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Environment and Development:

Listen to the South Citizen

Twenty years after the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, the United Nations will hold in Brazil, in June 1992, a Conference on Environment and Development. Most of IFDA's founders were active in the preparations for the 1972 event, and IFDA could be seen as one of its results. While remaining aware of the environmental problematique, IFDA increasingly focused, over the years, on the role of the third system, or The Citizen, and contributed, however modestly, to give a voice to, and facilitate mutual information among, citizens' groups all over the world.

There have been dramatic changes during these twenty years. First, the environmental degradation, for which the industrialized countries must be held accountable, is threatening survival globally (the ozone layer depletion, the greenhouse effect), regionally (deforestation, desertification, pollution of the oceans) and locally (among others, the universal urban nightmare). Second, the USSR and Eastern Europe, which were absent at Stockholm, have re-joined the global community. Third, if in 1972 the ecological citizens' groups were primarily Western, there is now a blossoming environmental movement all over the South: the majority of the 4,000 member-associations of the Nairobi-based Environment Liaison Centre are from the third World; there are networks in Africa (ANEN, the Africa Ngos Environment Network), in Asia (APPEN, the Asia Pacific Peoples' Environment Network), thousands of local groups in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela and everywhere, as suggested by some of the 'news from the third system' regularly featured in the IFDA Dossier.

At the same time, the apparent contradiction between 'environment' and 'development' appears still unresolved at the intergovernmental level. Most governments of the South continue to act as if 'development', by which they mean economic growth along the dominant western mode, were a must, whereas, through production and consumption patterns which misuse resources, it further marginalizes people and degrades their environment. This is not the place to go into the argument (some of the papers in this issue discuss it). Instead, the point is that there is only one way out of the
impasse: go beyond governments, and listen to the people. For them, whatever the political and academic fine print, environment is the place where they live, and development (World Bank, aid agencies and governments notwithstanding) basically means improvement of their daily lives.

Yet there is a dilemma. The ecological movement in the North, or rather, in the West, even when not totally culturally insensitive, remains conditioned by its own circumstances. Eurocentrism is still predominant; the West still believes it knows best; the Hilton syndrome persists: a Hilton Hotel is a facility, built in a city of the South, following foreign blueprints, by foreign architects and contractors, run by foreign managers, catering to foreign guests, and whose profits are 'repatriated'; there are only two local dimensions: the decoration, and, of course, the workers.

In this respect, the main danger for the 1992 Conference is to accomodate a 'Hilton Ngos Forum'. This can be avoided: there is now an authentic and endogenous ecological movement in the South. It is the responsibility of the organizers of the Conference, and of the movement in the North, to recognize this fact and to facilitate a genuine and massive participation of the associations of the South in the Conference. It is the responsibility of the movement in the South to organize itself and to preserve its autonomy. At their Nairobi Forum, in 1985, the women have shown that it can be done.

What is at stake is not a business as usual North-South problem. It is a global challenge which will be met only if, beyond governments and groups from the North, the 1992 Conference does listen to the South Citizen.

Marc Nerfin

To the Reader

Readers have reacted well to the January/April double issue of the IFDA Dossier (N°75/76). This, as well as the overall evolution of IFDA and growing financial limitations, led to the decision to publish the Dossier, from now on, on a quarterly rather than on a bimonthly basis, while maintaining the same annual number of pages. The next issue (N°78), dated July/September, will be mailed in early July.
Socioeconomic Democracy

Mythical Socioeconomic System for the Next Millennium*

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Abstract: Socioeconomic democracy is a model economic subsystem in which there is a guaranteed income for all as well as a maximum allowable personal wealth limit, with both the lower bound on personal material poverty and the upper bound on personal material wealth set and adjusted democratically. The paper first defines socioeconomic democracy. It discusses in detail each of the two bounds and then points out possible variations. Two fundamental aspects of this socioeconomic system, namely, the democratic decision-making process and justice, are explored in some depth. Next, many desirable ramifications of the model are indicated. Finally, the feasibility and implementation of such a system, including practical political approximations, are discussed.

La démocratie socio-économique

Résumé: La démocratie socio-économique est un sous-système économique modèle qui comprend un revenu minimum garanti pour tous ainsi qu’une limite supérieure à la richesse personnelle, le plafond et le plafond étant fixé et ajusté démocratiquement. Cet article définit la démocratie socio-économique. Il examine en détail chacune des deux limites et indique les variantes possibles. Deux aspects fondamentaux de ce système, à savoir le processus décisionnel démocratique et la justice, sont explorés plus à fond. Un certain nombre de ramifications souhaitables du modèle sont suggérées. Finalement, la factibilité et la réalisation d’un tel système, y compris des approximations politiques pratiques, sont examinés.

(Resumen español, vease pagina 18)

Socioeconomic Democracy
Mythical Socioeconomic System for the Next Millennium

Democracy! The planet is alive with people demanding its realization. Daily we see, hear and read about segments of humanity struggling with oppression, tyranny and exploitation. These are truly revolutionary times.

Equally cogent is the searching for improved economic systems. Capitalism, socialism, communism, welfare-statism and "mixed" economies all have exposed their profound inadequacies. It is finally becoming appreciated that alternative, improved economic systems are as necessary -and as popular - as democracy.

It indeed appears that nothing less than a planetary perestroika of present politico-socioeconomic systems will be satisfactory or sufficient. Clearly needed is a global glasnost to explore the radical and revolutionary implications of the further democratization of economic systems - both intra- and internationally.

This ebullient situation would seem ripe for old and valued myths to be recalled and new and valuable myths to be created. Nor can the mythical significance of the approaching New Millennium be easily dismissed. This is especially so since fundamental, paradigmatic change has got to and in fact is taking place around the world anyway, for very specific, physical and nonmythical reasons.

A democratic socioeconomic system

Two important concerns, in the "science of economics", are the distributions of wealth and income in any society - and among different societies. The socioeconomic democracy model deals with the bounds or extreme limits of these distributions. Specifically, socioeconomic democracy is a model economic subsystem in which there is a guaranteed minimum income for all as well as a maximum allowable personal wealth limit, with both the lower bound on personal material poverty, and the upper bound on personal material wealth set and adjusted democratically.

The properties and possibilities of socioeconomic democracy have been studied for two decades by this writer. See for example 1-23. Here we briefly review the essential characteristics of each of the two bounds.

Guaranteed Minimum Income. In the idealized state of the model, each participant in this democratic socioeconomic system would know that, regardless of what he or she did or did not do, a democratically determined basic income would always be available. Whatever was not provided by all other sources, up to the guaranteed amount, would be supplied by society through its
government, say, of, by and for all the participants.

Depending upon the degree and direction of technological development, this democratically set, governmentally guaranteed minimum income could, if society so decided, be sufficient to satisfy the typical individual's minimum subsistence needs. It is noted in passing that some such guarantee appears essential before simultaneously fundamental and peaceful transformations in present economic systems can take place.

Some form of guaranteed minimum income for all has been shown to be advantageous for a number of reasons and by a handful of economics Nobelists including Milton Friedman, Paul Samuelson and others. It was, however, Robert Theobald who significantly developed the idea in the United States 25 years ago.

Currently, Western Europe, which is undergoing profound economic consolidation, appears far more progressive than the US in this matter. Keith Roberts' classic Automation, Unemployment and the Distribution of Income helped establish BIRG (Basic Income Research Group) in England, and BIEN (Basic Income European Network), with active members, including Parliamentarians, in practically every Western European country which is planning a third International Conference devoted to Basic Income. An excellent, up-to-date discussion of the subject is provided by Tony Walter's Basic Income.

Maximum Allowable Wealth. Similarly, in the theoretical model, each participant of the democratic socioeconomic system would understand that all personal wealth above the democratically determined allowable amount would be transferred out of his or her control.

Hence, a wealthy participant who is at or near the upper bound on wealth and who further desires increased personal wealth would be economically motivated to increase the well-being of less wealthy members of society. Only in that manner could these (still wealthiest) participants persuade (a majority of) society to vote to raise the legal upper limit on allowable personal wealth.

The primary effect of a democratically set upper bound on allowable personal wealth is definitely not the availability of that previously private wealth which society, acting through its government, has democratically decided to acquire for its general well-being. It is rather the permanently altered economic incentive existing for those at or near the upper bound on wealth, which align the still-wealthy individual's personal economic interests with the economic interest of society in general. Thus is the synergy of the society significantly increased.

We are considering here a limit on maximum allowable wealth, not a limit on maximum allowable income. The latter is also a possibility, of course, and one which has been explored and in fact implemented in a variety of situations.
The idea of a limit on personal wealth can be traced back at least to the historical Jesus, whose concern about the possession of extreme wealth in the presence of extreme poverty is, or should be, well known. Other famous "levelers" of history include Thomas Jefferson, who logically reasoned that "taxes should be proportioned to what may annually be spared by the individual". And again, Tom Paine, who gave the United States, among others things, its name, wrote in Rights of Man regarding "luxury taxes" that, proceeding up the scale of wealth

we shall at last arrive at a sum that may not improperly be called a prohibitable luxury. It would be impolitic to set bounds to property acquired by industry, and therefore it is right to place the prohibition beyond the probable acquisition to which industry can extend: but there ought to be a limit to property or the accumulation of it by bequest.

Numerous serious thinkers and social critics have come to the same conclusion. Not only Karl Marx, but Henry George, John Maynard Keynes and Fritz Schumacher have expressed the same sentiment. As the latter put it:

Now, one does not have to be a believer in total equality, whatever that may mean, to be able to see that the existence of inordinately rich people in any society today is a very great evil. Some inequalities of wealth and income are no doubt "natural" and functionally justifiable, and there are few people who do not spontaneously recognize this. But here again, as in all human affairs, it is a matter of scale.

An extremely timely and quite readable discussion of enormous and, some would say, grotesque concentrations of wealth is provided by Vance Packard's just released The Ultra Rich: How Much is too Much? After recording interviews with some thirty-odd multcentimillionaires and billionaires, Packard admirably discusses the real possibilities for taxes and more importantly a cap on personal wealth. He reports on a proposal by a former investment banker, Michael M. Thomas, to place a cap of $50 million per person.

Every five years an alphabetical segment of the rich, beginning with A through E in Year One, would be required to slim down to not more than $50 million per person. Disposition of the excess wealth would be entirely in the hands of the disposer.

Packard also informs us that one person whose health is measured in hundreds of millions of dollars, or "units" as they say in Texas, is funding research into the legal and Constitutional aspects of taxing not income but net wealth.

A final mention should be made of the Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy entitled Justice for All. As is summed up, "Catholic social teaching does not require absolute equality in the distribution of income and wealth". But for a variety of calmly considered reasons,

... we find the disparities of income and wealth in the United States to be unacceptable. Justice requires that all members of our society work for economic, political, and social reforms that will decrease these inequities.

Societal Variations. It should be clear that wide variations in societies, all of
which would still be democratic, could be possible with socioeconomic democracy. Such a system, or rather subsystem, could exist with or without a number of contemporary taxes and transfer payments. It is apparent, however, that much simplification and indeed unification of present tax and welfare systems would be possible.

Likewise, socioeconomic democracy is applicable to and realizable within societies which have experienced traditional centralized planning such as either governmentally controlled socialist states or private-wealth controlled capitalist countries and it is certainly appropriate to and would facilitate realization of truly decentralized societies as envisioned, presumably, by "New Age" theorists.

Observe that if, for any reason, a particular participant in this democratic socioeconomic system were opposed to a governmentally guaranteed minimum income for all, that participant could vote to place the lower limit on guaranteed income at zero. If a majority of participants so voted, it would be the democratically determined desire of that society to have no guaranteed income. Similarly, any participant who would be opposed to a maximum bound on allowable personal wealth could vote place that upper limit at, say, infinity. If a majority of participants so voted, it would be the democratically determined desire of that society to have no bound on net personal wealth. Subsequent votes on these questions could of course change the magnitudes of these bounds.

Accordingly, some societies might democratically decide to have a nonzero lower bound on personal income yet no bound on personal wealth, while other societies might democratically desire an upper bound on personal wealth but reject a lower limit on personal income. Yet again, a democratic society could adopt or reject nontrivial bounds on both parameters. Quantitative differences in the magnitudes of these bounds would provide further variety and healthy experimentation.

System characteristics

Democracy. One area of societal beneficial scientific activity is the serious study of the properties and possibilities of democracy. The democratization of society and all its subsystems is a fertile area for relevant futures research.

There is at present no socially accepted procedure by which each participant of a society can indicate his or her particular preference for an amount of something in question, with the democratically determined, societally desired amount unequivocally resulting. Accordingly, whole classes of societal questions are not now asked and cannot now be decided democratically.

Yet the mathematical economist Duncan Black34 and Nobelist Kenneth Arrow35, in their classic contributions, have provided a theory which shows that the median value of the participants' preference distribution is the amount the democratic society as a whole is "for" - assuming the conventional operational "one participant, one
vote: majority rule" decision-making process. This is because the median is the only value which can command a majority's favor in pair-wise voting with all other amounts. This means that the democratically determined amount is such that half the voters want that much or more while the other half want that much or less. *Hence there is a scientifically valid procedure by which all participants of a democracy can collectively decide societally preferred amounts of important parameters.*

Justice. A crucial consideration for all proposed improvements in economic systems is, clearly, the *justness* of the change. In order to be specific, as well as treat an important case, the theory of justice as fairness as developed by John Rawls will be discussed.

It is emphasized that debate surrounds the various theories of justice and further thought is needed to tease out all the valid implications for distributive justice and economic systems that are contained in the competing theories. Yet Rawls' theory commands respect and has already spawned an impressive amount of serious economics research.

Rawls demonstrates that majority rule (with appropriate defense of minority rights) is consistent with and required by the theory of justice as fairness. This result concerning majority rule places important constraints on the design of alternative and improved economic systems.

Rawls sketches the outline of a just economic system as it "might exist in a properly organized democratic state that allows private ownership of capital and resources". Two basic aspects of Rawls' concept of a just economic system merit particular attention. First, he argues that it ought to be that

the government guarantees a social minimum either by Family Allowances and special payments for sickness and employment, or more systematically by such devices as a graded income supplement (a so-called negative income tax).

Second, he points out that "when inequalities of wealth exceed a certain limit", institutions designed to assure satisfaction of the principles of justice as fairness are put in jeopardy. "Taxes... are to prevent this limit from being exceeded. Naturally, where this limit lies is a matter of political judgment".

Ramifications

It should be clear that the socioeconomic democracy would have profound ramifications throughout all realms of human existence. Equally important, these ramifications would occur *simultaneously*. It will be understood that the gallimaufry of ramifications touched upon here is neither exhaustive nor adequately treated.

In order to appreciate the implications of socioeconomic democracy, it is best to keep foremost in mind the altered economic incentives created not only for those near the lower bound on income or upper bound on wealth but for all individuals of society. Recall that at the low end of the economic spectrum, each participant would know that,
regardless of what happened, a democratically determined basic income would always be available.

At the high end of the now-truncated wealth distribution, all participants would know that only by deploying their still-immense personal fortunes for the betterment of society in general could they persuade a majority to raise the allowable upper limit on personal fortunes.

Note that self-interest is still operative. Society needn’t wait for all the Ultra-Rich to become altruistic through some kind of “new thinking”. It is true that self-interest would be transformed in the process. The concept of “self” would be enlarged to include all society and eventually Gaia herself. But that is another myth. In any case, the necessary “new thinking” may well be a result of, as well as a cause of, an improved and advanced economic system.

The ramifications of socioeconomic democracy assume a relatively well developed, industrialized society wherein there has been democratically determined both a noninfinite and effective upper limit on allowable personal net wealth and a nonzero, subsistence level guaranteed income for all.

Heretofore, unresolved problems have prohibited the realization of a meaningful guaranteed income for all. Specifically, the amount to be guaranteed was not adequately addressed, the means to provide any necessary funds were not satisfactorily worked out and the means to minimize the necessity for funds was utterly neglected. Socioeconomic democracy suggests that all society democratically decide the appropriate guaranteed income level, suggests that those of society most able to pay for it do so, and further suggests that those most financially able to create safe and satisfying employment to accomplish necessary societal tasks be provided strong economic incentive to do so.

The quarter-century of extensive research into the many virtues of some form of guaranteed income prompted Samuelson to write that “Here is an idea whose time has come. Most economists have for some time favored it”. As we just saw, socioeconomic democracy, and more specifically a democratically set cap on personal wealth, resolves the remaining few impediments to and therefore facilitates the realization of a meaningful guaranteed income for all. Hence socioeconomic democracy facilitates the simultaneous resolution or significant reduction of that familiar plethora of societal problems experienced in varying but increasing adversity throughout the industrialized “democracies” which can only be solved by some form of guaranteed income for all.

Psychology. Suffice it to say now that the systemic changes described here are consistent with and derive scientific support from the pioneering work of Abraham Maslow. Discussing the possibility of a normative social psychology, Maslow pointed out that it can also be assumed that classical economic theory based as it is on an inadequate theory of human motivation,
As Erich Fromm has put it, "The most important reason for the acceptance of the concept (of guaranteed income) is that it might drastically enhance the freedom of the individual". However, he continues, "guaranteed income without a change from the principle of maximal consumption would only take care of certain problems (economic and social) but would not have the radical effect it should".

It should be clear that socioeconomic democracy would have the necessary radical effect and would redirect growth away from maximal consumption toward a healthy human psychology.

Development. Socioeconomic democracy would provide an effective societal "future shock absorber" which is at once simple and societally controlled. For the so-called underdeveloped countries, which continue to seek alternatives to the strict capitalist and socialist development models, it would allow all the peoples of those nations to democratically control the rate and direction of development - heretofore always an ugly and inhuman process. In the industrialized countries, where fundamental technological change is bound to take place one way or the other, further healthy development could be realized with no significant harmful effects upon any member of society. Automation, eagerly waiting in the wings, would finally be allowed and indeed encouraged to make its societally beneficial entrance. All "featherbedding", including the maintenance of outdated industries and their controlling bureaucracies, could then be easily eliminated to everyone's advantage.

Inflation. Consider next the famous inflation/unemployment see-saw. Now a democratically set, governmentally guaranteed income for all would make that portion of present society which is most adversely affected by inflation essentially immune thereto. For if inflation exists, the democratically set guaranteed income could simply be increased by subsequent votings to match the higher cost of living. This procedure would presumably be automated, thus eliminating need for frequent votings during periods of high inflationary rates, by employing a "cost-of-living index" to appropriately adjust a periodically reset guaranteed income level. Note that such a societal safeguard against inflation basically provides guaranteed minimum purchasing power. Implications for a true "free market" are enormous but will not be explored here.

Involuntary Unemployment. Simultaneously, socioeconomic democracy would be an effective safeguard against the problem of involuntary unemployment. If a person is involuntarily unemployed, for any reason and for any duration, the person's basic needs, democratically determined, would still be satisfied. Indeed, this income, guaranteed against the shortcomings of economic theory and work-eliminating technology, would eventually allow "unemployment" to
become a good thing - something no current economic system can do. Until that time, those at or near the democratically set maximum allowable personal wealth limit would have considerable monetary motivation to see that acceptable, reasonably remunerative and societally beneficial work is made available for all who desire such structured activity.

Involuntary Employment. Whether rooted in the requirement to "work or be shot" or "work or starve to death", involuntary employment, if not identical with, certainly shades into slavery. A most important characteristic of any societally satisfying economic system - and one totally ignored in most contemporary economic systems - is therefore the ability to eliminate or substantially reduce involuntary employment.

Socioeconomic democracy does well in this regard. A democratically set guaranteed income for all would unquestionably allow many of those presently involuntarily employed to terminate personally unsatisfying and societally detrimental employment. Note that the amount of income guaranteed to everyone would determine just how much involuntary employment is eliminated, with effectiveness increasing as the societally set level increases. On the other side of the spectrum, those near the democratically determined upper limit on personal wealth would be economically encouraged to help make all truly necessary societal work personally satisfying. The percentage of the population enlisted in this societally desirable endeavour increases as the amount of allowable personal wealth decreases.

Untamed Technology. Socioeconomic democracy reduces the societal problems caused by presently motivated technology as well as provides incentive for the redirection of technological development towards greater satisfaction of societal needs.

Being guaranteed an income - minimal tough it may initially be - people could, and some portion of them would, refuse to work on technological projects not clearly dedicated to the well-being of all society. The relationship here to involuntary employment should be obvious. Further, this guaranteed income could, and at least a portion of it would, be devoted to the development of societally profitable technology - as opposed to personally profitable yet societally detrimental technological development economically encouraged by many present socioeconomic arrangements. As with other societal problems, the beneficial effects of guaranteed income, in taming technology, depend upon the magnitude of the income. If this magnitude is democratically set at a subsistence level, the impact could be quite significant.

Those at or near the democratically set maximum allowable personal wealth limit would be economically encouraged to give appropriate thought to the trade-off between short-term, personal gain and possible long-term, societal loss resulting from an exploited potential of technology. For if, overall, society is harmed by particular technological
developments, society could increase its guaranteed income to offset the added expense of rectifying the harm. Conservation would then logically imply societal reduction of the maximum allowable personal wealth limit to finance any actual increase in governmentally provided income payments. On the other hand, technological developments which significantly benefit society in general would at the same time tend to personally benefit the wealthy participants in a democratic socioeconomic system, thus increasing the synergy of the society.

Pollution. Neither the well-being of society in general nor the well-being of individuals of society are served by present polluting practices. Socioeconomic democracy would do much to reduce further pollution and in fact would provide strong incentive to help restore the presently degrading environment.

From democratically set guaranteed income for all, four benefits are immediate. First, this guaranteed income would financially allow people to refuse to work in industries which significantly pollute the environment. Second, sustain people while they demanded non-pollution-producing jobs and even jobs to reduce present pollution. Third, allow more people to refuse to buy the significantly polluting products of industry. Fourth, allow more people to demand nonpolluting products from industry and even products and processes which ecologically complement other existing products. All this contributes to the well-being of everyone. Consider next the basic effect on pollution of a democratically set, maximum allowable personal wealth limit. Any self-interested participant at or near the upper bound on allowable wealth would no longer be economically motivated to generate personal profit at the expense of significant environmental pollution, i.e., at the expense of other members of society. This is because society would pay for the added costs of the pollution with the funds obtained by democratically reducing the allowable wealth limit. Further, such societal control would be most effective because it would be operating at the source of the pollution rather than attempting to repurify the total volume of the polluted medium—a societally expensive suggestion frequently offered by those proposing to manufacture and market technological fixes.

Labor Strikes. Societal inconvenience and disruption caused by labor strikes is of course directly experienced only in those socioeconomic systems wherein this particular form of protest is permitted and employed. A valid solution to the societal problem of labor strikes would clearly contain, among other things, the legitimate goals of the strikers. Equally important, a valid solution would accomplish these goals at no illegitimate expense to any other members of society. A general and efficient solution would simultaneously realize the same degree of legitimate socioeconomic redress for all segments of society.

Socioeconomic democracy renders labor strikes more or less obsolete and would
unquestionably reduce their occurrence. The causes of a large number of labor strikes would therefore be eliminated. Further, all other participants in the democratic socioeconomic system could only benefit from the elimination of societally disruptive strikes.

Women Liberation. Socioeconomic democracy satisfies numerous legitimate demands articulated by or for the feminine majority of humanity. For example, socioeconomic democracy would guarantee all people the opportunity to participate meaningfully in the socioeconomic sphere. All poverty, including the major portion experienced by women, could be eliminated democratically. No longer would there be such a thing as "unpaid labor". Indeed, guaranteed income for all would cover all women who frequently labor totally unpaid to bear the prevailing socioeconomic system its next generation of laborers and warriors. It could cover all human embryos (female and male) regardless of the circumstances of conception. By covering all children it could provide the wherewithal to develop comprehensive child development programs and facilities tailored to local community needs and desires. Such guaranteed income could be the universal safeguard against any significant economic hardship experienced by anybody as a result of changing family relationships. No longer would there be significant economic repercussions of personal sexual behavior patterns. No longer would a woman - or a man - be forced to prostitute herself - or himself - in order to obtain what a majority of the members of society considers a satisfactory subsistence. The guaranteed income would be available to all older women who require it and the maximum bound on wealth would tend to cause meaningful and satisfactory work to be made available for all older women who desire it.

Bureaucracy. Save perhaps for a bureaucrat, bureaucracy is generally considered a significant social problem - often most prominent in "developed" socioeconomic systems. Socioeconomic democracy would be most effective in reducing societally expensive and undesirable bureaucracy. For example, practically all present social welfare bureaucracies such as welfare, social security, retirement benefits, old-age pensions, food stamps, dependent aid, unemployment compensation, etc., would no longer be necessary and could be immediately eliminated. In like manner socioeconomic democracy could reduce bureaucracy in other areas such as education, all aspects of government including the military, as well as labor and industrial management.

International Conflict. The significant enhancement of societal well-being possible with a democratic socioeconomic system ipso facto provides an effective and positive deterrent to warfare. The simultaneous resolution of many serious societal problems eliminates at once causes of and excuses for war.

Beyond this, many other beneficial effects can be anticipated. For example, those participants who are personally at or near the societally set upper bound
on allowable personal wealth would no longer have personal economic incentive to promote war or military intimidation, whether involving their own country or others. They could no longer gain personal wealth by such action and could well lose it, especially if their society democratically decided to reduce the allowable personal wealth bound to finance involvement in the hostilities.

Democratic set, governmentally guaranteed income for everyone also provides many direct deterrents to warfare. Among other strong effects, it could eliminate any economically "handicapped" class which, of course, has historically provided warring countries with a convenient pool of combatants. Such guaranteed income solves the very real and neglected problem of necessary income for all those who presently derive income from warfare, its threat, and its preparation, either directly or indirectly.

Political Participation. As a final ramification of socioeconomic democracy, it should be clear that the almost ubiquitous problem of voting, whether it be manifest as an oppressive requirement to vote, a present lack of the opportunity to vote, or merely a near majority not bothering to vote, would be substantially eliminated if the questions to be decided at election time were the democratic determination of the bounds on guaranteed minimum income for all and maximum allowable personal wealth.

Other Ramifications. It can be shown that beneficial ramifications of a democratic socioeconomic system would also appear in the areas of crime (in and out of Congress), planned obsolescence, resource depletion, inadequate and inappropriate care of the sick, injured and dying, intra- and international monetary problems.

Implementation

The rational study and objective comparison of alternative futures provide the opportunity to make a contribution toward societally desirable societal evolution. However, in order to realize the beneficial potential of research into the nature of the future, reasonable care must be exercised in defining the alternatives. The serious student of the future must be willing to consider presently non-existing situations. Complementing this requirement is the necessity of establishing that the alternatives considered are in fact physically realizable and feasible. In the case of socioeconomic democracy, this is easily accomplished by indicating the important aspects of the implementation process necessary to realize socioeconomic democracy.

Voting Procedure. The precise procedure by which the societally desired bounds on minimum income and maximum wealth could be determined would depend, among other things, on the state of technical development. An obvious and immediate possibility, applicable almost everywhere, would be appropriately quantitized multiple-choice arrays printed on voting ballots. From this elementary though satisfactory method, the gamut of more or less
sophisticated technological systems and devices successively approximately "instant democracy" could be considered.

Legal Technicalities. The legal technicalities of establishing and maintaining democratically determined bounds on allowable personal wealth and guaranteed personal income for all must, of course, be fully satisfied. In many present political systems a constitutional amendment would be required and therefore would have to be drafted and adopted. Further, legislation prescribing the new and quantified democratic decision-making process would undoubtedly be desirable. And the specific details of the laws describing the democratically set upper wealth and lower income limits remain to be delineated.

Administration. The functions and modes of operation required to effectively administer a just and democratic socioeconomic system would all have to be specified, designed and implemented through appropriate legislation. A unique number for each individual participant - already utilized for some purposes - would facilitate efficient and societally beneficial computerized operation. Of course, there would be considerable reduction in administrative bureaucracy due in large part to the universal nature of the system.

Economics Analysis. Using reasonable estimates of the many beneficial effects resulting from democratically set bounds on allowable personal wealth and guaranteed personal income for all, an indication of the total economic impact should and certainly could be determined before system realization. In areas where current understanding cannot, with sufficient accuracy, predict the magnitudes of these effects, parametric analysis would be appropriate. New and societally beneficial avenues of research would, at the same time, be identified.

Public opinion polls concerning these and related questions would doubtless prove of considerable value in supplying needed and missing information. Delphi and other consensus-creating processes could perhaps also be effectively utilized. Presumably, all proposals for improving society's economic systems would undergo some such general public scrutiny. It is an essential part of the societal system design process.

The results of such necessarily multidisciplinary scientific analysis, which nevertheless could be partially performed by economists and other monodisciplinarians, would suggest feasible, reasonable, and perhaps even optimal values for these bounds. These results, with their supporting analysis, could be made public in a variety of ways with opinion polls again being employed to supply citizen feedback for what would undoubtedly be an iterative design process.

Political Considerations. Bounds on guaranteed personal income and allowable personal wealth democratically set could not be realized until a majority of the voting citizens in a contemporary economic system learns about, understands and favors such an income and wealth redistribution and distribution system. Accordingly, coalitions of politi-
cal parties, committed to passage of the necessary legislation, is one possible adoption procedure open to some political entities. On the other hand, being an alternative to existing economic systems, socioeconomic democracy provides a well-defined, humanistic, just and democratic focus about which a new or rejuvenated political party could organize.

Prior to the establishment of an actually democratic bound-setting procedure, these political parties could propose specific magnitudes for the bounds which would reflect their understanding of the General Will of the society. A sequence of successive approximations to the ideal model might be expected to be democratically approved and realized.

Considering the fact that the wealthiest 1% of US society owns over 1/3 of the country and the top 2% owns about half (depending on the assessor), it doesn't seem beyond the realm of possibility that an overwhelming majority of self-interested and otherwise American voters might eventually come to a consensus that favors a cap on personal wealth measured in "units". Since such skew distributions of wealth and income are frequently repeated in other regions of the world, it further appears that thrusts in the general direction of the socioeconomic system model might be experienced around the world.

We conclude by considering a variety of practical political approximations to the ideal theoretical model. Regarding guaranteed income for all, there appear almost as many variations on this general theme as there are reasons for some form of guaranteed income for all. There is Guaranteed Income, Basic Income, National Dividend, Social Dividend, Negative Income Tax, and many more including a Partial Basic Income (less than subsistence level). These different terms reflect slightly different forms of guaranteed income and frequently imply and spring from slightly different philosophical foundations. These different forms of guaranteed income might have differing political appeal in different societies at different times.

This writer would now add, in no particular order or rank, the following. Instead of unqualified purchasing power, the system could guarantee specific goods and services. In some societies it might be democratically decided to limit allowable personal acreage and/or guarantee each person (or family) a certain minimum acreage of land. Excess wealth above the democratically determined allowable amount could, instead of going to the government, be allowed to fund specified charities or foundations satisfying acceptable legal requirements. Some societies might prefer obtaining such excess personal wealth only after death. Other societies might prefer to guarantee a job at a democratically determined minimum wage level. As various societies experimented with various approximations, the added familiarity and understanding might be expected to facilitate further evolution toward the theoretical model.
References

26. Robert Theobald, Free Men and Free
La democracia socio-económica

Resumen: La democracia socio-económica es un sub-sistema económico modelo que comprende una renta mínima garantizada para todos, asimismo que un límite superior para la riqueza individual, siendo la base y el tope establecidos y ajustados de una manera democrática. Este artículo comienza por precisar la democracia socio-económica. Examina en detalle cada uno de los límites e indica las variantes posibles. Dos aspectos fundamentales de este sistema, a saber el proceso determinativo democrático y la justicia, son explorados más profundamente y ciertas gamas deseables del modelo son sugeridas. Finalmente, el carácter factible y la realización de un tal sistema, incluso el de las aproximaciones políticas prácticas, son examinadas.
Las organizaciones civiles
por la autogestión de los pueblos

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Resumen: En México, las organizaciones civiles emergen espontáneamente desde abajo en situaciones de crisis, como se ha visto durante el terremoto del año 1985. Manifestaron entonces su capacidad de manejación y mitigación de los efectos del desastre. Estas organizaciones tienen una historia. La década de los años 50 fue el de una etapa asistencial, educativa y organizativa. Durante los años 60 surgieron movimientos populares independientes y cooperativas localistas, mientras que la década de los años 70 fue más bien contestaria y conscientizadora. Finalmente, los años 80 se han caracterizado por la búsqueda de alternativas - movimientos feministas, pluralidad étnica, derechos humanos, corrientes ecologistas. Las enseñanzas de estos movimientos para los próximos años es que no buscan el poder por arriba sino potenciar desde abajo.

