’s difficult situation, Africa needs new, magnetic images and aspirations of the future. This is a time that calls for creativity in working together across academic disciplines, policy institutions and political programmes in order to mobilize natural, intellectual, managerial and financial resources toward a new Africa.

The Kericho conference represents a first step in an effort to mobilize continent-wide support for a new kind of imaging of Africa's future as a basis for formulating and implementing alternative development strategies.

What will Africa look like in the year 2057 — a century after Sudan and Ghana initiated the wave of political independence in sub-Saharan Africa?

Usually nobody adopts such a long-term perspective. For governments and donor agencies as well as many others, including the media reporting on Africa, the future ends at year 2000. Yet, in
development terms, thirteen years is nothing and a child born today will be “only” 70 years by 2057.

Recognising the needs for a realistic time-frame for Africa’s future development and a broadening of the policy and research agendas beyond their current stalemate, the Nairobi-based African Academy of Sciences, the Dakar-based Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA), and the Alan Shawn Feinstein World Hunger Program, based at Brown University, U.S.A., are currently sponsoring a research and development policy project titled “Beyond Hunger: Africa’s Future, 1957-2057”. Its initial activity was a Workshop on Africa’s future held at the Tea Hotel, Kericho, Kenya on June 1-5, 1987.

Nineteen prominent African scholars drawn from 10 different sub-Saharan countries and various academic backgrounds (see list at the end of this summary) came together to consider the “conventional wisdom” about Africa’s future and through the use of a newly developed methodology create alternative and surprise-rich future scenarios for Africa. Participants were nominated by an Organizing Committee consisting of Professor Akin Mabogunje, Nigeria, Professor Thomas R. Odhiambo, Kenya; Dr. Marie-Angelique Savanne, Senegal; Dr. Kimpianga Mahaniah, Zaire; Dr. Thandika Mkandawire, Malawi; and Professor Goran Hyden, Sweden. Nominees were chosen for their documented commitment to and interest in Africa’s future, their scholarly contribution to the understanding and resolution of current problems, and their readiness to think and articulate issues in an independent fashion.

II

THE “CONVENTIONAL WISDOM” ABOUT AFRICA

It is a sad comment on the status of policy analysis in Africa today that its agenda is really set by others. Thus the current perspective – here also referred to as the “conventional wisdom” – are contained primarily in documents prepared by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the specialized U.N. agencies and various other international organizations. The only Africa-based institution in this group is the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), itself a United Nations agency.
Participants at the Kericho Workshop were first asked to consider a current perspective scenario of development in sub-Saharan Africa until the middle of the 21st century. Derived from an analysis of a hundred international documents projecting future trends in Africa (and the world) with regard to conventional indicators such as population growth, gross domestic product (GDP), energy consumption, environmental change, technological capabilities and social development, this paper constitutes a unique compilation of the "conventional wisdom" about the continent. The future scenario of Africa that emerges in that paper is "surprise-free" in that it does not attempt to encompass specific events, unexpected changes, or other surprises that could significantly alter long-term trends. However, it differs from the Malthusian "persistent-trend" scenarios put forward by, for example, the ECA and FAO in that it reflects conventional expectations of the reversal of recent discouraging trends in population growth, food production, economic performance, and other areas.

It is clear that surprise-free development over the next 70 years is not very likely. Few periods in history have not had their shares of surprises. Nevertheless, the potential for surprise should not deter careful examination of and planning for the future. Indeed, according to World Bank demographic projections, of the 180 million children in Africa under age 10 in 1985, roughly three-fifths of Africa’s present population may witness all of what occurs during the next 70 years. The year 2057 will be of concern not only to members of future generations, but also to many of those alive today.

The "current perspective" scenario, then, provides a starting point for developing alternative scenarios of the future and for asking questions about how long present trends might persist, how they might be modified by ongoing or future choices, and how well they portray the future of Africa.

A three-stage trajectory is generally employed by the international organizations in projecting the current perspective for Africa to 2057. The time of euphoria begins in 1957 and ends in 1980; the time of troubles continues to 2000; and the time of renewal extends to 2057. For many variables, each time period implies a different growth rate. For instance, economic growth per
capita is assumed to be 2.4% per year for 1950-1980, 1% for 1980-2000, and 2.5% for 2000-2057. Although the year 2000 appears to be a relatively early turning point for some discouraging trends, it is certainly a key reference point in the current perspective of the future. Delaying the onset of the time of renewal to 2010 does not change the scenario for 2057 significantly.

What, then, is the "current perspective" scenario for Africa in 2057? At that time, Africa would be a continent of 2 billion people, one fifth of the world’s total population, with an average per capita income of $3,800 and an average life expectancy of 76, with almost all of its children in primary school and half in secondary school, and with intensive use of its rich natural resources. As such, it would be about as densely populated, as wealthy, healthy and educated, and as environmentally transformed as Greece was in the early 1980s.

More than half of the African population would be concentrated in Eastern and Western Africa. In all regions, population growth would have slowed substantially. Less than one-fourth of the population would be under 15 years of age. Three quarters of the population would live in urban areas, with perhaps a third of these in cities of over 4 million people.

Average per capita incomes would have risen almost fivefold since 1957. Both agriculture and industry would have expanded rapidly. Agricultural production would have increased more than ninefold, raising per capita food supplies by almost half. Although not self-sufficient in meeting its industrial demands, Africa would produce capital goods equal in value to what the United Kingdom produced in 1980.

Children born in 2057 would have a life expectancy of 76 years. Mortality among infants would have dropped to the level in North America in the 1980s. Relatively few children would have more than one sibling. Most would receive primary education and probably secondary education and almost all would know how to read. As adults, they would have good opportunities for higher education, technical training, and subsequent employment within Africa.

Greatly expanded agricultural and industrial production, high-density population clusters and rapidly growing energy consump-
tion would place tremendous pressures on natural resources and the environment. Although the worst problems of soil erosion, deforestation, and desertification would have been contained, many areas would still face serious losses, and must make substantial investments to keep them under control. Attempts to deal with localized pollution problems are expected to have been generally successful, but the threat of large-scale hazards such as radioactive or biological contamination might be growing.

III
CRITIQUE OF THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

There are at least three principal sets of limitations inherent in the "current perspective" on Africa's future. The first pertains to the accuracy and representativeness of presently available data on Africa. Statistical summaries of key demographic and economic indicators are reproduced widely in both the technical and popular literatures. Unfortunately, the proliferation of such summaries tends to conceal the limited quantity and quality of the primary data on which these indicators are based and the often considerable uncertainty they incorporate. Possible pitfalls include the tendency to:

1. focus on conventional variables for which data exist rather than on more pivotable newly identified variables for which data are sparse;
2. to concentrate on aggregate behaviours, rather than on the potentially more sensitive behaviour of sub-regions or sub-groups; and,
3. to ignore the effects of uncertainty have uses, extrapolations into the future. Thus, although these data certainly have uses, it is important to keep their shortcomings in mind in thinking about the future.

A second limitation is that the forecasts of the future used in the "conventional wisdom" scenario at best consider only a few key variables at a time. Few consider possible interactions between variables or important heterogeneities in any detail. For example, almost all economic and social forecasts treat demographic projections as an external input, thereby limiting the potential feedback of social and economic factors for demographic behaviours. The
demographic projections themselves incorporate gross assumptions about future economic and social conditions and about the effects of these on demographic behaviour. Such assumptions are usually varied to a limited degree to produce "low", "medium", and "high" estimates, but this procedure may mask the effects of complex interactions and feedbacks characteristic of real systems. The possibility therefore exists that even the supposedly "extreme" scenarios developed using conventional methods overlook important self-regulatory mechanisms, thresholds, or other non-linear phenomena and therefore may fail to characterize fully the range of possible futures.

The third limitation, which many workshop participants felt very strongly about, is the absence in the "current perspective" of any reference to the cultural dimension of human systems. Forecasting models only incorporate those variables that can be quantified. As a result, everything else tends to be treated as potential constraints. For example, in demographic and economic forecasts, African cultures are treated as obstacles rather than opportunities. Still it can be argued, as indeed many participants did, that development is not so much about the production of certain tangible outputs as it is about the change of the human mind, notably the emergence of greater respect both for oneself and others. Given the historical legacy of Africa as the perennially oppressed and exploited region of the world, this factor takes on special significance in any thinking about the continent's future. By according greater recognition to the nature and quality of social interaction, human creativity and self-esteem, African countries could make great strides forward.

What may seem implausible today, therefore, could well be common practice tomorrow.

IV

CONSTRUCTING AFRICA'S ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

In constructing alternative future scenarios, Workshop participants used a combination of subjective probability assessment and imaging. The first of these two techniques was used to elicit "surprising" or alternative endpoints for Africa in year 2057. Two separate scenarios emerged out of this exercise which was conducted in four
groups working independently of each other. The first was labelled the “Big Lift”, based on the assumption that after another twenty-thirty years, Africa would “take off”. The second was called “Big Rift” after participants had suggested that a very probable scenario for the mid-21st century was an increasing differentiation among African states. As it turned out the Workshop had time to devote itself only to the first of these two endpoints.

The technique of imaging was subsequently used to identify credible, coherent and consistent pathways to a future Africa that in the “Big Lift” scenario would be much better off than in the perspective of the current conventional wisdom. As in the case of eliciting the alternative endpoints, participants were divided into four groups consisting of individuals with different disciplinary orientations.

By allowing a longer time horizon than usual this methodology enabled participants of very varying backgrounds to work together without getting bogged down in epistemological differences. To be sure, there were divergences on many issues but physicists, geographers, climatologists, economists, political scientists, anthropologists, etc. were able to interact with each other in a constructive and rewarding fashion in producing the four versions of the “Big Lift”.

While the 70-year time horizon adopted in this project at first appeared quite long – and indeed is much longer than what is employed in current perspectives – participants soon realized that seventy years constitutes a relatively short period in human history. The subjective probability assessment technique encouraged participants to recognize the importance of the human force in history. Man can make a difference but he must also accept that not all events are equally probable. There is a need to carefully assess which events man sets in motion that is likely to be particularly significant in the longer run. Workshop participants identified a broad range of factors that tend to be ignored in current perspectives, for example, spontaneous innovative and productive activities taking place at the grassroots level, technological inventions, political developments and climatic changes. All of these can help bring about surprising developments in Africa in the next seventy years. Below follows a summary statement about the four histories developed under the “Big Lift” rubric.
The four alternative histories envision a changed Africa by the year 2057. Africa has been transformed economically, politically, socially and culturally for the better in such a way that there is a higher level of living characterized by higher growth rates, greater democratization of the political process, a heightened social and political awareness of peoples at the local level coupled with a greater contribution of grassroots social, religious, cultural and feminist movements to national development. In particular the histories envisage a greatly improved situation of women and a higher level of cultural activity affirming African identity in languages, music, dance and symbolic culture.

There is a greater unity and social and economic interaction and exchange among African states alleviating the problem of small land-locked states and common currencies have emerged to facilitate intra-African trade, cooperation and exchange.

By the year 2057 apartheid has been eliminated and Azania takes its rightful place among African nations. Industrializing efforts are now centred in Southern Africa and West Africa with Nigeria as the focal point in the west and Azania in the south. Science and technology has greatly advanced as exemplified by the “African Institute of Advanced Aeronautic and Space Science and Technology” established at the Makerere University of the Federation of Africa based in Kampala, Uganda. One history provides a 20-year phased interval of waves of change from 1987-2057 with emphasis on economic improvement and greater democratization of society. Another case history envisions dramatic climatic changes with a deteriorating situation in the northern hemisphere causing the once ‘developed’ countries to depend more on Africa for grain and food. Another history envisions a delinking of African economies from the North as a result of the application of biotechnology and genetic engineering to the production of high-value agricultural commodities and a greater competence in biotechnology in solving food problems. Yet another history envisions a greater development of the capacity of symbolic culture as an alternative path for predicting the future.
At first glance, the alternative future scenarios produced by the Workshop may appear overly optimistic, but they are not really. In comparison with the “conventional wisdom” scenario, these alternatives assume a longer period of crisis, reckoning and awakening. At the same time, it adopts a more optimistic assumption about Africa’s performance after year 2015. The conventional wisdom conceives of a unilinear trend, the alternative future histories incorporate a dialectic movement.

Participants generally agreed that the “conventional wisdom” scenario – implying that sub-Saharan Africa in 2057 would be where Greece is today – is conservative. It is definitely within the realm of possibilities for Africa to move further ahead. Participants quoted various factors in support of this proposition:

1. The already existing creativity and vitality of local actors outside the formal sector (most of which never gets recorded and acknowledged by governments and donors);
2. The rapid technological developments in fields of key importance to Africa, e.g. biotechnology;
3. The climatic changes that man may induce in the next hundred years as a result of emitting higher doses of carbon-dioxide into the atmosphere;
4. The growing impatience in many parts of Africa with poor government performance and abuse of power; and
5. The emerging rediscovery of Africa’s cultural heritage and its significance as a force in the development of society.

Perhaps the most important outcome of the Workshop was the growing awareness among participants that they represent a new movement that could have a bearing on where Africa is going in the next seventy years. There was a deliberate effort to contrast the thoughts, approaches and methodologies adopted in the workshop with those associated with the “conventional wisdom”. These differences, which appear at different levels, may be summarized with regard to policy and research, as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>CONVENTIONAL WISDOM</th>
<th>AFRICAN VISION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONCEPTUAL</td>
<td>abstract</td>
<td>realistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>static &amp; short-term</td>
<td>evolutionary &amp; long-run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unilinear</td>
<td>dialectic/systemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>crisis-oriented</td>
<td>beyond crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>equilibrium</td>
<td>non-equilibrium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METHODOLOGICAL</td>
<td>surprise-free</td>
<td>surprise-rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>deductive</td>
<td>inductive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>predictive</td>
<td>retrodictive/explanatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTITUTIONAL</td>
<td>state-centred</td>
<td>grassroots-oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>concentrated</td>
<td>multiple &amp; dispersed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>monopolistic</td>
<td>pluralizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heavily planned</td>
<td>experimentalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPERATIONAL</td>
<td>donor-fed &amp; controlled</td>
<td>locally owned &amp;initiate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>directive, pre-emptive</td>
<td>supportive nurturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>capital intensive</td>
<td>people intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINANCIAL</td>
<td>massive transfer</td>
<td>seed money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>project-specific</td>
<td>matching funds</td>
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</tbody>
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Participants were agreed that the various elements associated with the African vision should be further explored and propagated both among researchers, analysts and decision-makers.

**VI**

**FOLLOW-UP**

Workshop participants agreed to continue the project and develop various activities, including a special lecture series on the “Future of Africa”, research, and dissemination. Some argued for the development of the project into an African “think-tank” on the continent’s future.

A number of specific research topics, reflecting the issues raised in the alternative future scenarios, were identified:

- The new Panafricanism: regional cooperation through parallel markets
- The new African: the Panafricanization of urban culture
- African languages in the context of expanding intra-African interaction
- Informatics in relation to language and non-formal education
• Relationships between African universities, research institutes and grassroots organizations in development
• South Africa beyond apartheid
• Role of African religious movements in social change
• The Lagos Plan of Action and the new social movements
• Population growth and agricultural change in densely populated areas of Africa
• Resource conservation in land abundant areas in Africa
• Informal spread of high technology in Africa
• Biotechnology and Africa's genetic heritage
• Impact of climatic changes on African development in the next century
• Ecological implications of anthropogenic influences of African development in the next century
• Social and scientific responses to epidemics in Africa
• Prospects for improved communications and transportation within Africa.

Participants suggested that as much as possible research activities should be informed by a common concern with the issues of gender, culture and democracy.

Finally, the Workshop agreed that the project should continue as a network and that other concerned scholars in Africa should be invited to join this timely effort to broaden and realign the research and policy agendas from within the continent.

PARTICIPANTS WERE

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(Contact: Achola Pala Okeyo, ICIFE, POB 30772, Nairobi, Kenya).
DECLARATION OF THE FIRST GLOBAL POPULAR SUMMIT
OF THE GREAT PEACE JOURNEY
ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS IN THE UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK,
ON FRIDAY 23 SEPTEMBER 1988*

We of the Great Peace Journey who have convened the first Global Popular Summit at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City carried on intensive discussions during the period 21-23 September 1988.

1. The Basic World Situation

We find the world in 1988 to be caught between opposite tendencies: on all sides opportunities for peace and justice exist to offer us hope, and yet never have so many people on this planet been caught up in the miseries of hunger, disease, exile, repression and despair, and never in all human history have the threats to health, well-being, and even survival seemed to severe, ranging from new dimensions of the nuclear arms race to potentially disastrous ecological developments associated with the greenhouse effect, ozone depletion, radioactive wastes, destruction of rainforests, death of the oceans.

We are deeply encouraged by recent positive developments for their own sake and as parts of a process that would greatly improve the prospects for peace and justice in the world. We believe that the recent progress made under United Nations auspices to solve several regional conflicts both creates a global momentum for peace and builds renewed confidence in the importance of the United Nations. Such developments reflect a softening of the East-West rivalry and build some hope that the cold war is coming to an end, diminishing tensions and shifting energies to the challenges posed by human suffering and ecological danger.

We also felt anguish over many signals of human distress. Each day 60,000 persons needlessly die, each year 18,000,000; these losses from social conditions of deprivation exceed by far the carnage caused by war. And war persists on our planet, especially in the Third World where we count some 37 wars taking place at present. We deplore the terrifying vulnerability that afflicts the lives of so many - and especially of children and women, of the poor in non-Western countries, of the millions of refugees displaced by fear of persecution or by the turmoil of violence. We take special note of the persisting atrocity of apartheid and call on all forces of peace and justice to join in the struggle for a South Africa freed from the curse of racism.

* cf. IFDA Dossier 50, pp.75-78 & cf, pp.57-59.
Responding to these opportunities and ordeals requires great imagination and energy. Governments must be challenged, international institutions must be endowed with wider mandates. We who speak as ordinary people must raise our voice at this time both in celebration and in gentle anger. We reflect especially the new resolve of women throughout the world to offer innovative ways to protect humanity and the future.

II. The aims and basic principles of The Great Peace Journey

The basic principles of The Great Peace Journey are to further a dialogue between citizens and governments pertaining to the Five Questions. Its approach is holistic. It brings together a criticism of current policies of national defence and militarization, and supports constructive alternatives and an open-ended vision of a more humane and just world.

The Great Peace Journey is a process, one of many seeds in the nuclear-ecological age towards developing an international democracy and a political community that acknowledges no boundaries.

Basic in the struggle for peace and justice is the accountability of governments as well as international agencies and corporations. We seek to empower people to exercise popular sovereignty over the commons of human kind as well as their daily lives.

The United Nations Charter is pledged to realize a peaceful world. Our Five Questions are drawn from this Charter vision. The process of realizing this vision would require radical changes in all nations but it would offer a less cruel, more beautiful world, for generations to come.

The Great Peace Journey, through its Five Questions to Governments, offers a contribution to worldwide efforts to change the international political climate, to lay the foundation of a new security order, a new international order.

This leads to the need

- to recognize our common interests in overcoming the common crisis of North and South, to speak with the Brandt Commission;
- to gain understanding and win support for the concept of common security, to speak with the Palme Commission;
- to visualize a common future through sustainable development in a sound environment for all of us, to speak with the Brundtland Commission;

To summarize these theses: there is today no more urgent security need than a complete re-definition of the concept of security.

Security must be developed, development secured. In today's world defence and security can only be achieved by giving priority to civilian and non-violent conflict resolution. Development that improves the life situation of those vulnerable and underprivileged can not occur without basic changes in both industrialized countries and the Third World.
Development and search for security must above all realize the potential of human beings and begin to fulfil their spiritual, mental and material possibilities.

We believe that new thinking is needed and possible at this time, that what has been fragmented must be grasped through holistic images to form a strategy for a future world that meets the needs, and even the dreams of the children of the world. We are convinced that women play a critical role in developing the rich and flourishing possibilities of this new thinking. Greater care than ever is needed in all domains of human activity, especially because our technological powers are more menacing than ever in the past.

III. The Five Questions

As you may recall, the Five Questions, posed to all governments between 1985 and 1986 were:

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 United Nations peacekeeping forces) - if all other members of the United Nations 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 United Nations 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 United Nations 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 of threat or force?

91 countries answered "Yes".

A "Yes"-world would be dramatically different from the contemporary one. A "Yes" does not mean that the governments should just wait until "all others have done the same". The positive answers ought to commit each and every government to explore how changes can be made in the direction of a "Yes"-world in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Our initiative should be seen as an opportunity for governments to
take action in the spirit of a growing transnational ethos that responds to dangers facing the whole planet.