Citizens’ organizations for people’s self-management

Abstract: In Mexico, citizens’ movements emerge spontaneously from below during moments of crisis as in the earthquake of 1985, showing their capacity to manage and alleviate the effects of the disaster. These organizations have historical roots. In the 50s, Mexican associations focused upon educational and organizational assistance. The 60s witnessed the creation of independent popular movements and local cooperatives. Most of these organizations attempted to become more autonomous in their actions and thoughts in the 70s. Finally the 80s was characterized by the search for alternatives - women’s liberation, ethnicity, human rights, and the environment. The lessons for the years to come is that these movements are not seeking power from above but empowerment from below.

(Résumé français en page 27)

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Las organizaciones civiles por la autogestión de los pueblos

¡Estas viendo el temblor y no te hincas!

En México, un reciente suceso nos recordó que es desde adentro y desde abajo, como provienen aquellos movimientos por los que todo se mueve. El terremoto de Septiembre de 1985 provocó el protagonismo evidente de la sociedad civil y de los sectores populares más afectados. A la par con la espontaneidad de la emergencia, se manifestó la madurez y responsabilidad de cientos de organizaciones no gubernamentales que aportaron su capacidad gestora y de utilidad pública no solo para aliviar los efectos del desastre sino para, muchas de ellas, acompañar energéticos procesos de movilización y organización vecinal con perspectivas más permanentes.

Son las crisis las que en los momentos límite, provocan el surgimiento de nuevas fuerzas con nuevos aportes y soluciones más apropiadas. Así como un fenómeno telúrico es resultado de la acumulación de energías, con tensión y necesidad de reacomodos, lo cual se gesta imperceptiblemente a lo largo de décadas, igualmente, por debajo de una aparente improvisación en medio de sorpresas, está presente el trabajo de muchos años de numerosas organizaciones silenciosas, de imagen discreta. Su estrategia no responde a los convencionalismos del desarrollo institucional ni a la retórica revolucionaria sino a situaciones humanas reales en espacios supercontrolados, paradójicamente descontrolados, esterilizados, con actores concretos deseados de reverdecer humanidades y naturalezas. Actores nuevos encarando no una subversión, sino la sobreversión, la corrupción que llega desde arriba.

Y si el sismo puso en evidencia la inconsistencia de muchas estructuras ostentosas que a la postre fueron tumba de miles de víctimas, otras estructuras operativas fueron rebasadas por el fenómeno quedando patente su ineficiencia, derroche o demagogia. Pasarán muchos años sin
que se olviden las lecciones de tal sacudida, mismas que ahora son
asimiladas por todos los sectores de la sociedad.

A raíz de esta emergencia, muchas iniciativas surgen para entender qué
son las "oenegés". Proliferan investigaciones, inventarios, artículos
periodísticos. Igualmente, convocaciones desde distintos sectores sociales,
en especial, desde los sectores de poder económico y político. Tal vez
se piense que estos elementos deban alinearse a los poderes dominantes
y, sí, ciertamente así sucede en algunos casos, perdiéndose entonces la
chispa original que prometía prácticas frescas, innovadoras, mutantes.

Afortunadamente existen organizaciones civiles, conscientes de que
significan una naturaleza cívica con un denominador común, lo común,
lo que hay que cultivar a fin de adquirir el potencial multiplicador del
que carecen las grandes estructuras de concentración, ahora en afanosa
búsqueda de piso social y legitimación.

Desarrollo arrollador, devolución de una revolución

México, con sus treinta años de revolución efectiva, de 1910 a los 30,
tiene en la balanza otros cincuenta años de un subibaja desarrollista, de
los 40 a los 80. Y se nos auguran aun más! En medio, la Segunda
Guerra Mundial, con los triunfadores que se repartieron el mundo e
impusieron los modelos por donde debía circular el progreso para todos.

Aquí, los exabruptos del 68 vacunaron a un sistema, que desde entonces
usa chaqueta o guayabera y cuyos principales mediadores de comunicación
difunden día a día que la libertad, la democracia, la justicia, están al
alcance de todos.

Sin embargo esta historia se encuentra llena de crisis nuestras y de
influencias externas, que moldean tanto a los actores conocidos como
también desconocidos. La historia oficial y la de los agentes más vistos, es
una, la historia del hombre común y la de sus organizaciones, es otra.

Si en los años revolucionarios, masas, contingentes, organizaciones
sociales, cívicas y populares, ocuparon escenarios muchas veces decisivos,
lavida a flor de piel… en los años del desarrollo, nuevas élites
sustituyeron aquel protagonismo con una nueva dinámica económica,
técnica, pero mantuvieron su discurso, la mentira a flor de piel. 50 años

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de un costoso desarrollo han producido pobres más pobres y ricos más ricos.

Ahora, después de la revolución devuelta, después del desarrollo que arrolló, se nos ofrece, con apoyo desde el exterior, la modernidad! A los 500 años del "descubrimiento" de nuestro continente, surge el neo-descubridor, ya no desde carabelas sino desde satélites, para reencontrar al mismo indio que por milagro no desapareció - y sin preguntarse cómo pudo sobrevivir a la tremenda explotación - decirle: Ahora podrás tener niños en laboratorio! Otras élites, con los pies aquí pero con la mente allá, diseñan el México moderno junto con los representantes de banqueros, industriales, políticos.

Nadie duda de que el mundo ha cambiado profundamente en estos últimos cuarenta años. De un mundo bipolar, negro-rojo, con dos sistemas en pugna, el de economía de mercado y el de economía planificada, capitalismo y socialismo, experimentando guerra fría, forcejeos regionales, ultimátums, armamentismos y detentes, se ha llegado a un mundo multipolar. Otros colores, como agudamente esquematiza Johan Galtung, empiezan a jugar roles relevantes: el rosa de la social democracia europea, con un discreto estado interventor para moderar los abusos del libre juego de fuerzas; el amarillo japonés, con un compacto corporativismo que conjuga valores gregarios y tecnológicos con una gran disciplina sin excesos en riquezas ni en pobrezas; el verde de los ecologistas, rescatando los recursos de la naturaleza y adaptando los modelos industriales en proceso de obsolescencia hacia dimensiones más humanas y sensibles. Falta aún considerar los aportes de inmensos pueblos que empiezan a dar color: los chinos, los indios, los africanos, los "océánicos" - serán los azules? - del Pacífico y, en América Latina, los brasileños, los mesoamericanos, etc.

La historia de las organizaciones civiles va por un proceso análogo.

**Lección del trayecto: Oenegés, no, Autogestión, sí!**

En México, varias generaciones de organizaciones civiles, de intervención social con miras al cambio y al desarrollo, podrían clasificarse - un
tanto simplísimamente - según décadas, cuando pasados los sobresaltos revolucionarios e iniciado el proceso industrializador, se constató que los pobres no desaparecían, sino se multiplicaban.

Una etapa asistencial, incipientemente educativa y organizativa, de los años 50. Donde destaca la Iglesia Católica cuya labor a través de los Secretariados Sociales dio pie al surgimiento de un movimiento inicialmente defensivo de la economía popular, compuesto por cooperativas de ahorro y crédito, las llamadas "cajas populares", cuyo lema "Por un Capital en las Manos del Pueblo" expresa mucho más de lo que la lucha contra el agio permitiría suponer. Estas cajas populares, cuarenta años después, sin haber contado con respaldo oficial alguno, conforman hoy un vasto sistema alternativo de ahorro y crédito, independiente de iglesias y partidos, con índices de manejo financiero más seguros que el de los propios bancos y manejando volúmenes insospechados de dinero a través de cientos de organizaciones autónomas efectivamente de base, sin fines de lucro y con carácter educativo para la autoayuda y la ayuda mutua.

Una etapa reformista ante una creciente marginalidad y ante el susto de la Revolución Cubana, de los años 60. Lo que en América Latina fue la Alianza para el Progreso, en México fue la creación de un sinnúmero de organizaciones de educación, promoción y servicio, auspiciadas por la iglesia o por empresarios o por universitarios o, incipientemente, por agencias internacionales de desarrollo. Es de mencionarse aquí el surgimiento de movimientos populares independientes, como el FAT (Frente Auténtico del Trabajo), cooperativas localistas, como las de Tacámbaro, Michoacán - que incluyeron la única red telefónica organizada en forma cooperativa y, más recientemente, el primer y quizás único taller independiente de producción de programas educativos de televisión por cable - institutos de investigación social, de promoción y educación, de información y comunicación, etc. En esta década nace la Fundación Mexicana para el Desarrollo Rural, impulsada por empresarios preocupados por las cuestiones sociales y que a la fecha ha prohijado más de 30 centrales de respaldo financiero, técnico y social a grupos campesinos, muchos de los cuales se organizan a su vez en modalidades autónomas o semiautónomas.
A raíz del 68 y bajo la influencia de sucesos internacionales, como la muerte del Che, los golpes de Estado en Sudamérica, el ascenso y la caída de Allende en Chile, pero principalmente el impacto en la consciencia mundial de la guerra del Vietnam, la década de los años 70 podría llamarse contestataria, conscientizadora. La teología de la liberación, que surge en Brasil y Perú, llega a México y Centroamérica. Una guerrilla efímera se ensaya en el país. Muchas organizaciones buscan mayor libertad de acción y de pensamiento y se distancian de matrices que resultan restrictivas, sospechosas o claramente a favor de posiciones conservadoras, cooptadoras o represivas. Otras organizaciones de servicio nacen en forma más espontánea, principalmente en el sector estudiantil y universitario. La dimensión internacional se vuelve densa, con más protagonistas y alternativas, se multiplican las agencias y los fondos de solidaridad. CENCOS, el Centro Nacional de Comunicación Social, se destaca como un organismo abierto a dar voz y difusión a las organizaciones populares y cívicas que luchan por sus derechos y por ocupar un lugar en el escenario congestionado por el populismo oficial. Represión, cooptación, sectarismo, oportunismo, fenómenos frecuentes a la par con mayor consciencia.

La década de los 80 se caracteriza por la búsqueda de alternativas ante la etapa anterior de confrontación y desgaste y ante las mayúsculas crisis principalmente económicas que azotan al país. Los sectores populares ven reducida su capacidad de maniobra a una lucha por la más elemental sobrevivencia. Son los sectores más comprometidos de las clases medias quienes toman iniciativas de relevo. Los movimientos feministas embarazecen, proliferan experiencias por estilos de vida con mayor calidad, crece la consciencia por la pluralidad étnica, por los derechos humanos en general y destacadamente, surgen diversas corrientes ecologistas ante los desastres de San Juanico, del pozo Ixtoc, del terremoto y más recientemente, Laguna Verde, las selvas amenazadas, la contaminación de la Cd. de Mexico, etc. El Pacto Ecológico es un ejemplo claro de nuevas organizaciones civiles que se asocian ya no como frentes sino como redes policéntricas con mayor margen de autonomía.

Fue hace poco que nos enteramos que a estas organizaciones se les ha llamado, sin convencer, "ocnegés". En cambio, ha sido claro en todo su proceso un afán por la participación y la gestión común!
Emergencias, multiversidad, holismo, redes

Son las crisis las que, vividas en la base social, fuerzan a las organizaciones civiles a encontrar nuevas formas de presencia, que resulten eficaces, no demagógicas, no inyectoras de dependencias, realmente contribuyentes a fortalecer a la sociedad y en especial a las clases más explotadas. El marasmo y el éxodo rural, los movimientos migratorios dentro del país y hacia el norte, el injusto trato a los indocumentados mexicanos en los Estados Unidos, el desempleo generalizado en especial en las grandes urbes, los altos costos de la vida, el salario insuficiente y la inflación, resultan intolerables. Más aún, la crisis centroamericana con su saldo de refugiados y de demandas de solidaridad en situaciones de guerra, masacres e intervención, ampliaron las tareas de muchas organizaciones mexicanas hacia el sur, adquiriéndose una mayor dimensión internacional.

Cuatro décadas de acción cívica y social, no lucrativa, no partidaria, dejan muchas enseñanzas que no se encuentran en las universidades ni en las academias. A punto de entrar en los años 90, las organizaciones humanitarias, de desarrollo, de transformación social, conforman un inmenso laboratorio de forja de la sociedad civil y un apoyo para los procesos decisivos hacia etapas cualitativamente superiores. En la práctica son una multiversidad, pues combinan práctica con teoría, metodología y gestión, producen resultados concretos, con avances en el conocimiento social, económico, político y cultural.

Son un conjunto heterogéneo, donde se lucha por crear mayores autonomías, propias y de la sociedad en general. Ni príncipe ni mercader, dice Marc Nerfin, sino un emergente tercer sector que se denota cada vez más en los niveles locales y mundiales. Ciertamente, muchas organizaciones dependen de sectores de uno u otro modo poderosos: empresarios, corporaciones transnacionales, iglesias, agencias de desarrollo, universidades e incluso, indirectamente, del mismo gobierno. Algunas, expresarán siempre el carácter piramidal, jerárquico y concentrador propio de la potencia que las origina o las condiciona; otras, logran evolucionar hacia formas más horizontales y participativas; otras de origen más de base o producto de iniciativas más amplias y comunes, efectúan denodados esfuerzos por significarse como expresión
autónoma ante tales poderes piramidales sin descontar la necesidad de interrelacionarse y negociar apoyos cada vez más libres.

Entre las características de estas últimas, es importante destacar algunas: Son pequeñas y encarnan el slogan *small is beautiful* puesto en boga por Schumacher. Son maestras en operar con escasos recursos, con mayor productividad social que otras instituciones mayores. Frente al imperio de lo estático, desarrollan el arte de lo provisorio, de lo aleatorio. Requieren de una fuerte cohesión social interna para funcionar con creatividad. Combinan trabajo profesional con trabajo militante, benévolo y voluntario. Se mantienen en contacto estrecho con sectores sociales, en especial los populares y catalizan iniciativas en pro de los más desfavorecidos. No buscan el poder por arriba sino potenciar desde abajo.

Su diversidad funcional es muy rica: educación, organización, comunicación, investigación, gestión y servicios, etc., con programas urbanos y/o rurales, en distintos niveles que van desde lo local hasta lo global. Los protagonismos que encarnan o acompañan, son expresión de toda la gama de actores, desde los más conocidos hasta los más emergentes. Sindicatos, cooperativas, ejidos, asociaciones vecinales de colonos, comunidades indígenas, se combinan ahora con movimientos feministas, de microempresas solidarias, de chavos banda, de bicicleteros, de nuevos "niños héroes", mexicanistas, regionalistas, curanderos, etc. Un holismo permea este emerger de sujetos-objetos y que favorece el que se vayan tejiendo redes de reconocimiento, intercambio, interacción, hacia nuevas estrategias con nuevas lógicas y sobre todo, con nuevos sentidos.

**Los Gremlins atacan de nuevo**

Un famoso cineasta americano realizó un divertido film, *Gremlins*, que fue visto por millones de personas. Su estreno coincidió con la fase final de la campaña de Reagan para reelegirse como presidente de los Estados Unidos. Los gremlins eran unos bichos que simpáticos al principio se tornaban insopportables cuando, hambrientos, comían de noche y en contacto con el agua, se reproducían. Se convertían en verdaderos trastornadores pues sus travesuras hacían imposible que se
celebrará en paz la noche de Navidad y en especial, la dueña del banco local era víctima de las bromas más pesadas. Una pareja de jóvenes resultan los héroes al eliminar a los gremlins. Y, reanimados por la imagen de un famoso actor de cine del pasado, logran vencer al líder que amenaza con recrear otro contingente de "gremlins". El que "gremlin" rime con Kremlin, haya sido introducido por un chino y su jefe parezca un barbudo cubano, el que operen de noche y la luz los destruya, siendo eliminados en conjunto por una explosión de gas que insinúa otra peor, tal vez no autorice a afirmar que el film contiene mensajes subliminales. Pero esta visión de buenos y malos, de Santa Claus y el dinero de un lado y los subversivos duendes por el otro, resulta jocosa de por sí y corresponde bien a una era reaganiana aún en el presente.

Con las organizaciones civiles abocadas a los procesos sociales de cambio y transformación puede pasar lo mismo. Pueden ser puestas a trabajar a favor del dinero, creadas con dinero - donde Santa Claus juega también su rol - en procesos de descentralización de poderes económicos y políticos que a la postre solo refuerzan la reconcentración a favor del modelo dominante. Si se identifican demasiado con los hambrientos y con los sedientos, si empiezan a salirse del orden y a improvisar "travesuras", ya vendrán los nuevos héroes cinematográficos para hacerlos desaparecer. Pero estos nuevos gremlins aprendieron la lección. Nuevas travesuras veremos en los futuros escenarios.

(suite de la page 19)

Les associations citoyennes pour l'autogestion populaire

Résumé: Au Mexique les organisations citoyennes émergent spontanément d'en bas dans des situations de crise, comme par exemple lors du tremblement de terre de 1985. Elles montrèrent alors leur capacité de gérer et d'atténuer les effets du désastre. Ces organisations ont une histoire. Les années 50 furent celles de l'assistance, de l'éducation et de la promotion. Dans les années 60 surgirent des mouvements populaires indépendants et des coopératives locales, tandis que les années 70 furent davantage consensuaires et conscientisantes. Enfin, les années 80 furent caractérisées par la recherche d'alternatives - libération féminine, ethnocité, droits humains, environnement. La leçon qui servira dans les années à venir est que ces mouvements ne cherchent pas le pouvoir sur les autres, mais le renforcement de la base,
Encuentro sobre movimientos sociales urbanos en América Latina y España

En el mes de julio de 1989 hemos tenido la oportunidad de reunirnos en Madrid y La Coruña expertos de 10 países para debatir sobre los movimientos sociales urbanos. Tema que, en especial, en América Latina está teniendo un auge muy importante, dadas las graves contradicciones en que viven sus metrópolis, y la urgencia de buscar soluciones desde "dentro", desde sus propios recursos humanos.

FACMUM, entidad madrileña preocupada por los movimientos sociales, ha propiciado este Encuentro que ha servido para iniciar futuros congresos y jornadas, tanto de representantes de Asociaciones de Vecinos y de Moradores (para 1990 en Caracas), como de investigadores (en Bahía dentro de un año), además de iniciar una red de contactos e intercambios de publicaciones e informes entre las personas interesadas en estos temas.

No es simple calificar los movimientos sociales urbanos, y así quedó reflejado desde las intervenciones sobre Sao Paulo (Pedro Jacobi) y Villa El Salvador (Lima) (Eduardo Ballón), que partieron de estas importantes experiencias de administración local, conquistadas desde movimientos autogestionarios y populares, para tratar de centrar el debate: entre los diferentes tipos de movimientos por sus distintas características en sus contenidos, reivindicaciones o no, sociales o populares. Desde Bogotá (Samuel Jaramillo) y desde México (Jorge Cadena) denunciaron prácticas clientelares de los partidos de gobierno, y los esfuerzos de los movimientos sociales por mantener su autonomía. Desde Caracas (Hilas Santana) planteó el papel de las Asovecinos como autónomas a los partidos y como un movimiento pujante de intervención en barrios de tipo medio. La discusión sobre autogestión y autonomía de los movimientos fue realmente provechosa.

Discusión retomada con nuevas aportaciones desde Centroamérica (Daniel Camacho) y desde Chile (Alejandro Bell). En general hemos venido constatando que hay que superar viejos esquemas deterministas sobre las condiciones objetivas de los movimientos y también supuestas "cooptaciones" externas.
Desde Buenos Aires (Oscar Grillo) y desde Bahía (Tania Fischer) plantearon el problema de las descentralizaciones municipales y su relación ambigua con los movimientos sociales haciendo una crítica de las experiencias analizadas. La experiencia de la tradición española de análisis social y urbano estuvo también presente (con aportaciones desde Bilbao, Barcelona, Madrid y Galicia) con lo que el debate se volvió sobre aspectos muy críticos por el desmantelamiento del tejido social durante la transición política; y aparece la necesidad de nuevos análisis desde "dentro" de las redes sociales y asociativas, que afloran con nuevas pautas en barrios y pueblos. Salieron varias propuestas de investigación, lo que permitirá avanzar en las propuestas metodológicas planteadas. Desde México (Hugo Zemelman) y desde Madrid (Tomás Villasante) plantearon metodologías de análisis y problemas conceptuales para ser resueltos por investigadores y por experiencias prácticas hacia una nueva cultura de los propios movimientos sociales. El análisis de las "redes sociales" internas y externas a los movimientos, y los "conjuntos de acción" que generan, deben tener una especial consideración tanto por investigadores como por los propios actores sociales.

Estos Encuentros han tenido el apoyo de la UCCI, AECI, CICYT, Comunidad de Madrid, Universidad Menéndez Pelayo, y asociaciones que actúan en España, y a partir de las cuales FACMUM ha podido juntar especialistas de tantos países de América Latina, y emprender una red que se promete de interés general. También se han iniciado gestiones para tomar contacto con países europeos donde pueda haber interés en estos movimientos y temas de iniciativas sociales de barrios.

La discusión ha permitido ver con claridad la necesidad de continuar la discusión acerca de diversos temas cuya relevancia nos parece inquebrantable para una mejor profundidad en el conocimiento de los movimientos sociales urbanos. Estos elementos podríamos sintetizarlos en torno de los siguientes bloques temáticos:

1. **Problemática metodológica**

1. La conveniencia de aclarar el uso de diversos conceptos básicos, cuya explícitación pueden facilitar la comunicación futura, tales como: movimientos sociales, populares, reivindicativos, fuerza y movilización social (entre otros).

2. La necesidad de distinguir más claramente entre métodos de investigación y métodos de movilización o organización social. Se advierte la conveniencia, de que los métodos sean consistentes en su aplicación, enfrentando el riesgo de construir teorías aparentes que más que la propia ignorancia, ocultan la realidad del fenómeno.

Se plantea la necesidad, de cuidar el carácter científico de los estudios, estableciendo una clara distinción respecto de otras formas de aprehensión de la realidad de fenómenos de los movimientos sociales, como podrían ser los ensayos que pueden reconocer un margen mayor de subjetividad y en conse-
cuencia conducir a conclusiones muchas veces earente de fundamento.

3. En este marco, se plantea la tarea de continuar en la búsqueda de esquemas de análisis capaces de captar la complejidad interna de los movimientos incorporando las peculiaridades cualitativas que lo caracteriza como profundamente dinámicos sometidos a transformaciones constantes, que por lo mismo no se pueden reducir a esquemas generales apriorísticos ya que por el contrario, requieren ser estudiados debidamente contextualizados, en forma de captar su naturaleza específica antes que privilegiar modelos de carácter general.

4. Parece conveniente llevar a cabo un estado del "arte" de los estudios sobre los movimientos sociales urbanos de manera que se pueda, a partir de una sistematización de lo acumulado, determinar lo que se tiene y se sabe, a forma de llenar los vacíos significativos. Podría ocurrir que el avance demostrara un cúmulo de conocimientos sobre aspectos no significativos que se corresponda con un cúmulo de vacíos significativos, según sean las exigencias de acción que se plantean al conocimiento sobre los movimientos sociales urbanos.

II. Problemáticas teóricas

Se considera que los siguientes temas deben ser objeto de mayor análisis y discusión susceptible de compartirse entre los estudiosos para alcanzar mayor claridad.

1. Movimientos sociales y procesos de cambio. No está suficientemente aclarada la capacidad dinámica de los movimientos sociales para provocar procesos de cambio, en medida importante porque no se tiene claridad suficiente acerca de los diferentes tipos de cambios en los que se puede considerar atendiendo a las distintas escalas de espacio y de tiempo. En este marco se plantean temas particulares tales como: la fragilidad y contradicción interna que presentan los movimientos sociales, sus aspectos de segmentación, de diversidad, los cuales, sin duda inciden tanto en su capacidad de reproducción, como en su autonomía, así como en las formas adecuadas tanto de organización como de movilización.

2. Profundizar en el estudio de los factores externos que influyen en su estructuración, como puede serlo la promoción o dirección del movimiento por líderes naturales, partidos o cualquier otro agente que propugna la creación de condiciones propicias para su desenvolvimiento. También sería necesario profundizar en las trabas que inhiben o deforman su desarrollo tales como la cooptación y el clientelismo. No obstante, se considera que la condición de clientela puede en determinadas circunstancias históricas representar un momento en el que se pueden contener en embrión la posibilidad de que emerjan movimientos sociales urbanos. Se plantea a este respecto, la necesidad de aclarar las condiciones que puedan contribuir a explicar cuando se puede transitar desde la situación de clientelismo a la de autonomía, lo que obliga a la tarea adicional de aclarar lo que se
entiendo por autonomía del movimiento. En este sentido, parece importante rescatar las dimensiones de análisis tales como: proyecto, visión de futuro, utopía en la conciencia de los integrantes del movimiento, los cuales tienen aparentemente relación con diferentes grados de evolución de la subjetividad social, tales como podría ser: el puro descontento, el paso reivindicaciones inmediatas o bien la capacidad de definir metas y alternativas de metas con independencia de influencias externas.

3. Igualmente significativo resulta el estudio con mayor detalle de la problemática de la participación, que aparece siendo el producto de una constelación de factores tales como: los tipos de subjetividad sociales en las que descanza el movimiento, las perspectivas de futuro que se tenga y finalmente de la percepción que se tenga acerca de la viabilidad de acciones que el movimiento emprende. La participación como disposición a la transformación de una situación dada tanto en lo individual como en lo colectivo, supone el reconocimiento de un espacio social de apropiación posible, de ahí que se plantea la tarea de desentrañar los mecanismos tanto psicológicos, como culturales, como organizativos, así mismo incorporar los problemas de las continuidades y reflujos en los esfuerzos de construcción de objetivos comunes.

4. Se ha considerado como muy significativa la relación entre espacio y movimiento social, especialmente lo que se refiera al rompimiento del espacio tanto como resultado de la dinámica del propio movimiento social, como así mismo desde fuera de él, por efecto de las políticas estatales o de otros agentes que influyen en la organización del espacio.

5. Una problemática articulada con lo anterior, es profundizar en el estudio de la relación de los movimientos sociales con el poder en las diferentes escalas, tanto de espacio y de tiempo, en que este puede hacerse presente. Desde esta perspectiva, no se puede dejar de considerar la articulación entre las realidades microespeciales y las macroespeciales. Debido a que el poder está igualmente presente en esos diferentes espacios, sino además porque los movimientos se están constantemente desplazando en muchas escalas de espacio y de tiempo, desde los que puede contribuir a que se desenvuelvan formas de contrapoder y de contracultura. En esta dirección, los movimientos sociales pueden estar expresando reacciones en planos sociales y colectivos de desajustes entre la cotidianidad familiar y la vida pública, que resultan de las carencias de canales de expresión o bien de su ineficiencia. Pero también pueden representar la conformación de formas de subjetividad subalternas generadas por la propia lógica cultural que genera el poder.

6. En este marco no se puede dejar de reconocer, que los movimientos sociales, además de constituir manifestaciones de una subjetividad positiva, pueden representar la conformación de subjetividades negativas, en el sentido de ser expresiones de patologías sociales, que en estos momentos en muchos contextos opcionales son de primera
importancia analizar, como podría ser la relación entre algunos movimientos sociales y cierto tipo de actividades de narcotráfico, o bien los movimientos generados por la propia marginalidad de sectores de la población, como podrían ser cierto tipo de organizaciones de la juventud en las grandes ciudades.

7. No creemos necesario precipitarnos por hacer definiciones, y se podrían hacer, incluso sería fácil. Pero nos parece que eso no ayuda, porque el análisis tiene que captar la "complejidad interna", y eso incluye que la realidad estudiada es profundamente dinámica y en transformación constante. Entonces es necesario trabajar con una categoría que se va construyendo conforme se va construyendo la realidad.

Hay que poner énfasis, en que las categorías tienen que ser abiertas y sumamente dinámicas, capaz de captar esa complejidad y de ninguna manera meterse dentro de una definición muy específica que supondría congelar esa categoría.

Hace falta un refinamiento metodológico, de tal orden que las categorías que vamos a usar tengan un respaldo y una base conceptual construida a partir de un refinamiento mayor de los medios que hoy utilizamos, porque parece que esos conceptos dicen mucho para un investigador particular, pero no tienen un poder de generalización mayor.

Para aclarar conceptos hay que ver la manera de diferenciarlos de lo que sería construir un manual. De hecho hay una doble complejidad, el problema es ver el fenómeno que estamos estudiando, que es muy heterogéneo y muy dinámico; y por otra parte lo que sucede es que son muy heterogéneas las baterías de conceptos de tradiciones teóricas. Esta evidencia de que hay que aclarar conceptos, me lleva a la necesidad de empezar a explicitar las distintas baterías con las que se ha hecho un trabajo. Se necesita explicitar cuáles son las redes teóricas, y el hecho de hacerlas explícitas puede servir a una mayor comprensión del desarrollo de la investigación.

Las ciencias sociales progresan no teniendo una totalidad en la concepción, sino manteniendo una discusión permanente, donde siempre hay orientaciones que incluso niegan entre sí. Pero el avance se da, tanto por la realidad que se va transformando, como porque hay discusiones internas de distintas orientaciones sociológicas que se van modificando, a veces en dosis muy lentas.

Hay que aclarar la diversidad de ópticas metodológicas con las cuales se accede al análisis del fenómeno y no necesariamente proponerse llegar a una unidad de estructuración central.

(FACMUM, Calle S Vicente Ferrer 61 Madrid, España)
Every country in the world neglects the poor

Cardinal Stephen Kim Soo Whan’s address
to the Asian Convention for Housing Rights


Every country in the world neglects the poor.
Many countries pretend you don’t exist and try to hide you.
Some countries even persecute you.

Someone has said that the Urban Poor are Invisible People.
You build our big office buildings and apartment houses;
You clean our streets, cook our food, wash our clothes;
You drive our buses, trains, subways, taxis and private cars;
You carry to stores and markets - sometimes on your backs or bicycles -
the food and things we need to live;
You sell everything imaginable on our street corners - at a price the poor can afford.
And yet, we never see you.
Or rather, we see you without really seeing you.
So, in a sense, you are invisible.

But happily, this past week, here in Seoul, you have suddenly become visible - both here and around the world.
So first of all, I congratulate you on finally becoming visible.
Secondly, I thank you for becoming visible.
Because by showing us who you are, you have shown us who we could and should be.
In your faces and your eyes, through your words and your gestures I see and hear many things:
I remember I am Asian;  
I long for my roots;  
I feel homesick for our ways.

You make me remember the beauty and richness of the traditions of Asia; the original human-ness and spirituality of our cultures; the mystery of family and community which gives new life and the strength to go on.

You show us gentleness, compassion, industry, intelligence...  
You show us pain, sorrow and a just, a righteous anger.

The most frequent cry of the Urban Poor of Korea is:  
"We are human beings. We want, we demand to be treated as human".

I can only guess how terrible is the pain of being treated as less than human.  
But I know how terrible is the sin of treating another that way.

So, along with the declarations you have made today, and in gratitude to you - and to the millions and millions of your brothers and sisters whom you represent - I would like to make my own small declaration:

You are not lazy; you are not evil; you are not illegal; and your demands and actions to be treated as human beings are not illegal. You are not worthless; you are not unimportant; you are not disposable people.

You are beautiful sons and daughters of whatever-the-name of the God you believe in;  
You are the backbone, the life and the strength of your country;  
You are the light and leaven of humanity in this increasingly dehumanized and dreary world.  
In short, you are human - no more, no less.

And that is why you are invisible - because we don't want to see you.  
We don't want to see you because you challenge and disturb us.  
You make us feel uncomfortable.
Because if you are treated as less than human, it is we who treat you thus.
So your pain (and your amazing human-ness in the midst of this pain) show the rest of us our in-humanity.

A Place to Live!
Can there be any more basic need? more minimal demand?
How can one even exist without a place? or enjoy any human right without a place to enjoy it in?

I congratulate you on this unique and important gathering-together of the poor of Asia.

I end with a challenge and a prayer:

Governments, big businesses and private individuals have no right (as long as there is one homeless person in this world) to build large and expensive homes for anyone.

But they do have the duty to insure a minimal place to live for everyone.

I pray that this Asian People's Dialogue will have three results:

first, the immediate halt, in every country in the world, to all evictions-by-force;

second, the immediate recognition that every human being has an absolute right to a decent place to live;

third, that all governments, politics, policies, economic structures and market forces will be rapidly re-organized to make that right a reality.
La Editorial Nueva Sociedad convoca al VI Certamen Latinoamericano de Ensayo Político, sobre el tema: Minorías en América Latina. Podrán participar autores latinoamericanos y caribeños así como no latinoamericanos que vivan en América Latina o que trabajen sobre la problemática de la región. Los ensayos deben ser inéditos, ser presentados en español y tener una extensión mínima de 12 cuartillas (mecanografiadas doble espacio en papel carta) y una máxima de 18 cuartillas. Los ensayos serán firmados con seudónimo. Debe enviarse cinco copias, acompañadas de un sobre pequeño cerrado, en cuya parte externa se indicará el seudónimo utilizado por el autor. En el interior de este sobre deberá ir el título de la obra, los datos personales del autor (nombre completo y breve currículum) y su dirección particular. Nueva Sociedad adquiere el compromiso de publicar y difundir los ocho mejores ensayos y premiarlos con US$ 200 cada uno. El jurado hará público su fallo el día 30 de noviembre de 1990, y considerará sólo los ensayos llegados a Caracas hasta el 30 de septiembre de 1990. Los trabajos deberán ser remitidos a Nueva Sociedad, Apdo 61.712, Chacao, Caracas 1060-A, Venezuela.

"...an important contribution to the struggle for human rights and freedom."
- Laurie Wiseberg, Executive Director, Human Rights Internet

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L’Afrique noire embourbée

par Tsudi Wa Kibuti Mambu-Lo
I.S.D.R. MBEO, BP 8251, Kinshasa I, Zaïre

À Ahmed Ben Salah, toi qui connais à fond... et à Sam Nujoma... afin que tu ne tombes pas dans le piège!

Résumé: Cet article traite d’abord de l’arrière-plan historique et des conséquences du fait colonial sur l’Afrique - l’origine de son embourbement. Cependant les colonisateurs ne sont pas les seuls coupables. La minorité qui assuma le pouvoir à l’indépendance est également responsable de la situation. Ce fut l’époque des coups d’Etat et des dictatures, parfois suivies de tentatives de démocratisation. Les nouveaux dirigeants ont dépouillé les structures héritées de leurs aspects démocratiques. Seule la démocratisation permettra de sortir de l’impasse; le rôle de la société civile et du Citoyen est décisif à cet égard.

Africa’s deadlock

Abstract: The paper deals first with the historical background and consequences of colonialism in Africa, which arrested its development. However, the blame should not be entirely placed on the colonizers. The small elite that took over power at independence is to be blamed as much. The post-independence era was followed by a wave of coups d’etat, dictatorships and in certain cases followed by attempts at democratisation. The new leaders dismantled whatever democratic elements of the structures they had inherited from the colonizers. Only democratisation will enable Africa to overcome the deadlock; the role of the civil society and of the Citizen is decisive in this respect.

El Africa atollado

Resumen: Este artículo tiene por primero tema los antecedentes históricos y las consecuencias del hecho colonial sobre Africa - orígenes del atolladero actual. Los colonizadores no son, sin embargo, los únicos responsables. La minoría que ha asumido el poder al momento de la independencia es igualmente responsable de la situación. La época que siguió fue el de una serie de golpes de estado, dictaduras, y en algunos casos, intentos de democratización. Los nuevos dirigentes quitaron todos los elementos democráticos que se hubieran podido heredar de los colonizadores. Sólo la democratización permitirá que el Africa salga del atolladero actual, y en este respecto, el papel de la sociedad civil y el del Ciudadano es decisivo.
L’Afrique noire embourbée

Lorsqu’il y a deux décennies René Dumont publiait son *Afrique noire est mal partie*,1 de nombreux hommes d’État africains avaient mal accueilli cet ouvrage. Il a fallu attendre des années pour que certains reconnaissent que l’agronome français avait raison. Aujourd’hui, personne d’honnête et d’objectif ne peut accuser ce tiers mondiste de quoi que ce soit sauf peut-être du péché d’avoir prévenu les politiciens d’Afrique noire!

Notre continent, surtout dans sa partie subsaharienne, est en agonie. La loi de la jungle s’y installe insidieusement et la rupture entre les pouvoirs politiques et les masses populaires est presque consommée. L’économique, le social et le politique... rien n’échappe au coup.

Mais hélas! cela ne vient pas de commencer. La conjoncture actuelle n’a fait qu’accélérer une évolution qui était inévitable. Pourquoi l’Afrique noire se trouve-t-elle subitement dans cette situation quasi inextricable? Comment en sortir? Ce sont ces principales questions sur lesquelles nous concentrons notre réflexion d’aujourd’hui.

I. A l’origine de l’embourbement: Le fait colonial

Au début du XXème siècle, tous les pays d’Afrique noire étaient conquis par les Européens. Ces derniers, comme on le sait, y avaient établi deux types de colonie: de *peuplement*, qui devaient accueillir les Européens désireux de s’y établir, et d’*exploitation*, auxquelles était assigné le simple rôle de réservoir de matières premières. En pratique les unes et les autres, toutes, devaient fournir des matières premières à l’industrie de la métropole.

Ainsi, pendant près d’un siècle, l’Afrique noire était pillée systématiquement. La prospérité européenne de la fin du XIXème siècle-début XXème siècle n’était-elle pas due en partie à ce pillage du continent noir?

Il faut également noter qu’en plus des richesses naturelles du sol et du sous-sol, l’Afrique noire avait perdu, du fait de la traite, une partie importante de sa population active. Environ 10 millions d’esclaves ont été emmenés hors d’Afrique à destination de l’Amérique surtout, plus quelque 175,000 vers l’Europe et les îles de la côte Ouest.2

Bien plus, pour atteindre son but d’exploitation, l’Europe n’avait pas tésiné sur les moyens: torture, travaux à coup de fouet, exactions de toutes sortes... et élaboration d’une idéologie coloniale justifiant la colonisation et voilant les objectifs économiques et l’oppression politique.3 Cette idéologie devait aboutir
au reniement par les Africains de leurs propres civilisations. L'Afrique noire était ainsi et déjà mal partie!

Désormais, parce que les Négro-africains avaient ainsi été atteints dans leur for intérieur, dans cette force intérieure qui permet à toute culture "d'avancer" car comme d'aucuns le savent, ce "quelque chose de spécifique" (...) une fois affecté, bloque tout mécanisme de développement. Les premiers contacts avec l'Europe ont donc eu comme principaux effets le déracinement de l'homme et l'exploitation des richesses de ses sol et sous-sol.

Le déracinement notamment a fait croire au Noir à son incapacité à se gérer et lui a fait adopter des modèles de gestion contre nature, inadaptés à ses structures.

Quant à l'exploitation, elle ne s'est pas arrêtée avec la colonisation. Aujourd'hui encore, l'Afrique noire est incapable de tirer profit de ses richesses à cause de la mainmise du Nord.

Il n'est donc pas absurde d'affirmer que la crise économique sans précédent que traverse l'Afrique et qui hypothèque dangereusement son avenir, remonte à bien loin. Ses origines, comme le souligne Ngandjeu, ne se situent pas dans les années 70. Elle n'a pas commencé non plus avec la vague de sécheresses qui a sévi dans notre continent. Car même si à l'époque coloniale et aux premières années des indépendances, l'Afrique noire avait connu une croissance économique indéniable, il ne faut pas oublier que cette croissance n'était pas allée de pair avec la situation socio-économique de la majorité des populations. Très peu de gens ont pu profiter de cette expansion, constituant ainsi de véritables enclaves de prospérité à côté des masses populaires vivant dans la paupérisation.

Ironie du sort, la misère des populations à l'époque coloniale fut le thème le plus exploité par ces nouvelles minorités riches afin de s'attirer la sympathie des masses populaires dont l'appui était indispensable dans la lutte pour l'indépendance. Celle-ci était d'ailleurs préchée comme la seule voie pour sortir les pays de la misère; comme la solution magique qui ferait de l'Afrique noire un paradis terrestre où il n'existerait ni injustice, ni souffrance, ni famine, ni chômage...

Ces belles promesses avaient cristallisé les populations qui y croyaient fermement et qui étaient finalement convaincues que le colonisateur était la seule cause de tous les maux.

La nouvelle minorité riche était ainsi devenue celle des nationalistes et des grands patriotes. En réalité très peu d'entre eux l'étaient effectivement. La plupart étaient des assoiffés de pouvoir qui ne visaient que de remplacer le Blanc dans tous ses avantages. À l'acquisition des pays à l'indépendance, les peuples s'en furent vite rendus compte.

II. Au lendemain des indépendances et deux décennies après

a. Le schéma évolutif des systèmes politiques d'Afrique noire
Tous les pays d’Afrique noire n’ont pas acquis leur indépendance politique dans les conditions semblables. Chez certains, l’indépendance était un processus longuement préparé par le colonisateur. Dans d’autres, elle était précipitée. Malgré cette différence, l’Afrique noire entière connaîtra après son émancipation politique la même évolution.

Deux voies ont été suivies: quelque temps après l’indépendance, certains dirigeants politiques ont immédiatement instauré une dictature tandis que d’autres se sont vus renverser par une génération de jeunes militaires enthousiastes dont la plupart confondaient le pouvoir et l’athlétisme.

Trois remarques s’imposent ici:

**Primo,** tous les États africains ne sont pas encore arrivés à l’étape des tentatives de démocratisation notées ces derniers temps en Afrique noire. Il faut cependant être prudent: ce sont souvent des régimes autoritaires qui tentent eux-mêmes de fonder leur légitimité sur un discours démocratique. Les régimes qui ont jusqu’ici déployé des efforts pour organiser la participation populaire, l’ont fait, comme le fait remarquer Anyang Nyongo, dans un cadre défini par les intérêts du système en place. Dans la plupart des cas, il faut le dire, cette participation est forcée et non comprise par une population à plus de 70% analphabète.

**Secundo,** trois principaux mobiles justifient les coups d’État:

- mettre fin aux tentatives d’instauration de la dictature. Paradoxalement, la plupart des coups de force ont abouti à l’instauration de régimes despotiques parfois plus cruels que les précédents;
- l’incapacité des dirigeants à gérer les pays. Dans cette condition, l’armée constituait le seul rempart pour éviter la désintégration;
- l’aventurisme enfin. Il faut admettre ici que la plupart des jeunes soldats bénéficiaires de coups d’État ont accédé au pouvoir sans la moindre idée sur la gestion de la chose publique et pour des ambitions personnelles.

**Tertio,** les dictatures qui s’instaurent immédiatement après l’indépendance. Pour bien comprendre ce phénomène, il faut se rappeler que tous les dirigeants politiques africains qui avaient accédé à la magistrature suprême à l’indépendance étaient l’émanation de la volonté populaire. Ils avaient eu en ce moment-là à affronter d’autres adversaires dans un esprit démocratique. C’est l’échec de leur politique ainsi que l’incapacité d’accomplir de nombreuses promesses faites pendant la campagne électorale qui les avaient poussé au despotisme. En effet, n’ayant plus d’arguments pour s’attirer l’appui des masses populaires et redoutant par le fait même de perdre le pouvoir, ils se sont empêchés d’office de se soumettre à la volonté populaire et d’affronter des adversaires comme aux premières heures de la décolonisation. Ce fiasco explique du reste l’invention d’idéologies nouvelles ou l’adoption d’idéologies importées habilement repensées pour justifier la situation actuelle.
Mais l'échec de leaders politiques du début de la période indépendante s'explique aussi et en partie par le maintien de structures politico-administratives, économiques voire sociales héritées de la colonisation. Ces structures en effet n'avaient pas tenu compte pour l'essential, des réalités de nos milieux. L'absence ou l'insuffisance de cadres instruits et rôdés, et surtout l'absence d'une "conscience nationale" rendaient ces structures encore plus maladaptées.

Néanmoins, il faut aussi admettre que les structures dont l'Afrique noire a hérité des Européens sont devenues inadaptées parce qu'elles sont démocratiques. Leur maintien ne permettrait guère aux dirigeants en place de se maintenir. Aussi n'est-il pas étonnant que les premières mesures de réforme structurelle prises dans la plupart des États africains au lendemain de l'indépendance consistent justement à enlever d'abord à ces structures leurs aspects démocratiques.

Le despotisme instauré a ainsi rendu impossible l'émergence de la "conscience nationale" car les systèmes politiques dictatoriaux ne securisent pas. Aussi les citoyens des États de l'Afrique noire recourent-ils au cadre traditionnel (l'éthnie ou la tribu) qui se révèle toujours comme le plus sécurisant!

Ce recours est encore actuel. Ce qui prouve que les leaders politiques au pouvoir n'ont pas réussi à laire des États, des cadres de développement harmonieux de leurs peuples.

\[b. \text{La recherche de nouvelles voies}\]

En bref, nous pouvons dire que les nouvelles voies jusqu'ici adoptées par les dirigeants politiques au pouvoir en Afrique noire tirent leurs origines d'une part de systèmes européens (socialisme et capitalisme), et d'autre part des traditions africaines. Les systèmes politiques negro-africains ont ainsi tenté de tirer profit de cette triple origine: ils ont puisé à la fois au socialisme, au capitalisme et aux systèmes traditionnels.

Cette idée de synthèse mérite bien des fleurs mais, malheureusement, les hommes au "trône" n'ont pas su sélectionner les valeurs positives de tous ces systèmes.

D'une façon simplifiée, nous pouvons dire qu'au socialisme (scientifique) ces rois ont pris le monisme politique; du capitalisme, ils ont épousé les méthodes a-sociales d'exploitation de la majorité sur la minorité; et aux traditions africaines, surtout le rôle du Chef. Mais les différents éléments retenus ont été réinterprétés de manière à n'accorder les droits qu'aux seuls détenteurs du pouvoir.

Comme on le voit, le vrai mobile de la recherche de nouvelles voies n'est pas de créer des structures appropriées, adaptées à nos réalités mais plutôt de mettre en place, quand on a les rênes du pouvoir, des institutions qui puissent garantir sa propre survie politique.

Arrêtons-nous un instant sur les traditions africaines. Certes le recours aux valeurs traditionnelles est indispensable
pour créer l'harmonie nécessaire à l'épanouissement des individus et de la société. Mais ces valeurs, il faut d'abord les re-définir et les comprendre dans leur contexte spatio-temporel, socio-culturel et politico-économique.

Les phénomènes établis par la colonisation sont des réalités nouvelles qui exigent partant que les valeurs du passé à adopter, soient repensées. En outre, c'est une erreur de croire que les sociétés africaines traditionnelles étaient statiques.

Les "monarques" d'Afrique noire trônent à dessein les réalités traditionnelles. Le Chef, qui constitue l'institution la plus prisée par eux, n'était pas synonyme de dictature. La présence à ses côtés d'un Conseil, le prouve bien. En outre, il ne faut pas oublier que son élection était démocratique. Dans la plupart des cas, un Conseil des électeurs avait à choisir entre plusieurs prétendants. Et le peuple disposait des moyens appropriés pour approuver ou désapprouver la politique du Chef. Un bon Chef se mesurait aussi au nombre de ses sujets. Lorsqu'un Chef n'était plus à même d'assurer la justice, la sécurité... de ses hommes, ces derniers le quittaient et allaient s'installer dans le domaine d'un autre Chef, ou parfois se donnaient un autre Chef.

Tous ces éléments prouvent que le Chef traditionnel avait un contrat social qui le liait à son peuple. Il était donc tenu de rendre compte. Il est vrai qu'il existe bien d'autres aspects positifs du rôle de Chef dans nos traditions. Les pouvoirs actuels ont d'abord enlevé à ce rôle ses aspects démocratiques et l'ont ensuite caricaturé.

Si l'on faisait un référendum chez les peuples d'Afrique noire sur la question "pour ou contre le retour des Blancs"? on serait certainement surpris du nombre des "pour". Quelle conclusion peut-on tirer d'un tel résultat? Une conclusion simple: les régimes d'intolérance qui dirigent nos États ont conduit ceux-ci à la dérive.

Cela nous amène à parler des monismes politiques qui caractérisent les systèmes d'Afrique noire. Ce monisme est sans doute ce qu'il y a de pire dans le système marxiste-léniniste. Les résultats catastrophiques auxquels le monisme a conduit les "démocraties" populaires faisaient inspirer l'Afrique noire. Vingt ans après les indépendances, elle aussi (l'Afrique) sait où l'a mené le monopartisme, mieux, le monisme politique engendré par le monopartisme.

Précisons cependant que le monopartisme en soi n'est pas crime contre l'humanité. Il n'est pas synonyme de "non-démocratie" car au sein d'un parti unique il y a lieu de permettre les divergences d'idées et de langage; de tolérer des discussions et des différences; d'établir un système de consensus basé sur "l'accord-désaccord"; d'éviter la personnalisation du parti qui rend sa survie incertaine... sans toutefois mettre en cause son existence.

Nos sociétés traditionnelles ne connaissaient pas cette réalité de partis politiques mais cela ne les avait pas empêchés d'organiser des démocraties dignes. Le monopartisme devient nuisible
lorsqu'il engendre le monisme c.à.d. lorsqu'il contraint tout le monde à penser, à voir et à dire la même chose. C'est en ce moment donc que ce système porte atteinte aux droits et libertés des citoyens car en ce moment, il est fondé sur l'intolérance.

Toutefois étant donné que les "monarques" d'Afrique noire refusent pour la plupart de reconnaître les différences au sein des partis uniques et ... iniques qu'ils ont créés, seul le multipartisme permet aujourd'hui de garantir les libertés fondamentales et de créer un cadre d'épanouissement des peuples et des États.

Mais ici encore, nous devons nous entendre. Pour que le multipartisme joue ce rôle, il doit être assorti de quelques conditions:

1. il faut un multipartisme qui ne provoque pas d'opposition systématique;
2. il faut un multipartisme qui interdise toute confusion avec l'État;
3. il faut un multipartisme fondé sur une Charte Nationale fixant le cadre du jeu politique.

Comme on peut le constater, si la colonisation a sa part de responsabilité dans la situation désastreuse que traverse nos États, la plus grosse part incombe à ceux qui occupent les trônes.

c. Le tableau de bord indique tristement, et entre autres:

- L'Afrique noire est un continent des États de fait et non de droit.

- L'Afrique noire indépendante pratique elle aussi l'apartheid. En effet, la mobilisation de tout le continent pour dénoncer l'apartheid en Afrique du Sud, cache bien des choses: les injustices de toutes sortes, l'arbitraire, l'exploitation de la majorité misérables par la poignée de très riches Princes, l'atteinte aux libertés fondamentales, etc., tout cela est le cadre de la vie quotidienne en Afrique noire. Cela aussi, c'est de l'apartheid. Il est plus cruel que celui de la R.S.A. parce qu'il est endémique. Le vrai combat contre la ségrégation raciale en Afrique du Sud ne devrait-il pas commencer par la démocratisation de nos propres systèmes politiques?

- Endettement chronique. Tous les pays d'Afrique noire sont endettés jusqu'au cou et aucun d'eux n'est capable de vivre sans dons étrangers. Mais comment est-on arrivé à ce niveau? Qu'a-t-on fait de ces milliards? A la
première interrogation, on répond facilement par "c'est l'impérialisme". A
la seconde, la réponse, est souvent
ambigüe et pourtant la vraie réponse
est "Très peu de bonnes choses, les
masses d'argent ayant pris le chemin
des poches personnelles des monarques
et leurs acolytes".

- En Afrique noire, la Loi n'existe
que pour ceux qui sont démunis; ceux
qui n'ont que des devoirs et obligations.
Les riches et surtout les riches com-
plices des monarques ne sont poursuivis
par la Loi que lorsqu'ils commencent
t à penser et à dire autrement que ceux
qui sont au trône.

- Les monarques qui dirigent les pays
africains sont tous, à des degrés divers,
des potentats.

- Ils ont conduit les pays dans des
"embrigadements" qui risquent de tuer
t à long terme. En effet, dans l'ensemble
les regroupements régionaux des États
dafrica noire, n'ont pas encore donné
les résultats escomptés. Pourquoi alors
l'adhésion massive à des organisations
extra-africaines qui consolèrent la divi-
sion et qui ont pour noms Conférence
franco-africaine, Commonwealth, Fran-
cophonie et peut-être bientôt Hispa-
phonie, Lusophonie... L'attitude de cer-
tains Chefs d'État qui réclament à
echaque sommet franco-africain que les
pays francophones bénéficient de plus
d'assistance (technique, financière...) fra
nçaise que les autres, suffit pour
affirmer que de telles organisations ne
peuvent pas promouvoir l'unité africaine.
Que sont ces "somments", sinon
une occasion pour les monarques de
prêter le serment d'allégeance afin de
continuer à bénéficier de la protection
étrangère et, au nom des pays, de
quelques millions de dollars supplémen-
taires pour renflouer leurs comptes en
Suisse, en France ou en Allemagne. Pour
notre part, nous pensons que
l'Afrique noire est trop faible économiquem-
ent, socialement et politiquement
pour tirer grand profit de telles orga-
nisations. A quand les sommets de la
Lingalaphonie? De la Haoussaphonie?
de la Peulphonie?

- L'Afrique noire est trahie par ceux
qui la dirigent comme le démontrent
quelques attitudes ci-après:

- le refus de certains Chefs d'État de
défendre, il y a deux ans, le bilan de 25 ans
de l'organisation panafricaine qui peut-
telles s'empêcher d'en tirer profit? Ne
doit-on pas voir dans cette attitude leur propre façon de
gérer leurs États?

- le silence des la plupart des monarches
lors des événements racistes anti-noir
africains de Chine de 1989;

- le noyautage du pouvoir judiciaire
dans tous les États d'Afrique noire, ce
qui empêche les citoyens de revendic-
quer leurs droits envers les gouvernants;

- la construction des grands ouvrages
de prestige au moment où de nombreux
hôpitaux manquent de lits et de pro-
duits pharmaceutiques; au moment où
les routes à l'intérieur des États sont
défoncées empêchant ainsi les paysans
d'écouler leurs produits; au moment où les salaires alloués aux agents de l'État ne leur permettent pas de nourrir les deux bouts du mois...

- la manipulation de l'Histoire;

- l'arrestation (accompagnée souvent de torture) dans certains pays de fonctionnaires qui refusent de travailler parce qu'ils sont impayés depuis plusieurs mois. (Généralement et en pareilles circonstances, on accuse les grévistes de vouloir renverser le pouvoir ou d'être manipulés par une main étrangère).

**Comment sortir de l'impasse?**

Il nous semble donc que la solution au problème de l'embourбrement de l'Afrique noire ne peut pas provenir de ceux qui sont au pouvoir. Mais ceux-ci peuvent encore mettre à profit les bouleversements qui sont entrain de voir le jour en U.R.S.S. et dans les autres pays d'Europe de l'Est. Bien avant ces événements, certains de ces Rois ont quitté d'eux-mêmes le trône, fiers d'avoir posé la première pierre de l'édification de la nation mais aussi se reprochant, au fond du cœur, d'avoir dérapé en instituant l'intolérance.

D'autres commencent à reconnaître qu'ils ont mal pensé: "Pour pouvoir agir en connaissance de cause, écrit Habyarimana, il faut ne pas se tromper sur les causes profondes qui ont amené notre continent à la situation critique dans laquelle il se trouve aujourd'hui. Mais il faut aussi résister à cette tentative de vouloir d'emblée tout mettre sur le seul dos des autres".9

Plus explicite encore est le Prince héréditaire de Jordanie Hassan Ibn Talal qui décrit les caractéristiques des dirigeants politiques du Tiers Monde en ces termes:

La première génération des pères de l'indépendance a découvert qu'il était beaucoup plus facile de mobiliser nos peuples contre le gouvernement étranger que de leur apprendre à se gouverner eux-mêmes. Très rapidement, des militaires d'une génération plus jeune, pressés ou aventuriers, se sont révoltés contre les Pères de l'indépendance. Mais ces militaires aussi ont découvert qu'il était beaucoup plus facile de s'emparer du pouvoir que de l'exercer avec sagesse.10

Que des monarques reconnaissent cela, c'est déjà un pas. Mais le premier grand pas ne commencera qu'avec la démocratisation, c'est-à-dire lorsque les citoyens d'Afrique noire commenceront à parler et à penser librement, autrement dit, à jouir de tous leurs droits.

L'histoire classera les monarques qui n'auront pas franchi ce pas d'ici le début du XXIème siècle parmi les criminels de l'humanité.

Pour le moment cependant, seuls les mouvements du tiers système peuvent amener le changement d'abord en rendant patent le pouvoir du peuple. Car

le Prince et le Marchand ne dominent en effet qu'une partie du pouvoir. Qu'ils existent de facto ou de jure (...) ils ne sauraient représenter la société dans sa totalité ni dans ses différences. Qui plus est, ils exercent leur pouvoir sur la
société. Leurs existence même dépend du peuple. Ils sont, en ce sens, nos créatures. Les associations du tiers système du Nord - s'ils n'ont pas d'autres objectifs cachés et s'ils luttent pour l'instauration de la paix, de la justice et des libertés fondamentales dans chaque espace - ont aujourd'hui le devoir d'étendre leurs réseaux dans le sud ou de faciliter ici l'émergence de nouveaux mouvements capables d'imposer la justice et d'enrayer l'arbitraire et l'intolérance.

Notes

5. Tsudi Wa Kibuti, "Sociétés negro-africaines entre un développement propre et un développement généralisé", IFDA Dossier 49, p60.
8. Le président du Niger Ali Seybou a déclaré sur les antennes de R.F.I., quelques heures avant le sommet francophone de Dakar, qu'il n'attendait rien de ce sommet sauf des résolutions qu'on n'applique pas!

The Third Congress of the Basic Income European Network (BIEN) will be held at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, 19-21 September 1990. For the first time, academics from Eastern Europe will be presenting papers concerning this year's theme, Economic Democracy and Citizenship Income. For further information, contact Stefania Marcone, Lega Nazionale delle Cooperative, Via Guattati 9, 00161 Rome, Italy.
The Vancouver Declaration

Survival in the 21st Century

The following declaration was approved in Vancouver, Canada, on 15 September 1989, at the end of a six days symposium on Science and Culture for the 21st Century: Agenda for Survival organised by the Canadian Commission for Unesco. The names of the signatories appear at the end.

Our planet is unstable - a constantly changing heat engine. On its surface, about four billion years ago, life developed in balance with the environment, where sudden unpredictable change is the norm. The discovery, over 200 years ago, of free energy locked in fossil fuels has given humankind the power to dominate the whole planetary surface and, in an unbelievably short space of time, unplanned and almost mindlessly, our species has become by far the largest factor for change on the planet.

The consequences have been drastic and unique in the history of our species:

- exponential population growth over 150 years from one billion to over five billion with a current doubling time of 30-40 years;
- exponential increase in the use of fossil fuels leading to global pollution, climate and sea-level change;
- accelerating destruction of the habitat of life thus initiating a massive and irreversible episode of mass extinction in the biosphere - the basis of the Earth's ecosystem;
- unimaginable expenditure of resources and human ingenuity on war and preparation for war.

And all licensed by a belief in inexhaustible resources of the planet encouraged by political and economic systems that emphasize short term profit as a benefit and disregard the real cost of production.
The situation facing humankind involves the collapse of any balance between our species and the rest of life on the Planet. Paradoxically, at the time when we stand at the threshold of degeneration of the ecosystem and degradation of human quality of life, knowledge and science are now in a position of providing the human creativity and the technology needed to take remedial action and rediscover the harmony between nature and humankind. Only the social and political will is lacking.

The origin of our present predicament lies fundamentally in certain developments in science that were essentially complete by the beginning of the century. Those developments, which are mathematically codified in a classical mechanical picture of the universe, gave to human beings a power over nature that has, until recently, produced an ever-increasing, and seemingly boundless, supply of material commodities. Swept up in the exploitation of this power, humankind has tended to shift its values to those promoting the maximal realization of the material possibilities that this new power provides. Suppressed, correspondingly, were the values associated with dimensions of the human potential that had been the foundations of the earlier cultures.

The impoverishment of the conception of man caused by the omission of other human dimensions is precisely in line with the "scientific" conception of the universe as machine, and man as nothing but a cog within it.

In contemporary science, the older rigid mechanical picture of the universe is replaced by concepts that permit a universe that is the product of a continual creative input that is not rigidly constrained by any mechanical law. Man himself becomes an aspect of this creative impulse, which is linked into the universe in an integral way that is not expressible within the older mechanistic framework. The "self" becomes thereby converted from a deterministically controlled cog in a giant machine to an aspect of a freely creative impulse that is intrinsically and immediately tied to the universe as a whole.

Human values become, accordingly, in this new scientific view, enlarged into values much more consonant with those prevalent in earlier cultures. It is within the framework of the converging images of man
provided by recent scientific and cultural developments that we look for visions of a future that would allow man to survive in dignity and harmony with his environment.

Alternative visions

Humankind has reached not only its external limits but also its internal limitations in understanding the complexities produced by its own acts as well as its capacity to live in the changing socio-cultural environment. At the same time the evolution of science seems to allow the acceptance of other forms of knowledge that might even enable human beings to recapture the richness of beliefs, and the variety of spiritual experiences.

In the context of these considerations and the present critical situation, the building of visions for the future - rooted in a variety of cultures - becomes important. The three following visions emerged from our deliberations:

- First, the concept of an organic macrocosm recaptures the rhythms of life. These rhythms can enable the human being to reintegrate himself into nature and restore his relatedness to others in space and in time;

- Second, the recognition that a human being is part of the same process that defines the universe enlarges his self-image allowing him to transcend egoism, which constitutes the principle threat to both his own long term interest and the environment and its future;

- Third, the overcoming of the body-mind-spirit fragmentation of the human being that has produced an unbalanced development of some parts to the detriment of others and of the whole, thus enabling him to rediscover within himself the reflection of the cosmos and its supreme unifying principle.

Such visions call for a radical transformation of models of development, the elimination of poverty, ignorance and misery, the end of the arms race, new learning processes, educational systems and different mental attitudes, better forms of redistribution to ensure social equity, a new
design for living based on a reduction of waste, a respect for biodiversity, a diversification of socio-economic systems, and cultural diversity transcending the outmoded concepts of sovereignty.

Science and technology are indispensable for the attainment of these goals but can succeed only through a reintegration of science and culture so as to ensure a sense of purpose, as well as an integrative approach designed to overcome the fragmentation that has led to a breakdown in cultural communication.

If we fail to redirect science and technology towards fundamental needs, the advances in informatics (hoarding of knowledge), biotechnology (patenting of life forms) and genetic engineering (mapping of the human genome) will lead to irreversible consequences detrimental to the future of human life.

Time is very short for the conclusion of a world eco-cultural peace with the help of science and technology - every delay will only increase the cost of survival.

We must recognize the reality of a multireligious world and the need for the kind of tolerance that will enable religions whatever their differences to cooperate together. This would contribute to meeting the requirements for human survival and for the nurturing of the shared core values of human solidarity, human rights and human dignity. This is the common heritage of humankind that derives from our perception of the transcendental significance of human existence, and from a new global conscience.

*   *   *

Daniel Afedzi Akyeampong, Ghana; Ubiratan D'Ambrosio, Brazil; Andre Chouraqui, Israel; Nicolo Dallaporta, Italy; Pierre Dansereau, Canada; Mahdi Elmandjra, Morocco; Santiago Genoves, Mexico; Carl-Göran Heden, Sweden; Alexander King, UK; Eleanora Masini, Italy; Digby McLaren, Canada; Yuijiro Nakamura, Japan; Lisandro Otero, Cuba; Josef Rimn, Czechoslovakia; Soedjaimoko, Indonesia; Henry Stapp, USA; Michel Random, France (observateur-intervenant).
Fusion of Science and Culture: Key to the 21st Century

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Abstract: Survival can’t be ensured without a "new alliance" between science and culture to the point of fusion. Modernization is not synonymous with westernization as is illustrated by the case of Japan. Overcoming the West’s cultural reductionism, there is a need to discover a new universality for science through culture and cultural values and to develop and innovate adequate learning processes. The new problematique remains to see how our knowledge can be used to empower human beings, to combat poverty, social injustice, marginalization, human rights as well as the abuse of nature.