We feel strongly that the world has enough knowledge about the causes of the civilizational malaise; we have also had a large number of reports, analyses and proposals outlining what to do. A new imperative is forming on the lips of people everywhere: "Act, take bold initiatives, make commitments for justice and peace - or perish!" And even this might not be enough. An ecological imperative is also necessary: "Preserve nature and restore the environment - or perish!"

IV. Following up

The Great Peace Journey has not yet finished the work it set out to accomplish. It has tested the willingness of governments to say "Yes" to the questions, it has established a network of active supporters in all regions of the world, it has established a dialogue on next steps to go forward from here at the United Nations and elsewhere. We are more aware than most, that much remains to be done, that we have bearly started the journey to a peaceful world. We want very much for this work to go on, and we can forsee several lines of evolution.

We believe that much can be done at this stage in several regional settings where projects can go forward. We especially commend efforts to establish zones of peace in as many regions as possible and to promote the self-determination of all peoples, especially tribal and indigenous peoples who have so often been forgotten, if not liquidated, by the makers of the modern world.

We also believe that this is a time to explore ways to keep the international presence of The Great Peace Journey intact. All of us believe this to be desirable if the human and financial resources can be found.

This is a time to continue the dialogue on the Five Questions, to move the "No"-countries into the "Yes"-category and to challenge the "Yes"-countries to join deeds to their words and work with popular groups to create a "Yes"-world.

It is also a time when international law could be given greater respect and authority, especially in relation to a prohibition on nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons; to securing protection for children, refugees, minorities, endangered nations, and indigenous peoples, and generally to secure the human rights of all individuals and groups; we express our particular concern for women and even children, victimized by militarization, the horrifying accompaniment of prostitution that inevitably arises from all foreign military presences, as an urgent priority, to bring economic justice to poorer societies burdened by debts and confronted by harsh and biased obstacles to fair trade.

It is finally a time to work for accountability of governments, of the United Nations, of banks and corporations, of all organizations which contribute to the sufferings of the peoples of the world and in generation dangers of war and ecological decay.
V. Hope for the future

We of The Great Peace Journey come away from the Global Popular Summit inspired and hopeful about the future. We believe that the climate is right to move the United Nations to a new level of activity and competence. We are convinced that popular initiatives are needed to realize these hopes - to call attention to the visions of a peaceful world contained in the UN Charter; to plead the cause of those who are among the most vulnerable on our planet, and to safeguard our beautiful planet from the ravages of careless technology and mindless development. We call on others throughout the world to join us in dialogue about the future and to ask of all governments that they rededicate themselves to the goals and principles of the United Nations and its Charter, and to carry on their activity in strict conformity with international law. If these calls are neglected, the future will be grim for all of us. If these calls are heeded we can imagine a bright and wonderful future for the children of the 21st century.

INGA THORSSON’S OPENING SPEECH*

Through the five questions to governments the intention of The Great Peace Journey was to promote a political dialogue between peoples and governments all over the world, in support of the solution of global problems by multilateral co-operation, through the United Nations.

In fact the UN Charter constitutes the very basis for the five questions. In becoming members of the United Nations and voluntarily signing the Charter, governments of the 159 member states have committed themselves to a code of behaviour in their international relations. For how many of them has that pledge truly fulfilled over the 43 years of the existence of the United Nations?

The Great Peace Journey, through its five questions to governments, is aiming at a contribution to worldwide efforts to change the international political climate, to lay the foundation of a new security order, a new international order (...)

Sometimes, people's projects for peace and security are judged to be naive by those who believe themselves to be more knowledgeable, more experienced and more rational. That judgement should be taken gladly. Naivety can be - and often is in matters of a peaceful future - an utter expression of realism.

But we are not naive enough, though, to imagine that the world be transformed, as it were, overnight, by the opening of a political dia-

* Inga Thorsson, a founding member of IFPU and member of its Committee, is the President of The Green Peace Journey. We reproduce below excerpts from her opening speech at the First Global Popular Summit, United Nations, New York, 21 September 1966.
logue between the peoples and the governments. The issues involved are extremely serious, complicated and difficult. But we do believe in the need for new thinking and new initiatives in matters of life or death for the human beings of our only earth.

**Two points** I should like to make very briefly here.

First: the importance that we should attach to the psychology of political action and reaction, which, in turn, is a prerequisite of the possibility to deal with international conflicts in a rational and peaceful way.

This is how, at a conference in Stockholm just a year ago, called Disarmament - But How?, a British psychologist, Dr. James A. Thompson, described some of the perceptions of governments facing an adversary in a conflict situation approaching violent action:

- They started first - we responded;
- They broke their word - we adjusted our position;
- They are offensive - we are defensive;
- They invade - we peace-keep;
- They talk peace but plan war - we mean peace but reluctantly must also plan war;
- We would love to disarm, as long as they disarm first.

Indeed, this enumeration of governmental perceptions does give credence to the standard formula that The Great Peace Journey used in the first three of the five questions: "if all other UN Member States undertake to do the same."

This is not meant to underestimate the principal and/or political difficulties for the pursuance of The Great Peace Journey's ideas in times to come involved in the use of this standard formula. On the contrary, it should serve as a reminder of the many political obstacles to be overcome on our way to a true people-inspired state of disarmament and peace.

The second point: it is of great importance to emphasize the fourth question dealing with development and social justice, in our view only possible to achieve through disarmament and conversion of resources to peaceful and constructive purposes, as part of establishing a new and more just world economic system.

My own thinking on issues related to question N°4 developed over the years of work on disarmament and development, coincides with some ideas elaborated at a university symposium in New Zealand in November 1987 by an American social scientist, professor Willis Harman. One of his starting points was:

There is no real security for the superpowers through deterrence. There is no real security for Europe as long as it is at the mercy of the decisions of the superpowers, or of accidental initiations of hostilities.
But also, there is no real security for the peoples of the Third World. In a world which permits outlawry, there is no security for the weak. And in the present world system some of the weak seem to be rather permanently relegated to that position.

Responsibility for protection of the weak within national boundaries has been increasingly assumed by the nations of the world. However, extending the right to satisfaction of basic needs to the global level, to insure that all people everywhere can have their basic needs satisfied, is far from being recognized as a valid concept.

In brief, it is not clear that common security can be obtained around the world by means short of a major system change.

So far Professor Harman. It reminds me of a statement made just a year ago in a report to a Nordic conference on global interdependence issues: Until all people of the world feel secure in their everyday lives, there will be security for none. The urge for security thus becomes a global issue.

The United Nations should be, and must be made into the focal point of the new global thinking, urgently required for a turnabout in international relations. But how often do we not still witness narrow, shortsighted and nationalistic interest of Member States obstructing the principal aims of the UN Charter. Let me just quote two most recent examples.

The third UN General Assembly session on disarmament failed to produce a consensus final document, in spite of considerable concessions, in my view too fargoing concessions, by a number of government delegations. This was due to the resistance of the most powerful NATO country, insistent to dictate its conditions to the international community.

The UN is caught in a most serious financial crisis which threatens its continued activities and the exercise of its most vital services in promoting peaceful solutions of armed conflicts. Again: this is due to the refusal of this most powerful NATO country to pay its legally binding dues as a Member State of the UN until the UN decides to follow the dictates of that country.

It has now been announced from the white House that the US will start paying its UN dues. The statement was vague and the question is: When? and with how much?

This is the moment for the peoples of this earth to come forward, bravely, in the defence of common global action for the survival and the development of humanity.

People have asked: why the Global Popular Summit? The answer is rather simple: we have often witnessed the pyramid symbol of what is called summit meetings: the two men at the top, letting whatever results their meetings achieve descend downwards to the smaller nations, and, at the base, the peoples having no influence on world affairs and
human development in peace whatsoever. The Great Peace Journey, with its Global Popular Summit, is turning this pyramid upside-down: making the broad base its top, the peoples asking and requesting answers to their questions of the decision-makers.

I want to quote the UN Secretary-General, in his foreword to the recently published Gaia Peace Atlas: "Ultimately it is the peoples of the world who must save themselves".

To translate that into something that I have said on a few occasions:

The peoples shall not any longer trust the world's political princes and their summit meetings. Someone has said that the popular mobilization for peace, development and justice is spreading like a prairie-fire around the world. We see today the popular movements for peace spreading and broadening their support base, among the churches, among the trade unions, among the environmental groups and, not least, among the professional groups against nuclear weapons and for peace.

As a matter of fact, I can see no realistic way out of our present era of global crises but the genuine involvement of the peoples. It is their lives that are at stake, because of the double threat to their survival.

We must first of all aim at collective survival, by removing the Damocles sword of the militarization process. Without that, there will be no development, no human life worth living.

I should therefore like to see the peoples develop an immense amount of confidence in their own possibilities of power; we have called it the power of the powerless. That could be mobilized, and the results that it could bring should never be underestimated by the mighty and powerful.

This has been and is the aim of The Great Peace Journey. This will continue to be the aim of keeping the ideas of The Great Peace Journey alive in the future.

(The Great Peace Journey International Secretariat, POB 228, 751 04 Uppsala, Sweden).

ANNOUNCEMENTS * ANNONCES * ANUNCIOS

Dans le cadre de son Programme et Budget pour 1988-1989, l'Unesco prévoit la mise au point et la diffusion d'un répertoire international des institutions menant des recherches sur la dimension culturelle du développement, et notamment sur les interactions entre la culture et les autres aspects du développement. Ce répertoire sera réalisé à partir des informations obtenues à l'issue d'une enquête par questionnaire qui sera lancée ultérieurement. Les institutions qui souhaitent participer à l'enquête peuvent obtenir le questionnaire en s'adressant à la Section des politiques culturelles, Division des études et des politiques culturelles, Unesco, 1, rue Miollis, 75015 Paris, France.
It is being constantly repeated that we all live on the same planet and therefore share collectively its fate. No doubt, the process of globalisation - which is not altogether new since it started five centuries ago with the 'discovery' of America, followed by the Universalism of the Enlightenment - has entered a new qualitative phase during the last forty years, through the intensification of communications and exchanges of all kinds as well as through the global capacities of destruction. Yet, should we deduce from this platitute that interdependency implies the subordination of the projects of the various societies of our world to the same criterion of rationality which orders the global expansion of the market? This opinion, which is dominant today, is not only rigorously incorrect, it is also extremely dangerous.

The exigencies of globalisation were expressed in the past-world war II expansion 1945-1970 through a double complementary paradigm. In the industrialised countries it was thought that keynesian interventionism could ensure a continuous growth to the benefit of all, eliminating the conjunctural fluctuations and reducing unemployment to minimal. In addition, this was made consistent with a gradual international opening to the extent that the remembrance of the possible conflicts between national policies and globalisation was almost forgotten.

In the Third World, the Bandung ideology of development (1955-1975) was based on the idea that nations could master a process of development still taking advantage of interdependency. Nuances and polemics moved within the limits of the consensus over these reference paradigms.

Simultaneously, the socialist countries were enclosed in a ghetto of a third paradigm, hostile in principle to interdependency. Yet, since the autarkic and autocratic stalinist State has been shaken, the hope appeared that liberalisation - as a prelude to democratisation - implied also external opening. In this frame, even the military bipolarity of the two superpowers could be looked at in an optimistic way: reason would necessarily lead, beyond equilibrium through terror, towards a nuclear disarmament and the search for compromises in the regional conflicts.

No doubt the crisis of capitalism has put an end to the keynesian illusions and to those of the ideology of development. No doubt also, the crisis of socialism has not yet found its solutions. But the void created by this double crisis has led to a conservative offensive of so-called neo-liberalism which boils down to the prescription of an overall remedy - the market. Yet, pursuing this dogmatic view will necessarily bring about disaster, and even to the opposite of its own aims: the disintegration of the world system and a renewal of confused and unmastered
national conflicts, the prelude perhaps to a renewal of bipolarisation. I shall try to show it through four different cases:

* The building of EEC Europe has been confined to this day to the gradual opening of the market. While the social adjustments to this opening were relatively easy to achieve in the atmosphere of the boom of the 50's and the 60's, it is now obvious that in the crisis it will be almost impossible for whole regions and sectors to meet the challenges of competition and successfully achieve their conversion. Therefore many contradictions will become socially and politically unbearable, at the very risk of leading to an explosion of the EEC itself. There are already many signs of that danger. The alternative implies accepting that market forces must be accompanied by a common social policy designed to make possible the necessary conversions. If the euro-left adopts such a principle with courage and lucidity and keeps away from neo-liberal dogmatism, it will necessarily benefit from a broad support, become the dominant political force on the continent and marginalise the right which is interested only in the immediate profits which can be drawn from the expansion of the market. The euro-left would find again a universal mission which Europe is presently losing.

* In the semi-industrialised peripheries, the pattern of development is now confronted with a decisive change, illustrated by Brazil. This development has been based upon a growing inequality in the international distribution of income, to the extent that the young democracy in this country has inherited gigantic social problems from the previous so-called 'economic miracle'. Therefore, now, either country will initiate progressive responses to this challenge - and it is obvious that these responses will come into conflict with the unilateral logics of market globalisation - or it will fail to do so and will give priority to the 'adjustment', in which case democracy will have no future, and will disappear before it has been rooted in society.

* The so-called 'fourth world' is nothing new. The global expansion of capitalism, in its process of polarisation, has always produced the exclusion of those peripheral areas which had lost the functions that they had played - sometimes brilliantly - at a previous stage. What have become the Caribbean and the Brazilian Nordeste, once upon a time the places of the 'economic miracle' of mercantilism? Today the system confines Africa in an agro-mineral specialisation based upon a destructive extensive exploitation of land, while the technological revolution reduces the needs for certain raw materials. Is it not this process already excluding Africa from the future division of labour? This is a process of passive delinking which is depriving whole societies of any role. Obviously, by its own definition, such a process cannot be reversed by the virtues of the 'opening'. Therefore recolonisation, accompanied by charity, is here only to hide the failure of the neo-liberal solution.

* The socialist countries - USSR and China - have initiated reforms which will surely give to the external opening and to the market a role much more important than it has been until now. Yet the problem of these societies has two faces which cannot be separated: the need for democracy and the mastering of the external opening. For those who
carefully follow the debates in these countries, it is almost obvious that it is understood that the solution is not the neoliberal receipt.

It appears from those very different cases that in no case the unilateral market solution can avoid unbearable social, political, internal and international contrast. The ideological legitimation of neo-liberalism has no scientific value, because it ignores the fact that the market by itself cannot but reproduce and deepen contrasts. A scientific analysis of the advantages of the market - which are real - takes on its full meaning if it is related to the various determinants of the social system in which it operates including the historical place in the international division of labour, the social alliances which it has created and which reproduce it. Critical thinking is interested precisely in identifying those alternative alliances which can lead out the vicious circles of the market. From that point of view, there are considerable differences between the various regions of the world, which imply specific different policies that cannot be derived from the unilateral rationality of the market. One should add the differences - equally legitimate - produced by culture and the ideological and political alternatives considered by the peoples.

The imperatives of our time imply therefore the rebuilding of the world system on the basis of polycentrism. I mean here not a pentapolar political system reduced to the five 'Bigs' (the USA, Europe, the USSR, China, Japan) which would simply replace the military bipolarity. I mean a real polycentrism allowing for the development of regions and countries of the Third World. These regions and countries are bound to coordinate their visions and to submit their external relations to the constraints of their internal development, and not the opposite, i.e. the adjustment to the global expansion of capitalism. This is my definition of delinking, which has nothing to to neither with autarky or with the process of exclusion referred to above.

The social alliances which define the content of the strategies for the various regions considered are necessarily different. In the West, they certainly will keep a 'bourgeois' dimension, produced by a long history of advanced development. This reality does not contradict a gradual socialisation. In the East, they call for a liberalisation of society from the exclusive rule of the State, to the benefit of a social dialectics which recognizes the conflict between capitalism and socialism. But in the Third World they call more often for a revolutionary change of direction rather than for some evolution, since here the bourgeois subalternisation is unbearable. In all cases, one can acknowledge a popular, national and regional content rather than a unilateral bourgeois vision of the market. Yet this dramatic challenge of the crisis is felt in the South more strongly than in the West or in the East. But perestroika is needed everywhere. Rejecting it by a conservative discourse of neoliberalism is, for sure, preparing the ground for desperate responses of racism, prehistorical nationalisms and all sorts of integristms, religious and other.

The crisis should be the occasion for a progress of critical thought, if one understands it as a rejection of dogmas. But it is not. Perhaps because academic economism and management behaviours do not prepare do not prepare to it. Probably political and social progressive activists
should be more aware. The polycentrism that we suggest here is the only realistic principle on which peoples' internationalism can be built, echoing the universality of values. On the opposite, neoliberalism is the actual reactionary utopia of our time. This being so, we shall probably continue to live sometimes with the military bipolarity. Until the further evolution of social forces in the frame of polycentrism will have led beyond the conventional discourse of coexistence. Until through its recognition of the objective diversity of conditions and problems, it will have rebuilt the world in a way which gives legitimacy to the unity of the globe.

HOMENAJE A MANUEL PÉREZ GUERRERO

(viene de la pagina 2)

Se requiere entonces una acción a un doble nivel y en ese sentido va el reto que tenemos planteado tal fue el mensaje permanente de Pérez Guerrero 1/. Por un lado, se hace imperativo tratar de reforzar los medios y mecanismos que permitan modificar la situación internacional en un sentido favorable a las exigencias del desarrollo. Paralelamente es preciso reorientar las estrategias nacionales y regionales de desarrollo en nuestros países para fortalecer la autossustentación nacional y colectiva.

Respondiendo a esa visión amplia del mundo que tenía Pérez Guerrero, la presente publicación consta de dos secciones. La primera comprende la traducción al español del texto que el funcionario de las Naciones Unidas Mikio Tajima, en forma muy encomiable publicara recientemente en inglés sobre diversos ensayos en relación a la obra de Manuel Pérez Guerrero. La segunda sección contiene una muestra de citas del pensamiento de Pérez Guerrero, y un poco conocido escrito suyo sobre la experiencia del llamado trienio democrático de 1945-48, en le cual se sentaron bases decisivas de la actual era democrática venezolana.

1/ Mikio Tajima (ed) Peace through Economic Justice, Essays in memory of Manuel Pérez Guerrero, 132 pp (c/o UNCTAD, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.)
Introduction: a practice in need of theory and strategy

There is no shortage of internationalist activity today. TV and newspapers are full of Greenpeace, international women's conferences, Amnesty protests, solidarity with oppressed nations and peoples, the international peace movement and so on. Even in the US of Reagan - self-appointed high-priest, judge and policeman of the present international order - we can see a massive church and labour demonstration against US policies in Central America and South Africa (Washington, 25 April 1987). What is missing is any systematic reflection and planning in this area. With a few notable exceptions (some in Waterman 1988, NILS 1978--?), there is no discussion on contemporary internationalism either in its general sense or as it applies more specifically to the labour, human rights, ecological and other movements.

This paper is an attempt to provoke such discussion. The title refers to the book of Raymond Williams, Towards 2000 (1983). Raymond Williams was a youthful old man who died much too early on 26 January 1987. He was a cultural sociologist, novelist and social publicist. Profoundly national in his roots and thought he was also one of a handful of British socialist thinkers who was profoundly internationalist, and explicitly so. He satirised the British state identity fetishised by Right and Left, together as the 'Yookay'. He recognised that we exist today not only, or even primarily, in nation-state 'communities' but also in local and international ones. He proposed an internationalism of meaningful human communities to surpass the international relations between nation-states (1983: 180-99). This paper represents a homage to Williams and an attempt to develop his suggestions more systematically.

The form of the paper is one of summary, with three series of enumerated points. The movement is one of a zooming in, from longshot to closeup. Thus I begin with nine general points on internationalisation and internationalism, continue by detailing four of these, and end by expanding on one of the four. This movement also represents - to continue the metaphor - a tracking shot, from internationalism as a general

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political phenomenon to labour internationalism as a more specific one. The old 19th century labour and socialist internationalism may be moribund but we are going to need a new one in the year 2000.

1. Nine general propositions on internationalisation and internationalism

Let me present an argument in summary form before explaining some of its most significant terms:

1. In the 19th-century, 'internationalisation' was understood primarily in terms of capital. Contradictions were, however, seen not only between international capital and international labour but also between international capital and the nation-state;

2. In the 19th century, 'internationalism' was primarily identified with the labour movement and socialist ideology. These did create a certain international working-class community and culture. But the paradoxical achievement of 19th century internationalism was also to generalise the nation-state form (Italy, Poland), reinforce state power over society and to increase mass subordination to the state (the welfare state, the 'communist' state, the populist state);

3. Internationalisation today must be understood as a general social phenomenon, implying the increasing spread and impact of the whole range of core-capitalist social practices and norms within states on both peripheries (Eastern as well as Southern), in addition to the creation of numerous transnational or supra-state instances that increasingly determine the action of nation-states and the behaviour of the world's population;

4. The old social movements (labour and ethnic/national) are still largely subordinate to, or oriented toward, the nation-state; the new social movements (women, human rights, peace, environment, etc) implicitly or explicitly recognize the interpenetration of local, international and national forces and forms of exploitation, domination and alienation; they tend to struggle simultaneously at many levels; they are therefore also implicitly or explicitly internationalist in orientation;

5. Instead of primary, single, class, bearer of internationalism, serving humanity by moving toward its own class-determined goal, we are now confronted with a multiplicity of often-overlapping collective interests, whose identities, forms of action and goals are reshaped in the process of struggle against domination and in dialogue with each other; we must therefore speak of the new internationalisms in the plural;

6. The ethical principle underlying internationalism is that of solidarity, traditionally understood in terms of identity of status (proletarian), interests (working class) and ideology (socialism); the increasing variety of internationalist subjects, interests and demands implies a more complex understanding of solidarity that allows for the variety and articulates differing internationalist movements in mutually tolerating and supportive forms;

7. Whilst internationalist movements today express themselves in the international space both through inter-state and state-based inter-
national citizens' organisations, they increasingly eschew the nation-state-member base and favour the flexible, open, horizontal network of autonomous units, held together more by shared values than imposed discipline; where traditional, national or international organisations are acting in an internationalist spirit, this is often where they are involved in international networking or penetrated by internationalist networks;

8. Whilst, in many of the new internationalisms, middle-class people are the main subjects (e.g. feminist and ecological movements), in other cases they play the crucial agent role (e.g. shopfloor labour internationalism, indigenous peoples); increasingly, however, the agent role is understood in terms not of leadership but as that of catalyst or service-provider;

9. It is precisely the centrality of labour to commodisation and capitalist (or statist) industrialisation that makes labour internationalism so difficult of achievement; the centrality of transnational capital to internationalisation nonetheless gives labour internationalism a crucial role; whilst we witness signs of a reviving labour internationalism, a dynamic articulation with the democratic internationalisms has yet to be achieved.

2. Four crucial definitions

The key terms in the above argument that I want to develop in a little more detail are the following:

Internationalisation: The global spread of modernisation in a capitalist-dominated world, in terms of the following: commodisation, industrialisation, proletarianisation and capital concentration; bureaucratisation and statification (nationally and internationally); particular gender and family patterns; cultural centralisation and standardisation (cf. Connell, 1984). The most dynamic process is that of capital accumulation, with, as its most dynamic institutions, the transnational production, trading, servicing and financial concerns. Bureaucratisation means the centralisation of power first nationally then internationally. The bourgeois family model is propagated alongside competitive, commoditised and dehumanised sexuality. Cultural industrialisation means the global spread of North-Atlantic norms and forms. The increasing importance of interstate agencies can be seen as expressing and extending the increasing 'interdependency' of humankind, or even of exercising a civilising influence on nation-states and TNCs (Brecher 1987:104). But they tend to express the interests of dominant states, to reproduce the forms of capital and nation-state, and to remove control even further from ordinary people and daily life (cf. Picciotto 1988).

Internationalism: Classically a critique of the nation-state and of capitalism. A recognition that the capitalist nation-state was too limited to deal with basic social problems and human needs. Positively, the urging of cross-national, global or non-territorial solidarities, communities and organisations of an egalitarian and democratic nature. Internationalism emerged out of the experience of capitalist industrialisation and the construction of centralised, modern but undemocratic states. These were destroying old loyalties and communities without providing the masses
without any satisfactory alternative. Internationalism developed particularly out of the relationship between the new artisan-based labour movement and cosmopolitan socialist intellectuals. The generalisation of internationalisation processes has meanwhile enabled numerous other social categories to recognize themselves as global subjects (teachers, women, and even ethnic and regional minorities). Internationalisation processes have also created increasing social problems of an increasingly global nature (indebtedness, threats to the ozone layer, AIDS, state-terrorism, Chernobyl). Increasingly, also, these problems are being dealt with in international fora, and the popular interests are expressing themselves in internationalist terms. Contemporary internationalism is highly complex and differentiated. Whilst the absence of mass internationalism (workers, women, peasants, ethnic minorities) remains a problem, the multiplicity and diversity of internationalism represents a considerable potential. It is necessary today to talk of internationalisms in the plural and to recognize this plurality as essential to the meaning of a contemporary internationalism. Internationalism is not opposed to nationalism or to any other identity of a non-dominant and non-exploitative nature. It is, on the contrary, increasingly a condition for the existence of national specificity and independence, and even for such 'sub-national' identities as those of ethnic and regional minorities.

Solidarity: This is the general ethical value and human relationship underlying internationalism, allying it with struggles for identity and liberation by the oppressed and exploited throughout history. Solidarity (see Vos 1976) has customarily been understood either in terms of identity or of substitution (taking the part of the other). These are part of its meaning but identity can imply uniformity and exclusion of the other, substitution can imply the confirmation of material or moral inequality. Solidarity must therefore be also understood in terms of reciprocity (mutual advantage), affinity (shared feelings) and complementarity (differential contribution). If we take liberty, equality and solidarity as the democratic trinity, then we can see that the bourgeois and liberal prioritised political liberty, the proletariat and socialism prioritised economic equality. In both cases solidarity was subordinated to the other term and became exclusionary in practice, if not in doctrine. Concerned with the preservation, rediscovery or invention of community, in terms free of capitalism and statism, the new social movements tend to prioritise solidarity as a social and human relationship, or at least to re-assert its significance alongside the other two terms.

Labour internationalism: This concept needs to be deconstructed and periodised. Labour internationalism as a general term includes that of workers at shopfloor level, of working-class communities, of trade unions and labour-oriented parties and of socialist intellectuals. Labour internationalism, even in its 19th century form, was related to what we would now call the human rights and national-independence movements. It also had a relationship to bourgeois cosmopolitanism and religious universalism. It is possible that, even during this period, labour internationalism was most effective when it was least 'proletarian' (i.e. least to do with the worker as labour power). Solidarity is imbedded in wage-worker existence and union struggle to a greater degree than
amongst many other mass social categories. Given the extent to which daily self-defence and assertion requires solidarity amongst workers, this provides a historical and even a possible institutional base for a revival of internationalism amongst workers. Such a revival takes place where and in so far as labour rejects subordination to capital, statism and imperialism, and recognises the interpenetration of its national and international interests (for an emerging case, see Cantor & Schor 1987).

3. Eight principles of a new labour internationalism

Amongst the principles for a meaningful new labour internationalism would seem to be the following ones. These principles are based on a critique of the shortcomings of traditional internationalism as well as reflection on new experiments wither by new labour or other internationalist groups (cf. the principles offered by Cantor and Schor 1987: 77-82). The new labour internationalism:

1. Implies direct face-to-face contacts between the concerned labouring people themselves, not simply between their representatives;

2. Implies a two-way (or multi-directional) flow of information and support, not a one-way traffic from the 'rich', 'powerful', 'free' workers or unions to the rest;

3. Requires some visible physical effort, activity or sacrifice by those involved, not simply the making of declarations or appeals;

4. Combats political, religious, ideological and gender discrimination amongst working people locally so as to avoid reproducing these internationally;

5. Is based on the expressed daily needs and capacities of ordinary working people, not on those of their representatives;

6. Links up with other democratic internationalisms, so as to reinforce wage-labour struggles and surpass a workerist internationalism;

7. Implies that organisations with internationalist pretensions finance their activities from worker or publicly-collected funds, ensure full membership and public discussion, and carry out their own independent policy formulation and research;

8. Requires of involved intellectually that they are open about their own interests, motives and roles, that they dialogue with workers and take on a primarily service and training role.

Conclusion: an idea whose time has not necessarily come again

Born in the struggle against industrial capital and the authoritarian nation-state in Europe, internationalism is being reborn in the struggle against capitalism, statism and alienation in their developed and multiple manifestations globally. In struggle, however, success is not written into the rules of the game. This paper must therefore be explicitly persuasive.
The fulcrum on which the lever rests is the experience, consciousness and desire of millions of educated, socially conscious and politically aware people living in all 'three worlds' (and many others that might be identified). It seems reasonable to assume that most readers of this piece, from whatever country they come, are implicit internationalists in the sense of being aware of the global nature of the problems they face and the necessity for international solidarity in finding solutions to them. Many of them will have been engaged in one or more types of international solidarity activity. It is time they stepped back and reflected on the name of the game. The name is internationalism. To win requires that the team puts its heads together and works out a common understanding and strategy that enables each to act more creatively and effectively.

A persuasive paper runs the risk of too much optimism of the will. Let us therefore conclude with some pessimism of the intellect. I note how labour internationalism and the centenary of May Day have been recently marked by various people on the Left internationally. The labour movement in Peru celebrated the centenary primarily as a national labour day, with marginal reference to the outside world and even less to workers internationally (Waterman and Arellano 1986:21-4). Labour historians in Amsterdam studied labour internationalism as something dead, like anthropologists considering the half-forgotten rituals of a vanished tribe (IISH 1985). A veteran US communist equates - without reference to the ironies of history - the following odd phenomena: a May Day organised by a Lieutenant Colonel following a military coup in Ethiopia; the 56 official May Day slogans of a communist state in which workers are forbidden to strike; and the hardly-successful US Communist attempts to revive May Day observance in Union Square, New York (Foner 1986:152-6). If we do not wish to see May Day 2000 celebrated in such hypocritical, pathetic or private rituals, then we will need to put more effort into understanding both the old internationalism and the new.

Finally, for those of more practical inclination, a political proposal for discussion. What about reviving May Day as an International Solidarity Day, in which labour and democratic internationalisms would be explicitly articulated, nationally and internationally? Let socialist or labour organisations by all means take the initiative. But let them also thus demonstrate a new manner of uniting those people and demands that capital and state wish to hold part.

References


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Taking democracy seriously: socialists and democracy in Africa: 1989 Conference (22 - 24 September) of the Review of African Political Economy. Democracy has recently become a central concern for the left in Africa and in the Caribbean, as we learn from bitter experience. Democracy is a contested term; ambiguities of meaning have facilitated abuse of the term. They also point to the broad range of conditions required for the realisation of democratic aspirations: freedoms of speech, conscience and association; the recognition and protection of individual and collective rights; protection from discrimination on any ground; equality before the law and in access to opportunities; competitive elections; accountability of representatives and officials to voters, constituents and members. Critical is the formation of democratic organisations of workers, of peasants, of communities, of students and of other social groups, whose policies are shaped by, and whose leaders are accountable to their members. Without these conditions, and especially the last, popular or constitutional forms of government become instruments for abuse of power. Offers of papers and application forms to attend the conference are available from: Africa Social Research Unit, Dept of Sociology, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL, UK.

World Communication Congress '89: organized by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), the Congress will take place in Manila, Philippines, from 15 to 19 October 1989. The theme will be Communication for Community. To reflect on the theme "Communication for Community" means essentially to question the unjust structures that hamper communication as well as community. It means to investigate the problem of power, to look at the ideologies that lurk behind various communication systems and to identify those elements in our own cultures and traditions which hinder the survival of community. (WACC, 357 Kennington Lane, London SE11 5LY, UK).
En 1965, au cours d'un séjour d'étude en Suède, Olof Palme (alors ministre de l'Education, peu avant de devenir Premier Ministre) me demanda de le rencontrer, pour parler du Tiers Monde: il revenait de l'Inde. La réduction des inégalités entre les pays développés et les autres nous apparaissait d'une évidente nécessité morale, mais aussi politique. Nos discussions nous amenèrent à réfléchir sur des formes de social-démocratie à l'échelle du monde, par la recherche d'une constante diminution des écarts entre pays riches et nations démunies: impôt mondial de solidarité, mais plus encore organisation des marchés, avec des échanges moins lénins - on ne parlait alors guère des dettes.

Aujourd'hui, nous savons, en effet, avec certitude, que la compétitivité forcée du libéralisme nous amenera assez vite à la mort de notre écosystème. Nous savons aussi que l'écart croissant riches/pauvres accentue les risques de conflits Est-Ouest. C'est par les armes nucléaires (y compris la nôtre) que la paix est la plus menacée. Le nécessaire réduction des écarts riches/pauvres implique évidemment celle de nos gaspillages, que nous baptisons niveaux de vies. Cette idée n'est guère populaire, mais désormais vitale.

Ce travail représente mon dernier effort de synthèse, la conclusion de soixante-cinq ans (j'ai débuté en 1923, étudiant au Maroc) de recherches difficiles, mais aussi passionnantes et passionnées. Certains me disent: 'Comment pouvez-vous continuer, en ayant si peu de chances de voir vos idées et propositions mises en œuvre?' Je sais que les 'succès' restent partiels; il y en a au moins un, même discutable par ses effets, la décolonisation. Et je ne puis regretter d'avoir averti, en 1962, que l'Afrique noire [était] mal partie; en 1966, que Nous allons à la famine; en 1973, que l'alternative était l'Utopie ou la mort, donc qu'il fallait nous remettre en cause. C'est toujours le même choix, et voici mon ultime tentative pour essayer de vous montrer que la recherche, à l'échelle mondiale, d'une démocratie étendue à l'économie et résolument pacifique n'est pas désespérée. Des progrès - fort insuffisants - sont faits chaque jour, même si les échecs sont toujours nombreux. Aujourd'hui, c'est toute la jeunesse du monde, même en pays riches, qui est sacrifiée aux mythes du libéralisme, car c'est bien lui qui enlève, avec le droit au travail, toute dignité. Ces jeunes vont-ils accepter cette forme de semi-esclavage?

PERU: ALGUNAS NOTAS SOBRE LAS ONGs

por Federico Velarde

El presente texto intenta presentar algunas breves reflexiones sobre el rol de las Organizaciones No Gubernamentales (ONGs) y su vinculación con la sociedad civil en el caso peruano. Para ello, conviene establecer una primera diferenciación dentro de éstas, a partir del rol o función que cumplen. Empezaré señalando algunas características generales de aquellas ONGs, que en el lenguaje cotidiano, denominamos en el Perú como "centros":

a) Se trata de instituciones que desarrollan un trabajo directo de promoción, prestando distintos servicios a la población beneficiaria de los proyectos (capacitación, información, técnico-productivos, legales).

b) Desarrollan una reflexión permanente en tres niveles: sobre la realidad inmediata en la que actúan; sobre la sociedad peruana como conjunto; y, sobre las relaciones entre la realidad concreta en la que actúan y la sociedad peruana.

c) Tienen las características de una institución, es decir, un grupo organizado de técnicos y profesionales con personería jurídica, con equipos plenamente constituidos, con programas y funciones y con una dinámica interna que norma sus actividades. No se trata, entonces, de individuos o de grupos que en sus ratos libres y como complemento de otras actividades, cumplen con funciones de promoción.

Tales rasgos comunes, diferencian a estas ONGs o "centros", de aquellas otras, que pueden ser organizaciones de base, equipos de las iglesias, organizaciones populares o aquellos grupos de asesorías específicas y puntuales a las organizaciones populares. Ellas, también son ONGs; sin embargo nos limitaremos a hablar de las primeras.

1. Los "centros" y su relación con la política

Decíamos que uno de los rasgos comunes de estas ONGs es la de trabajar con distintas organizaciones populares, prestando un servicio de apoyo. Dicho servicio, es innegable, tiene las características de un acompañamiento a la organización popular beneficiaria y a su dinámica.

Si bien es cierto, las ONGs son muy variadas en lo que se refiere a los alcances y al tipo de trabajo que desempeñan, así como a su localización - pueden ser locales, regionales o nacionales; especializarse en el agro, los sectores urbano-populares o el movimiento sindical; combinar o no ámbitos y sectores beneficiarios, etc. - tienen ese primer denominador común. Por lo demás, la presencia de aproximadamente 250 organizaciones de estos rasgos en el país, cubren toda la gama física y social del mismo.
Ahora bien, desde la óptica del acompañamiento y la vinculación directa con los sectores populares organizados, estas ONGs tienen una clara vinculación con el mundo de la política. Y ello, porque en grados más o menos, todas tienen una opción por el cambio social desde la óptica y los intereses de los sectores populares.

Al interior de ellos y mezclados con ellos, y desde inicios de la década del setenta, actúan permanentemente los partidos políticos. A diferencia de otros países de América Latina y del Tercer Mundo, dicha relación (partidos, sectores populares organizados) es tan flúida y dinámica, que resulta imposible, al trabajar con los sectores populares, no encontrar-se con los partidos políticos.

Siendo matizadas las opciones institucionales frente a tal realidad, pienso que en términos gruesos, la opción de la mayoría de "centros" es la de la neutralidad activa, que puedo explicarla a partir de la experiencia de DESCO. En nuestra institución, teniendo claramente definida una opción por los sectores populares, mantenemos una neutralidad activa con los partidos políticos, lo que supone, mantener relaciones con todos aquellos que están presentes en nuestros ámbitos de trabajo, diferenciando clara y explícitamente los campos. Hacia el interior de DESCO, se desarrolla una dinámica plural donde coexisten militantes de distintos partidos y compañeros sin militancia partidaria. Lo importante, lo recalco, es la diferenciación de los espacios y las funciones.

2. El rol de las ONGs en la realidad peruana

Entender el rol de las ONGs en la realidad peruana es fundamental; es dicho rol, el que desde mi punto de vista, explica la existencia de una gran cantidad y variedad de "centros" en nuestro país. Situación esta que ciertamente llama la atención y muchas veces puede preocupar a un observador externo.

Entre los años 60 y 80, uno de los rasgos fundamentales de la sociedad peruana ha sido el surgimiento, crecimiento y consolidación de la organización popular. Si hacemos una rápida mirada retrospectiva, veremos fácilmente cómo ha cambiado el país y cómo se han organizado los sectores populares; tanto en el campo como en la ciudad, en el ámbito sindical como en la informalidad, en lo vecinal como en lo estrictamente barrial. Todo ello, configura un fenómeno relativamente reciente que contrasta con la realidad existente a inicios de los sesenta.

Para que tal proceso se plasme, creo que han confluido tres factores que conviene subrayar:

a) el proceso de reformas y cambios impulsado durante el gobierno de Velasco Alvarado; independientemente de la opinión que se tenga sobre el mismo, es innegable que, entre otras cosas, significó una gran apertura de espacios y posibilidades para la organización de los sectores populares así como para la generación de expectativas.

b) El compromiso del gobierno por los pobres, como actitud asumida por las iglesias, que se traduce, especialmente, en la teología de la liberación, representando un apoyo fundamental al proceso de organización de los sectores
populares. En el caso peruano, el compromiso de la Iglesia Católica tiene significación especial, habiendo también importantes núcleos de otras iglesias como los metodistas y los evangélicos.

c) La presencia de los "centros" que se convirtieron en un apoyo a las necesidades y demandas de este importante proceso de organización popular. Muchos de los servicios que demandó el proceso, al no poder ser autosatisfechos por las organizaciones populares, se convirtieron en el campo de acción y respuesta de los "centros". Desde un inicio, esta relación estuvo marcada entonces por la retroalimentación mutua.

Con el paso de los años y la especialización de los "centros", antes que responder a las exigencias académicas clásicas, buscan actuar ante los problemas y las aspiraciones de los sectores populares. De allí, que hayan tenido como punto de partida las experiencias concretas de éstos, y como punto de llegada, el fortalecimiento de su organización, de su capacidad de propuesta y de su fuerza de negociación.

Por esta vía, los "centros" además de prestar un servicio directo a las organizaciones populares resultan influyendo en la sociedad desde la óptica de los problemas de los sectores populares. Tanto en el relevamiento de los temas, cuanto en las formulaciones de alternativas.

Tal influencia es fácilmente comprobable. La enorme mayoría de la producción intelectual del país, sobre su problemática, proviene de los "centros", su experiencia y su personal. Los temas de las investigaciones, los seminarios y los debates de ellos, están hoy día en el centro del debate nacional; así cuestiones como la problemática andina, la regionalización del país, la economía de las ciudades y el sector informal que son algunos de los ejes de nuestros trabajos y de nuestra experiencia - tanto de promoción como de investigación - son hoy algunos de los temas dominantes en la política nacional.