Fusion de la science et de la culture: clé du 21e siècle

Résumé: Seule une "nouvelle alliance" entre la science et la culture peut assurer la survie. La modernisation n’est pas synonyme d’occidentalisation, comme le montre l’exemple du Japon. Dépassant le réductionnisme culturel de l’Occident, il s’agit, à travers la culture et ses valeurs, de découvrir une nouvelle universalité pour la science ainsi que d’inventer de nouveaux systèmes d’apprentissage (learning systems). La nouvelle problématique demeure comment la connaissance pourra donner aux hommes et aux femmes le pouvoir de combattre l’injustice, l’exclusion, le mépris des droits humains et le mauvais usage de la nature.

Fusión de la ciencia y de la cultura: llave del siglo XXI

Resumen: Sólo una "nueva alianza" entre la ciencia y la cultura puede asegurar la supervivencia. Como lo demuestra el caso del Japon, modernización no es sinónimo de occidentalización. Sobrepasando el reduccionismo cultural del Occidente, se trata, por medio de la cultura y de sus valores, de descubrir una nueva universalidad para la ciencia y también de inventar nuevos sistemas de aprendizaje (learning systems). La nueva problemática queda en saber de que manera el conocimiento podrá dar a los seres humanos el poder de combatir la pobreza, la exclusión, el desprecio de los derechos humanos y el mal uso de la naturaleza.
Fusion of Science and Culture: Key to the 21st Century*

"Agenda for survival", but survival of whom? and at what cost? The answer to the first question has become, at least in theory, a commonly accepted evidence that humankind will survive together or shall vanish collectively. The answer to "at what cost?" raises more complex and delicate aspects which have to do with values and therefore with culture.

Survival calls for a solidarity in space - "participation" and a solidarity in time "anticipation". The major obstacles to the satisfaction of these prerequisites are (1) the great economic disparities within and among countries and the ensuing social inequity; (2) the hegemony, over the last two hundred years, of the "Western" or "Judeo-Christian" system of socio-cultural values; and (3) ill-adapted learning processes and mental structures to cope with an unprecedented acceleration of history and a very rapid rate of change which call for greater foresight and a much more culturally balanced communication. The basic assumption of the present paper is that survival can not be ensured without a "new alliance" between science and culture to the point of fusion. The industrial revolution has lived on the vision of a society with "two cultures" - the one of science and the one without science. The post industrial society will inevitably overcome this dichotomy as we move from a civilisation of raw materials, production and capital to one of knowledge, information and "immaterialization".

This fusion will raise numerous problems including the reconsideration of the long standing credo concerning the "universality" and the "neutrality" of science. I remember the vivid reactions which I had provoked, over the last quarter century, whenever I questioned this "dogma". Its questioning was essential for the overcoming of an unacceptable equation, namely the one which implies that "modernization" is synonymous with "westernization".

The refusal of this hypothesis is what led me to concentrate my research efforts on future studies, advanced technologies and cultural change, and the case of Japan.

* Excerpted from Mahdi Elmandjra’s intervention at the Canadian Commission for Unesco’s Symposium on Science and Culture for the 21st Century: Agenda for Survival, which approved the Declaration reproduced above (pp.47-50).
I never understood the simplistic and culturally arrogant interpretation which reduced the whole Japanese economic, scientific, technological and cultural advances to a mere "imitation" of the West. Today, things have changed and the development of Japan is more and more understood as an inner process directly linked to specific cultural values.

No other contemporary phenomenon has emphasized the link between science and culture more than the Japanese development model which as all authentic development models is, of course, inimitable. To widen one's understanding of the interfacing of science and culture, it is useful to read the study which the Japanese Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA) published, in 1988, under the title Research Output: Agenda for Japan in the 1990's. This study describes 25 ongoing research projects. Its introduction emphasizes the concept of the "Age of Diverse Civilizations" as the new rationale for the post industrial society:

It has become necessary to look at the world system differently, to put aside a long sustained view of world order based on stratification under American rule. The new world order may be called the Age of Diverse Civilizations, based on the emergence of an age with multiple co-existing civilizations... Although westernization led to progress on a worldwide basis in terms of material civilization, Japan's modernization served as evidence that modernization is different from westernization... In order to accurately ascertain the world system, therefore, it is now necessary to examine closely the inner structure of the multipolarized world... The world is perhaps searching for the possibility of developing pluralistic civilizations in a multipolar world... to deal with its tasks Japan must expand both the time and space dimensions of the concept of self-interest or self-benefit.

I believe that the above quotation sums up the basic elements of the problem of the 21st century. It emphasizes a geo-political rupture with the past, it stresses the role of cultural diversity in a pluralistic world where survival calls for the elimination of all forms of hegemonism. The only thing it leaves out is the sensitive issue of "distribution" - in the case of a country whose total national assets exceeded those of the USA in 1988, this is a serious omission.

The reference to Japanese sources is a form of intellectual protection for someone coming from the Third World who has defended these same theses at a moment when very few Japanese dared to express them with so much clarity and assurance. They help to prepare a setting within which one can examine the relationship between science and culture on the eve of the 21st century.

Science and culture have become the main determinants of the international system. An understanding of science and technology is no longer possible, without a reference to the cultural context, which is first and foremost a by-product of cultural values.

The age of "science for science's sake" and of "art for art's sake" is over. The 21st century will call for a more socio-culturally determined paradigm which
can no longer live under the illusion of the "universality" and the "neutrality" of science and technology. These concepts need new redefinitions to take into account a much broader and universal connotation of what is "universal".

Ilya Prigogine, in his book *The New Alliance* (1979) elaborated on one of his central theses according to which "problems which mark a culture can have an influence on the content of the development of scientific theories". He goes further and says that "it is urgent for science to recognize itself as an integral part of the culture within which its develops". Prigogine has the intellectual honesty and humility to stress the fact that, "science will open itself to the universal when it will stop denying, to consider itself foreign to the preoccupations and of the societies where it will be, at last, capable of a dialogue with the men of all cultures whose questions it will be able to respect".

What better way to illustrate the futility of a "universality" which is ethnocentric and the need to discover a new universal universality for science which can not be attained without going first through culture and cultural values. This is the real price of survival.

Science must make peace with culture and human values. The problem is that arrogance is not in science but only in the cultural context which cultivates that science. In fact, the problem of arrogance is related to perceptions of time and space. The vision of the world and of its future varies according to the cultural time span one uses. If one believes that human civilization can be reduced to two hundred years for its modern period and to two or five thousand years, at most, for its total history then one has to live with a myth which generates arrogance through cultural reductionism.

The problem with "western" culture is that its cultural time span is relatively limited and that it unconsciously or consciously attempts to make up for it by underestimating the time and space of other cultures. It is so imbued by itself and its material successes that it found no place for thinking or feeling how others think and feel. Hence the great problem of cultural communication which is still dominating the contemporary world of knowledge, science and esthetic sensitivity.

The next generations of the Third World are no longer interested in a one way cultural communication. They do not have the complexes of the previous generations which felt that they could not impose themselves intellectually without mastering first the culture of the "others". This effort has led to various forms of cultural alienation which are one of the causes of the economic and scientific underdevelopment of the Third World. The West can no longer count on a "blank cheque" for cultural communication without a minimal counterpart which calls for nothing less than a real mutation. We might thus be able to reduce what Professor Nakamura has called "cultural negativity".

This is why the interfacing of science and culture and the necessity of their
Fusion has become a condition for communication and for survival. This has become a systemic necessity the more so as at the end of the present century, over half people with a training above the Ph.D. level will be of non-Western origin.

This is an irreversible trend due to demographical and other elementary factors. Already in the USA, over half of the new persons who entered the working force in 1988, with a training of Ph.D. level or above, were non-American born. The most basic characteristic of the 21st century will simply be the de-westernization of science and culture - starting with the US.

Over 26 years ago, René Maheu, then Director General of UNESCO, made a statement which is even more valid today, for the concern of our symposium and the future of science, than it was then.

Maheu was not understood by the bureaucratic leadership of the United Nations system either within the international secretariat or among the representatives of the Member States. Had he been, years of time and hundreds of millions of dollars could have been saved by simply giving up the illusion of what is called the "transfer of technology". Maheu, to my knowledge, was the first person to use the concept of "endogenous" development in a socio-cultural context especially when talking about science.

Science can not be transferred because it is a by-product of a cultural process without underestimating the principle of feedback between culture and science. It is the cultural values which determine scientific thought, creativity and innovation. You can not buy or transfer such outputs unless you have the proper cultural inputs which enable you to understand, digest and add endogenous values to such transfers. You never buy technology - you only purchase gadgets. This is why I think that the best definition of development is the one provided by Maheu when he wrote, "Le développement est la science devenue culture". This is what I mean by the fusion of science and culture. Science and technology are not the primordial forces of social change, they are merely the "enzymes" or the accelerators of such a change by the "genes" of change - cultural values.

Cultural values facilitate change through
the "empowerment" of individuals and communities to use the scheme presented by Professor D'Ambrosio - otherwise science and technology can reinforce inequities within the existing divisions of labor. They can also produce a caste system with technocrats who know the "what" but ignore the "how" and "what for" and new masses of scientific illiterates incapable of participating democratically in the decision-making processes which govern the development and financing of science and technology. This is already happening.

We no longer have sufficient time nor the appropriate pedagogical methods to digest and integrate the advances which are made by science and technology. Hence the growing gap between the developments of science and technology and the use of the results of this progress in a socially and culturally relevant manner. A good measure of this gap is to be seen in the rate of scientific and technological change as compared with the inertia of political, economic and socio-cultural institutions in the face of such an evolution.

How can we enter the 21st century with a political philosophy of the 18th century, political institutions of the 19th century including the "nation state" and the myth of "sovereignty", and decision-making processes which may appear to be formally democratic but which were designed for a world which no longer exists except in manuals of constitutional law and international law not to mention the Charter of the United Nations?

These are some of the causes of the under-development of our mental structures and processes and of our incapacity to face the challenges which have been knocking on our doors for more than one or two decades and which are increasing in intensity.

What is quite serious and very preoccupying is that we witness two exceptions with respect to the above analysis: the military sector of the super powers and the transnational firms. The military examines and promotes scientific and technological developments in concrete and operationally destructive terms; it mobilizes and administers the major portion of human and financial resources devoted to science and technology (over 60%).

Thanks to the concepts of "national security" and due to the highly sophisticated nature of their endeavours and the scientific illiteracy of most elected decision-makers, the military sector of the "big" powers is in fact exempt from any truly democratic control and from any reliable evaluation and control. This is maybe one of the partial explanations for the creativity and innovation which scientific and technological research within the military sector is capable of promoting and for the recruitment of so many scientists who do not find the same freedom, facilities and financial means within the existing academic institutions.

The transnational firms, some of which work in very close alliance with the military sector, fully aware of the importance of R&D for the production and
commercialization of goods and the invasion of markets as well as of the value of well trained and competent human resources, have been able to develop very adequate learning processes and managerial methods with minimal intervention from the "nation state".

The reference to these two exceptions is a mere observation and not a value judgment. It shows that change and adequate learning are possible but not in the areas which need it most. It also points out the abdication of "authorized" national and international decision-makers to tackle the new "problematique" of humankind in a global manner, bearing in mind the well being of all.

A problem of cultural values arises when one thinks that it is precisely at a time when the world is going through a crisis of "governance" due to the lack of adequate international "norms and standards", in the physical and moral sense, and to the lack of proper systemic "regulatory" functions with a clear definition of "purpose", that "deregulation" in a neo-liberal fashion is being promoted by the major economic powers and imposed unilaterally by international financing institutions.

My preoccupation with the problem of norms and regulatory functions is free from any ideological bias - it is merely conditioned by a concern for the clarification of purpose as the "raison d'etre" of any system and by a philosophical and operational concern as to who should be involved in the definition of this purpose and the supervision and control of the societal system. Anyone obsessed by the values which "freedom" presupposes can not remain indifferent to a deregulatory process which endangers that freedom through a deformation of its most elementary concept.

We are dealing here with the problematique of a crisis of ethics. Take for example the question of the "debt" of the Third World. How can one not only accept the fact that the USA had a foreign debt of over half a trillion dollars but also "rationally" explain that it is the large debt as well as the amount of budgetary deficit which is attracting foreign funds to the USA and maintaining the level of the dollar; and yet apply completely different criteria when assessing the economic and financial problems of other countries?

The old arguments relating to the economic, financial, agricultural and industrial assets of the USA which were valid a decade ago are no longer so. Japan, in 1988, had total national assets superior to those of the USA with half of the population of the latter. The ten first largest commercial banks of the world are Japanese in a country which has only 58 such banks compared with 14,000 in the USA. The first 13 banks of Japan totalize a market capitalization of over half a trillion dollars (the same amount as the foreign debt of the USA) whereas 50 US banks totalize less than 100 billions (Wall Street Journal, 11.09.89). These statistics are only meant to show that there are no longer "rational" criteria for assessing the world economic and financial situation.
I maintain that the problem is of an ethical and normative nature and therefore one of cultural values more than of economic values if we look at things in a systemic and purposive manner having in mind the main preoccupation of the theme of this symposium - "An Agenda for Survival".

A vivid illustration of the cultural crisis we are living in close connection with the developments of science in the field of nuclear energy can be found in the Report of the Conference for the Promotion of International Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy, held in Geneva (March-April 1987). The following passage from that report speaks for itself:

Extensive efforts were made by the Conference to reach an agreement on principles universally acceptable for international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy... despite its efforts, the Conference was unable to reach an agreement on principles universally acceptable for international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

This is symptomatic of the lack of agreement about "purpose" in a world which has been radically transformed by science and technology but has not proven capable of making the necessary regulatory and normative adaptations which this transformation entails.

It is maybe one of the major crisis of science and technology as well as of culture: a crisis of purpose, values, norms and standards. A crisis for which neither science nor technology are responsible but one which is accentuating inequities within and between countries, leading to the marginalization of a vast majority of people in the North as well as in the South. A crisis which is at the basis of the widening of the North-South gap wherein the South accounts for less than 10% of the scientific and technological activities of the world and for only about 5% of the total expenditures on R&D. According to the "STI Review" of the OECD (Autumn 1986), three quarters of world technology trade is between OECD countries and is dominated by transnational firms.

The redefinition of the purpose of science and technology on a planetary scale has become one of the fundamental conditions of the new democracy which is needed to face the challenges of the 21st century. The absence of a universal consensus on cultural values, norms and standards has biased the use of science and technology for productivity and profit with very little concern for the harnessing of these powerful instruments of change in favor of more meaningful and purposive actions. This preoccupation does not seem to figure among the priorities of decision-makers in the North nor in the South.

Thanks to a manifest lack of foresight, the models of development which are promoted throughout the world, directly and with the help of "aid" in the case of Third World countries, emphasize growth and productivity. The methods and the means used to attain these objectives disempower the citizens by considering them as mere components of a chain of production. The new
problematique facing science and technology as well as culture is to see how the knowledge at our disposal can be used to empower human beings to combat poverty, misery, social injustice, marginalization, the disrespect of human dignity and human rights as well as the overuse and abuse of nature and its finite resources.

One of the cultural consequences of scientific development is that it has rendered "disciplines" quite obsolete especially if we think of the latest theories which concern "order" and "disorder" in the physical world and which are leading to a new metadiscipline known as "chaotics" which has no place for the feudalism and imperialism of the academic disciplines which compartmentalize knowledge according the boundaries which have become totally artificial. This is the basis of the epistemological crisis which ought to find some workable solutions before we enter the 21st century.

We must overcome the nationalistic boundaries between the "hard and fundamental" sciences, on the one hand, and the "soft social and human sciences". Peace must be made with philosophy which no longer pretends to be a "primus inter pares" among the fields of knowledge.

We must attempt to construct a new transdisciplinary approach based on the complementary of the different realms of comprehension as well as of intuition so as to consciously and comprehensively overcome the limits of "rationality" which have imprisoned the human mind within a closed and monolithic system and reduced to a critical point the positive role of cultural diversity. Professor McLaren has sufficiently insisted on the dangers of the "reduction of diversity" to dispense to dwell on it even if I consider it of vital importance not only for living species but equally for cultural values.

The problem of diversity which the biological and ecological models are emphasizing today is equally important at the cultural level. It is an essential prerequisite for the attainment of meaningful universality. It is an eco-ethical problem which affects man, nature and the "new alliance" between the two which is the most essential condition for survival.

The fusion of science and culture is the only reliable path for a survival in dignity - and not just at any cost determined by others. It is the way for rediscovering harmony in order as well as in disorder, in the physical as well as the spiritual realms. It is the key not only to the 21st century but also for the peace of man with himself as well as with the environment. It is the highway for the expansion of the mind and of the heart; of knowledge and love; and of humility, modesty and humor which may help to prevent us from taking ourselves so seriously as to forget what our purpose is on this planet.

As we are still in a phase of "cultural negativity" which has forced me to express myself with constant references to "western" thinkers so as to be "understood" - even if I am fully aware
of the limits of my comprehension of the systems of values of cultures other than my own - let me conclude this paper with another quotation from a man who has made an effort to beyond the limits of narrow cultural boundaries. In an article entitled "L’éloge de l’instabilité", Ilya Prigogine outlines a possible and optimistic approach to a more universal cultural unity in the following terms:

D'où la conclusion essentielle que je voudrais tirer de cet exposé, à savoir que le XXe siècle apporte l'espoir d'une unité culturelle, d'une vision non-réductrice, plus globale. Les sciences ne reflètent pas l'identité statique d'une raison à laquelle il faudrait se soumettre ou résister; elles participent à la création du sens au même titre que l'ensemble des pratiques humaines. Elles ne peuvent nous dire à elles seules ce qu'est l'homme, la nature ou la société. Elles explorent une réalité complexe, qui associe de manière inextricable ce que nous opposons sous les registres de l'être et du devoir-être (Libération, 25.01.89).

My last word will take the form of a most friendly warning and of an outcry of love to those who are part of the Western culture which has so greatly contributed to the contemporary positive as well as negative developments of science and technology and which represent an overall remarkable achievement in the history of humankind. I would like, with all due modesty and in a manner which does not concern my own person, to stress the fact that I am part of a Third World species which will soon disappear. A species which has always gone out of its way to the point of taking the risk of losing its own identity and its cultural genetic code in a relentless effort to understand and communicate with the "other" but which too rarely receives an understandable echo or a meaningful feedback.

The upcoming generations of the Third World are not likely to pursue such a frustrating and often intellectually and spiritually degrading effort because there are limits to the cultural abnegation and to a cultural masochism which can lead to alienation. They no longer have any reason to do it as their self-confidence is certainly higher than the one of the generations preceded them and because they already have and will exponentially increase their hold on world knowledge. Regardless of the geographical location where they live or shall live, they will carry with them consciously or unconsciously a set of cultural values which will inevitably have a determining impact on the development of science and technology in the 21st century.

Time is very short for the conclusion of a cultural peace with the help of science and technology and not of scientifically illiterate politicians. Every delay in the conclusion of such peace will systematically increase the social cost of political, economic and social change on a planetary scale. This is also a major item on the "Agenda for Survival".
Environment and Sustainable Development

Reflections on the Brundtland Report, Our Common Future

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Abstract: The Brundtland Report is too cautious, internally contradictory, neglects the impact of transnational corporations and ignores the role of women. It proposes that economic growth continues everywhere. Thus it negates its own goal of a more just international development; growth has not benefitted the poor; it implies the further deterioration of the environment and the increase of waste of natural resources. If the concept of sustainable development, which is the core notion of the report, is to be taken seriously, the whole philosophy of economics and the characteristics of cultivation economy need to be studied. The role of the unpaid labor, primarily that of women, as well as nonmonetized subsistence and household economies should be recognized as an integral part of human economy.

Environnement et développement durable

Résumé: Le Rapport Brundtland est trop prudent, abonde en contradictions internes, néglige l'impact des entreprises transnationales et ignore le rôle des femmes. Il propose la poursuite de la croissance économique universelle; s'opposant ainsi à son objectif d'un développement international plus équitable; la croissance n'a pas profité aux pauvres; elle implique la continuation de la détérioration de l'environnement et du gaspillage des ressources naturelles. Si le concept de "développement durable", qui est la notion centrale du Rapport, doit être pris au sérieux, c'est toute la philosophie de l'économie et les caractéristiques de l'économie de culture qu'il faut étudier. Le rôle de travail non-payé, à commencer par celui des femmes, ainsi que l'économie de subsistance non-monétaire et celle des ménages doivent être reconnus comme partie intégrante de l'économie humaine.

Medio ambiente y desarrollo durable

Resumen: El Informe Brundtland es demasiado cauto, abunda en contradicciones, hace poco caso del impacto de las empresas transnacionales e ignora el papel de las mujeres. Propone la continuación de la crecimiento económica universal, oponiéndose así a su objetivo para un desarrollo internacional más equitativo; el crecimiento no ha favorecido a los pobres, implica el deterioro continuo del medio (pasa a la página 70)
Environment and Sustainable Development*

The report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*, succeeded in making environmental issues a world concern. This has been, to a great extent, due to the energetic work of the Commission's chairperson, Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway. It came none too soon, and hopefully in time. Awareness of the rapid deterioration of the environment was, however, already strongly expressed in the documents adopted at the United Nations Conference on Human Environment in 1972, and in the World Conservation Strategy prepared by UNEP, IUCN and WWF in 1980.

It is regrettable that the message was not taken seriously in the early 1970's because then it would have been so much easier to handle the issues and at least some of the perhaps irreparable damage which has taken place since then would have been avoided. But is the Brundtland Report more acceptable than its predecessors because of its moderation, or has the situation finally become so bad that hardly anyone can deny the seriousness of the problems?

A lot of lip service is paid to the WCED Report without a proper read ing to see what is in the report and what it lacks. Nordic countries are often referred to as having accepted and taken the report most favourably. This only reflects the official points of view of these countries concerning the report. There is, however, a lot of criticism of the report in these countries as well, not because of what the report says, but primarily because it is considered too cautious, internally contradictory, and because it ignores the role of women in the management of environmental issues and in their potential to be agents of change in a new direction.

**Limits to growth**

It is quite generally agreed that the WCED Report does assess the situation accurately but the recommendations of what should be done, and how, are not consistent with the drastic diagnosis. This weakness is probably due either to political considerations or to a lack of analysis and insight, or both.

The approach of the Commission is the prevailing one: Nature is seen only as the property of humankind, as resources and raw materials for the economic activity. The relationship of man and nature is not discussed and thus the consideration of ethical and aesthetic aspects of this relationship are also

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* Paper presented at the Africa-Europe Encounter, Porto Novo (Benin), 31.08. - 03.09.89. (Cf. IFDA Dossier 75, p77)
The underlying notion seems to be man as Lord of Nature, rather than as a part of living nature.

Recognition of the value of living nature and of nature as an environment of culture and human existence is totally missing. Also missing is all history of development, and analyses: how and why we arrived at where we are now. The consequences are recognized, but the causes are not sought or studied. The roots of maldevelopment remain untouched. This is perhaps one of the reasons that the recommendations are so poor.

The harshest criticism the report has received has been because of its stand concerning economic growth. It proposes continuous economic growth everywhere, in rich as well as poor countries, and has even made it a prerequisite of sustainable development. This notion is not consistent with existing knowledge about and experience of international development. The growth of the rich has not benefited the poor.

The Brundtland Commission makes a similar mistake as the report to the Club of Rome, Limits to Growth made in the 1970's. The report did not distinguish where economic growth should be halted and where it is still necessary for a long time. The WCED report makes the same mistake but in reverse; it does not separate industrialized countries from Third World countries, but proposes that economic growth continue everywhere. Thus it negates its own goal of more just international development.

Economic growth - the growth of production and consumption of goods - in rich countries today and in the future only implies increasing waste of natural resources and destruction of the environment, and by no means sustainable development. Enrichment of contemporarily rich countries and sustainable development are mutually exclusive goals. The damage done by an unabated and indiscriminate economic growth cannot be restored by additional growth.

Seemingly, for obvious reasons - the relationships of the commissioners with their political and other background structures - there is very little discussion about power systems, which maintain and aggravate unsustainable growth everywhere. The Commission makes suggestions to governments and intergovernmental agencies, but ducks the key issues, like the power of transnational corporations, which operate without impediment through international trade. Transnational corporations efficiently utilize international disparities and do not care about the environment of any country. They barely follow the legal provisions for the protection of nature in countries where there are such provisions, and skillfully transport hazardous production and waste into countries where environmental legislature is poor or not well monitored.

In the field of security and environment, the Commission expresses itself quite boldly and unambiguously. It recognizes the connection between nuclear power and the proliferation of nuclear weapons and it does not trust the IAEA as an organization to control the development
of nuclear technology for so-called 'peaceful uses'. "We recommend in the strongest terms the construction of an effective international regime covering all dimensions of the (nuclear) problem... This should be quite separate from the role of IAEA in promoting nuclear energy". This is a clear vote of no-confidence for the IAEA and a serious warning against visualizing nuclear power as a solution to energy problems.

What is sustainable development?

The core notion of the WCED Report is 'sustainable development'. This is defined by the Commission as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". According to the Commission, it contains two key concepts:

- the concept of 'needs', in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given;
- the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs.

With the first point, the Commission assumes a rightful goal of more just global development. But the second point seems to be reversed. Is it not rather the environment, the terms of living nature, which set the limits, and not the state of technology and social organization? To a laywoman, this point seems to indicate that the Commission has stumbled over its words in its very basic definition. How can this have happened?

This definition of the main concepts does express a goal of sustainable development, but it says nothing about the conditions and modes of operation by which this type of development would become a reality. The basic theory or philosophy of sustainable development is missing in the report and thus the entire concept is left hanging in midair.

The issue is naturally the relationship of humanity with nature - the relationship of human economy today, particularly industrial economy with the economy of nature, i.e. ecology. Here the notion of sustainable development bumps heads with economics as a science, which does not count nature until it is converted into money: raw materials, work of extraction or cultivation and even damage is counted in national economics only as it entails the use of money. Still, development thinking is primarily - almost exclusively - based on this inadequate economics. Therefore, the whole of economics needs to be rethought for the purposes of sustainable development.

Inadequate economics

One major shortcoming of prevailing economics is its inability to distinguish the cultivation economy from the extraction or industrial economy. Cultivation economy means all work and production which operates on living things
like plants, trees and animals, i.e. living resources. This economy produces basic commodities in cooperation with living nature. Agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fishing and all indigenous livelihoods belong to this type of economy. It can also be called a living system.

*Extraction economy* is primarily based on nonrenewable natural resources, minerals and fossils, which are dead materials extracted from the earth. This is the basis of industrial economy, though the raw materials produced by cultivation economy are also manufactured by industry. This economy is hardly dependent on the terms of living nature, thus its productivity and efficiency can be developed almost endlessly. Its driving force is profitability. (It can also be called a *dead economy* or simply a *money economy*.)*

When the terms of this extraction economy are applied to the cultivation economy, and the same demands of efficiency and productivity set on agriculture and husbandry as on industry, the system is bound to run into difficulties. National and international economies have been run in this way for as long as any intentional economic policies have been exercised. This is the main reason that the world economy is in the situation it is in today.

The existing cultivation economies - both the major proportion of Third World countries as primarily agricultural producers, and the agriculture of industrialized countries - are in unsurmountable trouble. Third World countries have fallen into enormous debt and regression. Agriculture in industrialized countries, in spite of the application of the most advanced technology and significant subsidies, is about to collapse from debt and the effects of insync cultivation practices. This may also be one of the basic reasons for the rapid emigration of people from rural areas and thus for the unmanageable growth of urban problems. Ultimately, all these consequences fall upon the environment and destroy the foundation of cultivation economy and human economy as a whole.

Another basic shortcoming of the prevailing economics is its total omission of unpaid labour and production in the *household* and *subsistence economies*. These economies are, in fact, the *direct production of the welfare of people*. All other welfare, provided with private or public funds, is indirect. This non-monetary part of a household, or family economy, is also extremely relevant from the sustainable development point of view. Originally, this economy was very prudent in its use of resources - due to plain necessity - and in many countries much of the traditional know-how of life and economy, with due respect to nature, has been preserved. Indeed, the environmental movements, particularly in many Third World countries, are extensively based on this knowledge.

We have good reason to question whether economies become more destructive as they become more monetized. Monetization also means a transference of power from people to impersonal collective structures. Industrializa-
tion and monetization of life have always, no matter where, implied the disempowerment of women.

Another important point is made by Ali Mazrui in his recent paper (1988)6: "On the whole, capitalism has become more masculine as it became more internationalized; it also became more masculine as it became more mechanized". One can add that both of these processes have also made capitalist economies, and others as well, more and more insensitive to ecological aspects.

All this is also built into the background of the basic commodity negotiations and Uruguay-Round of GATT negotiations. The conciliations between the basic commodity producers, the cultivation economies, and industrialized extraction economies is, because of their different natures, almost impossible.

When Third World countries, with their basic commodities, try to compete in world trade with the manufactured products of extraction economies, the end results are only further impoverishment of the poor, aggravation of food problems, and the deterioration of the environment becoming totally unmanageable. And still, the conditions of IMF and the World Bank virtually force Third World countries in this direction.

Food or commodities?

International trade is the main battlefield of economic relations between South and North. There have been two aspects absent during all negotiations in UNCTAD and GATT, as well as concerning all commodity issues. One disregarded aspect is the special nature of all cultivation production; in trade, agricultural products are considered equal to minerals and fossils. The second totally disregarded fact is the nutritional importance of the commodity; food products are dumped in the same category as pulp and paper, tobacco and coffee. Hence, people's basic needs have been risked to increase export income.

This kind of undiversified thinking in trade is certainly one consequence of the prevailing economic thought, where the leading principle is solely the monetary value of exchange. All business interactions are taking place as if the participating partners - companies, government delegations, international experts, etc. - were blind to the superior importance of products necessary for human life and the preservation of nature. The inability to solve the food problems in Third World countries is, to quite an extent, a consequence of this very blindness of the prevailing economic and business mechanisms.

Particularly shocking are the views, strongly emphasized in the fora of international trade negotiations, that industrialized countries should stop all support to their agriculture and lift the import barriers to allow Third World countries' agricultural products easier access to the markets of rich countries. This is fine perhaps for everything else, but not for products of basic need.

Concerning food, it would mean that rich industrialized countries would give
up their own food production and instead import food from the South, where cheap and hungry labor will produce food for rich and fat Northerners. It would perhaps make food cheaper for us in the North - in spite of additional transportation and processing costs - but too expensive for the people who grow it. This will not promote sustainable development anywhere; neither will it bring about more just distribution of wealth!

Two questions arise: Would this be sensible use of land in the South? Would it be sensible to make industrialized countries totally dependent on the food production of the Third World? This could lead to a shifting of hunger problems, in the not so distant future, to the North, or to such an increase in food prices on the world market that those Third World countries importing food would starve even worse than ever.

In a recent study by IIASA, *Towards Free Trade in Agriculture*, the conclusion is "that most OPEC countries would gain significant economic benefits over the next decade from a GATT Uruguay-Round agreement to reduce their agricultural tariffs and quotas, but many developing countries would suffer as a consequence". Higher world market prices can benefit Third World countries exporting agricultural products, but they will contribute to hunger to those importing agricultural products.

"Net benefits... are the sum of positive effects on farmers producing for the market (the larger ones, usually) and negative effects on consumers (many of whom are poor and at the margin of minimum food needs)."

To speak in general about the agricultural products of the South is very confusing. One should diversify into at least the following categories of agricultural products: raw materials for industry (cotton, rubber, jute, timber, etc); luxuries, primarily for Northern markets (coffee, tea, tobacco, cocoa, sugar, etc); food or feed products (grain, rice, fruits, meat, groundnuts, soya, etc). Particular attention should be focused on the second category which takes huge areas of the best arable land but are no one's basic need.

From a basic human point of view, these categories vary in importance. If food production were a universal priority, as it should be, food problems would have been solved a long time ago. However, since priorities are defined according to the commercial value of products, the world's food problems constantly persist. Meaningful priorities and prices do not usually coincide! Products of basic need should be cheap and easily available to everyone and luxury products should be so expensive that only a small proportion of the land used for them today would be able to produce the same income. Food should not in principle be an ordinary commodity at all, but a utility secured for everyone.