Con lo anterior no queremos decir, necesariamente, que la sociedad y el Estado hacen suyas nuestras propuestas. Si queremos subrayar, sin embargo, que muchos de los temas y alternativas lanzadas desde los "centros" aparecen hoy día, incluso en la retórica del gobierno y en las preocupaciones de la sociedad global nacional.

Tal impacto de los centros, hace por cierto que las demandas aumenten, excediendo en mucho su capacidad o por lo menos sus posibilidades. La sola existencia de tal demanda, creo, demuestra nuestra afirmación sobre la importancia y el impacto de estas ONGs.

3. Las nuevas demandas y el reto de hoy.

De las nuevas demandas que en esta situación reciben los "centros", quiero hacer hincapié en dos distintas:

a) De un lado, el gobierno, específicamente el Instituto Nacional de Planificación, que demanda un diálogo más fluido sobre estos problemas, para canalizarlos a los planes de gobierno aprovechando la experiencia y el conocimiento de los "centros".
b) De otro lado, demandas de nuevo tipo que provienen de los sectores populares y de la sociedad en general. Experiencias como el Consejo Unitario Agrario (CUNA) o la Conferencia Nacional de Trabajadores (CONADET), que buscan hacer del conocimiento de la sociedad global sus demandas y alternativas, en las que es claramente identificable el trabajo técnico y de apoyo de distintas ONGs que aportan sustantivamente a la existencia y funcionamiento de tales espacios.

Este aumento de la demanda, supone también un aumento considerable de la calificación de la misma. Hoy día, no basta con presentar charlas generales sobre la problemática del país; en el trabajo con los gremios campesinos no basta, por ejemplo, hablar de la dependencia internacional y su incidencia en la estructura de precios, sino que es preciso responder a las condiciones concretas del mercado del algodón, a las políticas estatales sobre el particular y a las perspectivas de forma tal que el campesino pueda orientar incluso su producción.

Existe adicionalmente, a nuestros entender, otro fenómeno cuya importancia es decisiva para el tránsito de una democracia formal a otra real en nuestro país. Dicho tránsito, está condicionado a la existencia de organizaciones reales con autonomía y poder. Es innegable que la gran mayoría de "centros" han optado políticamente por el cambio social y la justicia, pero lo han hecho también por la democracia; de allí la importancia que le asignan a nociones tales como autogobiernos y democracia en su relación con los sectores populares.

Y en este terreno, existe algún tipo de tensión con las respuestas dogmáticas que provienen muchas veces desde la izquierda. No es casual, entonces, que mucha de la producción intelectual del continente sobre las nuevas formas de hacer política, esté basada en la experiencia peruana de apoyo a la organización popular, que tiene en los centros de promoción a su actor principal.

El reto más grande para los "centros" hoy radica en el crecimiento de la demanda social que tiene un ritmo mayor y más rápido que el que han tenido las ONGs. Y ello, porque en el actual momento político, incluso independientemente del gobierno, los plantamientos y la acción de los sectores populares está adquiriendo un protagonismo mayor que el que tuvo antes y en una perspectiva distinta que no se agota en el enfrentamiento con el Estado y los sectores dominantes.

En este sentido, los "centros" más que enfrentar aun "continuan" en crecimiento, hacen frente a una transformación cualitativa que les exige una acción más intensa y una revisión permanente de todas y cada una de sus actividades. Tener una opinión y una propuesta definitiva para este país es nuestro reto. Difícil en la medida en que somos parte de una realidad que se desenvuelve contradictoriamente de manera cotidiana, pero indispensable si queremos construir una situación mejor para el país y especialmente para los sectores populares.

(DESCO, Léon de la Fuente 110, Lima 17, Perú)

(Fuente: Cooperación internacional al desarrollo (1986.2), Castilla 13078, Santiago 1, Chile).
ECUADOR: CIESE

El Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Socio-Económicos, CIESE, nació como un Centro de Investigaciones vinculado a la problemática social del Ecuador y comprometido con los sectores populares del país, especialmente campesinos. No es una casualidad que CIESE haya sido fundado en 1975: este año y los precedentes se caracterizaron por importantes luchas campesinas e indígenas en todo el país.

Creemos que sigue vigente la perspectiva académica, social y política que animó la fundación del CIESE: hacer de la investigación social un instrumento de conocimientos y transformación de la realidad nacional, tarea que solo puede ser cumplida cabalmente en una estrecha relación con los grupos populares.

Las investigaciones agrarias realizadas en CIESE siempre han estado fuertemente vinculadas a un sujeto social decisivo en la vida nacional: el campesino. Tal como se ha desarrollado en el CIESE y en otras instituciones de investigación del país, la teoría del campesinado y las investigaciones sobre el mismo suponen un reconocimiento de la racionalidad propia de este sujeto social y de la validez de la misma.

Las investigaciones sobre la problemática agraria y campesina luego se tradujeron en el diseño de proyectos concretos de desarrollo en los cuales el campesino ha cumplido un papel decisivo, al luchar por obtener importantes niveles de participación en las decisiones sobre el desarrollo.

El desarrollo mismo de la sociedad nacional, fue planteando nuevos problemas vinculados sobre todo al desarrollo urbano y a la modernización. Esto explica la actual preocupación de CIESE por el movimiento marginal-urbano y la reflexión desarrollada en la institución en torno al Estado y la Democracia.

Apoyo a programas de salud - CIESE viene trabajando conjuntamente con la Unión de Organizaciones Campesinas de Vinces y Baba, UNOCAVB, en un programa de Salud cuyo objetivo es desarrollar y consolidar un sistema de Salud propio. La metodología de programa consiste en recuperar la medicina propia del campesino, reconociendo la legitimidad y eficacia que posee la misma. De esta manera, se busca transformar la tradicional relación de dependencia del campesino respecto de los médicos rurales, justamente integrados al bloque de poder local.

Encuentro de organizaciones campesinas e indígenas de segundo grado - En 1985, se realizó en la ciudad de Chordeleg, provincia del Azuay, el Tercer Encuentro Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas e Indígenas de Segundo Grado. Al Encuentro asistieron delegados de veinte y cinco organizaciones campesinas e indígenas, de las tres regiones del país. Se señaló la necesidad de recoger las dinámicas propias de las organizaciones locales y provinciales, realizando Encuentros a estos niveles.

(Castilla 131, 12 de Octubre, Quito, Ecuador)
VENezUELA: CECODAP, CENTROS COMUNITARIOS DE APRENDIZAJE

¿Qué es CECODAP? Centros Comunitarios de Aprendizaje, es una Asociación Civil, no Gubernamental, sin fines de lucro y de carácter benéfico social. Cecodap no representa ni se identifica con ningún grupo o partido político, toma como punto de reflexión y acción la dignidad humana.

Cuando y por qué nace? La Asociación fue creada en 1984, obteniendo en ese mismo año su Personalidad Jurídica. Nace como una necesidad de respuesta ante la difícil realidad que viven los niños y familias de los sectores populares, caracterizados éstos, por la escasez de recursos económicos. Es por eso que Cecodap orienta todas sus acciones y compromisos a los sectores más desfavorecidos de la población.

Cuáles son sus propósitos?

. Diseñar e implementar programas comunitarios de salud, nutrición, desarrollo psicosocial, orientación jurídica y organización comunitaria.

. Capacitar personas de la comunidad, no profesionales, como animadores para el trabajo con niños, familia y comunidad.

. Diseñar recursos e instrumentos para la comunicación, capacitación y socialización de las experiencias.

. Asesorar a grupos, programas o instituciones que desarrollar experiencias con características similares.

. Propiciar el trabajo coordinado con organismos o instituciones que apoyan programas relacionados con niños, familia y comunidad.

Cómo lo hace? CECODAP propicia modalidades no convencionales con la participación activa de la comunidad en todas las fases del proceso. Son los animadores comunitarios quienes llevan adelante las actividades y acciones de los programas.

Los profesionales, técnicos y especialistas juegan un papel de asesoramiento y apoyo. Se propone como método de trabajo la investigación-acción, utilizando para ello instrumentos de trabajo flexibles, sencillos y de fácil manejo.

(Dirección: Calle Batuta, Quinta Carmen, Bello Monte Norte, 1060 Caracas, Venezuela).
HONDURAS: SERVICIOS TECNICOS, LEGALES Y ECONOMICOS (SETELEC)

Servicios Técnicos, Legales y Económicos (SETELEC), es una Organización privada, sin fines de lucro, sin distingo de raza, credo político y religioso, dedicada a la investigación socio-económica, prestación de servicios de asesoría legal, técnica y económica, desarrollo de proyectos que contribuyan al desarrollo económico, social, cultural y político del país. Enfatiza la acción en la formación de recursos humanos y el fortalecimiento organizativo de los beneficiarios de sus programas para que les permita desarrollarse por sí mismos, evitando establecer y mantener lazos de dependencia o paternalismo.

Objetivos

- Ofrecer asistencia técnica gratuita a personas, organizaciones o comunidades campesinas u obreras.
- Ofrecer asistencia legal gratuita a personas, organizaciones o comunidades campesinas y obreras para proteger sus derechos humanos y legales (tramitación personería jurídica, solicitudes recuperación de tierras).
- Elaborar estudios de factibilidad técnica, económica, financiera de proyectos agrícolas, empresas agroindustriales, etc. y obras de ingeniería.
- Elaborar estudios de asesoría, consultoría e investigaciones a organizaciones privadas, gubernamentales, populares e instituciones internacionales involucradas en el proceso de desarrollo.
- Realizar proyectos que propicien una toma de conciencia de la población urbana y rural, de su realidad, un auto-descubrimiento de sus valores y capacidades.
- Capacitar comunidades y organizaciones para el desarrollo de proyectos.
- Buscar el fortalecimiento de las organizaciones o grupos, así como su consolidación económica.
- Colaborar en la búsqueda de financiamiento, tanto a nivel nacional como internacional por medio del diseño y elaboración de proyectos, identificación de fuentes, negociaciones y seguimiento.
- Investigar campos de acción para solucionar problemas de salud, educación, etc. e implementar acciones preventivas.

Qué la justifica

Con la organización de SETELEC se ha logrado coordinar el voluntariado, impulsar y apoyar las organizaciones privadas, campesinas, obreras o de investigación social hondureñas, que por falta de asistencia técnica y económica se habían visto imposibilitadas a desarrollar proyectos de
gran magnitud y valor. Las organizaciones de base se encuentran en la mayoría de los casos sin profesionales que les ayuden a concretizar sus ideas y proyectos y administrar o acrecentar en forma correcta sus fondos, sin miras a explotarlos con fines políticos, religiosos o económicos.

Hay muchos grupos formados por personas conscientes y responsables, organizados en forma seria, pero sin fundamento legal por la falta de un abogado que les haga los trámites necesarios para obtener la personería jurídica, y con gran caudal de ideas de proyectos válidos y necesarios, pero sin el apoyo para elaborar los proyectos y las solicitudes de asistencia económica.

**Criterios de selección de proyectos y programas**

1. Aceptación del proyecto por parte de la comunidad, y alta participación de la misma.
2. Aceptación de los líderes y organizaciones de base de participar en programas de educación y capacitación que garanticen en éxito del proyecto.
3. Factibilidad desde el punto de vista de producción como de mercado para proyectos agrícolas o agro-industriales. Autosuficiencia del proyecto.
4. Experiencia del grupo beneficiario en la actividad a ejecutar y que sean personas responsables y de reconocida solvencia moral.

**Beneficiarios**

Múltiples grupos organizados y organizaciones campesinas y obreras, cooperativas de transporte, de vivienda y agropecuarias de todo el país, están solicitando urgentemente nuestra colaboración en personal técnico y asistencia económica para el desarrollo de proyectos. SETELEC ha estado brindando asistencia técnica gratuita, a grupos que desean organizarse y organizaciones ya existentes, así como también les ha hecho los contactos necesarios para solicitar ayuda económica y en otros casos la ayuda económica ha sido canalizada a través de SETELEC.

Entre estos grupos contamos con la Cooperativa Artesanal Intibucana, Grupo Juvenil Dion de la Colonia El Pedregal de San José, Alianza Campesina de Organizaciones Nacionales de Honduras (ALCONH), Asociación de Secretarias y Oficinistas, Patronatos de la Costa Norte, Cooperativa Agropecuaria de El Progreso, Empresa Cooperativa Agroindustrial, Cooperativa COCATUL y muchas otras organizaciones de grupos marginados obreros y campesinos.

(Apartado postal 1748, Tegucigalpa, D.C., Honduras, C.A.)
INDONESIA: LEMBAGA STUDI PEMBANGUNAN

The Institute for Development Studies Lembaga Studi Pembangunan (LSP) is a community development organization working for social change in Indonesia. It promotes social change on three fronts: working to improve the economic situation of the poor, assisting poor people to help themselves to overcome their poverty and promoting a more democratic, more open and more just society concerned with rights and opportunities and with broader participation in local and national affairs.

The Institute works on all three fronts with the conviction that community participation is essential for achieving better socio-economic circumstances and social change. A multidisciplinary approach is used at LSP; study and research is combined with training, education and field action programs. LSP undertakes programs alone and with government, international and private institutions which are committed to social change. Some of the programs currently undertaken by the Institute include:

**Integrated rural community development programs**

These respond to the most urgent needs of rural areas. Currently the Institute has such programs in the Mancak and Ciamis areas, both in West Java, and in Pujut on the island of Lombok. Plans are well advanced for a new integrated rural community development program at Pengandonan in South Sumatera and further projects in Lombok.

**Urban community development programs**

Programs are conducted to improve the socio-economic situation of the urban poor. Emphasis is placed on building social institutions like cooperatives to sustain development initiatives. These institutions are designed to become self-reliant and are democratically controlled by members to ensure that benefits flow equitably to all of the participants. LSP provides training, advice, and funding for credit programs. Particular attention is now being paid to the fulfilment of the needs of destitute (gelandangan) communities and especially women in slum areas.

**Labour community development**

A strong self-governing labour community has been established in Bandung, West Java, through LSP working with workers to develop a cooperative, low cost housing, and community facilities. LSP carried out feasibility studies, acted as community motivator, arranged finance, liaised with government authorities and carried out training. LSP is currently following up this development through providing training and other assistance to the community in the creation of income generating enterprises.

**Development of Women's Cooperatives**

LSP encourages the formation and strengthening in rural and urban areas in Java of organisations democratically controlled by poor women (such as women worker cooperatives), through awareness raising, institution-
building, managerial assistance, skill training and the establishment of credit funds. Income generating and employment creating enterprises are established.

**Participatory Training**

In addition to training carried out for the above programs, the Institute also conducts much training for trainers from other organizations.

**Research and Study**

Research and study activities are carried out both inhouse and in collaboration with Indonesian Government agencies and other development organizations. Particular emphasis is given to policy studies.

**Publication and Communication**

Communicating LSP's research and ideas and promoting new thinking about development is a priority at LSP. Using a variety of media, LSP encourages debate on important development issues. The Institute undertakes research through its Development Education Program; translates important works on Third World development issues; produces books, research reports, monographs, a periodical on informal sector development; and edits and publishes reports of workshops which it sponsors. Most of the publications of the Institute are in the Indonesian language.

LSP maintains numerous affiliations with international networks of non-governmental organisations interested in issues of social change and justice.

Articles by Third World journalists on Third world development are translated into the Indonesian language and distributed. Computerised information exchange systems and data bases are currently being developed to enhance accessibility to good sources of information on development.

*Source: Grassroots No.5 (Kotakpos 1, KRY EB/JAKTEL, Jakarta, Indonesia).*

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**ANNOUNCEMENTS * ANNONCES * ANUNCIOS**

Tradition and Modernization in Africa Today: This is the title of the African Research Program (ARP) of the Eötvös University's 3rd international conference to take place from 27 August to 3 September 1989 at the University of Agrarian Sciences in the town of Gödöllő just outside Budapest (25 km). There will be seven sections: I. Folklore in Africa today; II. Social Sciences; III. Economic sciences; IV. Earth sciences, biology, geography; V. Agrarian sciences; VI. Technical sciences - Industrialization - development of the infrastructure; VII. Medical sciences - Health. Depending on the applications and proposals received, the organizing committee will also provide the conditions for operation of further sections in any other field of African studies. If you wish to participate in the conference with a paper, please immediately send a 20-40-line abstract (in 3 copies). The deadline for sending the full text of the paper is 31 March 1989 to Tradition and Modernization in Africa Today, African Research Program, Loránd Eötvös University, P.O.B 587, Budapest, Hungary.
SENÉGAL: FEDERATION DES ORGANISATIONS
NON GOUVERNEMENTALES (FONGS)

La FONGS a été créée en 1976 grâce à la volonté d'un certain nombre de leaders paysans. Elle a été reconnue par le gouvernement du Sénégal comme association à vocation socio-économique sans but lucratif.

Objectifs - La FONGS a pour but: (a) de regrouper les associations à vocation socio-économique et culturelle sans but lucratif officiellement reconnues; (b) d'assurer une coopération permanente entre ses membres engagés dans des projets et programmes de développement au service des populations rurales et urbaines du Sénégal; (c) de viser une meilleure harmonisation des projets et programmes émanant des membres; (d) d'apporter son concours et son appui technique et administratif à des groupements paysans, ou à des organismes locaux, régionaux, nationaux ou internationaux publics ou privés et de servir de structure d'accueil pour les visiteurs des associations membres ou tout autre; (e) de représenter les membres tant auprès des services gouvernementaux que non gouvernementaux au niveau international, national, régional et local; (f) de servir de centre d'information et de formation à ses membres.

Membres - La FONGS c'est: 9 grandes associations ayant chacune une dimension régionale, touchant environ 700 groupements villageois à travers le Sénégal; environ 180,000 membres en activité autour de divers projets concernant l'agriculture, l'élevage, l'artisanat, l'alphabetisation, l'hydraulique villageoise, l'allègement des travaux de la femme, la santé, l'hygiène, les banques de céréales, les barrages anti-sels, les retenues d'eau et diverses formations aux techniques villageoises. Toutes ces activités bénéficient directement ou indirectement à plus de 1 000 000 de personnes.

REALISATIONS

Formation des animateurs de groupements paysans à l'animation et aux techniques d'organisation - Des personnes-médiatrices internes à la FONGS ont animé des sessions de formation d'animateurs de groupements paysans. 45 leaders paysans ont pu ainsi bénéficier de "nouvelles armes" pour dynamiser leurs villages.

Formation à la gestion à l'intention des comptables et trésoriers des groupements villageois membres de la FONGS - Plusieurs sessions de formation des gestionnaires de groupements villageois ont été organisées afin de permettre à chaque association paysanne de tenir correctement des livres de comptes. L'objectif recherché était, dans un premier temps, de permettre à chaque association de présenter, à la fin de chaque exercice (ou campagne), un bilan financier de l'ensemble des activités menées dans l'année. Le second objectif est de permettre aux groupements d'améliorer la gestion globale de leurs activités grâce à l'interprétation positive des bilans financiers avec l'appui tant de la FONGS que des partenaires.

Formation à l'auto-planification - Afin de favoriser une croissance réelle et maîtrisée des groupements, des sessions d'auto-planification
ont été organisées à l'intention des leaders paysans. Cette auto-planification est en voie de duplication sous forme de sessions organisées et financées par les groupements eux-mêmes.

Formation d'animateurs à la conception d'outils audiovisuels - Des chantiers-écoles ont été organisés pour former des animateurs audiovisuels chargés d'améliorer les outils d'information des groupements villageois. Un programme d'information-sensibilisation est actuellement en expérimentation au sein des groupements paysans sous forme de montages de diapositives commentés sur cassettes en langues nationales.

Appui à l'identification et à l'élaboration des projets - Grâce à son équipe technique, la FONGS appuie les groupements villageois à identifier et à mieux élaborer leurs projets.

Actions concertées - Pour favoriser la sécurité alimentaire au niveau de ses groupements paysans, la FONGS a réalisé une opération dite banque de céréales, qui consiste à transférer des excédents de céréales d’une zone de surproduction en direction d’une zone sinistrée ou déficitaire. Cette opération, outre d’assurer à des populations déficitaires des céréales à bon marché, permet aux bénéficiaires surproducteurs de vendre à bon prix leurs céréales en échappant aux commerçants qui les achetaient par le passé à des prix très inférieurs aux prix officiels.

(EP 264, Thies, Sénégal).
"People Power" was the often coined term for the sudden surge of national unity and spirit that was the precursor of the Philippine Revolution in 1986. To it was attributed the upswell of social consciousness that saw hundreds of thousands of Filipinos joining hands to form massive human barricades that stopped the war tanks of the previous dictatorship and eventually led to its peaceful overthrow.

But lately, less and less of this phenomenon is being seen in the streets of Manila, leading some to conclude that People Power is already dying in this country. Far from it - at least in the province of Bukidnon in the island of Mindanao, where People Power is showing its might.

A remake of sorts of the 1986 revolution was staged in the summer of 1988 in this normally placid province when a hundred or so small farmers identified with a group called KAAMIIE had a confrontation with the transnational agribusiness giant Del Monte Philippines in a dispute over land rights. The war tanks were gone this time; bulldozers and other agricultural equipment appearing in their stead. But the human barricades and the picket lines were there, albeit smaller, their ranks filled with subsistence farmers who were desperately but defiantly stopping the bulldozers of Del Monte from entering a contested area of land. Men and women were in groups of five to ten, pushing against the mammoth blades of dozers and graders to keep them from moving. Numerous protest signs and banners that could be seen along the national highway going to Del Monte's operation area told passersby everything: "Del Monte Pahawa sa Among Kayutaan" (Del Monte Leave Our Land); "Pinya - No, Mais - Yes" (Pineapple - No, Corn - Yes); "Ang Kayutaan sa Filipinas Alang sa mga Pilipinong Maguuma, Dili sa mga Langyaw nga Kompanya" (Filipino Land for Filipino Farmers, Not for Foreign Corporations).

Del Monte's conflict with Kaanib began in 1984 when the corporation acquired lands for the expansion of its plantations in the municipalities of Sumilao and Impasug-ong. Del Monte was contracting lands with private landowners through a "Crop Producer and Growers Agreement" which allowed the company all the rights to cultivate a prospected land. However, small farmers and landowners objected to Del Monte's land expansion. There was growing evidence that the synthetic chemicals and fertilizers that Del Monte heavily used made the soil acidic and therefore unproductive. Indigenous tribal communities were being displaced and disintegrated. Valuable arable lands that the local communities needed for food crops were being lost to Del Monte's pineapples which were mostly exported. Farm workers hired by the company were given inadequate security and benefits as they were taken only as a casual employees. Finally, the lease contracts prepared by the company were heavily in its favor, the rental payments insufficient and the contract provisions unexplained prior to signing.

A tug-of-war ensued between the farmers and Del Monte with the latter at times giving in to the farmers' demands to cease expansion, only to renege on their promises thereafter and attempting again to acquire more lands.
The intensity of the dispute between Kaanib and Del Monte reached its peak last year, however, with the impending passage of the government's Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law. Much criticized by the farmer sector, the proposed Agrarian Reform Law has provisions that would allow transnational corporations a ten-year grace period before they are compelled to surrender the lands they lease for distribution to landless farmers. This was seen by the Kaanib people as a loophole being exploited by Del Monte, especially in the light of the company's sudden renewed interest in land acquisitions. They charged that Del Monte was pre-empting the Agrarian Reform Law by acquiring lands which were prioritized for redistribution under the Agrarian Reform Program.

It was at this juncture that Kaanib decided to seek the assistance of friends and sympathetic organizations, principally the Pambansang Kilusang ng mga Samahang Magsasaka (Pakisama), the national alliance of farmers organizations with which it was affiliated. With Pakisama's help, Kaanib initiated a series of moves to counter Del Monte, and a movement was organized solely for this purpose: SEED (Stop the Expansion and Exploitation by Del Monte).

Media friends, government people, social workers, students, and school professors got involved in the effort to expose the irregularities of Del Monte's land expansion. A well-attended press conference, which included some members of Congress and of the Senate, was held at the National Press Club to ventilate the farmers' demands. A barrage of letters and telegrams was sent to Del Monte, the Department of Agrarian Reform, and President Corazon Aquino. A resolution asking for an investigation of the farmers' charges was introduced in Congress, and several members of the Senate expressed their desire to assist the farmers. Even the Catholic Church in Malaybalay, Bukidnon, came out with a press statement giving its support to the farmers. Finally, the climax came when President Aquino stepped in to direct the Department of Agrarian Reform to conduct an inquiry on the matter, and a top level team from the DAR was sent to Impasug-ong, Bukidnon. Dialogues were held under the auspices of the DAR, and Del Monte at last relented to halt their land acquisitions at least until the implementing guidelines of the Agrarian Reform Law for transnational corporations were finalized.

Kaanib succeeded in halting Del Monte temporarily. Breathing space was given to the farmers. It wasn't total victory for them, but at least it was a first step in the right direction. The main issue of who has the priority over the lands, the Filipinos or the foreigners, and the other issues raised by Kaanib, such as the damaging farming methods of Del Monte, still remain to be resolved. But Kaanib has succeeded in destroying the transnational firm's facade of invincibility, and this was done through peaceful but effective means.

Kaanib's message is loud and clear: People Empowerment is alive and working well for the farmers in Bukidnon.

(Pakisama, 10 Jose Escalier Street, Loyola Heights, Quezon City, Philippines).
PRIMER ENCUENTRO LATINOAMERICANO ANTI NUCLEAR (ELAN)

En ningún país del mundo se ha dado a la opinión pública - antes de que la producción en masa de energía atómica comenzara - una discusión objetiva alguna, no se le ha permitido tomar alguna de decisiones relevantes para todos y cada uno de los ciudadanos fueron tomando por pequeños círculos dirigentes en relaciones de políticas, industriales y asesorar científicas. A la opinión pública se le mostró - a lo sumo - la parte rosa del asunto.

Robert Jungk

Organizaciones ecologistas de América Latina han decidido concretar un debate largamente requerido pero nunca concretado sobre el llamado Uso Civil de la energía atómica en nuestro continente y en el mundo.

Durante los últimos 5 años, en nuestros países, diversos grupos de ciudadanos y ciudadanas comenzaron a tomar posición crítica dentro de los campos definidos como ecologismo, ambientalismo y conservacionismo. En varias de esas repúblicas (Argentina, Brasil, México y Chile) se han fundado redes provinciales y nacionales a fin de llevar a la opinión pública preocupaciones que se refieren a la calidad de vida de todos.

En oportunidad de la 4a. Asamblea de la Red Nacional de Acción Ecologista de la Argentina (con asistencia de ecologistas de Uruguay, Chile y Brasil) en octubre de 1987 (Ezeiza, Bs. Aires) se decidió convocar al primer ELAN, no con un espíritu meramente contestatario sino con la clara voluntad de contribuir a una discusión general del asunto, dado que la iniciativa no ha surgido en absoluto hasta hoy de los círculos científicos, políticos o educacionales.

Es por ello que durante tres días del mes de octubre de 1988 en el departamento argentino de Mar del Plata, y simultáneamente con FLEA 88 (Feria Latinoamericana de Energías Alternativas), fue analizada y programada una dinámica de labor esclarecedora de ciertas cuestiones graves referidas a la seguridad de nuestros pueblos y al modelo de desarrollo que es preciso crear a fin de superar la trágica coyuntura económica actual.

Consideramos que los dos países líderes en el campo industrial atómico (Argentina y Brasil) deben explicitar ante todo su rechazo de cualquier uso bélico de la tecnología nuclear. Al mismo tiempo, la actual política expansiva de ambas naciones en tal campo amenaza con incentivar la proliferación nuclear en el Tercer Mundo, especialmente ahora que se habla de exportar uranio enriquecido y dominar el ciclo del plutonio. Hasta hoy estos temas han estado ausentes del debate político público.

Igualmente amenazantes resultan las perspectivas emanadas del accionar de las Grandes Potencias en el mismo terreno. De allí que el primer ELAN sea un sencillo primer paso para preguntar antes que nada: ¿Qué tipo de sociedad vamos a construir? Cuánta electricidad hace falta para ello? Cuáles son los verdaderos riesgos del nuclearismo? ¿Cuál podría ser la resultante de una potente dinamización de los potenciales alternativos de energía? Hasta cuando seguiremos fuera de las decisiones que nos
afectan como ciudadanos y usuarios? – No nos guía otro propósito que el bienestar general y la seguridad planetaria. De allí esta iniciativa. Completamente autónoma y pletórica de solidaridad humana sin concesiones.

Durante los últimos años, en variados campos de la iniciativa profesional en América Latina, las llamadas Energías Alternativas han merecido la atención y el compromiso de personas para quienes el sol, el viento, la geotermia o los pequeños cursos de agua representan la posibilidad de resolver el problema de la producción de electricidad independientemente de los portentosos emprendimientos ceñidos a la materialización de gigantescas represas hidroeléctricas, los menguantes combustibles fósiles que mueven las centrales termoeléctricas o los riesgos emanados de las tecnologías del uranio y del plutonio.

A veces en el terreno privado, otras veces en el ámbito oficial, tales pioneros han logrado corporizar sus mejores sueños, que a menudo se han trabado debido a la trágica crisis económica que ahoga al continente latinoamericano. Ello va de la mano de la ausencia de un debate profundo acerca de los modelos de desarrollo apropiados para la región, dada la insensatez de importar dinámicas que han incrustado a la Civilización Industrial en los dramas de la lluvia ácida, el efecto invernadero y el deterioro de la capa de ozono, que comprometen al globo entero, sin distinción de ideologías o de geografías.

Durante la 4a. Asamblea de la Red Nacional de Acción Ecologista de Argentina (Ezeiza, BA, octubre 1987) y el ler. Seminario de Desarrollo a Escala Humana organizado por el Centro de Estudios sobre Tecnologías Apropiadas de la Argentina, Comunidad-Nordan, Amigos de la Tierra y el Centro de Estudiantes de Ciencias Económicas (Buenos Aires, junio 1988), quedó clara la necesidad urgente de inventariar de una vez todo lo que se ha logrado en nuestro continente a propósito de las Energías Alternativas.

Es por ello que hemos convocado para FLEA 88, no sólo con el apoyo de las 63 entidades no gubernamentales que conforman la Red Nacional de Acción Ecologista argentina, sino con la solidaridad de los Centros de Tecnologías apropiadas de Argentina, Chile y Uruguay (CETAAR, CETAL y CEUTA). Durante 3 días en Mar del Plata (octubre 1988) tratamos de exponer proyectos, informes, audiovisuales documentales, propuestas, diagnósticos, desafíos y visiones concretadas por quienes ven en las energías eólica, solar, geotérmica o microhidráulica un rumbo viable para las necesidades locales de muchas de nuestras comunidades atrasadas o sumidas en la impotencia social. Sintiendo la urgencia de crear respuestas razonables hemos dado este primer paso para incentivar en América Latina una dinámica destinada a programas de autonomía, de suficiencia y de genuina participación popular en las decisiones que comprometen el futuro.

(BCC, C.C. Central 1982, 1060 Buenos Aires, Argentina)
AMÉRICA LATINA: POR UNA ACCIÓN CONJUNTA
EN DEFENSA DE LOS RÍOS

Desde América Central hasta el sur de Chile y Argentina, pasando por la Amazonia brasileña, las grandes represas hidroeléctricas son hoy uno de los principales problemas ecológicos de Latinoamérica.

Centenares de ríos de nuestro continente tendrán sus cursos interrumpidos hasta comienzos del próximo siglo si los planes "desarrollistas" actuales no fueran parados. Grandes extensiones de bosques y tierras fértiles de pequeños campesinos e indios ya están siendo puestos bajo el agua en nombre del progreso. Los peces y toda la fauna de agua corriente mueren. Proliferan enfermedades endémicas como en torno de las represas brasileñas de Balbina e Itaparica. El clima de cada región alcanzada por los grandes planes hidroeléctricos se ve alterado. Campe- sínos e indígenas, desalojados de sus tierras, no tienen adónde ir.

Todo este sacrificio es esencialmente desnecesario. Necesitamos buscar en Latinoamérica un modelo de desarrollo sostenible, que pueda durar por centenares y miles de años y que no venga de la mano con un suicidio ecológico. Las proyecciones exageradas de expansión del consumo eléctrico no corresponden a la realidad. Las nuevas tecnologías y el surgimiento de energías alternativas, así como la necesidad de un cambio hacia afuera del estilo de vida consumista y en dirección a la simplicidad voluntaria, hacen desnecesarios tales planes tecnocráticos y los lanzan, totalmente, en un vacío histórico. Faltan ya incluso recursos para tales grandes obras - felízmente.

El Instituto de Recursos Mundiales (World Resources Institute, WRI, 1735 New York Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20006, U.S.A.) publicó en 1987 un trabajo coordinado por José Goldemberg (Brasil), Thomas B. Johansson (Suecia), Anulya Reddy (India), y Robert Williams (U.S.A.), sobre las reales necesidades energéticas en el mundo de mañana. El estudio (Energy for a Sustainable World) revela que ya comenzamos a vivir una auténtica revolución energética, no debido a alguna nueva forma de energía, sino por la generalización gradual de energías alternativas, descentralizadas, y especialmente por una reducción revolucionaria en el consumo.

Una propuesta de acción

En este contexto, la defensa activa de los ríos y de las áreas verdes que serían inundadas es, al mismo tiempo, la lucha por un desarrollo sostenible, basado en un uso racional de los recursos naturales. La Unión Protectora del Ambiente Natural participa de la Red de Acción Internacional por los Ríos (International Rivers Network, IRN), una coalición global de entidades ecológicas que defienden ríos y se oponen a las grandes represas. En junio de 1988, la Red reunió por primera vez en San Francisco, California, cerca de 50 ecologistas de todo el mundo y se formó un Comité Director Provisional de 13 personas, entre los cuales 4 latino-americanos son: Carlos Aveline (presidente de UPAK), José M. Borrero-Nava, (FIPMA, Apartado Aéreo 2741, Cali, Colombia), Jorge Trucco (Fundación Salmónidos, Perez 662,
El plan de trabajo de la Red de Acción Internacional por los Ríos (RAIR) definido en la conferencia de julio, establece como prioritarios varios objetivos a corto y mediano plazo, así como fortalecer/crear redes regionales, por continente, y estimular/ayudar la acción conjunta. Son líneas de acción centrales la presión por el cambio de políticas en los bancos multilaterales (Banco Mundial, etc) y también una campaña internacional en contra de los "20 más terribles", cerca de 20 proyectos de grandes represas seleccionados entre los peores del mundo.

Cómo accionar en Latinoamérica

Los coordinadores provisionales de cada continente están ahora entrando en contacto con otras organizaciones para pedirles opinión, datos, ayuda e información.

En el caso latinoamericano, once representantes de la región tuvieron varias reuniones separadas en San Francisco, y decidieron, en principio, la formación de una Red que tendría su nombre propio, aunque actuaría como la instancia latinoamericana de la RAIR. El nombre de nuestra Red será Ríos Vivos, para expresar de modo positivo la meta central de nuestro accionar: garantizar la sobrevivencia de los ríos, en sus cuencas. En la opinión de UPAN, que se propone a ayudar en la articulación, la formación de una red Ríos Vivos sólo será posible si un número relativamente importante de entidades quiere, desde ya, participar del proceso. Caso contrario, actuaremos más modestamente como Red de Acción por los Ríos (International Rivers Network, IRN).

(Carlos C. Avellana, Unido Protetora de Ambiente Natural - UPAN, CP 189, 83001 São Leopoldo, RS, Brasil)
ECUADOR: EDUCACIÓN BILINGÜE QUICHUA-CASTELLANO

El Proyecto Educación Bilingüe Intercultural (EBI) implementa una enseñanza bilingüe intercultural quichua-castellano en la escuela rural con población indígena.

A nivel experimental el Proyecto está trabajando en 8 provincias andinas con 75 escuelas fiscales destinadas a niños indígenas quichua hablantes. En todas las provincias y a nivel nacional el Proyecto tiene relaciones con las organizaciones indígenas campesinas. Es política del Proyecto el buscar a todos los niveles el apoyo, la participación y la cogestión del pueblo quichua.

El Proyecto EBI es una posible respuesta al problema educativo que se presenta en un país multilingüe y multicultural. En el Ecuador existe un alto porcentaje de población quichua hablante, que requiere de un programa educativo adecuado a las características socio-lingüísticas y culturales de su tradición.

El Proyecto EBI se presenta como una alternativa a la educación tradicional, que trata de cambiar el modelo de la escuela rural castellana vigente, por una educación bilingüe respetuosa de las tradiciones culturales del pueblo quichua.

El Programa educativo diseñado por el Proyecto se propone impartir educación bilingüe y educación intercultural: El niño adquiere el uso instrumental del quichua y del castellano en el desarrollo del proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje, preparándole a desenvolverse con seguridad también en el medio mestizo sin desvalorizar su propio idioma y cultura. Los contenidos curriculares provienen tanto de la cultura quichua como de la castellano-mestiza.

Los programas respetan las estructuras operativas mentales quichuas, las tradiciones de una pedagogía familiar que implica la participación de los niños en la economía del hogar. El Programa valoriza la historia del pueblo quichua, su medicina, su literatura, su artesanía. Se busca afianzar al máximo la identidad cultural quichua y al mismo tiempo introducir una segunda cultura en un proceso dialéctico de conservación-innovación.

Los objetivos del proyecto son: desarrollar y validar un modelo de educación bilingüe intercultural a nivel primario para toda la población indígena quichua hablante. Sus campos de acción incluyen: Investigación de la realidad socio-económica y lingüística de la población indígena quichua. Capacitación a todos los maestros que trabajan en las diferentes escuelas del Proyecto, así como a docentes y funcionarios involucrados en el Programa. Producción de material didáctico; los textos, cartillas y guías didácticas en quichua y castellano son elaborados por el equipo del proyecto. Promoción del quichua, a través del apoyo a organizaciones campesinas indígenas, para la realización de seminarios que promuevan el quichua y publicaciones en quichua.

Igualmente impulsa el establecimiento de un quichua unificado que permita una comunicación más amplia entre los quichua hablantes de las diferentes zonas del país.

(Proyecto EBI, Casill 866-A, Quito, Ecuador)
CARIBBEAN: GRADUATE THEATRE COMPANY

Since 1981, the Graduate Theatre Company has been very active in the Popular Theatre Movement in the English speaking Caribbean. The Company's aim is development, the tool for its achievement - theatre.

Within this overall aim the GTC's primary focus is the empowerment of youth. To this end the Company conducts Theatre in Education and community animation workshops throughout Jamaica as well as internationally.

The Company was originally conceived as the outreach arm of the Jamaica School of Drama and was the brainchild of then Director, Dennis Scott. In March 1987, the GTC became a legal entity separate from the JSD and now administers itself completely. It continues, however, to promote the School's work and to contribute to the development of a Popular Theatre methodology relevant to the region.

The Community Theatre Programme provides support to community development groups interested in using drama as a means of educating their members about common problems and possible solutions. To date, the Company has done extensive work in more than 20 communities with over 300 drama enthusiasts. Communities are defined not only geographically, but according to interests e.g. youth groups, women's groups, and others.

Schools' theatre

Since its inception, the GTC has performed in 70 schools island-wide with audiences totalling over 30,000 high school students. It was developed with the aim of enlivening schools' curricula and takes the form of two hour workshops around particular subject areas. Workshops try to bring the subject matter of the text closer to the experience and environment of 4th and 5th form students and their teachers.

The response to the Schools' Theatre Programme has been overwhelming, with teachers requesting repeat performances on an ongoing basis. To date the Company has concentrated on the History, English Literature and Language curricula.

Repertory

A season is presented annually and works are selected in keeping with the GTC's commitment to Third World Playwright - particularly Caribbean writers and to Caribbean forms.

The Repertory Programme has achieved notable success in bringing good theatre to Theatre goers with such plays as "Accidental Death of an Anarchist", "The Black Jacobins", "Sufferer's Song" and "Dog". "Bapsi Ky Sico" and "Di Fallen Angel and Di Devil Concubine" were both created by the Company as part of its contribution to the evolution of Caribbean Theatre.

(Cultural Training Centre, 1 Arthur Wint Drive, Kingston 1, Jamaica).
SEAFDA: SOUTH-EAST ASIAN FORUM FOR DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVE
A REGIONAL NETWORK CONCERNED WITH
PEOPLE-CENTERED DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

SEAFDA was established in 1985 at Pondok Evergreen, West Java, Indonesia during a workshop which brought together members of various organizations engaged in grassroots development programmes as well as scholars close to the works and problems of these organizations.