This is approximately what a *nutritional perspective of trade* would imply. From the basic needs point of view, every country should be as self-reliant as possible in the satisfaction of basic
needs. Self-reliant food production in industrialized countries would mean that imported input should be decreased to a minimum, as should chemical fertilizers and industrially produced feed for animals. If and when cultivation and production become ecologically as sound as possible, surpluses will vanish and thus so will the need to export to the world market. World trade would then consist primarily of products of secondary importance, which will not make countries fatally dependent upon each other.

The Brundtland Commission still believes in the benefits of free trade and the comparative advantage of markets without distinction of the varying importance of different products. The concept of the New International Economic Order is not mentioned at all.

Women's perspective

When we speak about basic needs and nutrition we already have a women's perspective on development. Particularly in Africa, women are in a key position to provide food for people and to take responsibility for a major part of agricultural work in general. They also have a very prominent role in the so-called informal economy, which seems to be a lifeline when formal economy faces major difficulties. If women had the power to set priorities in production and trade, the basic needs of people and the self-reliance of the country would get the emphasis they deserve.

The export-oriented development in many countries has, however, been very detrimental to women in recent years. Women's access to land has diminished and thus it has become more and more difficult for them to provide food for their families. They often have to do most of the work, even on the cash-crop producing fields, without appropriate tools and training. Development for them has meant more work, less food, and no money, as usual!

Women in the South have the closest link with the environment, with water, land and forests. They are the ones who directly suffer because of the deterioration of the environment. Lack of clean water and the increasing distances from which water must be carried and firewood collected are the everyday reality of rural women in many countries. Still their pivotal position in relation to nature has not been recognized in the WCED report, nor in the Environmental Perspectives to the Year 2000 and Beyond.

When one does recognize the role of women in environmental issues, it may be misinterpreted, as has been the case with firewood. The use of firewood by families is sometimes considered a major reason for deforestation. According to e.g. the first update of the UN World Survey on the Role of Women in Development, this assumption is false. "The collection of fuelwood in rural areas is not a major cause of deforestation. The main causes are large scale lumbering, agricultural expansion, over-use of existing agricultural land, burning of forests to encourage fodder growth, and over-grazing. Rapid urban growth also puts pressure on land". This new
World Survey sheds a lot of new light on issues concerning women and the environment. Thanks to women’s research, there is a great deal of evidence today about the commonality of the fate of women and nature. Techno-industrial development, with capital accumulation as a paramount aim, has been and continues to be constantly disastrous for both. Women and nature have been seen as resources to be utilized and exploited, even raped. Therefore, women’s approach to nature and life is also very different than that of the Lords of Nature. It is based on women’s experiences of life as well as experiences of the process of so-called development. It therefore stems from a very different world view and system of values. Well-known examples of this approach are the work of women of the Chipko movement in India, the Greenbelt movement in Kenya and many others.7

The international women’s movement is the biggest alternative movement in the world today. The subtle, often unconscious women’s culture could be a rich, untapped and fresh source of values, practices and skills for alternative development, where people and nature would be treated with the respect and care they are due.8 Therefore, it is a great pity that such an authoritative report, as the WCED report, omits the potentiality of women’s culture to provide practical and philosophical recipes for sustainable development.

A suggestion
In international debate there sometimes appears the notion that the concerns about the environment in the process of development are new tricks of industrialized countries to hamper the progress of the South. There are also real indications that rich countries - or rather companies from these countries - have exported and continue their attempts to export some of their environmental problems to the Third World. But in fact, we all know today’s environmental problems are universal. The issues are both drought, desertification and erosion in the Third World and the creeping death of the forests, increasing pollution of the air, and acidity of lakes and rivers in the North. The greenhouse-effect and damage to the ozone layer threaten us all, not to mention the pile-up of holocaust weapons.

"The time has come to break out of past patterns. Attempts to maintain social and ecological stability through old approaches... will increase instability", says the World Commission on Environment and Development.

Personally, I am convinced that, if the concept of sustainable development is going to be taken seriously, the whole philosophy of economic needs to be reconsidered. I suggest that at least the following steps should be taken in the fields of research and policy:

1. Further work on identification of the distinct characteristics and conditions of three main components/sectors of human economy:
   - the unpaid labor in the households and subsistence economies for direct production of human welfare;
• the cultivation of renewable natural resources, i.e. the production based on living potential of nature;

• the extraction and processing of nonrenewable natural resources, and processing the products of cultivation economy.

2. Research and analysis of the interplay and dynamics between these three areas of the totality of human economy

3. Development of new methods and measures for taking these components of human economy into consideration in economic planning and policy making with due respect to their distinct characteristics and needs, and with the view of achieving sustainable development.

References


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ambiente y el derroche de los recursos naturales. Si el concepto de desarrollo durable, que es la noción principal del Informe, debe ser considerado seriamente, es toda la filosofía de la economía y las características de la economía de cultivación que es necesario estudiar. El papel del trabajo no retribuido incluyendo lo de las mujeres, y también la subsistencia non-monetaria y la economía de las familias, deben ser considerados como parte integrante de la economía humana.
A Rejection of the Brundtland Report

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Abstract: The author argues that the Brundtland Report is a regressive document which reinforces the belief that growth and affluence are necessary to solve problems related to the environment. Although it offers a valuable documentation on these problems, the Report is inadequate when it comes to analysis, causes and prescriptions. It fails to identify the fundamental causes of the problems and as a result it puts forward solutions which are the direct opposite of those required. It is a conventional statement that argues for continuation of the same old basic values, systems and strategies - those which are of the very roots of the problems the Report was intending to offer solutions to.

Contre le Rapport Brundtland

Résumé: L’auteur rejette le Rapport Brundtland, qu’il voit comme un ouvrage régressif, propre à renforcer l’illusion que la croissance et la richesse sont nécessaires pour résoudre les problèmes de l’environnement. Bien qu’il fournisse des informations valables sur ces problèmes, le Rapport est insuffisant dans l’analyse, les causes et les prescriptions. Il n’identifie pas les causes fondamentales des problèmes et par conséquent il offre des solutions qui vont directement à l’encontre de celles qui sont nécessaires. C’est une déclaration conventionnelle qui plaide pour la continuation de valeurs de systèmes et de stratégies dépassées - celles-là même qui sont à la source des problèmes auquel le Rapport devrait apporter des solutions.

Contra el Informe Brundtland

Resumen: El autor rechaza el Informe Brundtland, que lo ve como una obra regresiva, propia a acentuar la ilusión en que el crecimiento económico y la riqueza son necesarios para resolver los problemas del medio ambiente. Aunque da informaciones valiosas sobre estos problemas, el Informe es insuficiente en el análisis, las causas y las prescripciones. No identifica las causas fundamentales de los problemas y por consiguiente propone soluciones que van directamente en contra de las que se imponen. Es una declaración convencional que liga para la continuación de valores, de sistemas y de estrategias dejadas atrás, las mismas que están al origen de los problemas a los cuales el Informe debería traer las soluciones.
A Rejection of the Brundtland Report

The Brundtland Report, Our Common Future, contains a number of valuable and encouraging elements, especially its documentation of the current state of various problems, its recognition that major problems are closely interrelated and its concern for achieving sustainable development. However, when it comes to analysis, causes and prescriptions, the Report is grossly inadequate.

The discussion is superficial and lacking in substance. The Report fails to identify and analyse the fundamental causes of our problems and as a result it puts forward solutions that are the direct opposite of those required. The Report constitutes an enthusiastic and unquestioning reaffirmation of the system, lifestyles and values that are causing the problems under discussion. It purports to be critical and innovative but it is an entirely conventional statement; it argues for continuation, indeed acceleration of the same old basic values, systems and strategies. This is most evident and mistaken with respect to its unquestioning acceptance of: a) the free enterprise and market oriented global economic system, b) the "indiscriminate growth and trickle down" approach to Third World development, and c) the affluent lifestyles and resource-expensive social systems characteristic of the rich countries. (Occasionally the Report makes statements apparently denying such commitments but these are contrary to its overwhelming thrust.)

Despite being compiled by a team of academics, UN officials and ministers of state, and involving three years of high level consultations, world travel and public hearings in many countries, the Report gives no indication that its contributors have any familiarity with the now-vast literature on the "limits to growth", the "New Economics", or appropriate development theory and practice. For two decades this literature has increasingly identified the global market system, the conventional development strategy and the "growth and greed" commitments evident in the rich countries as the essential causes of the many grave trends and problems which the Brundtland Report is concerned about. In total contradiction to this literature, the Report's central recommendation is to simply call for more and faster economic growth. There is no discussion of the view that the growth strategy has failed to serve the world's poor majority, that it has delivered most of the world's wealth to the rich few, especially the industrialised countries, or that the solution has to involve rich countries moving to much lower per capita levels of production and consumption and resource use.

The limits to growth literature argues that solutions to the problems Brundtland is concerned about can only come from radical "de-development" on the part of the presently over-grown economies towards a conservner society involv-
ing far lower GNP and per capita resource use rates, and radical redistribution of world wealth. Yet in the Brundtland Report there is almost no hint that the rich countries might be the overgrown countries, nor that their lifestyles might involve outrageous levels of overproduction, nor that their hogging is the main cause of the Third World’s problems, nor that they should radically redistribute world wealth. Indeed the solution the Report offers is to goad the rich and overconsuming countries to become even richer; again their essential solution is simply more growth. They say it must be qualitatively acceptable growth e.g., it must not harm the environment, but this is one of the many glib "motherhood" statements that conceal huge difficulties, and indeed impossibilities; it is nonsense to suggest that there can be maintenance of present levels of economic activity in rich countries, let alone growth, without accelerating and catastrophic environmental destruction. There is no reference to the literature arguing that growth impoverishes the majority, that it preempts and prohibits appropriate development, and that it inevitably results in massive resource wastage and environmental destruction.

Hence the document is thoroughly conventional and conservative. The confident impression is given throughout that we can make it within the present global economic system if we just undertake relatively minor reforms, and try harder. Radical change in our economic and cultural systems and in our lifestyles are not necessary and there is no need to rethink our commitments to affluent living standards, to maximising the amount of business turnover and economic growth. Just when it is becoming widely understood that the conventional development strategy has been a catastrophic failure and the need for radically different approaches is becoming evident, the much publicised Brundtland Report is reinforcing commitment to affluence and growth, the basic sources of our predicament.

Also remarkable for a document on development is the fact that it makes no reference to the appropriate development literature and reveals no insight into the essential elements of appropriate development. Most characteristics of appropriate development can be defined in direct contradiction to aspects of conventional growth and trickle down theory. In general, if resources go into ventures that will maximise the rate of economic growth they will definitely not go into ventures that will do most to meet the basic needs of the poor majority. Appropriate development requires development resources to be put mostly into ventures that will add little or nothing to the GNP, or will reduce it (e.g., by making villagers more self-sufficient and independent of the national economy).

The following sections document generalisations by examining the Report’s discussions of particular sub-problems.

The environment

The Report’s description of the environmental problem is valuable, especially its account of habitat degradation and
the consequent loss of species. However, there is almost no analysis of causes or implications. As is typical of the discussion of other problems in the Report, the impression is given that all we need is more effort and better policies, laws and institutions, not system change.

The Report conveys no recognition of the clash between environmental concerns and affluent and growth-obsessed way of life characteristic of the industrialised countries. There is no reference to the analyses that we cannot solve the environmental problem unless we undertake fundamental change to much lower per capita use rates for minerals, fuels, timber, water, etc. A glance at relevant figures on resources available and environmental impacts shows how very difficult it is to conclude that even present levels of consumption can be sustained.1

Yet, the Brundtland Report calls for economic growth and asserts that it is possible at the same time to "enhance" and "expand the environmental resource base" (p xii, 364). Take for example the Greenhouse problem. This is largely due to the gases released in the rich countries by burning some 5 billion tons of fossil fuels p.a., most2 of it going into the production of goods that are unnecessarily elaborate and into avoidable energy-intensive procedures (e.g., our food production and distribution system). It is difficult to suggest how our present living standards can be kept going through the next century without risking catastrophic atmospheric damage - yet Brundtland urges economic growth and increased material living standards. If an economy were to grow at 3% p.a. for 70 years, it would then be churning out 8 times as much p.a. as it was in the first year.

Brundtland's response to this dilemma and to similar ones arising in the energy and resource domains, is simply to assert that these problems will be solved by the increasing efficiency of energy and resource use. "Such growth rates could be environmentally sustainable if industrialised nations can continue the recent shifts in the content of their growth towards less material and energy-intensive activities and the improvement of their efficiency in using materials and energy." (p51) Indeed we can actually have economic growth while "enhancing" and expanding the resource and environment base. (pp.1, 364) No quantitative argument is given for this crucial claim. It is a premise on which the Report's recommendations are entirely dependent and if it is invalid then the correct path lies in precisely the opposite direction to that the Report urges.

At present, gains are indeed being made in the efficiency use of energy, resource and environmental inputs, but despite these, the problems are rapidly growing more serious. The Greenhouse effect, acid rain, salinity, ozone depletion, forest loss, desertification, soil loss etc., are all growing worse at an accelerating rate despite the advances in pollution control and the efficiency of materials and energy use. If the loss of species continues to accelerate at present rate, 1-10 per day but rising through 150
per day by 2010, then by the year 2050 all species will have been eliminated!
The energy cost of obtaining minerals and energy is rising at 2-3% p.a. in the long term. (Chapman and Roberts, 1983 Trainer, 1985, Chap 2, 10) with huge jumps almost certainly ahead (e.g., transitions to solar or fusion sources: see Lovins, 1975, pp28-30, Ehrlich, Ehrlich and Holdren, 1977, p485, de Montbrial, 1979, p25).

In other words, we would need far greater advances in efficiency and productivity than are presently being achieved in order to hold environmental damage to its present rate, let alone to reduce it sufficiently to have increasing GNP and living standards along with a secure environment. Yet the Report calls for 3-4% p.a. growth in the economies of the resource consuming and environment damaging rich countries, meaning 8-16 times present annual levels of output and environmental impact by 2060. To put this another way, in the year 2060, we would still be inflicting the same (intolerable) amount of damage on the environment that we are inflicting now every year, even if advances in pollution control technology cut impact per unit of output to 1/8-1/16 its present rate. (The outlook would be much worse if we were to take into account the inevitable rises in resource, energy and environment costs of many processes, such as refining poorer ores.)

Energy

In its discussion of the energy problem, the Report does acknowledge that it would be impossible to extend the per capita rate of energy use characteristic of the rich countries to all the people the world is likely to have by 2050 (p59), which it says would mean 5 times the present total energy production (p14, 170). Indeed, doubt is cast on the possibility of even doubling the present level (p14). But the Report then fails to face up to the implication of this crucial point. All difficulties are glossed over by re-stating the efficiency panacea; "Any new era of economic growth must therefore be less energy intensive than growth in the past" (p14). Consider what the statement means in quantitative terms. If we are to have 11 billion people in the world sharing equally twice the present world energy production, then per capita use would have to average about 25% of the present consumption in rich countries (Americans would have to get by on 1/6 their present per capita use).

Current energy efficiency initiatives are reducing energy use per unit of GNP but this is not very significant. What matters is that total levels of energy use are rising, even in an era of low economic growth. The Report urges the rich countries to strive for 3-4% p.a. economic growth, a rate which would double GNP each 20 years, so the unexamined assumption is that by 2050 energy use efficiency could be at least 8-16 times present levels, and could continue to double each 20 years thereafter.

A similarly inadequate analysis is given of alternative/renewable energy sources. Virtually no quantitative supporting argument is given for reassuring con-
clusions such as, "... given innovative development they (alternatives) could supply the same amount of primary energy the planet now consumes." (p15) and "A safe, environmentally sound and economically viable energy pathway that will sustain human progress into the distant future is clearly imperative. It is also possible." All that is need is "... new dimensions of political will and institutional cooperation." (p202) The gigantic problems and assumptions involved in these conclusions are not examined. One review of the potential in renewable sources (Trainer, 1984 and 1985, Chap 4) concluded that given some difficult assumptions, renewable energy (excluding wood) sources will probably be able to provide only 1/5 of the present amount of energy consumed in the world which is 1/50 the amount that would be required if all people were to use as much energy as people in rich countries currently use per capita. Various analyses have concluded that there is no realistic chance of renewables plus remaining fossil fuels providing present rich world energy use per capita to all (Trainer, 1985, Chap 3 & 4). Again, it is irresponsible for the Brundtland Report firstly to neglect any quantitative discussion of these issues and secondly to leave the reader with the clear impression that there is no need for people in the overconsuming countries to change their ways and no need to radically restructure the global economy. A number of recent works have concluded that there is no solution to these problems apart from accepting the need for the overgrown countries to move down to far lower rates of resource and energy use per capita, i.e., to undertake fundamental change in their economic systems and their lifestyles, towards a conserver society.3

Resources

There is fleeting reference to the "dangerously rapid consumption of finite resources." (p5), but no need for radical measures is seen, let along "de-development" to frugal conserver lifestyles. We merely need "... new policies in urban development, industry location, housing design..." etc. (p59) Again technical advance and the increased efficiency of use will solve the problem. "The history of technical developments also suggests that industry can adjust to scarcity through greater efficiency in use, recycling and substitutes." (p59) Virtually no supporting evidence or discussion is given, either of resource estimates or the diminishing returns to technical advance, despite the existence of considerable reason for rejecting these claims. Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 10 of Abandon Affluence! (Trainer, 1985) are devoted to these issues and argue that technology is falling behind the main problems; e.g., that the resource and energy costs of producing food, minerals, energy etc. is increasing.

Industry

The Report's essential prescription for the solution of the Third World's problems is more industrial development. In fact, it is said that a 5 to 10 fold increase in manufacturing capacity will be needed. There is no discussion of whether this is possible, necessary, what it would mean for the environment, re-
source and energy problems, or whether industry can cope with the unemployment problem. Above all, there is no discussion of where the increased Third World exports are supposed to be sold in a world of chronic gluts, protection and trade wars with even the richest countries struggling to solve their huge deficit and balance of trade problems by increasing exports.

Development

On no issue is the Report as seriously mistaken on Third World development. It takes for granted the bankrupt "indiscriminate growth and trickle down approach" (although it might seem to deny this) and its fundamental recommendation is to crank up that approach to faster growth, without any recognition of the possibility that this would be to accelerate the very mechanism responsible for the disaster that is Third World "development".

It is noted that sustainable development "... requires... an assurance that those poor get their fair share of the resources" (p8), and "... that those who are more affluent adopt life styles within the planet's ecological means - in their use of energy for example." (pp9, 39-40)

There is a need for "... promotion of values that encourage consumption standards that are within the bounds of the ecological possible and to which all can reasonably aspire." (p44) But the radical implications of such statements are never explored. There is no understanding that they cannot be realised unless rich countries cut their per capita energy use rates around 1/4 of their present levels and move to a conserving society.

The Report's solution to many grave problems facing the Third World is economic growth, of at least 3% p.a. (p50) What's more, to make this possible at least 3-4% p.a. growth is also needed in the rich countries. The most disturbing point here is not the glib assumption that such growth is possible in view of resource and environmental constraints, it is the total lack of evidence that those involved in compiling this Report have any familiarity with the now vast literature, condemning the growth strategy as not only having failed to improve the living standards of the Third World's poor majority but also identifying the mechanisms whereby that strategy is in fact the prime cause of the Third World's major problems. Following is a brief summary of the main categories of evidence and argument.4

The "indiscriminate growth and trickle down" approach to development has been accompanied by significant improvements in average life expectancy, infant mortality, literacy and GNP over the last few decades. But the distributions of the benefits have been extremely uneven. The poorest half of the world's people have been increasing their incomes by about 57 p.a., while the richest 1/5 have been increasing theirs by about $270 p.a. The poorest 500 million have average 73c per capita increase, p.a. In other words, those in most desperate need have experienced virtually no improvement in their living
conditions. A recent review of the literature revealed about 120 statements to the effect that development has done little or nothing to improve the economic living standards of the poorest 40% or more in the Third World. Hardly any statements to the contrary were found.

Note that this dismal record has been achieved during the most favourable period that has occurred in the entire history of capitalism, the 1950-1970 long boom. More recently Third World debt has risen to alarming levels. In addition, Third World ecosystems have been seriously degraded. In the recessed 1980s the achievements of conventional development have been clearly negative for a considerable proportion of Third World people; material living standards have been significantly reduced. (Kukwani, 1988)

Meanwhile, the rich/poor gap accelerates. In 1960 rich world GNP per capita was 20 times that of the Third world; by 1980 the ratio was over 45 to 1.5

What are the grounds for assuming that an approach to development which has resulted in such a catalogue of "achievements" is likely to solve the Third World's problems.

The fundamental principle in the conventional growth approach is the trickle down mechanism. The strategy is to maximise the rate of growth of business turnover, i.e. to increase investment, sales, exports and GNP as fast as possible, on the assumption that the more wealth that is produced the more there will be to trickle down to enrich even the poorest. However, if there is one conclusion that the study of development has now made clear, it is that very little ever trickles down. This approach to development results in rapid increases in national wealth - but the already rich get almost all of it. The world as a whole approximately doubled its real economic wealth in the 8 years to 1976, but the richest 1/5 took 9% of the increased. The rate of per capita growth the poorest half of the world's people were achieving in the decade to 1980 would have to be kept up for 150 years before their average had risen to half the level the rich countries have now. In other words, to identify development with indiscriminate economic growth is to opt for a development strategy which works almost entirely for the already rich and delivers negligible benefits to the poor. These effects are direct consequences of making growth the goal of development.

At present, the 1/5 of the world's people who live in rich countries take 4/5 of the world's energy. Secondly, resources will flow into the production of items for relatively high income earners and especially for export to the rich countries. Similarly the wrong industries will be set up in the Third World. The problem is not lack of development in the Third World, it is inappropriate development. Simple tools, cheap housing and clean water are needed, but capital, land and labour are drawn primarily into developing export plantations and baseball and VW factories.

Hence there is a head-on clash between the growth strategy and an appropriate development strategy. The latter would
ensure that scarce development resources went into establishing the most needed industries contrary to market forces, that many items which would add greatly to GNP, such as cars, were not produced and that many things that would add little or nothing to GNP were developed, e.g., village forests that would enable peasants to have little involvement in the cash economy. The essential principle of appropriate development is the maximisation of village economic independence and self-sufficiency and steps in this direction would at least add little to the GNP and could significantly reduce it.

The Report's authors reveal no acquaintance with any of the extensive literature now supporting these challenges to the growth conception of development. The most important point advanced is that growth is the problem. (p44) A development strategy making growth the top priority creates poverty, because the policies that will best stimulate growth are policies which channel inputs and outputs away from the low income receivers. The Report's failure to grasp the contradiction is evident in statements such as "... an economy geared to growth and the elimination of world poverty." (p18)

Of course there is urgent need for growth in the output of many specific things, such as clean water supplies, but the essential fault in the conventional strategy is that it is an indiscriminate growth strategy; it is concerned to raise the overall level of business turnover, to encourage more production and buying and selling of anything that those with money in their pockets want to buy or to invest in.

Why do the authors of the Report want to see more bubble gum and speedboats produced? One would have thought that they would much prefer to see more cheap food produced instead. What they fail to grasp is that unless one discriminates very firmly, unless one makes sure the food is produced and the bubble gum and speedboats are not produced, then the bulk of the available development resources will quickly end up being devoted to wasteful luxuries or high priced consumer goods.

By definition, the conventional strategy distinctly does not involve decisions to stimulate the growth of only appropriate and necessary items while prohibiting the growth of luxury or inappropriate items. But where there is significant inequality, the result of the indiscriminate growth strategy is of course overwhelmingly and inevitably development of the wrong things and virtually all of the available goods are taken (i.e., bought) by the relatively rich. The indiscriminate growth development strategy results in development in the interests of the rich.

Illustrative of the Report's acceptance of the conventional development model is its attitude to capital flows to the Third World. It claims that more capital must flow in if living standards are to be raised. (p68) "Resource flows from rich to poor... are a pre-condition for the eradication of poverty." (p69) There is no reference to the considerable evidence that a) the more foreign
investment (stocks) in a Third World country, the lower the rate of growth [Bornscher, 1980]. b) foreign investment results in a net draining out of capital [Trainer, 1985, pp146-147]. c) there is quite sufficient capital in the Third World to fund appropriate development, or even conventional development, since foreign investors raise 85-90% of their invested capital from Third World banks. d) foreign investment in the Third World is a primary cause of poverty because it almost never flows into development that will address the needs of the poor and it draws existing development resources away from appropriate ventures.

For the overgrown and overconsuming countries to stimulate their economies in order to facilitate Third World development, as the Brundtland Report recommends would be to crank up the very mechanisms which have deprived Third World people. It would be to allocate even more of the world's scarce resources to the rich countries and to gear even more of the Third World's land, labour and capital to producing largely for the benefit of the rich 1/5 of the world's people. It would be to accelerate a strategy which has already manifestly failed to solve the Third World's problems.

"But qualitatively acceptable growth"

Unfortunately, the Report might appear to deal with this issue because it states that the growth must be "qualitatively" acceptable. The qualitative criteria the Report gives are sustainability, equity and social justice (309) and "enhancing" the resource base. A discussion centrally concerned with sustainability should have attended primarily to the desirable steady state to which growth in some carefully selected items is necessary. The Report recognises no limits to growth, nor the possibility of ever reaching a point where sufficient growth has occurred. There is no suggestion that even the world's richest countries are approaching such a point.

To summarize, the qualitative conditions the Report wishes to add to the growth principle contradict that principle. The record shows that to pursue a definition of development in terms of growth will not see these qualitative conditions met, and the logic of production for profit and the market, and the nature of appropriate development all show that if justice, the development of appropriate items and a sustainable environment are one's goals, then an indiscriminate growth approach to development cannot be permitted.

The core of the foregoing criticism of the conventional development model is that the growth approach by nature contradicts equity, social justice and environmental sustainability. If growth that does respect these values is the objective, then the conventional model has to be scrapped in favour of an appropriate development model in which the distribution of resources, goods, land, capital etc. is governed by stringent controls derived from basic needs considerations. In other words what is really required by the innocuous looking "qualitative" clause contradicts most of what is contained in the growth
The only way the resource base can be enhanced, the environment restored and justice and equity established in the world is by a) restricting growth to those few things that we need more of (in relation to what we now produce), and b) cutting back or eliminating the luxurious and wasteful production and consumption taking place in the overgrown countries. Given the vast amount of unnecessary production being churned out at present, an economy that took these steps would probably exhibit no growth at all. In fact several authors have insisted that the rich countries must "de-develop" i.e., have a long period of significant negative growth as they reduce production and GNP. But whether or not such an economy was growing in aggregate business turnover would be of trivial significance. What would matter is whether satisfactory development was taking place, whether the forests and water catchments were being restored, whether the villagers were becoming more self-sufficient and independent of the predatory international economy, whether social networks and local communities were becoming more supportive, skilled and caring. It is quite possible that these arrangements could be developing well while GNP was stationary or falling; in fact their development would tend to reduce GNP by drawing land and labour out of the national economy.

"Limits to growth" implications for development

The development literature has given hardly any attention to the "limits to growth" argument and its implications. A glance at estimates of the world's potential recoverable mineral and fuel resources reveals that there is no realistic chance of all people rising to the per capita use rates, or therefore the lifestyles and levels of industrialisation etc. presently characteristic of the industrialized countries. The current development literature fails to recognize that this fundamental "limits to growth" point completely invalidates the supreme and unquestioned goal of conventional development theory (and of Dependency and Marxist theory) - i.e., rising to the living standards and ways the rich countries have.

The goal of development, for rich and poor countries has to be defined in "conservation society" terms; i.e., in terms of moving to relatively frugal, cooperative ways of life in highly self-sufficient small scale and participatory societies. For the overgrown countries, the crucial implication is that the "The rich must live more simply so that the poor may simply live", precisely the opposite conclusion to that reached by the Report. The overgrown countries can have their presently very high material living standards because they are using up far more than their fair share of the world's resources (and causing most of the environmental damage in the process). Yet the Brundtland Report sees no fault on their part, stating that the responsibility for the global situation and for change "...does not lie with any specific groups of nations". (p308)

Appropriate development

Given the Report's lack of attention to the critical literature on conventional
development theory, it is not surprising that it also reflects no insight into the nature of, nor the possibility of appropriate development. The most tragic aspect of the current development literature is that there is so little understanding of any alternative to telling those millions presently hungry and impoverished to wait for a generation or two until more indiscriminate growth results in more trickle down, when there are abundant appropriate development strategies which could enable them to solve their own basic problems, often in a matter of months, if people had access to a reasonable share of the existing capital and land.

The principles of appropriate development focus on assisting people to build highly cooperative and self-sufficient village and local regional economies, as independent as possible from national and international economies and from any need to import goods, technology, experts or capital, and therefore from the need to export. Appropriate development recognises the impossibility and the undesirability of striving for the levels of industrialisation and affluence characteristic of the rich countries and it is based on the development of highly productive, permanent local ecosystems (especially forests) providing largely free inputs for households and small scale village industries.

An appropriate development path could include considerable scope for free enterprise in the form of small "firms" but it would also involve the social planning of basic investment and distribution priorities. It borrows from existing free enterprise and (big-state) socialist models, but it is probably best thought of as a Third Way.

There is no more urgent task before people working in the general area of environment, justice and development than increasing the understanding that there is an appropriate development path but that it is contradicted and disqualified by commitment to conventional development. It is a zero-sum game. If resources go into indiscriminate growth and trickle down development, they will not be available for appropriate development and they will produce inappropriate development.

**Peace**

Remarkably, it is the Report's discussion of the problem of international conflict which is most in accord with the perspective argued in the paper. This is noteworthy because the view in question has received little attention in the literature associated with the peace movement. The following passage makes the point admirably: "Nations have often fought to assert or resist control over raw materials, energy supplies, land, river basins, sea passages, and other key environmental resources. Such conflicts are likely to increase as these resources become scarcer and competition for them increases." (p290) Potential and existing competition over fisheries, water, land, minerals and energy are referred to in subsequent pages. Although much neglected in recent times, this theme has been well documented in the literature on the history and causes of war.6
However, again the implications are not pursued. It is not seen that the goal of long term peace requires the same steps that are also necessary to achieve global justice and a sustainable ecology; viz., transition on the part of the overgrown countries to a more simple way of life which frees them from the obligation to grab most of the world's scarce and dwindling resources and markets, and therefore from accelerating competition and conflict over access to these. Consequently, it is not surprising that the Report misinterprets military spending, seeing it as a lamentable and avoidable waste of resources that could have been devoted to development. On the contrary, high levels of military expenditure are essential for securing our empire. It is not possible for 1/5 of the world's people, including Third World ruling elites, to go on taking most of the world's wealth, much of it produced by impoverished Third World people. Rich countries (East and West) go to considerable efforts to keep Third World countries to the economic and development strategies (i.e., free enterprise) which enable them and their comprador ruling classes in the Third World to take most of the wealth produced. This cannot be done without arms on a vast scale, e.g., aircraft carriers for keeping the trade routes open and the rapid Deployment Forces to clear the oilfields should they be blocked by rebellious tribes or by USSR, and the guns our client regimes in the Third World need to put down "communist subversion." Needless to say, the Report makes no reference to the literature documenting this analysis. It is a perspective which draws tight connections between global peace, global justice and overdevelopment; it is not possible to have peace in the world unless there is a much fairer distribution of the globe's wealth, and that is not possible unless the overgrown countries shift to far lower per capita use rates.

Conclusions

The Report's recommendations are thoroughly conventional. Despite some minor caveats (e.g., the increased foreign investment should not go into environmentally suspect projects) the strategy is simply to get the existing global economy going again, the very recipe that has generated the problems the Report is grappling with. The Report sees no need to make fundamental change from a global economy driven by market forces and profit, from the indiscriminate growth and trickle down approach to development, or from the living standards and resource-expensive systems the rich countries have, and there is no need for drastic redistribution of the world's wealth. Far from being obliged to share more equitably or live more simply, the rich are advised to strive to enrich themselves by 3-4% p.a. more every year.