SEAFDA conducts a package of activities, including research, documentation, publication and training, with the aim of increasing consciousness towards the structural causes of underdevelopment and the possibility for development alternative strategies. Research is important to uncover the issues and alternatives; publications are intended to disseminate the results of research; and training is to develop a new generation of scholar-activists and field workers to the need and methodology of participatory action research.

The major activity of SEAFDA would be the conduct of development research using the participatory action research (PAR) method. It is this methodology that makes SEAFDA distinct.

Publications under way include: Decline of Malaysian Economy by Martin Khor, People’s Economy by Adi Sasono and Ahmad Rofi’ie, Labour Movement by Ahmad Rofi’ie, NGO Perspective: People Movement by Heri Akhmadi.

Training: Training is a vital component of SEAFDA’s works because of our realization of the need to develop young scholar-activists both in the understanding of development problems and alternatives, as well as in the methodology of participatory action research.

Information exchange: SEAFDA had launched a program in order to develop a computerized information system which is able to facilitate data collection, data documentation, data communication and information exchange among alternative groups in ASEAN countries, especially among SEAFDA members and its related organizations.

Documentation: The Secretariat of SEAFDA, which will be rotated among members, will serve as the documentation centre. Members could send articles and documents which they or their organizations publish to the centre and these would be copied and circulated to all other members.

Members: The members of SEAFDA are: Martin Khor Kok Peng, Evelyn Hong, Chee Yoke Ling (Malaysia); Surichai Wun Gaco, Suthy Prasartsct, Phumtham Wechayachai (Thailand); Edel C. Guiza, Randolph S. David, Roberto Verzola (Philippines); M. Dawan Rahardjo, Adi Sasono, Achmad Rofi’ie, Heri Akhmadi, Kartjono (Indonesia).

(LEP, Setiabudi Bldg I, Fl2, P 3-4, H.E. Rasuna Said No 61, Kuningan, Jakarta 12960, Indonesia).
MALTA: FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

The Foundation for International Studies at the University of Malta, Valletta, was set up by Public Deed in May 1986 as an autonomous self-regulating body with the following main objectives:

(a) the promotion of research and training in international studies, particularly those relevant to the Mediterranean area, to the environment and to ocean affairs; (b) the undertaking of projects connected with the above fields; (c) the cooperation with national and international bodies, organizations and individuals concerned with or engaged in any of the aforesaid activities and objects; and the provision of a permanent secretariat, where appropriate, for such bodies or organizations; (d) the organization of seminars, conferences and summer school programmes.

The Foundation is governed by a Board of Trustees, and advised in academic matters by a Planning Council, both organs being composed of eminent international and Maltese personalities. The Foundation has four associated institutions, namely the Mediterranean Institute, the International Environment Institute, the International Ocean Institute and the International Institute on Aging.

The Mediterranean Institute

The origin and development of the Mediterranean Institute at the Foundation for International Studies is closely connected with Malta's social and cultural heritage on the one hand and strong cross-cultural cross-winds of the Mediterranean civilization on the other. The Institute aims at being a focal point of all the disciplines that study problems related to the past, present and future of human activity in this region of convergences and unique example of cultural diversities, which is the Mediterranean.

In its first year of existence the Institute has been the venue for conferences such as the International Conference on the "Mediterranean in the New Law of the Sea" held in cooperation with the International Ocean Institute and the Malta Oceanographic Commission, the second session of the Euro-Arab University and the PACE in Maribis XV Congress. Other smaller symposia, seminars and research projects were held during 1987.

The Mediterranean Institute stimulates regular cultural and scientific exchanges between academics of Mediterranean countries. The Mediterranean Institute's main functions are to: (a) hold interdisciplinary courses on the Mediterranean, aimed at an international audience, of various kinds; (b) to act as a focal point for researchers in the area; to promote and conduct research on particular topics and publish it; (d) to provide facilities for specialized centres working in different fields e.g. archeology, architecture, education, linguistic, music, religion, social anthropology; (e) hold international conferences, seminars and other meetings, called by itself or in association with other institutions interested in the same topics.

(Old University Hill, St Paul's Street, Valletta, Malta).
GLOBAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATES

Global Education Associates is an international network of men and women in over 70 countries who conduct research and educational programs aimed at advancing world peace and security, cooperative economic development, human rights, and ecological sustainability.

The Associates work together to foster a deeper awareness of humankind's mutual interdependence; to envision and bring forth creative responses to today's global crises and opportunities; and to educate and empower others to become active participants in shaping a more just, peaceful and sustainable future.

Global Education Associates recognizes that we live in a critical age of transition characterized by a global interdependence. All individuals, groups and nations on earth today are inextricably interconnected, not only by advances in travel and telecommunications, but by our economic and monetary systems and our shared ecosystem. Because interdependence has rendered obsolete many of our traditional problem-solving mechanisms based on outdated conceptions about national security and national sovereignty, our era calls for new ways of collaborative problem-solving that respect humankind's diversity while underscoring its oneness.

GEA's agenda centers on findings these new ways and putting them to work in a wide range of areas, including political, economic, ecological, cultural and spiritual systems. Our activities follow from these premises:

1) While nation-states will continue to exist, they are too small to solve today's global crises and too large to solve many local problems. Therefore, we need to develop and strengthen systems at all other levels - local, regional, international and global - to deal more effectively with current crises and ensure a sustainable future.

2) The concept of security can no longer be limited to military security: it necessarily includes economic, monetary, resource and environmental security. And national security can no longer be separable from global security.

3) Africans, Asians, Europeans, Latin Americans and North Americans all need to become active partners in the design of a peaceful and sustainable world. The wisdom and experience of East and West, North and South, masculine and feminine are necessary in decision-making.

4) The leadership of "ordinary people" and people's organizations, both secular and religious, is of vital importance.

5) A viable future for all depends upon a worldview that acknowledges the interdependence and oneness of humankind and the sacredness of life.

GEA works primarily as a catalyst. We feel we can be most effective behind the scenes, assisting other organizations to place their concerns within a context of global interdependence and to empower their constituents to become active participants in working for alternatives. Rather
than seeking the limelight, we have concentrated on collaboration and
bridge-building - enabling us to multiply our resources and influence
many times over.

**GEA transcends single issues.** Since today's problems are complex, solu-
tions must be interdisciplinary. Our diverse multicultural network in-
cludes economists, community development organizers, scientists, politi-
cal and religious leaders, homemakers, women's right advocates, educa-
tors, artists, lawyers, business and labor representatives, and many
others - collaborating in the search for mutually beneficial solutions.

**GEA transcends ideologies.** Recognizing that the interdependent global
marketplace no longer obeys the formulations of capitalism or communism,
the GEA network embraces a Gandhian commitment to seek truth wherever it
may lie - including outside the constraints of traditional ideological,
cultural and religious categories.

**GEA's outlook is holistic.** Today, the problems of communities, regions
and nations can no longer be solved in isolation. GEA's priorities cen-
ter on increasing awareness of local-global linkages and relating issues
to the larger picture - the global community and our common future. Only
by placing questions in this context can we address them constructively
and design truly sustainable solutions.

**GEA concentrates on long-term systemic change.** While necessary to avert
immediate catastrophe, short-term solutions to global crises often deal
with symptoms rather than causes, doing little to alter fundamental so-
cietal structures that perpetuate injustice and conflict. We hold that
without systemic change at the global level, these crises have no real
solutions.

**GEA offers a practical framework for hope.** We are realistic in assessing
the grave crises threatening humanity's survival. At the same time, we
note that worldwide awareness of interdependence is growing steadily,
providing us all with exceptional opportunities for constructive change.
The GEA vision integrates a strong underlying faith in humanity's capa-
city for wisdom as well as foolishness, an inclusive spiritual orienta-
tion, and a continually renewed hope for our common future.

**GEA publishes a quarterly, Breakthrough.**

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(Gerald and Patricia Miscoe, GEA, Suite 406, 475 Riverside Drive, New
York, NY 10116, USA).
1988 RIGHT LIVELIHOOD AWARDS SHARED BY
ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISTS, COMMUNITY ARCHITECT
AND TORTURE-REHABILITATION DOCTOR
PEOPLE FROM BRAZIL, DENMARK, MALAYSIA AND THE UK HONOURED

The 1988 Right Livelihood Honorary Award goes to Dr Inge Kemp Genefke (Denmark), founder and Medical Director of the International Rehabilitation and Research Centre for Torture Victims in Copenhagen. The Award "recognises her pioneering work to help those whose lives have been shattered by torture to regain their health and personality. "The Jury also recognises her vital work in bringing to light and justice the involvement of members of the medical profession in the practice of torture.

Three awardees share the 1988 Right Livelihood cash Award of $100,000: Sahabat Alam (Friends of the Earth) in Sarawak, Malaysia; Jose Lutzenberger (Brazil) and John Turner (UK).

In awarding the Sahabat Alam movement in Sarawak, the Jury honours their exemplary struggle to save the tropical forests of Sarawak, the home of its tribal peoples, from destruction. The Jury especially recognises the courage of S. Mohamed Idris, founder and President of Sahabat Alam Malaysia, Harrison Ngau and the Penan peoples, who at great personal risk have inspired and led the fight against the greed-driven demolition of one of South-East Asia's greatest remaining rainforests.

The Jury honours John Turner for having resurrected the knowledge that 'housing' is a verb, and that the freedom of communities to plan, build and manage their own housing is a fundamental human right. Through his books, articles and organisation, Associated Housing Advisory Services (AHAS), he has pioneered studies and systematised knowledge about the cultural and social dimensions of housing which has changed policies in many countries. The Jury puts special emphasis on his efforts at facilitating the exchange of experience between the countries of the South.

The Jury honours in Jose Lutzenberger one of the most effective and many-sided environmental activists in Latin America, regarded as the father of the environmental movement in Brazil. Since leaving the chemical industry in protest against the abuse of chemicals, Lutzenberger has worked tirelessly against environmental degradation in Brazil, always projecting a message of hope through a number of projects that show that depleted soil can be regenerated, that poison-free agriculture is both possible and economic and that wastes can be reclaimed and recycled.

The Awards were presented in the Swedish Parliament on 9 December, the day before the Nobel Prize presentations. (The Right Livelihood Awards have been referred to in the media as "the Alternative Nobel Prizes"). These Awards were introduced in 1980 "to honour and support those working on practicable and replicable solutions to the real problems facing us today". The idea came from Jacob von Uexkull, a Swedish-German writer.
and philatelic expert, who sold his valuable postage stamps to provide the initial endowment. Von L'excüll felt that the Nobel Prizes had become too narrow and specialised in focus and ignored much work and knowledge vital for the survival of mankind.

Sahabat Alam Malaysia - Sarawak

The Sarawak Office of SAM - the Friends of the Earth in Malaysia - has been caught up for the last 18 months with the native Penan people of Sarawak in a desperate struggle against logging in the province. In 1983 this logging was proceeding at the rate of 75 acres per hour, enabling Sarawak to provide 39% of Malaysia's tropical log exports, over 50% of the world's total. The logging is destroying the culture and livelihood of the areas native peoples, including the Pelabit, Kayan and Penan peoples.

The SAM Sarawak Office is run by a 28 year-old Kayan Harrison Ngau, who has for some years helped the native communities with the problems caused by the logging: pollution, soil erosion, land spoilation and destruction of trees and other forest resources. But when the letters and petitions to government departments which he helped them draft brought no improvement, the Penan people began in 1987 to blockade the logging camps and roads, bringing much of the logging to a halt.

SAM Sarawak has been fully supported by the central SAM Office in Penang. SAM itself was founded in 1978 by its present President, S. Mohamed Idris, a local businessman who also started the influential Consumers' Association of Penang (1969), Asia-Pacific Peoples Environment Network (APPEN, 1983) and Third World Network (1984). SAM has an extensive publishing programme: a monthly newsletter in two languages, bimonthly Environment Digest News Bulletins, a news service and numerous single publications. SAM also pioneered the 'State of the Environment' concept with its State of the Malaysian Environment in 1983/84.

John Turner/Associated Housing Advisory Services

John Turner's many publications had a great influence on housing policies worldwide. They include 'Uncontrolled Urban Settlement: Problems and Policies', 1966, and the books Freedom to Build (with Robert Fichter, Macmillan 1972) and Housing by People (Marion Boyars 1976), translated into Dutch, French, German, Italian and Spanish. This quotation from Freedom to Build illustrates the approach that has guided Turner's professional life:

The certified professional makes a fool of himself, and often does a great deal of harm to other people, by assuming that he knows more than the 'uneducated' by virtue of his schooling. All that second- and third-hand information and intellectual exercising does for him, however, is to reduce his ability to listen and learn about situations significantly different from his own social and economic experience, with consequences that can be tragic when he has the power to impose his solutions on those who are not strong enough to resist.
Since 1963 Turner has been involved with the NGO Habitat Project of the Habitat International Council, of which he was the Co-ordinator during the 1967 International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. The Project carried out a world-wide survey identifying 341 cases of self-generated housing of which 194 were in the Third World. In depth case studies of 20 of these form the main subject matter of the subsequently published Building Community: A Third World Casebook (Building Community Books 1988).

I/o Paul Ekins, School of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, Bradford, West Yorks BD7 1DR, UK.

Announcing New Books from Sweden

1. Premises and Process of Maldevelopment
Franklin Vivekananda (ed.)
The papers contained in this book include the conceptual premise and process of maldevelopment from both the Marxist and non-Marxist view points and from both the neo-liberal and neo-Marxist angels. The motivation for doing so is, rather, to open a forum for debate on overdevelopment, underdevelopment and dependent development with a view to find out the objective alternatives to overall maldevelopment.

2. Bangladesh Economy: Some Selected Issues
Franklin Vivekananda (ed.)
This Book analyses the present economic conditions in the country and suggests some alternative solutions for the future development. Fifteen scholars contributed papers on various subjects on Bangladesh socio-economic conditions. This is a useful reference book to libraries and research scholars. About 400 pages.

3. Development Alternative
Amalendu Guha and Franklin Vivekananda
This book is a challenge to the ongoing structural thoughts and actions as well as the ideological and processes of vertically growth-oriented development. It puts forward the premises and processes for an alternative theory and action of development. This is the alternative to the contemporary maldevelopment which consists the evil troika of underdevelopment and dependent development. The applicability of such a development alternative has been demonstrated through case studies. It is a must for the new generation development thinkers.

Price 350 Sek.

The Indian experience discussed thread-bare in this book typifies the developments in TW countries, i.e., the gulf that exists between the loudly proclaimed aims and objectives of the ruling parties and their actions.

Price 350 Sek.

5. Socio-economic Conditions in Nigeria.
This book analyses the past and present socio-economic-political conditions since independence. Under print.

Bethany Books, Box 7444, 103 91 Stockholm, Sweden.
JUILLET 1989: UN AUTRE SOMMET ECONOMIQUE A PARIS

ETATS GENERAUX POUR LA DEMOCRATIE ECONOMIQUE

Depuis 1984, différents réseaux anglais, canadiens et américains ont pris prétexte des sommets du 'G7' (Groupe des 7 pays les plus industrialisés) pour organiser chaque année, sous le label TOES (The Other Economic Summit), un sommet alternatif.

Le prochain sommet du 'G7' se tiendra à Paris les 14, 15 et 17 juillet 1989, au cœur des commémorations du bicentenaire de la Révolution française.

Pressentie pour être l'initiatrice d'un TOES français sous la forme des Etats généraux pour la démocratie économique, l'ALDEA* voit dans cet autre sommet l'occasion de rencontres et de renforcement des réseaux alternatifs français et internationaux autour d'un projet mobilisateur.

Quels sont les enjeux?

- Pour la première fois dans l'histoire, l'activité économique de l'humanité risque d'altérer de façon irréversible les équilibres fondamentaux nécessaires à la vie sur notre planète. Il est urgent que les modèles économiques anti-écologiques soient mis en cause par les pays riches eux-mêmes, et que se développent des formes d'activités modernes mais non destructrices de ces équilibres.

- Alors que la division internationale du travail semble profiter à quelques 'Nouveaux pays industrialisés', elle exacerbe dans le même temps une concurrence internationale que enrichit les riches et appauvrit les pauvres. Certains d'entre eux sont maintenant condamnés à l'assistance tant que des mesures volontaristes de co-développement ne seront pas mises en œuvre.

- Avec la révolution informatique et la croissance des gains de productivité, les sociétés industrielles parviennent à un stade où le travail humain perd sa place centrale. Or, le maintien des cadres rigides du 'grand salariat' transforme notre 'société du temps libéré' en 'société du temps gaspillé' génératrice de chômage, de précarité et d'exclusion. Il est urgent de redéfinir politiquement l'organisation du travail, de l'emploi et des revenus afin de valoriser socialement nos capacités de progrès technique.

Il est temps d'aller vers une maîtrise collective et politique du progrès technique. Deux siècles après la naissance de la démocratie politique, il s'agit de lutter contre le despotisme contemporain de l'économie et de la technocratie.

La démocratie économique, qui permet de poser collectivement les grands choix de développement, devient ainsi une revendication essentielle de notre époque.

(Alain Guilloux & Éric Mace, ALDEA, 28 Bd de Sébastopol, 75004 Paris, France).

* cf IPDA Dossier 68, pp 81-82
DE BUKAVU, ZAIRE

Je viens de recevoir d'un coup huit autres numéros de IFDA Dossier. Cela me rend très heureux et je voudrais vous dire ici toute ma gratitude. En effet, à cette époque où la littérature sur le développement foisonne, je suis particulièrement content de découvrir à travers les colonnes de IFDA Dossier les expériences originales d'organisations paysannes dans le Tiers Monde. Je découvre progressivement la richesse du développement du tiers système et l'effort de conception qu'il requiert dans nos pays où le risque du mimétisme est très grand.

Sadiki Byombuka, Institut Supérieur de Développement Rural.

FROM FAO, ROME

I think the IFDA is terrific value and does a really vital job. It has always been of great value as a source of ideas to me in editorial harness and I hope you continue to get support for a labour of love. As the multilateral system winds down its communications activities (you have to be Reagan or Thatcher before you understand the value of communications), the IFDA Dossier will be ever more important.

Peter Stone, Chief Editor, Ceres.

FROM IBADAN, NIGERIA

I thank you very much for the 'bundles' of IFDA Dossier you have sent to me since last December. I have tried to read through all the issues in the past couple of weeks. It has been highly rewarding and refreshing for me. Not only have the various articles broaded my planning horizon in developmental issues, it has opened to me, a new vista in contemporary issues in development particularly as it relates to the Third World.

Williams O. Olatubi, Planning Section, Federal Agric. Coordinating Unit.

DE LIMA, PERU

Agradecemos el envío de IFDA Dossier, el material es muy interesante para nuestro trabajo, permítanme felicitarnos por tan positiva contribución en el intercambio de conocimientos y experiencias; además la red de comunicación es muy integradora.

Alicia Paredes de Rico, Ctro de Estud, Comunicación y Prom, La Semilla.

DE LOME, TOGO

C'est avec joie que j'ai reçu les numéros de votre revue au Togo dans un milieu où règne le sous-développement. Je vous en remercie beaucoup et je souhaite une longue vie pour votre publication pour apporter la lumière aux hommes togolais de bonne volonté comme aux autres dans le Tiers Monde et sur notre planète entière.

Krodaar Follikoué.

DE MEXICO DF, MEXICO

Me es sumamente grato comunicarles que hace ya varios meses recibí mis 10 copias de IFDA Dossier 65, copias que ya distribuí entre académicos e instituciones interesadas en el desarrollo. Encuentro muy interesante las temáticas de todos sus números y no comparto las
opiniones del señor Peter H. Roosen del Departamento de Ciencias de la Computación de la Universidad de York en Toronto (IFDA Dossier 66, pp. 77-78). Quizás su visión parcial se desprendiera de que sólo lee en inglés pero aún así, considero que las colaboraciones en las 3 lenguas recogen los valores sociales emergentes y novedosos de todo el mundo. No creo que "de la lectura del Dossier perezca que el desarrollo se define casi en su totalidad en términos occidentales".

Bernardo Mendoza Lugo, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.

FROM MUSOMA, TANZANIA

I am thankful for all the issues sent to me. I have constantly received IFDA Dossier since end of 1985. It is a good book championing Third World Issues and the contributions are well chosen. I hope the paper will continue until we have a world with all peoples enjoying freedom and economic stability. The world is so much inter-dependent that one cannot just sit and watch other people's suffering.

Matiku T. Naitambe, Regional Development Director.

FROM NANYUKI, KENYA

I have always appreciated and enjoyed reading IFDA Dossier copies that you send me. They contribute immensely to the mutual exchange of ideas and experiences regarding development efforts in different parts of the globe.

Ambrose E. Siva, Laikipia Rural Development Programme.

DE SAN FELIPE, CHILE

Quisiera agradecer infinitamente y en toda su dimensión el envío de IFDA Dossier 62 y 63. Ha sido para mí y para todo nuestro grupo un insospechado aporte obtener la publicación con sus contenidos y artículos que nos han dado la posibilidad de conocer y darnos cuenta de la magnitud de las instituciones, organizaciones y personas que se comprometen y toman conciencia de la necesidad e importancia de un desarrollo, en este caso alternativo, de los pueblos o sociedades marginadas. Creo que es válido manifestar lo que significa para mí poder seguir recibiendo IFDA Dossier, aún cuando no sé francés ni inglés. Soy un joven hijo de campesino, integrante y animador de un movimiento de Jóvenes rurales en la Zona de San Felipe; a su vez formo parte de un equipo de trabajo social a través del Obispado de San Felipe, Chile, con variadas experiencias de desarrollo de los sectores populares, por y por lo que úd.s podrán darse cuenta lo importante que es, en primer lugar como campesino el relacionarse y conocer experiencias a nivel mundial para poder nutrirme y asumir un compromiso y una conciencia aún mayor de nuestra participación en nuestro propio desarrollo. Sería importante poder conocer y palpar en el terreno mismo cada realidad y cada experiencia, pero ya es un aporte importísimo el conocer a través de IFDA Dossier cada experiencia. No me queda más que felicitarles por el aporte que IFDA Dossier significa para nosotros y agradecer el envío.

Julio Calderon Cortes, Obispado de San Felipe.

FROM SUSSEX, UK

My apologies for the long delay in providing this small contribution to the contents of your excellent publication. While my own professional interests are now focussed on Information Technology in the Industrial countries, I still find it extremely heartening to read the discussions of development issues and strategies in your journal, and frequently find essays provocative and stimulating.

Ian Miles, Science Policy Research Unit, University of Sussex.
LOCAL SPACE

Denis Goulet, Tasks and Methods in Development Ethics (University of Notre Dame, 1988) 29pp. (Notre Dame, IN 46556, USA).

Seis estudios de Dominique Temple: Contribución a la economía mapuche, 22pp; Comunidad y reciprocidad en el Altiplano Boliviano, 20pp; Estructura comunitaria y reciprocidad, 19pp; Apuntes para una teoría del etnodesarrollo: Sugerencias de investigaciones para el desarrollo comunitario, 9pp; Origen de la reciprocidad, 10pp; Apuntes filosóficos sobre el fundamento de la reciprocidad, 8pp. (Place de la Fontaine, 34570 Montaunau, France).

Miguel Angel Huamán, Poesía utópica andina (Lima: DESCO, 1988) 142pp. Con el fin de promover la investigación sobre la realidad nacional, DESCO estableció a partir de 1987 un concurso anual de ensayo en ciencias sociales. La primera convocatoria fue dedicada al tema "Cultura y Sociedad Andina", por considerar importante contribuir a poner de relieve la fisonomía, la evolución y la presencia de la cultura andina en el conjunto de la sociedad peruana. En esta oportunidad pública el trabajo que obtuvo el primer premio en 1988, cuyo objeto de atención es la obra poética de José María Arguedas. (León de la Fuente 110, Lima 17, Perú).

ICIS & MUDAR, Mujeres, crisis y movimiento: América Latina y El Caribe (Santiago, 1988) 156pp. A través de una serie de trabajos realizados por mujeres investigadores reunidos por MUDAR, se van revelando las maneras cómo la crisis y las políticas asumidas por los gobiernos frente a ésta, han cambiado las condiciones de vida de las mujeres y cómo el rol tradicional de éstas como proveedoras de las necesidades básicas de sus familias las lleva a una situación de sobrecarga de trabajo y empobrecimiento. En suma se analiza cómo la subordinación de género es un factor que agudiza los efectos de la crisis en la vida de las mujeres de la región. (ICIS, Castilla 2067, Correo Central, Santiago, Chile/MUDAR, c/o UPERU, Ruta Paulino Fernández 32, 22270 Río de Janeiro Rj, Brasil).

Ximena Valdés S., La posición de la mujer en la hacienda (Santiago: CEM, 1988) 136pp. El material autobiográfico de este libro nos entrega una visión del mundo haciendal entre los años 1930 y 1960; los itinerarios laborales de las mujeres, emercedados en un proceso gradual de transformaciones en el sistema de trabajo y en las relaciones laborales de la hacienda. A través del análisis de las trayectorias de cada mujer entrevistada, de su trabajo, el de su marido y el de sus hijos e hijas, podemos descubrir algunas tendencias y constatar algunos hechos históricos que serán irreversibles en el transcurso de los años posteriores. (Purisma 353, Santiago, Chile).

Loreto Rebolledo et al, Notas sobre una intervención educativa: Escuela de Mujeres Rurales y Almacén Campesino (Santiago: CEM, 1988) 166pp. La Escuela de Mujeres apunta a desenredar la trama de conciencia de los mecanismos de subordinación/dominación que operan en distintas esferas de la vida. Aún cuando estos mecanismos conciernen al conjunto de las mujeres, nos parece que así como las culturas subalternas desarrollan distintas formas de resistencia que es preciso descubrir, para potenciar la fuerza que ellas tienen y desarrollan en ciertos ámbitos de la vida social.

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environments organization development. People participate easily and their organizational environments are designed in ways conducive to their participation. Such environments are social democratic in the best sense of the word: They allow for individu-
al initiative and enterprise while committing individuals to a strong social accountability. The bank has succeeded in creating such an organization on a large scale. Project managers, experts, advisers and development workers of all categories will find useful practical experience in this description of Grameen Bank's organization and ways of communicating and working with the poorest. (POB 8142-Dep, 0033 Oslo 1, Norway).


Barbara E. Grandin, Wealth ranking in smallholder communities: A field manual (Shaftesbury: Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd, 1988) 49pp. Wealth ranking is a simple field research technique. By using it, researchers, planners and extension agents can learn in what ways rich and poor households in an area are different from each other and the relative wealth status of each household in selected communities. It is a fast and effective way of gaining socio-economic data on small, rural communities, providing an accurate basis for further investigations. (Longmead, Shaftesbury, Dorset SP7 8PL, UK).


Ann Schlyter, Women Householders and Housing Strategies: The Case of George, Lusaka (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988) 156pp. Zambian women householders elaborate housing strategies in order to obtain or improve their housing. A dwelling is a prerequisite for the formation of an independent household. Ownership provides a secure home for a women's family as well as a means of income and a permanent place around which she can build a supportive social network. Women meet a series of constraints when they try to improve their housing situation. The needs of poor women have to be better recognized in housing policy. (Box 45150, 104 30 Stockholm, Sweden).

Jean Jacques Cuibbert (ed), Tecnologias urbanas socialmente apropiadas: experiencias colombianas (Bogotá: ENDA, 1987) 2 vol, 567pp. Frente a la crisis urbana que vive el país y al fracaso de las soluciones convencionales en el campo de la vivienda popular y de los servicios públicos para los más pobres, las comunidades han ido inventando e implementando respuestas técnicas y organizativas alternativas. Esta publicación muestra una serie de experiencias desarrolladas con el apoyo de organizaciones no gubernamentales y la colaboración de algunas entidades gubernamentales. Recorremos así experiencias de autoconstrucción (sistemas de autoconstrucción en altura, materiales tradicionales mejorados, materiales prefabricados viviendas); de alternativas a los servicios públicos (saneamiento ambiental, recolección comunitaria de basura, fuentes de energía alternativa, sistemas de purificación de agua a pequeña escala); y de agricultura urbana que se desarrollan en las principales ciudades del país. Este documento presenta un conjunto de documentos técnicos y sociales así como una serie de herramientas (fotonovelas técnicas, cartillas populares y testimonios). (AA 091369, Bogotá, Colombia).

John A. Dixon et al, Economic Analysis of the Environmental Impacts of Development Projects (London: Earthscan Publications, 1986) 134pp. It has always been thought that some level of pollution and waste is unavoidable in development projects. But no one has made much effort to quantify and assess the extent of this sort of damage. In this book a group of analysts from the Asian Development Bank and from the East West Center propose a means of constructing useful economic evaluations of the impacts of development projects on the environments in which they are constructed. This study demands the systematic evaluation of all the intentional and unintentional consequences of development initiatives before they are determined upon. (3 Endsleigh Str, London WC1H ODD, UK).
CCDEL, Environmentally Sound Small Scale Agricultural Projects (Arlington: VITA, 1988) 162pp. This manual - now in its 8th edition - is designed to assist those who plan and implement small-scale agricultural projects. By promoting awareness of environmental concerns, the manual can increase the development worker's ability to design projects that are both environmentally sound and potentially more sustainable. This manual has two objectives: To promote well-planned and environmentally sound small-scale agricultural projects, and to introduce environmental concepts into technology development and alternative management techniques, and encourage the transfer into training programs. (POB 12028, Arlington, Virginia 11109, USA).

Ole Therkildsen, Watering White Elephants? Lessons from Donor Funded Planning and Implementation of Rural Water Supplies in Tanzania (Uppsala: SIAS, 1988) 224pp. Five case studies on various donor approaches to the preparation of long-term regional water supply plans in Tanzania and their subsequent implementation (Denmark, Finland, Holland, Sweden and the World Bank). The donor approaches tend to be welfare and control oriented, although to varying degrees. They have been characterized by extensive data collection; detailed pre-implementation planning; nor or limited participation of beneficiaries; emphasis on fast implementation of new schemes; and donor bypassing of Tanzanian organizations. This has significantly contributed to the non-use of donor-prepared long-term plans, and the non-sustainability of donor-financed water schemes. The author argues that a more adaptive approach to planning and implementation of aid is needed. This implies that development projects should be regarded as experiments with less emphasis on detailed long-term plans; that planning and implementation should be closely integrated with monitoring as a key activity; that active beneficiary participation based on the help to self-help principle in planning, implementation, and maintenance should be integrated parts of donor-financed activities. (address above, p. 94).


Bernard McNelis et al., Solar-powered Electricity: A survey of photovoltaic power in developing countries (London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 1988) 87pp. The direct conversion of solar energy into direct current electricity by means of solar cells - solar photovoltaics (PV) - is an increasingly important area of renewable energy. The stage has now been reached when PV systems are both technically and economically suitable for many applications, particularly those involving relatively small amounts of power in remote locations. This book is a survey of PV systems which have been developed and demonstrated over the past ten years to supply power for water pumping, refrigeration, lighting, village electrification, communications and other applications. The survey also provides advice on the selection of appropriate equipment, taking into account the various technical, economic, social and institutional factors involved. (103/105 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4HH, UK).


CCSTAM, JMRF y AzGar: La Nueva Ecucibn, 20pp; La Industria Azucarera en China (Fujian y Guandong), 12pp. (POB 66, Toronto, Ontario M5T 2T2, Canada).

Robert & Christine Prescott-Allen, Genes from the Wild (London: Earthscan Publications, 1988) 111pp. This book describes the growing contribution of wild genetic resources to the production of food and raw materials and their characteristics, explains the benefits and problems of using them and outlines the ways in which they are threatened and the measures being taken to conserve them. (address above, p. 95).


. John Elkington & Julia Hailles, The Green Consumer Guide: From shampoo to champagne - high-street shopping for a better environment (London: Victor Gollancz, 1988) 342pp. Every day, whether shopping for simple necessities or luxury items, consumer choices affect the environment. Yet most are unaware of the positive influence we can exert through our spending power. The Green Consumer Guide brings together, in one easy-to-use handbook, the vital facts on a wide range of products. Wherever you shop, it will tell you which products to avoid and direct you to attractive, cost competitive and easily available alternatives. (14 Henrietta Street, London WC2E 8QL, UK).

. Sylvia Schulein, La television provincial en la Argentina: Las experiencias de Córdoba y Tucumán, 40pp; La television por cable en la Argentina, 52pp. (ILET, Casilla 16637, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile).

NATIONAL SPACE


. Manuel Barrera, Consideraciones acerca de la relación entre política y movimiento sindical: El caso de Chile (CES, 1988) 29pp. (Casilla 1021 Correo 22, Santiago, Chile).


. William Hinter (ed), Operation Timber: Pages from the Savimbi Dossier (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1988) 117pp. Jonas Savimbi of UNITA is South Africa's most significant military client. He is also the beneficiary of US covert aid. Despite his intimate ties with the apartheid regime, he still claims to be an authentic African nationalist who
fought to end colonialism. The documents in *Operation Timber* reveal that even his past has its secret scandal: covert collaboration with the Portuguese colonial army. These documents, almost all appearing here for the first time in English, are translated and introduced by William Minter, author of *King Solomon's Mines Revisited: Western Interests and the Burdened History of Southern Africa* (POB 1892, Trenton, NJ 08607, USA).


Leung Wing-yue, *Smashing the Iron Rice Pot: Workers and Unions in China's Market Socialism* (Hong Kong: Asia Monitor Resource Center, 1986) 233pp. Smashing the Iron Rice Pot looks at the trade union movement inside China and explores the extent to which workers are "masters of the country" following China's ambitious program of political and economic reform. The book is the result of detailed research and interviews inside China, along with careful analysis of official reports. It provides the first sympathetic yet critical analysis of modern Chinese trade unionism. (444 Nathan Road 6-B, Kowloon, Hong Kong).

Haider A. Khan & Erik Thorbecke, *Macroeconomic Effects and Diffusion of Alternative Technologies Within a Social Accounting Matrix Framework* (Aldershot: Gower Publishing Company, 1986) 209pp. Decisions regarding technological choice can have major macroeconomic consequences on the economies of Third World countries. This study provides a conceptual and general equilibrium framework, based on the Social Accounting Matrix, within which the direct and indirect macroeconomic effects of alternative technologies on the whole socioeconomic system can be investigated. Using a Social Accounting Matrix for Indonesia, the total and sectoral effects of labour and capital intensive techniques on such variables as output, income distribution and employment are estimated. The whole network of influence through which alternative technologies affect the socioeconomic system are explored through structural path analysis. (Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire GU11 3HR, UK).

REGIONAL SPACE

Three books from CODESRIA (POB 3304, Dakar, Senegal):

- W.A. Ndongko (ed), *Economic Cooperation and Integration in Africa* (1985) 344pp. The book starts with a discussion of general problems of economic cooperation and integration. This is then followed by an examination of the impact of external forces on regional economic cooperation. In the final section, the editor takes a critical look at the future of economic cooperation in Africa.

- Thandika Mkandawire and Naceur Bourenane (eds), *The State and Agriculture in Africa* (1987) 385pp. The last three decades of African independence have seen the virtual collapse of African agriculture with dire consequences not only for development, but for livelihood itself. The drought years of 1974 and 1982-3 were a severe blow but even before the drought the record of declining productivity was evident. Explanations given for this state of affairs often turn out to be facile and simplistic generalisations. Here a group of leading African academics engage in an in-depth examination of the current food and agricultural crisis, touching on the causes, nature, scope and dynamics of the problem. They bring to the subject a new framework of analysis which combines the generality of global approach with the specificity of empirically based case studies, carefully chosen to cover the different types of production systems. The contributions also suggest concrete ways of overcoming the continent's current food and agricultural crisis.
policies that can be developed there which
where in the world are Africans. More than half of Africa's refugees originate from Ethiopia and live in the Sudan and Somalia. This book is about this mass exodus from Ethiopia. Much of the study is concerned with the problems faced by the uprooted and is based on information obtained through interviews with several hundred refugee households living in the Sudan. The author traces their experiences at the various stages of their flight, examines the subjective and objective conditions which forced these people to make the painful decision to leave their homes and seek free haven in alien environments, lays bare the interconnection, in Ethiopia, between state terrorism, state policies and programmes, and mass displacement, and explores the refugees' struggles to eke out their existence in a country with severe economic problems, their relations to their hosts and their anxieties as aliens in a foreign land. He compares the various settlement strategies with regard to the achievement of economic self-sufficiency and socio-cultural integration. (Dist. by Almquist & Wiksell int, POB 638, 101 28 Stockholm, Sweden) SEK 150.

Barry Munsell et al., The Fuelwood Trap: A Study of the SADCC Region ((London: Earthscan, 1988) 181pp. Over 60 million people live in the SADCC countries; by 2000 AD the number will be over 100 million. The vast majority, city-dwellers as well as farmers, rely on wood fuel for domestic use. Supplies are diminishing as consumption grows. The quality of life is deteriorating and the environment is more and more degraded. But these phenomena are not simply the consequence of wood shortage which might are cured by some cropping and management policy. They flow from a complex network of causes. The authors, by means of case studies, examine those causes throughout the nine SADCC countries and consider the policies that can be developed there which will not only help to alleviate the symptom but also to prevent the imminent catastrophe which it represents. (add. above, p.95) £8.95

Aline Frambes Buxeda (ed), Puerto Rico y la paz en Centroamerica; Desde la Declaración de San Juan hasta un premio Nobel para la paz (Revista Homines, 1988) 144pp. (Univ Interamericana de Puerto Rico, Apdo 1293, Hato Rey, 00910 Puerto Rico).


lapse of détente between the superpowers affect European cooperation? Does the new era of glasnost and nuclear arms negotiations open up a more positive prospect for the Continent? What independent initiatives should Europe take to alter its relations with third world countries, and contribute more constructively to their problems of debt and mass poverty? These are among the questions raised in this dialogue between influential figures from Western and Eastern Europe. The contributors include scholars such as Mary Kaldor, Immanuel Wallerstein, Tamás Székely, André Gunders Frank, Angelos Angelopoulos and Louis Emmerij, and many others from the Soviet Union, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Greece, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Austria and Scandinavia. They present their diverse views on Europe's own security problems and on the Continent's possible role in world peace and development. Their aim is to break the mould of inherited ideological divisions and ways of thought, and to present new perspectives in the fields of economics, politics and culture that may hold out greater hope for a secure and just future for Europe and the world.

Of particular interest among the many topics discussed is an assessment of the potential contribution that Europe's social forces - the peace and the green movements - can make to redefining not just political and economic goals, but human relationships and social institutions. (Toho Sembei Bldg 15-1 Shibuya 2-chome, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo 150, Japan).

AIDS and the Third World (London: Panos Institute, 1988) 198pp. The most comprehensive overview of global AIDS yet published. The report is produced in association with the Norwegian Red Cross. Since the first edition of the Panos dossier in 1986, AIDS has become truly global, says the report. Then largely confined to the US, Africa and parts of Europe, the virus has now gained a foothold in Asia, West Asia and East Europe; and in Latin America and the Caribbean there are epidemics as severe as - and in many cases more severe than - those in North America, West Europe and Australia. But there is good news too. In global terms, governments and the UN system have responded to the challenge of AIDS with a speed and vigour that is probably unprecedented. The 54 page appendix to the dossier contains a comprehensive country by country review of the spread of HIV, with seven global and regional maps. (8 Alfred Place, London WC1E 7EB, UK).

GLOBAL SPACE

Michael Marten (ed), Survey Annual 1987 (Bethesda: World Future Society, 1988) 195pp. Abstracts of recent books and articles on world future; international economics; world regions and nations; defense and disarmament; energy; environment and resources; food and agriculture; society; the US economy; business; work; spatial affairs; crime and justice; health; families and education; communications; science and technology; methods to shape the future. (4976 St Elmo Ave, Bethesda, Maryland 20814, USA).

Julien Burger, Report from the Frontier: The State of the World's Indigenous Peoples (Cambridge: Cultural Survival, 1987) 310pp. The indigenous people of the world are at the front line of national development programmes. They have been driven from their traditional homelands, sometimes forcibly and sometimes through the use of alien laws and decrees. In the name of progress, the life styles of more than 200 million tribal and indigenous peoples are being destroyed. Report from the Frontier identifies these peoples whose vulnerable and exploited communities exist in more than half the countries of the world. It examines their situation region by region, including Western Europe and North America, China and the Soviet Union. It documents their employment, health and educational disadvantages; looks at the major sources of conflict with governments, transnationals, and other proponents of capitalist development, and describes the growing resistance of the communities themselves. (11 Divinity Ave, Cambridge, Mass 02138, USA).