It is therefore not surprising that the Report's recommendations for action (Chap 12) focus only on the institutional and legal level. All that is needed is greater concern to streamline the functioning of environmental protection agencies, to create better laws and to set up more effective regulatory institutions.
The argument throughout this paper has been that the Brundtland Report recommends precisely the opposite course to that which is called for. It is a highly regressive document since it reinforces the belief that growth and affluence are not only in order but necessary to solve our problems - when it should be abundantly clear that our chances of achieving a just, peaceful and environmentally sustainable world order depend on how soon we can shift from the growth and greed society to a conservator society.

Notes

1. See Abandon Affluence! ch 3.4 and 5, and ch 4 and 5 of my Developed to Death: Rethinking Third World Development, Trainer, 1988.

2. In Abandon Affluence! ch 12, reasons are given for concluding that we could produce all we need for quite satisfactory material living standards on perhaps 1/5 of the present levels of resource and energy use and GNP per capita.

3. An isolated reference is made in the Report to the need for the rich countries to reduce their per capita energy consumption, (p59) but this is not pursued and is contrary in spirit to the main "business as usual" thrust of the Report.

4. Ch 2 and 3 of my Developed to Death: Rethinking Third World Development, detail the case.


Bibliography


Abating Global Warming - at a Profit

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[Editor's note: In recent months there has been an explosion of concern about global warming and its potential impact on the biosphere. In the following article, RMI Research Director Amory Lovins, whose first paper on climatic change was written 21 years ago, outlines a strategy for abating global warming by saving fossil fuels more cheaply than buying and burning them.]

The threat of global warming is real enough, but many misdiagnose its prime cause: not humankind's use of fossil fuels, but our inefficient use of them. This oversight, plus a lack of knowledge about the energy efficiency revolution, has led to the widespread misconception that combating climatic change will be costly and inconvenient. "Unbelievably expensive" and "draconian sacrifice" are two terms frequently bandied about.

According to the best estimates now available, stabilizing the climate will require slashing fossil fuel combustion by at least half from current levels. Since fossil fuel usage is widely predicted to double over the next four decades as population and affluence grow, this clearly represents an immense challenge. The lingering scientific uncertainties about these numbers are largely irrelevant. It doesn't matter whether global warming is already happening, nor whether it will happen, nor what its impacts will be: we should do nearly all the same things regardless. The reason?

Measures to displace fossil fuels and reduce the emission of greenhouse gases, including carbon dioxide (CO2), methane, nitrous oxide, ozone, and chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), should be adopted in any case, because they make sense on many other environmental grounds and because many of them will save a lot of money.

My key conclusions, buttressed by years of research:

- The fastest, cheapest, surest and safest way to reduce greenhouse gas emissions is through greater energy efficiency.

- Energy efficiency is the first prerequisite to stabilizing the climate, to powering the world with climatically benign renewable energy sources ("undiscovering fire"), and to sustainable Third World development.
• Far from being costly, abating global warming should, on the whole, be immensely profitable. Improving energy productivity can save the world upwards of a trillion dollars per year - as much as the global military budget.

• Abatement, being profitable, can be done mainly through the market. By the same token, however, achieving CO2 reductions in centrally planned economies lacking market signals will be a daunting task. (With support from the C.S Mott and MacArthur Foundations, RMI has begun an outreach program to this end, emphasizing the U.S.S.R and India.)

• Roughly one-fourth of global warming is caused by unsustainable farming and forestry practices. Reforming these could change the world’s farms and forests from carbon sources to carbon sinks. This would also provide opportunities for the coproduction of crops, timber, and biofuels that could replace fossil fuels without harming the climate.

Unfortunately, the fallacy that abatement will be costly and inconvenient has spawned two other fallacies that are now warping the global warming debate. In recent months I have attended conferences where, invariably, there is much talk about the merits of a "global warming treaty". Treaty proponents suggest that it should be modeled after the Montréal Protocol to limit ozone-destroying CFCs. By signing that protocol, more than forty countries have agreed to share a sacrifice for the common good. Now, the logic goes, we need to do the same for CO2.

But is this so logical after all? Reducing CO2 (by using energy efficiency to displace fossil fuels) won’t be a sacrifice, nor cost extra, nor require bureaucrats to tell others how to live: in general, it will work better and cost less than what we’re doing now. If that’s the case, our leaders don’t need to waste years grappling with thorny questions (How should CO2 reductions be apportioned? Which countries should bear the largest "burdens"? How should reluctant countries be strongarmed into going along? etc., etc.) while negotiating an unimaginably complex treaty that would be impossible to enforce. Instead, they should focus their efforts on developing energy policies and shaping market forces to help people, companies, and countries behave in their economic self-interest.

A landmark April 1989 study by the Swedish State Power Board illustrates this point. It documented how, over the next twenty years, Sweden (already perhaps the world’s most energy-efficient country) could expand its economy by half, phase out the nuclear power that makes nearly half of its electricity, reduce the CO2 output of its heat-and-power sector by a third, and make electrical services cheaper - all at the same time! How? By combining efficiency improvements, some switching to natural gas and biofuels, and environmental dispatch (using the cleanest fuels first). Tellingly, the Board’s CEO ordered the usual disclaimer - that the
paper did not represent the Board's official view - removed.

As for the suggestion that such a future is only possible for rich countries like Sweden, that, too, is a fallacy. In fact, far from retarding development, energy efficiency may prove to be the biggest key to advancing progress in poor countries. If Third World countries continue to squander much of their capital on supplying more energy to be inefficiently used, they won't have the money left to buy the things that were supposed to use the energy in the first place. Conversely, energy efficiency can free up enormous amounts of money to finance development's essential tasks.

Today, the average poor country is nearly three times less energy-efficient than the average rich country, which in turn can cost-effectively quadruple (or more) its efficiency. Therefore, if poor countries "did it right the first time" - if they leapfrogged over the rich countries' mistakes, straight to the most resource-efficient infrastructure - they could in principle expand their economies by about tenfold with no increase in energy use. Meanwhile, if rich countries followed a path similar to that outlined for Sweden, they could improve their standard of living while using serveralfold less energy than now. A few decades from now, we would all meet in the middle.

A tempting future - but what will it take to "do it right"?

First, industrialized countries must set a better example. The U.S. did so during 1979-86, when it got more than seven times as much new energy from savings as from all net expansions of supply. In the past two years, however, efficiency stalled - in part because of Reagan's energy policies - and total U.S. energy consumption rose to a record high. Besides getting back on course in energy productivity, the U.S. and other industrialized countries must begin exporting their most efficient technologies. (Right now, in a scandal reminiscent of the immoral export of deregistered pesticides, they're typically exporting their least efficient ones - those too obsolete to sell at home.) For their part, Third World countries will need to become more sophisticated buyers, making resource efficiency the keystone of their development process. Getting the World Bank, Japan, and other major lenders to adopt energy efficiency as a central element of foreign aid programs is also crucial.

One caveat, however, must be noted: to abate global warming as quickly as possible, rich and poor countries alike must pursue the best buys first - what utility planners call a "least cost" investment strategy. Why? Because if we buy a costly remedy (little effect per dollar) before a cheap one (big effect per dollar), we'll get less remedy per dollar than if we did the cheaper thing first. Specifically, investing in nuclear power rather than in far cheaper efficiency will make global warming worse.

Unfortunately, this "opportunity cost" concept is understood by few government leaders and policymakers. Most still pursue the Chinese-restaurant-menu
approach, choosing one option from Column A, one from Column B, and so on until all powerful constituencies are satisfied. On today's energy menu, however, all the best choices may well be in Column A (efficiency), with Column B (supply expansion) only a bad second-best.

This last conclusion is supported by a 1981 book, *Least-Cost Energy: Solving the CO2 Problem*, that Hunter Lovins and I wrote with Dr. Florentin Krause and Professor Wilfrid Bach. In that book, we began by documenting a potential to save about three-fourths of the energy used in 1973 to run the West German economy, then the most heavily industrialized in the world. We then imagined, a century hence, an entire world industrialized to that level: a world of eight billion people, with a fivefold grosser World Product and a tenfold increase in Third World countries' economic activity. Yet if, in such a world, energy were used in ways that saved money with 1980 prices and technologies, total energy used would fall to a third of today's level. The resulting needs for each kind of energy in each region, too, could be approximately met by CO2-free renewable sources already available and cost-effective in 1980. Since then, both efficiency and renewables have become far more cost-effective; if the analysis were repeated today, its findings would be even more favorable.

Of course, a world with eight billion people industrialized to a West German standard may be unrealistic or undesirable for other reasons. Our point, though, was that an energy policy built on efficiency would enable the Earth to support a prosperous civilization that was not plagued by acid rain, global warming, urban smog, nuclear proliferation, and deforestation.

A typical global warming article nearly pickles the reader in doom-and-gloom before ending with some dark prophecy. However, without minimizing the extent of the problem or the scope of the challenge, I remain convinced that an energy policy with low climatic (and other environmental) risks is technically possible, pragmatically achievable, and economically preferable. Consistent with achievement of the most generous economic goals, we can stabilize and then gradually reduce nearly to zero the global rate of burning fossil fuels over the next few decades. Once citizens and governments know that global warming is an artifact of an economically inefficient energy policy, they can begin to design a cheaper, safer future.

[Source: *Rocky Mountain Institute Newsletter* (Vol V, No.3, Fall 1989), an issue entirely devoted to global warming]
The Coming Global Civilization

by Mohamed Sid-Ahmed
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(Editors' note: For some time now, IFDA has co-operated with the World Order Models Project (WOMP), particularly in its current project The Global Civilization: Challenges for Sovereignty, Democracy and Security, whose Steering Committee met twice at Nyon*. The directors of WOMP are Saul Mendlovitz and Yoshikazu Sakamoto and its Board include Richard Falk, Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, the former Prime Minister of Portugal, Mohamed Sid-Ahmed, the well-known Egyptian thinker and journalist as well as two IFDA Committee members, Marc Norfin and Juan Somavia. We reproduce below the English translation of a comment by Mohamed Sid-Ahmed which appeared in arabic in Al-Ahram, Cairo, 28 December 1989.)

The dramatic events in Rumania have confirmed beyond anything previously witnessed that the very nature of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe is undergoing major changes, and that these changes will necessarily be followed by changes no less dramatic in the West, if only to adapt to this phenomenon. This raises a number of very important questions:

What will be the frame of reference in determining the characteristics of the world we would like to see coming out of these developments? Which world order will shape its features and how should it be assessed? What will be the basis of "international legitimacy" in the world of tomorrow? What system of ethical and legal values will govern the new world now under formation?

What is certain is that the shape of the coming global civilization cannot be determined solely from the standpoint of one specific ideology, one given world camp, one world bloc or a given state, however strong, at the head of any such bloc. The point of departure should be, rather, a value system with which a civilization extending to the whole planet, to all peoples of the world, to humankind taken as an indivisible whole, can identify. That is, a new global civilization not dependent on the present world order made up of independent nation-states enjoying the prerogatives of absolute sovereignty and whose features are unlikely to take final expression before the coming millennium.

In fact, over the past few years, a number of serious attempts have been made to try and define the features of this coming civilization. I myself have

* Cf. "Is global civilization coming?", IFDA Dossier 74, pp. 63-70.
had the opportunity to attend a number of meetings held on a more or less regular basis throughout the last decade to probe the issue in the context of an alternative preferred world. The meetings were attended by a number of prominent scholars from different countries: the United States, Japan, India, the Scandinavian countries and various countries of Latin America, Africa, South-East Asia and Eastern Europe. I was the only Arab participant.

My relationship with this group developed at a time when our world seemed to be caught in a historical impasse, with Brezhnev symbolizing stagnation in the socialist bloc and Reagan's victory in the presidential elections signaling the supremacy of the ultra-right in the capitalist bloc. In their quest for a better world, this group of scholars pinned their hopes on the dissent movements unfolding in different corners of the world. However, each of these movements focussed its attention on a given field of dissent: the anti-nuclearists on banning nuclear weapons only, the Greens on the ecological dimension alone, the feminists on women's rights, the Human Rights' activists on violations of human rights, the anti-apartheid movement on racial discrimination, etc. A main concern of the group was to derive from these disparate movements a common conceptual framework that could serve as a springboard towards an alternative preferred world order.

Despite the appeal this group of creative thinkers had for me and despite my admiration for the sophisticated level of the discussion, I remained reluctant for a long time to formalize my affiliation with them. I felt that the value of any contribution I could make lay in the fact that I genuinely represented a viewpoint emanating from a given region of the world, living a given conflict, and that my identity as a committed, biased, party in that conflict was incompatible with a "global identity" affiliated to a global order transcending all conflicts.

On a visit to New York in 1986, I came across a leading member of the group who asked whether it was not time to synthesize our discussions in book form. I replied that it was too late. He asked: "You mean Gorbachev?" I said yes. A few months later, I received an invitation in my capacity as a member of that group to take part in a seminar that was to be held in Moscow under the auspices of one of the most prestigious Soviet institutes affiliated to the Soviet Academy of Science. This seminar, in which a number of Gorbachev's direct aides took part, made it clear that under New Soviet Thinking, the Soviet leadership was keen to build bridges with intellectuals outside the Soviet Union who shared its view that belonging to an "interdependent, interrelated and integral world" must take precedence over whatever contradictions and disparities can exist between the different states.

The Moscow seminar, whose theme was "The Coming Global Civilization", devoted itself to a specific topic, namely, to what extent this new civilization needed to be institutionalized in a formal body, in the form of a global
Authority enjoying specific prerogatives, a body bound to come up against the national sovereignty exercised by each state as an absolute right. The question was: in a world characterized by uneven development, how far could national sovereignty be curtailed in the name of imperatives dictated by the threats facing humankind as a whole, threats that only a "global outlook" could avert and only a global Authority could keep in check?

Indeed, many contemporary issues have no solution in the absence of such a "global outlook", such as industrial pollution which knows no geographical and political boundaries, the monopoly of certain states over outer space, oceans and seas, the question of the Third World debt, etc.

Obviously, I could not accept the principle of placing constraints on national sovereignty at a time certain peoples of the Third World, such as the Palestinians, are still suffering from the non-recognition of this right. Thus, I could not imagine any attempt to establish a global Authority transcending national sovereignty until the aspiration of all peoples for self-determination was satisfied, even if such an Authority responds to objective needs that cannot be overlooked.

In fact, the question of curtailing national sovereignty raised a still more important question, namely, that of depriving weaker states of prerogatives which protect them from stronger states in a world still marked by uneven development. In general, while a global Authority can be useful in regulating and institutionalizing the rapprochement and interpenetration now underway between East and West, it could also adversely affect the peoples of the South inasmuch as there are many indications that the lessening of the contradiction between East and West is accompanied by a deepening of the contradiction between North and South, not the opposite.

We have met twice in Switzerland, since the Moscow seminar. At the second meeting, which took place in December, we discussed the "social dimension" of the problem of tomorrow's world, which is the most important challenge facing the coming global civilization. By producing artificial raw materials more efficient than the natural ones on which the economies of the Third World depend, the contemporary technological revolution has exposed all Third World societies to marginalization. More than that, thanks to developments in automation and robotology, it has come to marginalize large sectors of workers even in the societies of the North. Obviously, there can be no talk of a global civilization which expels ever-growing sectors of the international community. A civilization which encompasses a continuously decreasing portion of humanity can hardly be described as global.

Over the next two years, the group intends to conduct an in-depth study of the critical issues expected to mark the coming millennium, with special emphasis on the concepts of democracy and security in the context of the radi-
cal changes now sweeping our world. A statement incorporating the results of this study will be published in book form.

Opinions may vary as to how qualified this group is to express the conflicting aspirations of a highly complex global village whose members are, like it or not, increasingly interconnected. What is certain, however, is that participating in this type of exercise has become indispensable even from our regional perspective, if only to assert the place of our region and its specificity in the civilization of tomorrow.

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**Announcements**

- The XIIIth General Conference of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) will be held at the Politological Institute in Groningen, Netherlands, 3-7 July. This conference marks the 25th anniversary of IPRA and provides its members and participants with an opportunity to share research findings and concerns with particular emphasis on North-South dialogue.

- The Eleventh World Conference on Linking Present Decisions to Long-Range Visions of the World Futures Studies Federation will take place in Budapest, Hungary, 27-31 May 1990. This conference intends to consider the topic in interrelation with social, economical, technical and ecological development with special focus on the common responsibility for the future. (Szeki XI, World Conference, Budapest II, T"arog{u} u. 2-4, Hungary 1021)

- There has been a two-way cause and effect relationship between the fragmenta-

- The Aprovecho Institute is sponsoring two intensive courses, Sustainable Development for the Third world in Oregon, 15-30 June 1990 and Desarrollo Sostenible para el Tercer Mundo in Mexico, 15-30 July 1990. These courses stress renewing the connection between land and people which existed in traditional societies. Topics include permaculture design, small scale agriculture, agroforestry, basic ecology and biological pest control. It prepares people for Third World work. Scholarship is available for Third World citizens. (80574 Hazelton Rd, Cottage Grove, OR 97424, USA).

- The Least Developed and the Oil-Rich Arab: Dependence, Interdependence or Patronage, an interdisciplinary postgraduate level course that examines the relationship between the oil-rich and the poorer Arab countries will be offered, 14-28 May 1990, at the Inter-University Centre. The course will review the historical, socio-political and economic processes through the existing patterns of relations. (IUC Frana Bulica, 50000 Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia)
Les notes de lecture de Samir Amin

Black Athena
La fabrication de la Grèce antique


Je recommande vivement la lecture de ce premier volume éblouissant d'une trilogie de M. Bernal dont on attend avec impatience la suite... et la traduction. Le titre évoque de ce premier volume éclaire les intentions de l'auteur: défaire la construction idéologique eurocentrique qui sous-tend la culture occidentale dominante. L'ouvrage vient à point, au moment où triomphe ici et là le *culturalisme*, c'est-à-dire une idéologie qui suppose que les différents "peuples" sont caractérisés par leurs "cultures" et que des "invariants" dans celles-ci expliquent les parcours historiques différents. Cette version contemporaine du racisme est fondée sur le refus de chercher à connaître, à partir de l'histoire universelle, les lois éventuelles qui commanderaient l'évolution de toutes les sociétés, de toute l'espèce humaine. Elle lui substitue une recherche des parcours particuliers, irréductibles les uns aux autres pour des motifs culturels, prétendus transhistoriques. Au moment où dans le Tiers Monde en désarroi fleurissent les affirmations culturalistes - comme en témoignent les fondamentalismes religieux et les replis communautaires - il était bon de rappeler que la culture occidentale dominante est, elle aussi, du même acabit. Cette culture est en effet fondée sur une série de mythologies, dont celle de "l'ancêtre grec", à partir duquel la filiation "classique" Grèce-Rome-Europe du Moyen Age - Europe moderne est établie pour être singularisée et opposée à des évolutions de nature différente en "Orient". Ce mythe de l'ancêtre grec remplit une fonction essentielle dans la construction eurocentrique; faisant appel à un argument émotionnel construit artificiellement, il permet d'évacuer la question véritable (pourquoi le capitalisme est apparu en Europe avant les autres) en lui substituant une fausse réponse: que l'héritage grec prédisposait à la rationalité. Cette téléologie suppose la construction symétrique d'un Orient (englobant tout le reste du monde) qui, de l'origine à nos jours, se définirait en négatif: le contraire de la filiation Grèce-Europe.

M. Bernal contribue à rétablir la vérité historique. En premier lieu, que la Grèce antique n'appartient pas à l'Europe - un concept géographique vide de sens à l'époque - mais à l'Orient, c'est-à-dire à l'ensemble constitué autour de la Méditerranée orientale (Egypte,
Babylonie, Phénicie, Perse, Grèce). Linguiste, Bernal met l'accent à juste titre sur les gigantesques emprunts du grec à l'égyptien et au phénicien (analogues aux emprunts de l'anglais au français) qui témoignent d'une filiation culturelle Égypte-Phénicie-Grèce. Il rejoint ici le point de vue que nous avons développé ailleurs (L'Eurocentrisme) que la coupure Nord-Sud dans la Méditerranée est récente et ne se substitue à la coupure Est-Ouest au travers de la mer qu'à partir de la Renaissance et du développement capitaliste. Jusque là, en dépit du contraste chrétien-dominant au Nord, Islam au Sud, les régions européennes et arabo-turco-islamiques constituent des sous-régions d'un ensemble civilisationnel unique.

L'ouvrage de Bernal retrace les étapes de la construction du mythe eurocentrique de l'ancêtre grec, précisément à partir de la Renaissance, comme il se doit. Aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles encore les Lumières Radicales, méfiantes à l'égard de la religion, associent l'Egypte antique à l'idée de raison comme en témoignent les langages franco-maçons ; comme l'épingle (L'Europe chinoise) a montré que cet Orient lointain n'est pas vu comme "la civilisation antieuropéenne par excellence", mais au contraire le modèle de la rationalité (que j'appelle tributaire), celle des Physiocrates et de la monarchie absolue. La vision ultérieure philhellénique est bel et bien un préjugé, fondé sur l'opposition artificielle quelque rationnelle/pensée "orientale irrationnelle". Un examen scientifique de l'apport grec véritable (le "miracle du matérialisme spontané des origines", comme Marx l'a compris) et de celui des "Orients" (l'âme égyptienne, la cosmogonie babylonienne, l'intuition indienne, comme j'ai essayé de le montrer dans L'Eurocentrisme) permet de reconstruire une histoire véritablement universelle de la construction de la civilisation dans notre région (Europe et monde arabo-islamique). Cette vision philhellénique s'altère d'un noyau raciste inéliminable, qui oppose ces "Indo-européens" aux "Sémites" (et autres orientaux). Le triomphe du darwinisme au XIXe siècle et son transfert abusif à la linguistique naissante ont constitué les bases de la construction mythologique de l'ancêtre grec. Une opposition artificielle Occident/Orient est alors en place, dont la force est devenue telle que même Marx, qui se proposait formellement de construire une théorie universelle, s'est laissé aller à en reprendre les termes - s'inspirant de Bernal - en prétendant que seul en Grèce d'individu a coupé le cordon ombral de qui le reliait à la communauté, ouvrant par là même la voie à l'évolution esclavage-féodalité-capitalisme, tandis que les autres peuples s'engraissent dans le cul de sac du "mode de production asiatique".

- An award that is larger than the Nobel Prize in literature has been launched by Ted Turner, the American media magnate, who is offering $500,000 prize for a novel that promotes solutions to the world's problems. The winner will also receive a hard cover publishing contract guarantying a minimum printing of 50,000 copies and a $50,000 promoting campaign. (International Herald Tribune, 11 Nov 1989)
Life-Link

Life-Link is a non political, non religious, global project for all young people in the world. Young people, eager to plan for a better future, met at an international Life-Link seminar in Sigtuna, Sweden, July 1989. This is their message:

We, the international youth, believe in our strength to create a better future. At the Life-Link seminar we have decided to work for the creation of an international network of contacts and communication between schools all over the world, which would serve as a means to improve the awareness of the threats to our existence such as weapons of mass destruction and the degradation of our environment. It would also stimulate the willingness to work in a creative and positive way for the elimination of these threats.

We want to achieve:

- a dialogue across borders;
- an active process of thinking about the future;
- creative solutions to problems of our time;
- a desire to work for a future without violence
- increased sympathy and sense of responsibility for life on earth;
- increased open mindedness and faith.

This Youth Message was sent to organizations working with environmental problems and conflict resolution and to the Heads of States in all countries affiliated to the United Nations.

A global network of Friendship Schools shall be established with correspondence between participating schools. One of them could be within the country or with a neighbour and the others if possible in countries further away.

In practice the programme could consist of:

- introducing projects concerning practical learning on how to live and work together in peace;
- finding out about global problems;
- teaching non-violent conflict resolution;
- intercultural co-operation and understanding;
- working on practical ideas like recycling; refunding, using biodegradable materials;
- exchanging newsletters.

This will stimulate the active learning of:

- languages and facts about other countries;
- national and international administration systems, law making and decision making procedures;
- knowledge of applied physics, chemistry and biology;
- social skills in communication and conflict resolution;
- respect and understanding of other people’s point of view;
- knowledge about religious and social systems;
- the expression of one’s thoughts and views clearly and capably;
- taking responsibility for oneself and for others.

The network will be a substantial contribution to a Global Common Security based on cultural exchange and citizen diplomacy, necessary for the survival of Mankind and Life on Earth.

(c/o Uppsala UN-Association, POB 644, S-751 27 Uppsala, Sweden)
Océan Indien: Appel d’Antananarivo pour les enfants


- Manifestons par notre présence au symposium d’Antananarivo, notre adhésion aux idéaux de l’UNICEF et nous engageons à soutenir, dorénavant, ses actions, pour un mieux-être de la mère et de l’enfant dans notre région.


- Saluons les efforts de l’UNICEF et de ses partenaires gouvernementaux et non gouvernementaux pour mettre en place et exécuter des programmes à large échelle visant la survie, le développement et le bien-être de la mère et de l’enfant (journées ou semaines nationales de vaccination, programmes de lutte contre les maladies diarrhéiques, campagnes de chloroquinisation et de lutte contre le paludisme, journées provinciales de nutrition, etc).

- Apportons notre appui total à l’idée de la convocation d’un Sommet Extraordinaire sur les Enfants, lancée conjointement par l’ONU et l’UNICEF.


- Lançons un appel à nos chefs d’État et de Gouvernement et à travers eux à l’OUA, à l’ONU et à la Commission de l’Océan Indien (COI), à soutenir l’UNICEF et ses partenaires dans leurs actions en faveur de la mère et de l’enfant.

C’est pourquoi, nous, artistes et intellectuels de l’Océan Indien, recommandons ce qui suit:


- Le Bureau de zone de l’UNICEF pour Madagascar, les Comores et l’Île Maurice, en assurera la coordination.

- La programmation annuelle périodique et systématique d’activités artistiques, culturelles sur le thème: Journées des Artistes et des Intellectuels pour le Bien-Etre de la Mère et de l’Enfant, au cours desquelles diverses manifestations seront organisées: expositions itinérantes, concours de poésie et de nouvelles, festivals de musique et de chansons, conférences publiques, etc.

- L’Association désormais plus étroite des journalistes et communicateurs au plaidoyer en faveur de la mère et de l’enfant, par la redynamisation ou la création, dans chaque pays et dans la région, de cellules APAPE (Association de la Presse Africaine pour l’Enfance).

(UNICEF House, 3 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA)
Au milieu des festivités du bicentenaire de la Révolution française et en parallèle à la réunion du Sommet des 7 chefs d'État les plus riches, les sociétés civiles du Nord et du Sud ont réussi à faire entendre leurs voix et leurs propositions pour un monde plus solidaire. Un succès médiatique est une chose. La perennité de la démarche en est une autre. C'est pourquoi les organisateurs du Sommet des peuples ont décidé la mise en place d'un observatoire permanent, international et indépendant, des décisions prises par le Sommet des 7 riches et par les institutions qu'ils contrôlent (en particulier Fonds monétaire international et Banque mondiale). La déclaration finale du Sommet des 7 peuples présente cette initiative comme un lieu de vigilance, d'échanges et d'élaboration de propositions entre les sociétés civiles du Nord et du Sud. Lieu où pourront se retrouver chercheurs, associations citoyennes et tous ceux qui souhaitent rénover les propositions avancées depuis la décolonisation et les adapter à la situation actuelle qui voit croître la précéminence des institutions internationales dans les décisions qui concernent les peuples du Sud.

L'Observatoire rassemblera les propositions de la société civile internationale dans le but de définir d'autres voies en matière de développement, de conditions de vie, de protection de l'environnement et de démocratie. Deux directions :

- des rencontres entre centres de recherches et associations citoyennes permettant de construire des programmes conjoints Nord-Sud.

- une action médiatique importante par des publications dans les revues spécialisées en économie et développement et dans la grande presse lors des contre-somments.

L'Observatoire favorise les recherches menées par les institutions universitaires et scientifiques, centres de recherche et associations citoyennes du Nord et du Sud, en vue de lancer des études sur les décisions du Sommet des 7, de la Banque Mondiale et du FMI, en particulier leurs conséquences socio-économiques sur les peuples du Sud.

- Le comité d'orientation sera chargé de fournir une liste de themes de recherche pour que des universités les inscrivent à leur programme.

- On demandera la diffusion des recherches en cours qui peuvent rentrer dans la problématique de l'Observatoire (français, anglais et espagnol).

- Un appel d'offres aux étudiants préparant une thèse ou un mémoire, et le lancement d'un "prix de l'Observatoire."

L'Observatoire se charge de publier un rapport annuel présenté lors des réunions du Sommet des 7 et des Assemblées générales du FMI et de la Banque Mondiale.

Chaque année, plusieurs thèmes seront retenus en fonction des critiques que la société civile fait de la déclaration finale des "7 Grands", mais aussi en fonction des propositions mises en œuvre par les réseaux non-gouvernementaux. Cette évaluation servira de base à la préparation des contre-somments.

Associations citoyennes, centres de recherche, individus peuvent participer et présenter des contributions sur les thèmes retenus. La synthèse du rapport est faite par un comité de lecture et le secrétariat.

(17 place de l'Argonne, 75019 Paris, France)
Minewatch

Partizans is launching a new venture, Minewatch, along the lines sketched out below.

The world mining industry - apart from a few exceptions in Asia, South America and Africa - is dominated by transnational corporations which continue to invest relatively little on infrastructure, labour and environmental safeguards. Despite contractual improvements over the past 15 years, the result is that cartels continue to dominate the mining and selling of many major metals. International commodity pacts collapse or barely function; processing plants are increasingly sited close to cheap power sources in tropical forest zones or on rivers and seaboards - where the major impact is felt by forest dwelling people.

Small-scale mining (such as indigenous gold-panning) is ruthlessly suppressed, local water is appropriated for mine processing and hydro power, local food sources are monopolised or supplanted by expensive nutritionally debase imports. Any benefits from recycling metals derived from mining are enjoyed in the 'developed' world, not at home. Land reclamation is either never carried out or is completely inappropriate.

Worldwide there are no more than a dozen groups methodically researching the issues.

Nonetheless, there are many individuals around the world and local organisations, including numerous indigenous communities, who can contribute information and insights. The problem is not just one of coordination, but access to information. So many mining projects which could be stopped or modified at the exploration stage advance beyond the point of no return, because their implications are not recognised.

For a decade, Partizans has been supplying information to communities all over the world on the plans and activities of the RTZ Group - the world's biggest mining conglomerate. In certain instances, because the company's plans were known well in advance and local communities were sufficiently well informed to protest against them, projects have been halted at the prospecting stage; for example in Donegall, New Zealand, Australia, Snowdonia, Labrador and Panama. In addition, Partizans has access to unique research which has monitored the activities of every major mining company worldwide, with special emphasis on their activities on indigenous peoples' land.

Moreover, Partizans regularly monitors the mining press, in Britain, USA and Australia, and has individual files on certain companies dating back to the 1970s. Equally important, we are also able to provide resumés of the likely impact of specific projects and addresses of contacts with experience in that particular field.

Our short term aims are to empower communities close to mining sites or whose land and water risks being taken over and damaged by mining operations. Our long-term aim is to help build up perceptions about mining. We are not anti-mining, but we believe that corporate mining is rarely in the best interests of anyone except the privileged few. Small scale "indigenous mining", alternative mining practices (such as heap leaching) metals recycling and substitution, may all play a role in reducing dependency on transnational capital and penetration of indigenous and Third World lands, without condemning their owners or occupiers to subsistence or penury.

(218 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LE, UK)
Latin America: CLADES

(IFDA participated in a workshop on Primary Environmental Care [Certosa di Pontignano, 29 January-2 February] organized by Italy's General Directorate for Development Cooperation [Min. Antonio Catalano di Melilli], the Higher Institute for Health [Grazia Borrini] and the IUCN Second World Conservation Strategy [Dave Munro & Robert Allen]. Miguel Allevi and Andrés Yurievic who represented CLADES [Consejo Latinoamericano sobre Agroecología y Desarrollo] at the workshop offered the following text for the IFDA Dossier.)