Pierre Rossel (ed), Tourism: Manufacturing the Exotic (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1988) 193pp. The objective of this document is to outline the relationship between tourism and
-cultural minorities. It aims to understand the nature of the relationship, to point out its most serious and harmful effects and to make known some of the survival strategies which cultural minorities employ. Tourism is the greatest economic and socio-cultural phenomenon of our epoch and cultural minorities suffer more than anyone from its negative effects. The contributors have each studied the problematic relationship between tourism and cultural minorities and provide concrete examples covering a wide geographical and cultural spectrum. The richness and variety of the authors' observations arise from their differing perceptions, approaches and formulations of their problem. This heterogeneity has permitted the emergence of a theoretical framework which is presented in the first article: "Tourism and cultural minorities: double marginalisation and survival strategies" (Fiostrade 10, 1971 Copenhagen A, Denmark).


- Hernán Santa Cruz, Cooperar o perecer: El dilema de la comunidad mundial, Tomo II: Luchas, sombras y tormentas en los años maduros (Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano SRL, 1988) 522pp. Este libro es la continuación de la obra Cooperar o perecer, publicada en 1985. Hernán Santa Cruz añade ahora a "Los años de creación" su testimonio sobre "Los años maduros". El presente volumen - dividido en tres partes, que son hasta cierto punto independientes - contiene materias de variada índole, como la erradicación del hambre en el planeta y la descolonización masiva ocurrida al terminar la Segunda Guerra Mundial. La primera analiza la lucha contra la desnutrición, que está aún lejos de ser eliminada. La segunda destaca los avances tecnológicos y la riqueza del mundo y los esfuerzos internacionales para superar los obstáculos provocados por la negociación de dirigentes mundiales y el egoísmo creciente de sectores sociales que sólo buscan el dinero y el poder. La otra se refiere a la independencia de casi un centenar de territorios no autónomos que cubren casi medio planeta. También este volumen pone de relieve la tremenda contradicción que existe entre las notables realizaciones de los Organismos del sistema de Naciones Unidas y el impalpable ataque de algunos gobiernos de Estados poderosos y sus corifeos para eliminar, al menos matar, a dichas instituciones. El autor sostiene que el mundo enfrenta un intento para el retorno de las políticas de poder que causaron en el presente siglo dos guerras devastadoras y que los enemigos de la paz y de la justicia deben movilizarse para detener tal peligroso propósito. Sólo la cooperación universal en los términos de la Carta puede evitar el holocausto planetario. (Leprida 1185, 1er Piso, 1425 Buenos Aires, Argentina).

control the arms race are described, and the status of social studies on the INF Treaty, the ABM Treaty review, the nuclear ratioxial and thus armament and the United Nations, and the UN analysis.


Simón Alberto Consalvi, La paz nuclear: Ensayos de historia contemporánea (Caracas: Monte Avila Editores, 1988) En 1945, al concluir la Segunda Guerra Mundial, cuando estallan las bombas atómicas en Hiroshima y Nagasaki, se inicia "un período sin precedentes en la historia mundial", determinado por la competencia por el poder nuclear entre los Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética". Así lo manifiesta Simón Alberto Consalvi al presentar los cinco ensayos que conforman un volumen cuyo paradójico título indica ya que el tema allí tratado constituye un hecho central de la historia contemporánea. Porque, si esas dos naciones - a sabiendas de las fatales consecuencias que acarreará para la reza humana un enfrentamiento en gran escala - se esfuerzan por mantener la paz, ésta supone también, lamentablemente, por parte de esos mismos superpotencias, el auspicio de cruentes "conflictos regionales" que han sumado más de dieciséis millones de muertos en los últimos treinta años de "paz nuclear entre los grandes". (Apdo postal 70712, Zona 1070, Caracas, Venezuela).


Toshiyuki Toyoda, A Study on Military R & D: Concerns about Japan's Participation in the Strategic Defense Initiative (PRIME, 1988) 51pp. (Meiji Gakuin University, Kamikurata 1516, Totsuka, Yokohoma 244, Japan).

SIPRI Yearbook 1988: World Armaments and Disarmament (Södra, 1988) 596pp. The 19th edition of the SIPRI Yearbook presents detailed information on arms and arms control issues in a format that is both concise and standardized for ease of use. The SIPRI Yearbook 1988 continues SIPRI's review of the latest developments in nuclear weapons, nuclear explosions, world military expenditure, the international arms trade, chemical and biological weapons, the military use of outer space and ongoing armed conflicts. Efforts to control the arms race are described, and the status of negotiations and agreements is analysed. In addition to these regular features and statistics, the Yearbook contains special studies on the INF Treaty, the ABM Treaty review, the Iraq-Iran War and the role of the United Nations, and the UN International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. Its comprehensive coverage makes it an invaluable sourcebook for anyone seeking authoritative, factual information on issues of armaments and disarmament and thus to anyone interested in strategic studies, war studies, peace studies and international relations. (Pipers vbg 2B, 171 73 Solna, Sweden).

vices — data processing, software, data bases, and telecommunication services — which documents trade and foreign direct investment in these services, particularly in Latin America. The discussion of the international dimension of data-services transactions focuses on the difficulties in assessing transborder data flows, the impact of data technologies on international economic transactions, and the emergence of new forms of international trade. Dr Sauvant also looks at the regulations governing international trade and foreign direct investment in data services, and he summarizes principal policy issues and implications, especially for the Third World. The text is accompanied by extensive statistical materials and an overview of international actions relating to transborder data flows. (13 The Brunswick Centre, London WC1F 1AF, UK). £30.50.


From the UN Centre on Transnational Corporations:
- Joint Ventures as a Form of International Economic Co-operation (E.88.II.A.12) 210pp.

Robin Cohen, The New Helots: Migrants in the International Division of Labour (Aldershot: Avebury/Gower, 1987) 290pp. In this wide ranging work of comparative and historical sociology, Robin Cohen argues that a major engine of capital's growth lies in its ability to find successive cohorts of quasi-free workers to deploy in the farms, mines and factories of an expanding international division of labour. These workers, like the helots of ancient Greece, are found at the periphery of 'regional political economies' or in the form of modern migrants, sucked into the vortex of metropolitan service or manufacturing industry. The regions of southern Africa; the USA and the circum-Caribbean; Europe and its colonial and southern hinterlands, are systematically compared — yielding original and, in some cases, uncomfortable analogies between countries previously thought to be wholly different in terms of their political structures and guiding values. Though it presents a challenging thesis, The New Helots has been written with both an undergraduate and professional readership in mind. Students of history, sociology and economics as well as those interested in patterns of migration and ethnic relations will all find something new to disturb conventional wisdoms found in their fields. (Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire GU11 3HR, UK) Price £27.50 (hard cover), £6.95 (paperback).

Czech Conroy & Miles Litvinoff (eds), The Greening of Aid: Sustainable Livelihoods in Practice (London: Earthscan, 1988) 302pp. Third World development has so often meant the export of Northern technology for ambitious schemes designed to make money - the latest giant dam, oil refinery, logging process or pesticide factory. But such "aid" has frequently been ecologically destructive and its crippling cost has ended up making life immeasurably worse for those it was supposed to help. Using examples from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, Central and South America, this book shows there are forms of development that allow people to control their own resources while improving their condition and enhancing their environment. The 33 case studies from agriculture, fishing and industry were commis-
sioned by the International Institute for Environment and Development from people closely involved in the projects (address above, p.95) £8.95.


Taimi S'tari, Technology Transfer to Developing Countries: From Place to Place or from Space to Space, 59pp; Kimmo Kiljunen, The World Bank and the World Poverty, 15pp; Mikko Korpela, Economics of Developing Countries, 20pp. (Institute of Development Studies, University of Helsinki, Finland).


Oil to South Africa: Apartheid's Friends and Partners (Shipping Research Bureau, 1988) 76pp. (POE 11898, 1001 GW Amsterdam, Netherlands).

Beyond Apartheid (Amsterdam: South Africa Economic Research and Training Project, 1988) 76pp. In contrast to much of the earlier discussions concerning a post-apartheid society, the concern of these papers is with practical questions and not abstract theoretical issues. Which type of policies need to be implemented in the real world that will be inherited? Clearly, the answers in each case imply a particular theoretical understanding, but the author has to translate it into a policy approach. SAERT encouraged this focus in the belief that liberation needs to be given a practical content if the dreams of those who struggle for freedom are to be implemented. (Paulus Potterstraat 20, 1071 DA Amsterdam, Netherlands).


John Hillarc (ed), J M Keynes in Retrospect: The Legacy of the Keynesian Revolution (Aldershot: Edward Elgar Publ., 1988) 229pp. This book emphasises the continuing importance of Keynes to the study of the economic problem. The orthodox counter-revolution in economic theory has sought to undermine the enduring significance of his work. These original essays demonstrate the vigour and continuity of the Keynesian tradition. They highlight the importance of Keynes' contribution to economic theory, method and practice in spite of the criticisms advanced by the New Classical School. The essays range across the Keynesian spectrum and represent successive generations of the Keynesian Era. (Grower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hants GU11 3HR, UK).

David E. Apter, Rethinking Development: Modernization, Dependency and Postmodern Politics (London: SAGE Publications, 1987) 326pp. Development theory is at a crossroads. Dominant theories such as modernization and dependence have run their course. In Rethinking Development, a preeminent political and social theorist offers his view of the direction of the discipline. Using major themes such as the relation between development and democracy, the problem of innovation and marginality, Apter offers an innovative comparative study. He takes a new look at scientific, romantic and teleological formulations, showing how conventional concepts of development prevent us from seeing its negative consequences. He argues that development will generate democracy, but not easily. Instead of presenting a single dogmatic theory, Apter gives scholars and students of political and social change an articulate and original view. (28 Banner Str, London EC1Y 8OE, UK).
PERIODICALS

(the addresses of the 116 periodicals mentioned below appear in alphabetical order, at the end of this section).

HUMAN RIGHTS: In the Human Rights Internet Reporter (Vol 12, N°3) 'Malaysia: A frontal attack on the independence of the judiciary' by Chandra Muzaffar. The Article 19 Bulletin (N°3) gives 19 commentaries, each one proposes an "up-to-date account of the state of freedom of thought, opinion and information in the reporting country and examines the latest trends in the protection of these rights and freedoms".

CULTURES: 'Australia: Aboriginal appeal to the world' in IWGIA Newsletter (N°53/54). In Indian News of the Americas, 'Amaranth and quinua: Cooperation among Indian communities' (N°36); '2nd encounter of Latin American Indian legislators' (N°37). In Grassroots Development (Vol 12, N°2) 'Into another jungle: The final journey of the Matecos' by Ariel Dorfman. 'Los indigenas de America Latina ante el V centenario' en Chamiza (N°17). 'Muslims of Bulgaria' in Islamic Order (Vol 10, N°3). In The Kanagawa (Vol 35, N°2) 'Locei governments take a hand in cultural affairs - Kanagawa's approach'. 'La persistencia de los idiomas mayas' en Minay Marka (N°67). 'Comemos según nuestras costumbres' en Minka (N°23). "He voici de retour en France. Huit mois de rencontres qui m'ont emmené de village en village (...) Pas de danses, pas de cadeaux, mais juste Etre là, dans un village que l'on perturbe le moins possible (...) Carnets de notes qui se remplissent d'informations brutes, de faits et d'expériences vécues (...)" C'est ce que propose le dossier 'Afrique de l'Ouest' pour une approche culturelle du développement du Bulletin CRIDev (N°76).

CHANGE: 'Perestroika radicals: the origins and ideology of the Soviet new left' in Monthly Review (Vol 60, N°4). In Futures (Vol 20, N°5) 'Europe at the dawn of the third millennium: a synthesis of the main trends' by Hugues de Jouvenel. 'The voluntary option - on the role of voluntarism in society' in Seminar (N°348). In Togon (Vol VII, N°3) 'Towards communities of resistance and solidarity: some political and philosophical notes' by Lester Edwin J. Ruiz. Dans la Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales (N°177) 'Interconnexions entre le local et le mondial, dynamiques locales et le système mondial, les
micro-espaces, les réseaux transnationaux' avec, entre autres, Chadwick F. Aliger, Björn Heltne, Majid Rahmani et Johan Galtung.


HEALTH: in Hai news (N°42) 'The evolution of a national drug policy' in the Philippines. 'Drinking water' (Vol 14, N°3) and 'The tippy tap' (N°4) in Health for the millions. In Ancient Science of Life (Vol 7, N°3/4) 'Wild edible plants of Jammu & Kashmir State - an ethno-botanical study'. 'Una historia vergonzosa - Medicamentos: el poder de los laboratorios' in Quehacer (N°55). 'La médecine traditionnelle chinoise est née de la souffrance quotidienne, populaire et multiple; là où elle se différencie profondément de notre médecine allopathique, c'est dans les causes du dérèglement qui entraînent les maladies' explique l'auteur de l'article 'Médecine traditionnelle chinoise' dans l'envoi (N°8).

FOOD PRODUCTION: 'Ecological agriculture: the Indian experience' in the Philihrra Notes (Vol 4, N°5). 'African agriculture: a new approach to research and development' in Ecoafrica (Vol 2, N°4). 'Tropical kudzu, maize and peache palms revive peruvian soils' in International Ag-Sieve (Vol 1, N°3). 'Cultivating disaster: US farm policy fiasco' in the Multinational monitor (Vol 10, N°7/8). 'Food security, a basic consumer right' in Timbangan (Vol 7, N°7). In World Development (Vol 16, N°9) 'currents issues in food security'. Dans Peuples en marche (N°3) 'Chine: autosuffisance alimentaire - les acquis d'une politique. 'Farmers helping themselves' in African Report (Vol 17, N°4) explains that 'Thousands of grass-roots organizations, initiated and directed by peasant farmers, are making a tangible difference in the lives of millions'.

COMMUNICATION: 'Even Trotsky had a trial... and so did Gandhi and Mandela' in Alfven (Vol 8, N°3). 'On the road with the Atelier Theatre Burkinabe' in DCR, Development Communication Report (N°62). In Extra (Vol 2, N°2) 'Little Steven on rock, South Africa, media and politics'. 'Top 12 censored studies of 1987' in the UTHE Reader (N°29). En Diálogo (N°21) 'La television mexicaine en los Estados Unidos: extinción o reconversión?'. 'L'absence d'esprit critique dans la presse' dans Intercom (N°59) (en portugais).


ENVIRONMENT: 'Focus on pesticides' in Panosco (N°8). 'Third World war: debt, development & environment' in JDOC Internazionale (Vol 19, N°3/68). 'Exploring alternative energy sources' in Environesia (Vol 2, N°2). 'Green consumerism' in New Economics (N°7, 1988). In Seminar (N°346), 'Drought'. Special issue of Industry and Environment (Vol 11, N°1) about 'hazardous waste management'. In Wise 'Fire at Chernobyl style reactor' (N°298) and 'Sweden still hot after Chernobyl' (N°297). Transnational Perspectives (Vol 14, N°2) is structured around the concept of bioregionalism, with a series of book reviews on 'Green politics' and articles on bioregionalism and transfrontier zones, ecological factors in the development of northern Thailand, and a 'Disarmament Watch' on the dangers of ecological destruction through war. 'Forestry for people's welfare' in Asian Action (N°69). In Cultural Survival Quarterly (Vol 12, N°2) 'Hydroelectric Dams'. In Ecoforum (Vol 15, N°1) 'Profits or people? a look at the Tropical forestry action Plan'. Special issue of Moving

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY: 'Textiles: options for a viable future' in Appropriate Technology (Vol 15, N°2). In Marine Quarterly Journal (Vol 9, N°2) 'Proceedings of the symposium on "mind and knowledge"'. In IDOC Internationale (Vol 19, N°5/88) 'Biotechnology - where to now?'.


UNIONS: 'IL0: 40 years of Union Rights' in International Labour Reports (N°29). Mundo Azucarero: un informativo sobre trabajadores azucareros (Vol X1, N°5). El movimiento sindical en Uruguay y 'una experiencia de organización barrial' en Notas del CLADEM (N°53).


PARTICIPATION: 'Peasant farmer agricultural self-development' in ILEIA Newsletter (Vol 4, N°3). In Vibra (N°56) 'Community participation in development'. En Pensamiento Prop rio (Ano VI, N°53) 'Nicaragua: economia mixta a prueba: cómo reaccionarán los agricultores?'.


WORLD ECONOMY: Several articles on Raul Prebisch, and 'Neo-liberalism versus neo-structuralism in Latin America' by Sergio Bitar in CEPEL Review (N°34). In Green Line (N°66) 'Why economist Davidson Bucheo resigned fom the IMF'.

SOUTH-SOUTH: En Poltica Internacional (N°11) 'La búsqueda de la unidad y la concertación de America Latina' y 'Perspectivas de la economía mundial'. 'Co-ordination and consultation in Latin America and the Caribbean: some ideas for institutional reform' in Capítulos del SELA (N°18).

NEW PERIODICALS: Technology and Development is published once a year by the Institute for International Cooperation the articles are selected and translated from its Japanese edition Kosoai Kyorokyo Kenkyu. Synthesis has changed its name, now it is called Green Synthesis (N°28). The Centre for Our Common Future now publishes the Brundtland Bulletin 43 pages of informations on the follow up to the Brundtland report. The new publication of the Centre for Human Rights Human Rights Newsletter intends to promote and strengthen international awareness and understanding of human rights. Haramata "is the language of the Fenti, is the original African word for the dry wind of the Sahel. For the people of the drylands, is the purpose of this Haramata to carry seeds of change and hope". Transitions est le nouveau nom du jules de paix. Mauritus Tribune discusses 'Mauritius and Non-Aligned Movement'. The Friends of Right Livelihood publish a newsletter called Intermission. The Women's Share Newsnote is an occasional bulletin produced in English, French and Spanish by the International Women's Tribune Centre.

ADDRESSES/ADRESSES/DIRECCIONES:

- Action on Namibia, NSC, POB 16, London NW5 2AW, UK
- Actualidad Económica, CEDAL, Av Guzmán Blanco 465, Of 504, Lima, Peru
- Alternatives Internationales, C1008, Llibre 125, 1r-1A, 08037, Barcelona, Spain
- The Ahfad Journal, Ahfad University for Women, POB 167, Omdurman, Sudan
- Aifan, POB 1049, 10530 Pulau Pinang, Malaysia
- Alternatives, 29 Rajpur Rd, Delhi 110054, India / 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA
- Alternatives non violentes, 16 rue Paul-Apelle, 42000 St-Etienne, France
- The Ambicus Journal, NRDCC, 122 E 42nd Str, Rm 4500, New York, NY 10168, USA
- Ancient Science of Life, 368 Trichy Rd, Coimbatore 641 018, TN, India
- Andean Focus, 16k Broadway, Room 302, New York, NY 10038, USA
- Appropriate Technology, 103-105 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4JH, UK
- Article 19, 90 Borough High Street, London SE1 1LL, UK
- Asia Link, Ctr for Progress of Peoples, 48 Pr Margaret Rd, Homantin, Kowloon, Hong Kong
- Asian Action, GPO Box 2930, Bangkok 10501, Thailand
- Boletin Frente Mujeres Chilenas, Apdo 63308, Caracas 1067-A, Venezuela
(local space)

Pierre-Âlan Bauz, Danser dans la rue à Mexico: La danse comme communication populaire (Corregio 1-3, Co: Noveme Buena, 03720 México DF, Mexique) 15pp.

Bruce P. Corrie, 'Another Development' for Children: Towards a Theoretical Framework (Concordia College, Dept of Business and Economics, 275 North Syndicete, St Paul, Minnesota 55104, USA) 30pp.

Laila Kamel and S.O. Lukofahr, A Note on Social impact of Village-Scale Rabbit Project Development in Egypt (31 Montazaah Str, Helvopolis, Cairo, Egypt) 10pp.

Claudio de Moura Castro, Grassroots development in Brazil (instead of waiting for the return of C. Sebastiao) (ILC, 1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland) 7pp.

(regional space)

M. Abdus Salam, Asia-Pacific Dialogue, 15pp; Development Cooperation: Contribution of International NGOs Towards Promoting Peoples Initiatives in Asia, 10pp. (ACFOD, GPO Box 2930, Bangkok 10501, Thailand).

Mohammed Bouloudani, Conflit: Etat et societe dans les "republiques" arabes (22/64 rue des Vergers, 59650 Villeneuve d'Ascq, France) 5pp.


(global space)

Francisco J. Herran, Conclusions of a Transdisciplinary Investigation on the Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace (Paseo Latorre 1239, 4400 Salta, Argentina) 22pp.

Chenrokh Vaziri, Relations Europe-Latiers Monde en 1982 (Institut de science politique, BFSM2, Dorgny, 1015 Lausanne, Suisse) 3pp.
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