Among all the lessons to be learned from decades of national and international rural development efforts in Latin America, two stand out. One is that no single discipline or methodological approach can adequately address the range of biological, cultural and socioeconomic processes that surround rural development. The other is that the great majority of technological innovations in agriculture have bypassed the campesino sector, which is mostly confined to marginal soils, hillsides and rainfed areas. Despite the intentions of development programs and mostly because of institutional and political-economic biases, resource-poor campesinos are increasingly subjected to subdivision of land-holdings. This process, associated with environmental degradation, leads to a progressive decline in the significance of peasant agriculture in regional markets. Curbing this systematic impoverishment is crucial if further loss of food self-sufficiency and further soil erosion, deforestation and dependency are to be avoided in Latin America.

For the campesino sector to maintain its level of contribution to the Latin American market, peasant farms will need technology that supports productivity with minimal input use, while conserving and regenerating the resource base. Much of the knowledge for developing such innovations should come from a retrieval of resource-management technologies used by campesinos for generations, and from an assemblage of low-input methods and agroecological practices already scientifically tested by research institutions and awaiting development and implementation.

In Latin America today most official institutions (universities, ministries of agriculture and national-international research centers) are unable to generate technologies that respond to the needs and characteristics of peasant agriculture. A significant number of citizens' associations, however, have created programs emphasizing research, education, technical assistance and credit provision aimed at developing such agriculture. Many of these citizens' associations have demonstrated unique abilities to understand small-farm production and have fostered successful experiences in generation and transfer of peasant technology.

These citizens' associations are actively searching for alternative systems of production aimed at:

- improving the production of basic foods at the farm level - including traditional food crops (Amaranth [Amaranthus sp.], quinoa [Chenopodium sp.], lupine [Lupinus sp.]) - to enhance the family nutrition and conserve native crop germ plasm;
- rescuing and re-evaluating peasants' knowledge and technologies;
- promoting the efficient use of local resources (i.e. land, labor, agricultural by-products, etc.);
- increasing crop and animal diversity to minimize risks;
- improving the natural resource base through water and soil conservation and regeneration, emphasizing erosion control, water harvesting, reforestation, etc.;
- reducing the use of external inputs to cut down on dependency, but sustaining yields through organic farming and other low-input techniques;
- ensuring that alternative systems have an empowering effect not only on individual families but on the community. To achieve this, the technological process is complemented by programs of popular education that preserve and strengthen peasants' "productive rationale" while supporting them in the process of technological adaptation, linkage to markets and social organization.

Agroecology, a new view of peasant agricultural development, has influenced the agricultural research and extension work of many Latin American citizens' associations. Several characteristics of the agroecological approach to technology development and diffusion make it especially compatible with the discourse of citizens' associations:

1. Agroecology, with its emphasis on reproduction of the household and regeneration of the agricultural resource base, provides a flexible framework for understanding the diverse factors affecting small farms. It also provides methodologies that allow the development of technologies closely tailored to the needs and circumstances of specific peasant communities.

2. The low-input and regenerative agricultural techniques and designs proposed by agroecology are socially activating, as they require a high level of popular participation.

3. Agroecological techniques are culturally compatible, since they do not question peasants' rationale but actually build upon traditional farming knowledge, combining it with elements of modern agricultural science.

4. Agroecology does not attempt to modify or transform the peasant ecosystem radically, but rather identifies management elements that, once incorporated, help optimize the production unit.

5. Agroecological approaches are economically viable, minimizing costs of production by using locally available resources more efficiently.

Despite these characteristics, agroecology has not yet really strengthened either the theoretical or the practical capabilities of citizens' associations in their quest for a sustainable agriculture. Many citizens' associations do now, however, recognize that in order to realize the potentials of agroecology, a combination of human, scientific and institutional resources will be needed.

Through the years several citizens' associations have exchanged experiences and engaged in collaborative training and research. Some activities have resulted in strong working linkages between citizens' associations, local universities and research centers. This networking has shown citizens' associations that they can better achieve technological innovation collectively, while continuing to recognize the particular social, ecological and ethnic realities of the peasant agriculture in each region.

Convinced of the need for a collective institutional arrangement to foster agroecology in rural development, a group of eight South American citizens' associations created the Consorcio Latino Americano sobre Agroecologia y Desarrollo (CLADESA-Latin American Consortium on Agroecology and Development) in January 1989 at a meeting in Santiago, Chile. The Consortium's central objective is the development and diffusion
of agroecological options for peasants, in part through training professionals and technicians associated with institutions committed to sustainable agriculture. Thus, the Consortium will coordinate a research, training and information exchange among the member citizens’ associations, which in turn will extend the Consortium’s contributions within its own national and regional spaces. In addition, the Consortium will provide an arena where citizens’ associations can compare their experiences and then examine critically the technical and pedagogical proposals advanced. Such inductive analysis will allow:

- State-of-the-art descriptions of what citizens’ associations are doing, why they do it, and how they do it, as well as descriptions of the existing human and material resources invested in their rural development programs, thereby defining what the citizens’ associations can offer in terms of research capabilities and technological proposals;

- Systematization of their research and rural development experiences, evaluating the main lessons derived from such experiences and identifying research and training areas that need reorientation and further inquiry;

- Development of indicators and evaluation criteria that allow them to assess the technical viability of their proposals, measure the impact of the proposals, determine the degree of success, and understand the significance of the results achieved;

- Development of research methodologies for agroeco-systems diagnosis and analysis, retrieval and systematization of peasant knowledge and traditional resource-management technologies, on-farm trials to test and evaluate alternative technologies aimed at solving specific production constraints and participatory research that integrates farmers’ and researchers’ knowledge and criteria;

- The writing of a research proposal addressing the development of appropriate regional agroecological technologies for soil and water conservation and management, plant protection, cropping systems design and management, conservation of genetic resources, agroforestry and animal husbandry.

Following is a list and brief description of the institutions comprising CLADES.

- Servicios Múltiples de Tecnologías Apropriadas (SEMTA). Casilla 20410, La Paz, Bolivia. For 10 years, SEMTA has been devoted to the development of appropriate technologies for rural areas in the central altiplano (highland plain) of Bolivia. Its agricultural work emphasizes organic potato production, crop protection through biological pest suppression, vegetable production in greenhouses appropriate to the altiplano and small-scale irrigation. It also has a strong medicinal-plants program built on the ethnobotanical knowledge of the Kallawaya Indians.

- Projeto Tecnologias Alternativas (PTA), Rua Bento Líncoba 58, 3º Andar, Catete, CEP 22221 Rio de Janeiro, Brasil. PTA provides alternative technologies to organizations and communities of small farmers in the areas of production, marketing and labor organization. Its approach is to enhance solidarity among farmer groups, distributing technological innovations that allow people to confront production limitations collectively. It works within twelve states through a network of documentation centers, centers of alternative technology (for experimentation, training and demonstration), publications and training courses for PTA technicians and rural promoters. FASF (Federação de Órgãos para Assistência Social e Educacional) regularly publishes the magazine Proposta, which, among other things, describes PTA activities. FASF/PTA also publishes an intermittent series entitled
Boletín do Proyecto T.A., which describes organization activities, upcoming events and current projects and technologies.

- **Centro de Educación y Tecnología (CET)**, Casilla 16557, Correo 9, **Santiago**, Chile. CET is devoted to the search for alternative forms of agricultural development among the rural and urban poor, building on the resources available to these sectors. It has developed programs in six regions of Chile, reaching approximately eighty communities. Its research/training centers have trained technicians from some 160 Chilean and other Latin American institutions on alternative farming techniques. Its serial publication, *Somos Capaces*, describes its model organic peasant farm and intensively managed home gardens, which have sustained productivity and provided diet diversity relying only on local resources. Associated with CET is the *Comisión de Investigación de Agricultura Alternativa* (CIAL), a group of professors from the schools of agriculture of the University of Chile, Catholic University Santiago, and Quillota Campuses who conduct and sponsor research in collaboration with CET on alternative agriculture. While each professor emphasizes a particular research area (organic soil management, biological pest control, agroforestry, or livestock production), they collaborate on on-farm case studies and also direct student theses on topics that reinforce CET’s community training work.

- **Centro de Tecnología Campesina (CETEC)**, Avenida 5 Norte 20-37, **Cali**, Colombia. CETEC concentrates its efforts in the southwestern part of the Cauca Valley, providing low-input technologies tailored to the needs of small cassava producers and augmenting the food self-sufficiency of sugarcane laborers and their families through intensive home gardens. CETEC has established working relationships with other Colombian citizens’ associations (e.g., FUNDAEC [Fundación para la Aplicación y Enseñanza de las Ciencias], IMCA [Instituto Mayor Campesino]) engaged in technological development for campesinos.

- **Centro Andino de Acción Popular (CAAP)**, Apdo 173-B, **Quito**, Ecuador. Established in 1977, CAAP implements rural development activities among the peasants and indigenous peoples of the North and Central Sierras of Ecuador. Its agricultural program aims to rescue traditional knowledge in order to conceptualize the productive rationale of Andean peasants, to support them in their quest for appropriate technologies and a connection to local markets, and to add to Andean technology through demonstration and experimental farms. In its health program, CAAP supports traditional medical practices and agents. Both programs are integrated through social organization strategies based on social affinities particular to each group. CAAP’s active publications program includes three series: *Cuadernos de Educación Popular, Cuadernos de Discusión Popular* and *Cuadernos de Capacitación Popular* (popular education, discussion and training quarterlies). In addition, it publishes *Ecuador Debate*, some issues of which are devoted to rural development and the peasantry.

- **Centro de Promoción Campesina de la Coordillera (CPCC)**, Dr Pino 1975, **Caacupé**, Paraguay. CPCC is administered by a peasant organization that promotes farmers’ participation in alternative development programs emphasizing agroforestry, apiculture, food production and commercialization. Its activities are concentrated in an area of minifundios about 50 km from Asunción.

- **Centro de Investigación, Educación y Desarrollo (CIED)**, Apdo 11-0104, **Lima**, Peru. CIED initiated its education and promotion activities in 1973 to support the peasants of the altiplano, especially in the
areas of Lima, Puno, Arequipa and Cajamarca. For example, CIED's Equipo de Desarrollo Agropecuario (EDAC) in Cajamarca centers its activities on soil and water conservation in microwatersheds of Porcón and Chonta; diversification of Andean crop production for subsistence and for market by means of appropriate technologies, revolving credit and seed banks; animal husbandry for generating income; marketing; crafts; health and nutrition; and social organization.

• Centro Ideas, Apdo 11670, Lima II, Perú. Centro Ideas is interested in reversing several of the problems that affect rural areas of Cajamarca (e.g. soil erosion, disappearance of Andean crops, crop monocultures leading to protein-poor diets). Its alternative production schemes are based on organic agricultural principles. It has developed improved crop rotations and associations in a demonstration farm, which include such crops as lentils, quinoa and lupins. Preliminary results from a new research component that quantifies yields in each proposed rotation show increases in yield and income. The organization also emphasizes the raising of goats and cuyes (guinea pigs), soil conservation practices, and planting of native fruit trees, medicinal plants, and insect-repellent plants. Its women-children program features mixed home gardens, food preparation and basic health education.

The executive secretariat of the Consortium is made up of CET, CIED and PTA, with CET as the coordinating institution. The Consortium is open to establishing working relationships with other citizens' associations, universities, and research centers both from within the region and from other parts of the world.

Deforestation

Three million signatures presented to the UN

On September 19, representatives of forest peoples from Brazil, the Philippines, India and other Third World countries presented 3 million signatures, collected from 23 countries, to Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, in support of a call for an emergency session of the UN to consider ways to put an end to global deforestation.

The petition, launched by The Ecologist in 1987, was presented in conjunction with a Manifesto, drawn up by the World Rainforest Movement, calling for an immediate halt to those projects which are causing the runaway destruction of tropical and temperate forests.

The organizers, the World Rainforest Movement, based in Penang, Malaysia and Ecorupa, the European Ecological Action Group, based in Paris - plan to follow up the initiative with two further campaigns:

• At the national level, groups which participated in the campaign are being urged to lobby their national governments to back the call for a UN emergency session;

• At the international level, a working party has been set up to help coordinate a coherent grassroots response to the forest crisis and to draw up, through local forest peoples' groups, detailed regional proposals to combat deforestation. The aim is to put forward a "Peoples" alternative to the Tropical Forestry Action Plan and other top-down "solutions" being imposed by the international development community.

[The Ecologist (Vol 19, No 6, Nov/Dec 1989) Corner House, Station Road, Sturminster Newton, Dorset, England DT10 1BB]
Nepal: Centre for Rural Technology

The Centre for Rural Technology (CRT) is a non-profit private organization established in August 1989.

CRT's main objective is to develop, promote and disseminate technology suited to local conditions for enhancing the process of rural development in order to improve the socio-economic condition of the rural poor. It provides consulting services to individuals, entrepreneurs, action groups and agencies to help integrate rural technology in development process. The Centre establishes linkage with national and international agencies involved in rural technology to perform its activities.

Main focus
- Sustainable agricultural practice
- Farmer managed irrigation system
- Rural and cottage industry
- Renewable energy
- Ecology and environment
- Women and rural poor
- Rural housing

Field of activities
- Technology development and promotion:
  - Participates in the task of technology development and promotion.
  - Collaborates with national and international agencies to undertake action research projects for the development and promotion of rural technology suited to local environment.
  - Assists local entrepreneurs and organizations to promote technological innovations.
- Technology transfer
  - Conducts training and seminar on rural technology.
  - Assists in proto-type testing.
  - Conducts participatory action research.
  - Organizes exhibitions and demonstrations to acquaint people with rural technology and its applications.
- Consultancy and advisory services
  - Provides consulting and advisory services for identification, planning and management of rural technology.
  - Assists in monitoring and evaluation of technological projects.
- Documentation and communication
  - Collects, processes and disseminates information on rural technology to meet the needs of entrepreneurs, users and other related agencies.
  - Publishes newsletters and prepares audio-visual materials on rural technology.

(POB 3628, Tripureswor, Kathmandu, Nepal)

**La préservation du patrimoine architectural en terre, est le thème d'un cours dont l'objectif principal est de développer une méthodologie spécifique de préservation des architectures de terre. Ce cours qui aura lieu de 17 septembre au 5 octobre à Grenoble, France, inclut conférences, sessions de laboratoire, démonstrations, exercices et visites de terrain. (CRATerre, 10 Galerie des Baladins, 38100 Grenoble, France)**
Venezuela: Amigransa

La Sociedad de Amigos en defensa de la Gran Sabana, "Amigransa", se constituyó en 1986, como una asociación civil sin fines de lucro para la preservación, conservación y defensa del patrimonio ecológico y cultural, de la Gran Sabana, del Parque Nacional Canaima y de aquellas áreas fuera del mismo pertenecientes a la Cuenca del Río Caroní. La defensa de la Gran Sabana es nuestro primer propósito, por ser una de las últimas reservas vírgenes del planeta y por tratarse de una zona sumamente estratégica desde todo punto de vista.

Sabemos lo importante de conservarla en su estado natural, por sus bellezas y patrimonio genético único en el mundo, como por constituir una gran fuente inagotable de agua, generadora de un caudaloso potencial de energía en el mayor complejo hidroeléctrico del país como es Guri. Se trata de una feliz convergencia de intereses ecológicos y económicos hacia la preservación del mundo natural.

Para el logro de sus objetivos Amigransa se ha propuesto:

- Iniciar acciones conducentes a fomentar una conciencia colectiva de respeto y valorización del medio ambiente.

- Proponer y coordinar acciones, conjuntamente con los organismos públicos y privados involucrados en la preservación del medio ambiente natural y en especial los ambientes de la Gran Sabana, dirigidas a acumular experiencias y resultados concretos que conduzcan al logro de los objetivos planteados.

- Exaltar el amor y respeto por las comunidades indígenas, quienes guardan claves milenarias del buen uso de esa zona.

- Realizar investigaciones o estudios sobre ecología, conservación contaminación, arqueología y antropología de la zona.

- Promover el rescate de los valores culturales y el desarrollo de tecnologías autóctonas adecuadas.

- Influir y/o participar en la planificación de programas y proyectos de educación ambiental, con el fin de contribuir al fomento de actitudes y comportamientos de la población, indispensables para la conservación, defensa y mejoramiento del ambiente.

- Ayudar en la extinción y prevención de incendios de vegetación.

- Velar porque la concepción arquitectónica de las nuevas construcciones respete el entorno natural y se integre en forma armónica con el paisaje.

- Denunciar ante los organismos correspondientes y ante el país, a aquellas personas o instituciones que por sus actividades atenten contra la conservación de los Recursos Naturales Renovables o No Renovables o bien contra las comunidades indígenas.

- Fomentar la creación de grupos o asociaciones afines en todos los sectores de la comunidad nacional y mantener relaciones con tales grupos y asociaciones.

- Rendir reconocimiento a aquellas personas o instituciones que por sus actividades hayan propiciado la conservación, defensa, protección, preservación del ambiente.

- Participar en congresos y simposios a nivel nacional e internacional sobre materias de interés para la sociedad.
Fomentar la creación de La Escuela de Voluntarios Amigos de la Naturaleza, con la finalidad de formar personas capacitadas para resguardar el ambiente y propagar prácticas de educación ambiental.

¿Por qué es importante conservar la Gran Sabana?

La Gran Sabana es un lugar de incomparable belleza, es reservorio de agua dulce y el nicho ecológico de especies animales y vegetales únicas en el planeta.

Gran parte de ese territorio está protegido como Parque Nacional, sin embargo ya presenta numerosos impactos humanos negativos de considerable magnitud. Los frecuentes incendios forestales, la intensa actividad minera no regulada, los desordenados asentamientos humanos y la incontrolada actividad turística, son, entre otros, los agentes causantes de su deterioro.

Estos agentes aumentan velozmente y no se ha instrumentado una política de base científica que permita regular las actividades y usos de ese espacio, dentro de un plan general coherente con las vocaciones intrínsecas del área y sus reales necesidades. Además, dichos trabajos se están ejecutando sin el cuidado requerido por los frágiles ecosistemas comprometidos a lo largo de la vida: se han deforestado vastas extensiones de selva virgen y se explotan canteras en áreas del Parque Nacional.

En el ánimo de ofrecer soluciones a la compleja problemática de la Gran Sabana, Amigransa ha venido trabajando en la elaboración del proyecto La Gran Sabana: una escuela para revivir la inserción hombre-entorno; la relación armónica con la naturaleza.

Inspirado en la concepción de eco-desarrollo como vía para el restablecimiento de las relaciones armónicas entre el hombre y la naturaleza, el proyecto persigue fomentar entre la población hábitos adecuados para el aprovechamiento de los parajes naturales sin la consecuencia de deterioro, destrucción y muerte, y de esta manera proveer a la comunidad nacional de una escuela o escenario natural donde experimentar la educación ambiental a través de un marco de referencia idóneo al conocimiento de los procesos vitales y de las geografías locales.

Actividades realizadas por la sociedad

Hemos llevado a cabo exitosamente la instalación de Campamentos de Educación Ambiental durante los años 1987 y 1988 en la quebrada de Jaspe, Parque Nacional Canaima, llamados Operación Especial Kako Paru - con el fin de controlar el impacto ambiental ocasionado por los turistas en la temporada de Semana Santa, ofreciendo servicios de distinta índole como son: la recolección de basura, servicio de letrinas, servicio de agua potable al temporalista, ordenación de los espacios ya deteriorados para el uso de instalación de carpas y estacionamiento de vehículos, programas de educación ambiental como son: juegos ecológicos, cuentos, charlas, información sobre el parque y comportamiento dentro del mismo, con la participación de la comunidad indígena en las tareas de conservación y vigilancia, etc.

Participación activa en la recopilación y distribución de información a nivel nacional e internacional, y denuncia ante los organismos e instituciones del Estado, con el fin de lograr la prohibición por parte del Ejecutivo Nacional, del Rally Transamazónico, masiva y desenfrenada competencia de vehículos organizada desde los Estados Unidos por la Exploration Society of America con la desafortunada colaboración del Automóvil Touring Club de Venezuela, la Jeep de Venezuela y Venezvisión.

(Apdo 50460, Caracas 1050, Venezuela)
Asia: Ten years of ANGOC

The Initial Years

From December 1977, several regional non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and their national partners in seven Asian countries, came together to formulate an Asian Campaign of People's Consultations. These consultations were to constitute the Asian NGO input to the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD) convened by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in Rome, July 1979.

A wide range of activities were undertaken. Village-level consultations were conducted in twenty villages in Thailand, ten villages in the Philippines, ten villages in Indonesia, and in a broad sampling of villages in India, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. The results of these village consultations were reported in the ANGOC publication, *The Case for Alternative Development - Of the People, For the People, By the People.*

At the First Asian (Pre-WCARRD) Regional NGO Workshop, held in Bangkok in February 1979, participants agreed to constitute themselves as an Asian NGO Coalition for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ANGOC).

In November 1979, FAO sponsored the First Regional Government Consultation on the Follow-Up to WCARRD. In this consultation, due recognition was given to NGOs as effective agents in organizing people at the grassroots level, gathering community information and complementing government efforts in development.

In 1981, ANGOC identified several grassroots-based NGOs in the preparation of preliminary studies on women in development, training, social forestry, small fishermen, tribal minorities and marginal farmers.

In 1982, ANGOC organized the Third Asian NGO Regional Workshop for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development in collaboration with FAO. One of the major decisions taken was to preserve the identity and autonomy of ANGOC as an international organization. ANGOC was therefore registered in Hongkong as a transnational association.

The Growing Years

In 1985 ANGOC organized an Asian NGO Regional Workshop on Rural Development Cooperation, marking the first of a series of national tripartite meetings among governments, NGOs and "donor" agencies to promote dialogue, build stronger ties, coordinate working relationships and identify concrete areas for cooperation.

The ANGOC Award for Rural Development was initiated to give prominence to village-level primary organizations that have made significant contributions to the development of their communities. The first award was given in 1986 to the Association of Sarva Seva Farms (ASSEFA) of Tamil Nadu, India. The second recipient of the award was the Usaha Bersama Arian Manung of Klaten, Central Java, Indonesia.

In 1987, ANGOC organized a workshop on The State of NGOs in Rural Development and Selected NGO Perceptions of Rural Development Policies in the Philippines.

In the fight against rural poverty, NGOs have geared their strategies towards increasing the access of the poor and marginalized peasants to credit, agricultural inputs, basic services and other needs including the organization of self-help groups and autonomous cooperatives. Other NGOs play an
advocacy role at the national and sub-national levels to influence policy and program implementation towards rural poverty alleviation. These initiatives have been noted by ANGOC in a collection of case studies of successful rural poverty alleviation activities of selected NGOs in the region. A special report on *Rural Poverty Alleviation: Issues and Strategies from an Asian NGO Perspective* was published.

In the Philippines, ANGOC played a key role in the organization of the *Congress for a People's Agrarian Reform* (CPAR) which brought together some 225 representatives from all the major farmers' associations, peasant federations, rural development NGOs and other government and donor agencies to discuss the agrarian reform agenda in the Philippines.

In 1988, ANGOC continued to advance its WCARRD follow-up activities. It intensified its advocacy and action-oriented involvement in other sectors. During the year, a series of national consultations on small-scale fisheries development were held, which culminated in the holding of a Southeast Asian regional consultation involving representatives from fisherfolk organizations, government and international development agencies. Other ANGOC development education exchange programmes focused on rural credit and marketing, nutrition and health, and coconut peasants development.

A major refocusing of ANGOC programs was made to give cognizance to the issue of environment and sustainable development. Given the increasing global awareness on environmental degradation and the frequently occurring disasters due to environmental neglect, ANGOC realized the need to get more actively involved in setting the pace for a policy agenda on protecting the environment, in light of "development" projects that have proven to be hazardous to nature's ecosystem.

**Current Biennium: 1989-90**

ANGOC continues to build up its programs focused on three main themes: *NGO Strategic Capacity-Building, NGO Institutional Development and Capability Strengthening, and Promoting Public Policy Dialogue, Development Education and Cooperation*.

In early 1989, it organized with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and FAO a *National Workshop on NGO Involvement in Grassroots Development* which provided a comprehensive overview of NGO functioning in the Philippines in the fields of agrarian reform and rural development, urban poor development, environment and social forestry, small-scale fisheries development, rural credit, finance and cooperatives, as well as population, health and social welfare.

Further, an *Inter-Regional Consultation on People's Participation in Environmentally Sustainable Development* was held during the middle of the year with the *Environment Liaison Centre International* (ELCI) as co-host institution.

ANGOC realizes the need for influencing public opinion and generating mass-based support for, or opposition to particular development issues. In pursuit of this, ANGOC's *Development Education and Publications Programme* is continually sustained to bring about critical awareness and catalyze development action to key issues facing Third World countries.

ANGOC has an active membership of 19 NGOs in seven countries in Asia: Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand.

(MC POB 870, Makati, Metro Manila 1200, Philippines)
India: Antar Bharati

Objectives:
- To work for national integration.
- To create and sustain sense of social awareness.
- To undertake overall development programmes for children, youth, women and socio-economically weaker sections.
- To undertake research, education, training, employment, vocational guidance, exhibitions.
- To provide welfare services.
- To avail appropriate help and guidance from government schemes and affiliate with organisations of similar aims.
- To work with scientific attitude as a value for development.

Creative Literature and Educational Publications (CLEP)

Publications of creative literature and educational aids are undertaken. A monthly periodical in Hindi Antar Bharati, a youth magazine, provides a scope for youth creativity, social awareness, national unity and constructive attitude.

Women and Children Health Unit (WACIIU)

Rural health centre for women and children is established on modest scale. An effort is made to develop, extend and use indigenous (Ayurvedic Medical system) medicines.

Rural Survey Division (RSD)

Antar Bharati has trained youth workers to collect and analyze information on various rural problems such as the socio-economic situation of Gurakh youth (shepherds), women, agricultural labourers and children.

Several Campaign and Campaign (SCC)

Antar Bharati organises several campaigns for eye donations, book donations and afforestation and anti-dowry campaign and felicitation of intercaste married couples, to create mass awareness on specific issues and mobilize community participation.

Self Employment and Training Unit (SETU)

Training in employment oriented technologies and services are given in typing, tailoring, printing and composing, embroidery, knitting, food preservation, handi-craft, painting decorative pieces from waste materials, patch works, quilts of cotton, etc.

Awareness and Communication Team (ACT)

This team organises exhibitions, film shows, training camps, seminars and gatherings. The themes include scientific temper, health and hygiene, afforestation, population, literacy and non-conventional energy sources. The communication methodologies include puppetry, dramas, street plays and painting slogans on the walls.
Canada: Turning 2000

Turning 2000 is a project to bolster renewed pride and interest in the places people live, reverse the deterioration of neighbourhoods, honour Canada's history of effort and achievement, and help develop self-sufficient communities.

Turning 2000 requires a commitment from individuals to pledge twelve hours to improve their community. Every year until 2015 the volunteer will be asked to renew that pledge so that over thirty years roughly 360 hours of community work will be dedicated by each participant.

Each community would set its own agenda, determine priorities and coordinate volunteers. A council, board or volunteer centre would bring public interest organizations, neighbourhood groups and service agencies together, while directing participants to projects where they are most needed.

Three projects would meet local, national and international interests.

Locally: Identify the potential and problems of your community. By reviewing maps and settlement plans, taking walks and making inquiries, develop a current overall picture of your neighbourhood from which to coordinate efforts and provide direction to neighbourhood renewal programs. Identify priority areas, point sources endangering health or causing environmental degradation, and areas of unique cultural, natural, historical and social value.

Nationally: In recognition of the early explorers who crossed this land, the 30 year trail project is a tangible challenge. By connecting with local trails and parks, soliciting donations, and purchasing corridors, this ribbon of hope and achievement can join communities throughout the country.

Internationally: In each community develop a cohesive and consistent strategy that meets local needs while complementing the guidelines of the provincial, Canadian and World Conservation Strategy. This initiative will encourage sustainable development and enhance our standard of living, protect genetic diversity and maintain essential ecological systems. It is a local application of fundamental global initiatives to protect the biosphere and ensure continued opportunity for prosperity and progress.

It is essential to identify areas needing special attention: find the places that make each community unique, and build a supportive environment; spruce up old buildings, parks and heritage sites; encourage self-help housing and provision of social services; rebuild inner-city neighbourhoods to a human scale; revitalize the downtown; begin country/city work and exchange programs; set up a local exchange or barter trading system; solicit and re-distribute edible surplus products to elderly, ill or disadvantaged; begin a North/South 'twinning'; identify and provide bicycle routes and walkways; open up vacant land for citystead gardening; form local resource boards and job think-tanks.

The benefits are many: a sense of community and cultural identity encouraged; stimulation of the local economy targeted; diverse groups and interests work for mutual benefit; cooperative ways of organizing and working with business and government created; adversarial atmosphere reduced; and survival of unique and essential ecological systems assured.

(c/o Cross Cultural Learner Ctre, 533 Clarence St, London, Ont N6A 3N1, Canada)
Afrique de l'Ouest: Appui du PNUD aux "ONGs"

Le Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement (PNUD) a mis sur pied un Projet Régional de Renforcement de la Collaboration entre les gouvernements, les ONGs et le PNUD en Afrique. La question des ONGs en Afrique est fondamentalement une question d'organisation avant d'être une question de financement.

Objectif - Renforcer les liens de coopération entre les gouvernements, les ONGs et le PNUD en Afrique. Pour ce faire, il offre une assistance à la demande de l'une ou l'autre des parties pour aider à l'établissement d'une politique de coopération mutuelle pour le renforcement de l'auto-promotion des communautés de base.

Services qui peuvent être rendus

- Elaboration d'une stratégie de développement communautaire dans le pays considéré.
- Définition d'un schéma directeur d'assistance aux ONGs locales.
- Définition d'une méthode de recherche et de mobilisation de financement pour soutenir les projets d'initiatives de base.
- Aider à la mise en place d'un système de communication et d'information entre gouvernement et ONGs.
- Utilisation de consultants locaux.
- Management de structures gouvernementales de coopération avec les ONGs.
- Elaboration de textes organiques définissant les relations entre ONGs et gouvernements.
- Définition de stratégie de coopération entre structures d'Etat et ONGs.
- Organisation de tables rondes.
- Financement d'ateliers de travail gouvernements-ONGs pour des montants ne dépassant pas $ 2,000.

Important: Le projet collecte des données sur les activités des ONGs à travers l'Afrique pour équiper un centre de documentation dans les locaux de son siège. Toute documentation sera la bienvenue. En outre, huit associations d'ONGs à travers l'Afrique reçoivent une assistance en management afin qu'elles puissent mieux remplir leurs fonctions au profit de leurs ONGs membres.

Qui peut adresser une requête au projet?

- Les gouvernements.
- Les représentants résidents du PNUD.
- Les associations d'ONGs (conseil, fédération, consortium, etc.) par le biais du bureau du PNUD dans chaque pays.

Le projet a déjà financé et participé à un atelier de travail ONG-gouvernement au Cameroun, au Congo, au Ghana et au Bénin. Nous nous sommes engagés à financer une étude pour la collecte de données sur les ONGs au Bénin et au Swaziland, et mené une étude au Togo auprès des membres de la Fédération des ONGs sur les services que celle-ci devrait leur rendre.

L'aide du projet a également été sollicitée par le Bénin et la Guinée-Bissau pour une consultation en matière de renforcement d'associations d'ONGs.

(BP 911, Lomé, Togo)
Costa Rica: Comité Nacional por la No Violencia contra la mujer y en la familia

Una de cada 3 mujeres adultas en Costa Rica sufre alguna forma de agresión de parte de su pareja. La violencia en el seno de la familia es una realidad aun oculta en nuestra sociedad.

¿Quiénes somos?

Un equipo humano que ha decidido enfrentar y prevenir el problema de la agresión contra la mujer y la violencia en la familia.

Lo integramos mujeres que estamos enfrentando o hemos sobrevivido a relaciones de violencia y abuso, profesionales de todas las áreas, personas con recursos y experiencia en diferentes campos y voluntarias y voluntarios dispuestos a colaborar.

¿Qué buscamos?

- Promover el apoyo mutuo entre mujeres y la solidaridad de la sociedad.
- Disminuir la agresión contra la mujer y la violencia en el seno familiar.
- Promover y defender los derechos humanos de la mujer en su vida cotidiana.
- Dar apoyo integral y directo a las mujeres y otros miembros de la familia.
- Integrar a los hombres a la tarea de erradicar la violencia cotidiana en nuestra sociedad.
- Sensibilizar la opinión pública y promover cambios de actitud, legislativos e institucionales.

Nuestros programas y servicios

- Programa "Mujer no estás sola"
  Grupos de apoyo que dan y reciben apoyo humano y emocional, compartiendo experiencias y aportando conocimientos.
  Orientación y apoyo psicológico.
  Información, asesoría y apoyo legal.

- Capacitación y asesoría
  A profesionales, instituciones y agrupaciones que se enfrentan al problema de la agresión contra la mujer.

  A grupos de mujeres que desean informarse, prevenir la violencia en su medio o impulsar grupos de apoyo.

  A grupos comunales, laborales y gremiales que quieren fomentar entre sus miembros relaciones de convivencia y solidaridad humana y desean prevenir la violencia.

- Investigación
  Priorizamos las investigaciones que permiten aumentar los recursos individuales y sociales para enfrentar el problema de la agresión contra la mujer.

Publicamos...

- Siempre vivas, un boletín periódico de información y análisis.

- Mujer no estás sola, un folleto para las mujeres que enfrentan problemas de abuso y agresión.

(Apartado 5355, San José 1000, Costa Rica)
Arabia: The Organization for Human Rights (AOHR)

Since 1986, the Arab Organization for Human Rights has published an annual report on the human rights situation in the Arab world.

The Arab Organization for Human Rights does not discriminate between one country and another; it merely monitors events and circumstances and submits its findings to Arab citizens and persons concerned with human rights. Its principal objective is to ensure respect for the rights of Arab citizens everywhere so that their natural aptitudes, freed from all restrictions, can contribute to the development and advancement of the Arab world.

AOHR makes every effort to exclude politically motivated complaints and verifies the information received by assessing it within the general context of the available data and, wherever possible, tracing each reported incident to its original source.

Constitutional legislation is the principal source of guarantees in regard to human rights. Modern constitutions have a tendency to give a more elaborate presentation of human rights and fundamental freedoms with a view to endowing them with the characteristic stability of constitutional texts.

Like other countries of the world, the Arab states have constitutions that regulate their systems of government and specify the rights, obligations and public freedoms of their citizens, except in the cases of three states which do not have constitutions: Saudi Arabia, Oman and Libya.

There are two Arab countries, Djibouti and Mauritania, which do not have constitutions in the full sense of the term; they only have a constitutional act and charter, consisting in brief simple documents which, in regard to public rights and freedoms, merely indicate the State's intention to respect the principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In view of the importance of the question of equality between men and women, the preambles to the constitutions of most of these countries make provision for equality and non-discrimination on grounds of race, religion or sex. However, some Arab constitutions omit the reference to 'sex' as a ground on which there must be no discrimination among citizens. This can be noted in the constitutions of Jordan, Iraq, the Emirates and Kuwait.

Economic, social and cultural rights are set forth in varying degrees of detail, although almost all the constitutions provide for the right to education, compulsory primary education, and the right to work. Some of the constitutions promulgated in the 1970s, such as those of Bahrain and Somalia, give elaborate details of these rights.

This is the general constitutional framework for the exercise of human rights in the Arab world. States have an obligation to respect and implement its principles governing their political societies. The absence of constitutions in some countries does not exempt them from the obligation to respect human right in their territories, since these rights have become international customary law and constitute general moral principles which civilized societies have accepted and the spirit of which is fully consistent with the divine law that these countries have adopted as their guiding light.

(17 Midan Aswan, Muhandessin, Giza Cairo, Egypt)
Yugoslavia: CICD

The Centre for International Cooperation and Development - CICD - is an independent, self-financed institution specialized in fundamental and applied economic research. The Centre aims to contribute to understanding and solution of social and economic problems related to development process in the Third World, to mutual cooperation among the countries of the South, and general understanding of international economic environment. The main emphasis of its research is on "applied" policy-oriented studies; providing consultancy and information services and training in the field of foreign business cooperation. It also aims to help Yugoslav clients, enterprises or government agencies to develop strategies and formulate their operational programmes for efficient cooperation with foreign partners.

In its twenty-year work under the name of Research Centre for Cooperation with Developing Countries (RCCDC), the stable programme orientation and firm regular links with clients have secured our institution numerous partners from business, government and scientific community. The Centre has 15 co-founders and more than 100 members. CICD's staff consists of 29 full-time researchers and consultants, most of them having at least five years of professional experience, and of more than 100 part-time consultants and associates from Yugoslavia and abroad.

The Centre recently extended its activities to economic cooperation with industrialized countries. This led to formal change of its name in the middle of 1988 into "Centre for International Cooperation and Development".

CICD is active in the following fields:

- research and monitoring of economic and socio-political development of individual countries, with special attention given to the South;
- international economic relations and South-South cooperation;
- Yugoslav economic cooperation with foreign countries;
- Yugoslav and other countries business law and international business law;
- transnational enterprises and foreign investment;
- development financing;
- small-scale economy;
- technological development and transfer of technology;
- international economic groupings.

CICD has developed a wide international activity, providing research and consultancy services to international institutions (e.g. OECD, UNIDO, UNCTAD, WIDER, INSTRAW, Secretariat of G-77, South Commission) and organized a number of international business conferences and expert group meetings. Together with ZIDS, CICD carried out in 1986/87 an extensive research programme on South-South cooperation, resulting in 17 sectorial studies. The Centre is active also in the field of inter-institutional cooperation with related institutions from all over the world. It has long-term cooperation agreements with more than 30 national and with several international organizations (UNIDO, UNCTAD, ICFE, ICTP).

The Centre publishes a semi-annual journal, Development and South-South Cooperation.
Coping with martial law was a common concern of many social groups at the time that IBON was formed in 1978. Through seminars, religious groups, workers, farmers, students, professionals and other sectors were seeking ways to understand and alleviate the prevailing social conditions. It was during one of these structural seminars that some participants saw the need to work with accurate and up-to-date facts and figures in analyzing the Philippine situation.

IBON was one of the responses to that need. Sr Soledad Perpinan, Sally Bulatao and an artist put together the first issue of IBON Facts & Figures in August 1978. The attention that the simple fact sheet drew was heartening as the first 200 copies printed was followed by another 2,000 within the same week. Furthermore, this reprinting was made possible through contributions of five, ten and twenty pesos from people who thought this was useful material. IBON received support from professional economists who sometimes contributed drafts that became the basis of some issues. IBON started with, literally, nothing to its name: Facts & Figures was typed and stencilled on a borrowed typewriter, printed on a borrowed mimeographing machine, edited, collated and prepared for delivery in a borrowed counseling cubicle at the Good Shepherd Sisters' Welcome House at Pandacan.

IBON Facts & Figures became known as a concise and handy twice-monthly, eight-page fact sheet which made economic concepts and developments understandable to non-economists. Within a few months of its first publication, IBON Facts & Figures was succeeded by a Tagalog and a Cebuano translation. A primer on the gold mining industry, written in Ilocano, was first used by mine workers at Benguet Corporation in Baguio. This was followed by other IBON industry primers on garments, fishing, oil, industrial estates, commercial banks, footwear, beverage, drug and others.

IBON launched the translated editions of IBON Facts & Figures in 1982 to replace the short-lived Maya Komiks project. In 1984, the project was reconceptualized and became known as the IBON Ekonokomiks. Both Facts & Figures and Ekonokomiks were welcomed in a number of schools which felt it their responsibility to inform and educate students about the socio-economic realities under martial law.

The databank began as a data gathering support for all IBON publications. In 1978, it was just two boxes full of news clippings and some annual reports. Today, IBON Databank is the only computerized socio-economic data monitoring system of its kind in the country. It maintains a collection of news abstracts on computer, news clippings, periodicals, official documents and books. The databank's services range from library monitoring services to preparing financial analyses and databank training and research support. It serves a broad clientele including government and diplomatic offices, researchers, journalists, students, citizens' associations and others.

Throughout IBON's first decade, the dedication and creativity of its staff members served as the institution's moving spirit.

IBON draws its confidence to venture into another decade from the individuals and groups who continue to see the need for popular socio-economics as an active means of participating in nation-building.

(POB SM-447, Manila, Philippines)
1992: Une proposition de la LIDLIP

Le Conseil de la Ligue internationale pour les droits et la libération des peuples s'est réuni à Milan du 24 au 26 novembre 1989. Parmi les initiatives envisagées à cette occasion, une célébration alternative du 5e centenaire du débarquement européen en "Amérique latine".

En 1992 devra être lancée une campagne massive pour renverser le sens des célébrations officielles déjà en cours actuellement pour préparer la commémoration de la prétendue "découverte". De nombreuses Ligues nationales sont déjà engagées dans un vaste programme d'initiatives (centre de documentation, séminaires, manifestations, etc.). La Ligue internationale entend préparer deux instruments à l'usage de tous:

- Un texte d'histoire de la Conquête, à l'intention des étudiants des écoles moyennes-supérieures (et non de groupes de spécialistes), rédigé si possible par des auteurs latinoaméricains (Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, Eduardo Galeano, etc.). Ce texte pourrait être utilisé par des syndicats ou des associations d'enseignants démocratiques pour introduire notre thématique dans les écoles, ainsi que par d'autres organismes qui agissent dans le domaine de la formation populaire. Pour la publication du texte nous avons déjà l'engagement d'une importante maison d'édition italienne (Editori Riuniti) qui est disposée à servir de point de référence pour les lecteurs d'autres pays qui envisageraient de publier le texte dans d'autres langues. Il est urgent que les Ligues nationales prennent contact avec des maisons d'édition de leurs pays et nous fassent savoir si elles sont intéressées.

- Une cassette vidéo qui accompagne le texte (images historiques et films sur la condition actuelle des populations indigènes). D'autre part, une maison de production italienne (Archivio storico cinematografico del movimento operaio) s'est engagée à produire cette cassette. Aux Ligues nationales nous demandons de prendre les contacts nécessaires afin de savoir s'il serait possible de l'utiliser dans leurs pays, ce qui présuppose naturellement le doublage dans d'autres langues.

Ces deux instruments - texte et cassette vidéo - nous permettront de mettre sur pied en commun une campagne massive et de fournir des données et des arguments pour contester les célébrations officielles qui se préparent pour 1992. Il s'agit, dans un contexte historique, de mettre l'accent sur tous les problèmes actuels: dette, destruction de la forêt amazonienne, extermination des Indiens, etc.

(CP 315, 1211 Genève 4, Suisse)

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- The Nordic Sámi Council will be hosting the 6th General Conference of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) in Tromsø, Norway, 9-12 August 1990. The theme, Our Common Future, will focus on the future of indigenous peoples and the ongoing UN activities related to the development of standards for recognizing the rights of indigenous peoples will be discussed. Highlights of the program include cultural displays, exhibitions of indigenous arts, crafts and literatures. (Nordic Sámi Council, SF-99980 Ocejohka, Finland)
From Accra, Ghana

I am writing to commend you for the excellence of your publication. All the issues are unique in their contents. To me it's a very educative and helpful journal. Besides, I can share with others what I have read and know.

A.M. Dampson, Ghana Education Service

From Agbor, Nigeria

I wish to acknowledge receipt of IFDA Dossier 74. At this juncture, I would like to express thanks and appreciation over the benevolent gesture exhibited by your organization to St Paul's Library over the years. It is particularly instructive to note that the various IFDA Dossiers sent have been of tremendous significance to our library and the general reader. It is a publication whose contents have attracted the attention of many in more ways than one. We commend your efforts. I would like to continue receiving all future services and I strongly implore you to keep my name on your mailing list.

P.F. Okoh, St Paul's Library

From Akwa, Nigeria

Wishing you all the best for the backlog of IFDA Dossier generously sent to me recently. No one reading these essays and contributions to Third World discourse would fail to be impressed by their shrewdness, the clarity of exposition and intellectual acumen. Regards to you for a marvelous job and to all those whose contributions and efforts have enabled me and other grateful readers embrace these beautiful expositions. It is my hope that your resources will increase to meet the demands for your informative and enlightening magazine as we continue to rely on its meaningful references and dimensions.

Michael Edet Obot, IKDA

De Coyhauque, Chile

Los temas tratados en IFDA Dossier son todos muy interesantes para todos quienes de uno u otro modo nos dedicamos a procurar un mejoramiento de las actuales condiciones de vida de nuestros pueblos. Deseo expresarles mi gratitud por el envío de tan valioso material, a la vez que felicitar a todos quienes posibilitan la existencia de esta red de informaciones a través del mundo.

Roberto Alvarez San Martín

From Jamshedpur, India

You have been sending me very kindly your Dossier for quite long time. Thank you for your kind gesture from the depths of the heart. We have enjoyed every issue, every article.
every column, in fact every page and line of this very enlightening, insightful, informative, electrifying periodical. What delights me more than anything is articles and news about Indian conditions or by Indian authors. Rajni Kothari and his team of writers are a great source of inspiration to Indian students and activists in the field of social change. This periodical is serving a great purpose by working towards a just, equitable, democratic social change ensuring the voluntary participation of all sections of the society. The listing of other similar organisations on the globe is of particular interest and use to activists and researchers. I am associated with a voluntary organization and take care to pass the information and insight gained through the pages of this periodical. We would like to continue to receive in future this useful companion and guide.

Om Prakash Verma

From Makati, Philippines

This is to express our sincere gratitude for providing us copies of the IFDA Dossier. Congratulations for an excellent publication! We found the articles very enriching for they contain information helpful in our social development efforts. We would appreciate other updates which you can send our way.

Antonio Jovito M. Talag, Research and development supervisor, Caritas Manila

From Maracay, Venezuela

We are pleased to have received IFDA Dossier during 1989. Through IFDA Dossier we get important information on development and conservation and it is a good way to be connected with the rest of the world. We would like that you keep us in your mailing list.

Diógenes A. Hermoso, Sociedad Conservacionista Aragua

De San Salvador, El Salvador

Reciban cordiales saludos de parte de quien les desea toda clase de bien y prosperidad. Tengo en mis manos el número 73 de IFDA Dossier y he leído con sumo interés el artículo que aparece en español: Espacio nacional sobre Perú, y además, estoy haciendo un esfuerzo por entender un poco respecto a los otros artículos escritos en inglés (esto con dificultades por carecer de dominio de ese idioma, pero a la vez, motivándome a superar ese obstáculo para poder tener mayor acceso a esta información). Respecto a la experiencia peruana, me inquieta mucho lo relacionado a la participación de los democratas cristianos en el gobierno. Ésa me hace pensar también en la experiencia nuestra en estos últimos 10 años, y a que también acá han habido incoherencias y creo que eso fue parte de lo que nos llevó a que el proceso democratizador y reformista en nuestro país entrara en esta etapa crítica.

Eugenio León Barillas, Central Campesina Salvadoreña
Inner space

- Krishna Sivaraman (ed), *Hindu Spirituality: Vedas Through Vedanta* (New York: Crossroad, 1989*) 447pp. This first of two volumes on Hindu spirituality brings together the complex skein of thoughts, beliefs, and practices that developed from the archaic period of the Vedas and received their early crystallization as Vedanta, or "the end of the Veda". Part 1 contains articles ranging from the vision of the Vedic seers concerning mysteries of the world of spirit to the wisdom of the sages of the Upanisads. "The Spiritual Horizon of Dharma" is the subject of Part 2, dharma being pervasive concepts of Hindu spirituality and referring, as a social concept, to the moral code, the natural and positive law, and the duties of individuals. Part 3 is devoted to sramanic (or extra-brahmanic) spirituality as exemplified in Jainism, and Part 4 is concerned with the most prevalent feature of the spiritual disciplines of brahmanic and sramanic religions alike, namely, yoga, as a positive spiritual pursuit utilizing body, mind and speech. Part 5 treats "Vedanta as Reflective Spirituality", that is, as a cognitive and contemplative approach to the realization of spirit, while Part 6 discusses the major traditions of Vedanta interpreted as devotional theism. Part 7 explores the spiritual aspects of human life in its relation to nature and to physical health. Finally, part 8 profiles three contemporary exemplars of the Hindu tradition - two of them living memories and one still a living presence - who typify it in terms both of its very classical conservative form and of its meaningfulness today.

- Mark Shepard, *Mahatma Gandhi and His Myths* (Arcata: Simple Productions, 1990*) 28pp. Mahatma Gandhi is one of the least understood figures of all time. In his book, Mark Shepard tackles some persistently wrong-headed views of Gandhi, offering us a more accurate picture of the Mahatma and his nonviolence.

- Mark Shepard, *The Community of the Ark* (Arcata: Simple Productions, 1990*) 64pp. Tucked away in the windswept mountains of southern France is an island of peace known as the Community of the Ark. This community - now in its fifth decade and numbering over one hundred residents - is one of this century's successful experiments in utopian living. Founded by Lanza del Vasto, a Christian disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, it offers a model for a nonviolent society. In this brief portrait, journalist Mark Shepard reports on his six-week visit to the community.

- Groupe de Beaulieu, *Construire l'espérance: Manifeste pour une civilisation éco-spirituelle* (Lausanne: Editions de l'Aire, 1990*) 175pp. Le livre part d'une analyse sans complaisance de l'état actuel de l'humanité et de la biosphère, en décrit les causes profondes. L'ouvrage devient "Manifeste" en proposant un projet de société humaine basé sur une nouvelle philosophie éco-spirituelle. Il ne propose aucune solution de facilité, mais une double démarche: celle, intérieure, qui restructure l'individu par une pratique journ-
Elise Boulding, *One Small Plot of Heaven: Reflections on Family Life by a Quaker Sociologist* (Wallingford: Pendle Hill Publications, 1989*) 225pp. Twelve essays by Elise Boulding, prominent educator, Professor Emerita of Dartmouth College and Secretary-General of the International Peace Research Association. The collection is based on Elise Boulding's career as sociologist and futurist, and on experiential wisdom gained as parent of five, grandparent of fifteen, and marriage partner of economist Kenneth Boulding. As Elise writes in her introduction, "Is the human race doomed to mere survival (if that), never to rise to the heights of its own potentialities? Not as long as we can envision the development of humanity's unseen resources and be empowered by our visions. If we are looking for a starting place for both envisioning and working on everyday realities for a better future, the family can be such a starting place. Not the only place, but a good place".

**Local space**

* Dominique Temple, *Estructura comunitaria y reciprocidad del quid-pro-quo histórico al económico* (La Paz: Hisbol, 1989*) 167pp. Para poder pensar adecuadamente la alternidad cultural indígena, hay que trabajar previamente un sistema de traducción conceptual que nos permita descifrar, en nuestros códigos culturales, los signos de esta civilización. De otro modo, la incommunicación seguirá signando el apartheid que caracteriza esta formación social desde el siglo XVI. Si en el sistema de intercambio/acumulación de las sociedades de derecho privado coloniales, la economía no es ni puede ser una ciencia que enseñe cómo producir riqueza para sus sociedades ¿por qué empecinarnos estérilmente en ese dogma que ni funciona bien ni nos conviene? Si aquí funcionó otra lógica económica, congruente con su espacio y su población, que supo producir riqueza y abundancia y desde el siglo XVI no ha podido ser extirpada ¿no habrá llegado el momento de pasar de la resistencia a tomar la iniciativa y empezar a pensar y construir el país también desde esa perspectiva? De lo que se trata es de producir riqueza. Para ello hemos de servirnos, sencillamente, de las lógicas económicas adecuadas. Uno puede entender que haya dogmatismo a nivel teológico, pero no a nivel económico. En este contexto, pues, el texto de Dominique Temple cuestionar, por un lado, la pretensión totalitaria de la economía política del intercambio y, por otro, nos ofrece una traducción, en términos occidentales, de la lógica económica indígena que esperamos pueda servir para el menester de repensar este país desde sus propias categorías económicas.

* Kumar David & Santasilan Kadirgamar (eds), *Ethnicity: Identity, Conflict and Crisis* (Kowloon: Arena Press, 1989*) 303pp. A major effort to grapple with the issues of nationality and ethnic violence by integrating theoretical reflections with case studies of India, Malaysia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Taiwan and Thailand. The book works towards a unified framework for conceptualising ethnicity, understanding the role of the State and different
social classes and assessing the scope and limitations of ethnic struggles. The authors of this transnational publication attempt to bridge the divide between the activist and "academic" and seek a just and peaceful way out of the present crisis.

- The Minority Rights Group, *The Beduin of the Negev* (London, 1990*) 25pp. The Minority Rights Group Report N°81 outlines the history of the Negev beduin from Ottoman times to the present Israeli government. It provides a detailed account of this little known group and demonstrates why, despite efforts to separate them from the other Arabs of Israel, they are an intrinsic part of the Palestinian community.

- The Minority Rights Group (ed) *World Directory of Minorities* (Harlow; Longman Group, 1990) 427pp. This thorough, wide-ranging work profiles some 150 ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities, indigenous peoples and nomadic tribes worldwide. Arranged by geographical region, information is provided on the constitutional, political, economic and cultural background, placing the minorities in their regional contexts.


- Carlos A. Martinez C. y Edgar Varela B. (comps/eds) *Derechos Humanos y Modernidad: Estudios* (Pensionera Municipal de Cali, 1989*) 240pp. Una demostración cabal de los valores positivos que encierra nuestra comarca, e implica, además, la consecuencia de gentes de las dos últimas generaciones con los retos de una realidad socio-política signada por el desenfreno del autoritarismo y la violencia. Entendemos que con este esfuerzo se coadyuva en la construcción de una cultura democrática que valore y rescate los elementos esenciales incorporados en las Cartas contemporáneas sobre Derechos Humanos, y en el ejercicio de la tolerancia y las formas de acción política civilistas.

- UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children 1990* (Oxford University Press, 1990) 102pp. Noting that the governments of the Third World as a whole have now reached the point where half of their total expenditures are being devoted to defence spending and debt servicing, the 1990 *State of the World's Children* report summarises the great setbacks and great achievements of the 1980s and sets out the central challenges for the decade ahead. On present trends, over 100 million children will die in the 1990s - 50 million of them from just three common diseases which can be inexpensively treated or prevented. Many times that number will grow up malnourished, un-healthy and illiterate. A very different future is possible - if the 1990s were to become a 'decade of doing the obvious' for the world’s children. Measles, dehydration and pneumonia, the greatest specific enemies, could be overcome at an almost negligible cost. Today’s vital knowledge about nutrition, breastfeeding and birth spacing could be put at the disposal of all families. These steps alone could reduce child deaths and child malnutrition by as much as half over the next few years. Money alone cannot achieve this: the sustained commitment of political leaders and of the widest possible range of a society’s resources will also be necessary. But in financial terms, the cost might be in the region of $2 to $3 billion a year - less than the world spends on armaments every day. With the possibility in the air of significant reductions in military spending, the time has come to give this new priority to the well-being of
the world's children. In particular, there is a need to establish the principle, in all countries that the growing minds and bodies of children should be protected not only from specific abuse but from the sharpest edges of the political and economic processes of adult society.

- Thierry G. Verhelst, *No Life Without Roots: Culture and Development* (London: Zed Books, 1990*) 189pp. This book argues that development is often seen by the poor of the Third World as a Trojan horse of Westernization. Far from eliminating mass poverty, it often destroys the very environment on which people depend for their livelihood and uproots them from their traditional ways of life. Too frequently, Western aid takes on an ethnocentric bias that assumes that one model of society is valid for all. Yet a strong local cultural identity and spiritual inspiration can be the reservoir for people's creative resistance to alienation and oppression. This book stresses the cultural dimension of self-reliance and argues that local knowledge and values must be the starting point for a people-centred alternative path of development. (US$15 paper-back)

- Matthias Finger, *Apprendre une issue: L'éducation des adultes à l'âge de la transformation de perspective* (Lausanne: Editions LEP, 1989*) 141pp. Ce livre jette les bases théoriques pour une pratique et une théorie de la formation de la personne adulte aujourd'hui qui soit à la hauteur des exigences et des urgences de notre civilisation moderne. L'auteur cherche en particulier à rétablir, dans la formation des personnes adultes, un lien entre leurs dimensions individuelle et collective, plus particulièrement entre le personnel et le professionnel.

- Meredeth Turshen, *The Politics of Public Health* (London: Zed Books, 1989*) 319pp. This book provides a critical analysis of conventional approaches to disease in the West and Third World. It deals with public health policy, equity, access to health care (including in the USSR and China) and women's health. It assesses the limits to conventional public health care, and non-medical approaches, including chapters on the environmental aspects, nutrition and agribusiness, mental health and Aids in Africa. It urges an integrated approach to the problem and provides an agenda for action.


- Ari Serkkola, *Medicine, Pharmacy and Family: Triplexity of Self-Medication in Mogadishu, Somalia* (Helsinki: Institute of Development Studies, 1990*) 23pp. The purpose of this study is to examine the integration of Western drugs in the regimes of traditional health care in Mogadishu. There is an analysis of the utilization of modern drugs, decision-making for supplying medicines and evaluation and control of utilization patterns.


- SATIS, *Catalog '90: A world of information for sustainable world development* (Utrecht, 1989*) 196pp. 1700 key publications, books, videos, manuals, guides, slidesets and posters for achieving practical, sustainable development: agriculture, water, communication, women's rights, energy, health, small enterprise, employment, environmental protection, building
and construction, management, education... available from bookshops, worldwide, operated by 46 members of Satis, as part of their support to thousands of development and environment initiatives. Satis Catalog '90 gives you the key to their - and your - world of practical, proven information.

- Oscar Nuñez Martinez, Curso Taller de Capacitación en Tecnología Campesina (San Bernardo: Centro el Canelo de Nos, 1989*) 36pp.


- Un treno che non scoppia di salute (Comitato contro il passaggio del treno che trasporta cloruro di vinile, Casella postale 814, CH-6839 Chiasso, Svizzera) 194pp+allegati.


- Isis, Caminando: Luchas y Estrategias de las Mujeres (Santiago, 1989*) 118pp. Intenta mostrar diversos aspectos del desarrollo del movimiento de mujeres en Asia, Africa y América Latina. Es un hecho, que a lo largo de estos últimos quince años, las mujeres del Tercer Mundo han debido enfrentar nuevos desafíos, diversificando su quehacer a distintos aspectos de su vida. Es así, como el movimiento de mujeres ha ido creciendo y profundizando su acción de cambio en las sociedades. Cada vez más, las mujeres se han ido convirtiendo en protagonistas de sus vidas y por lo mismo se han ido haciendo visibles en la sociedad.

- Anneke van Luijken & Swasti Mitter Unseen Phenomenon: the rise and conditions of homeworking (London: Change 1989*) 32pp. This publication illustrates the rapid increase in industrial sub-contracting of "outwork" or "homeworking" in the 1980s. While based on research in the Netherlands, India and Britain, the book shows that homeworking is an international economic strategy which exploits women's imposed domesticity and isolation - and some men's physical disabilities. Homeworking is characterised by very small rewards - about one fiftieth of the retail price of a lampshade or pram-cover goes to the producer - which absorb overheads and depress wages in other sectors. Examples of the ways in which women are organising their own trade unions are included, along with a reading and address list.


- Comité de Liaison ONG-CE, Genre et développement (Bruxelles, 1989*) 32pp.

- Emmanuel Seyni Ndione, L'Arcipelago urbano: Dinamiche dell'interesse e dello sviluppo in una esperienza sociale a Dakar (Roma: ASAL, 1989*) 123pp. L'arci- pelago urbano è un invito ad una valutazione metodologica dell'animazione sociale, fondata sull'autocritica constante e su una prospettiva di ricerca non idealizzata ma consapevole di non potere prescindere dai reticoli e dalle gerarchie sociali esistenti, che conducono a sperimentare un nuovo metodo di ricerca-azione-formazione (cf. IFDA Dossier 74, pp3-14).

- Desmond A. D’Abreo, *From Development Worker to Activist: A Case Study in Participatory Training* (Mangalore: DEEDS, 1989*) 438pp. This book has been written to fill in a long-standing need. With all the changes brought about in development during the past decades, many a development worker is searching for a way to work towards a total liberation of the poor and underprivileged in our country. At the request of many such development workers with whom we have come into contact during the past we have ventured to put down in this book the process that took place during a training programme we conducted for a group working in development in South India. This process covers not only the method used in the training programme, but also the content that evolved through the various exercises worked out by the participants.

- Una puerta que se abre: Los organismos no gubernamentales en la cooperación al desarrollo (Santiago: Taller de Cooperación al Desarrollo, 1989*) 562pp. Este libro aborda los desafíos que para la cooperación al desarrollo y los “ONG” plantea la actual etapa de transición a la democracia que vive Chile. El contiene 13 estudios sectoriales, en los cuales la cooperación al desarrollo ha sido importante (programas rurales, derechos humanos, sindicalismo, educación de adultos, investigación académica, juventud, entre otros). En cada uno de ellos los investigadores dan cuenta de tres grandes preguntas. La primera de ella es: ¿cuál ha sido la evolución nacional que ha tenido el sector en este período? La segunda interrogante planteadas es: ¿qué ha hecho la cooperación al desarrollo en el área? La tercera pregunta apunta a lo siguiente: ¿qué forma puede adquirir la cooperación al desarrollo para cada una de las áreas en un nuevo contexto? Estos trece estudios temáticos van acompañados de un documento introductorio que hace un trazado histórico de la cooperación en todas sus dimensiones. Por último, se acompaña un documento que identifica los principales desafíos que la recuperación de la democracia planteará, tanto a los organismos no gubernamentales internacionales como a sus similares chilenos.


- Marilyn Carr (ed), *The Barefoot Book: Economically appropriate services for the rural poor* (London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 1989*) 97pp. A key aim of the intermediate or appropriate technology movement is to help people to help themselves, so they can fully contribute to the social and economic development of their communities. The Barefoot Book explores the potential of 'intermediate' services - how to provide the services which rural communities need to work themselves out of poverty on a sustained basis. Using examples in the fields of health care, law, administration, economics, banking, management, craft, mechanics, building and geology, this book brings together witnesses from around the world who demonstrate that intermediate services, from the barefoot doctor to the barefoot geologist, are already proving themselves successful. With institutional and political support, intermediate services can give the rural poor access to the services they need at a price they can afford.


- Anil Agarwal & Sunita Narain, Towards Green Villages: A Strategy for Environmentally-Sound and Participatory Rural Development (New Delhi: CSE, 1989*) 52pp. The degradation of the environment has led to an inhuman workland on poor women, increased poverty and the susceptibility to natural emergencies like floods and droughts. Environment cannot be regenerated without the involvement of people. This booklet takes a detailed look at these issues in the context of India and tries to derive the national policies needed to promote participatory forms of rural development. The solutions have less to do with trees, grasses or watersheds but more with the nature of village institutions, national laws, financial mechanisms and planning processes. In other words, a system which will help people to take decisions and to act on their own.


National space

- M.R. Bhagavan, Ethiopia: Development of scientific and technological research and SAREC's support 1979-1988 (Stockholm: SAREC, 1989) 120pp. This study concentrates on the period 1977-1987. It describes and analyses the country's research structure, capacity and funding, the problems of research administration, and the many constraints that face the Ethiopian researchers and research administrators.


- Tore Linné Eriksen & Richard Moorsom, The Political Economy of Namibia: An annotated critical bibliography (Uppsala: SIAS, 1989*) 370pp. The enlarged edition of this bibliography contains more than 2100 entries, of which over 1000 are annotated. These include books, articles, unpublished reports, theses, conference papers, official publications and periodicals in English, German, Afrikaans and the Nordic languages. It also provides a guide to the major libraries, documentation centres and research institutes.


- Rajni Kothari, Politics and the People: In Search of a Humane India (Delhi: Ajanta, 1989*) Vol I 250pp; Vol II 535pp. A great believer in the role of democratic politics, in both the processes of transformation aimed at greater equity and justice and the processes of preservation and sustenance of deeper roots and traditions, Kothari has been persistently working at the interplay of politics and society, the
'system' and the people, the 'macro' and 'micro' dimensions, and the interventionist and the retentive aspects of Indian reality. His earlier work on these various facets focussed more on institutional structures and the policy process and the social and cultural underpinnings of the same. He has chosen to put together select sets of his writings at different thresholds of his intellectual journey through the diverse terrains and traumas of Indian policy. The result is this two-volume work.

- Seven books from Concept Publishing, New Delhi*:

  - S.P. Agrawal & J.C. Aggarwal (eds), *Nehru on Social Issues*, 273pp. An attempt has been made in this book to collect the thoughts of Jawaharlal Nehru on social issues: social philosophy of life; political and economic systems; historiography; democratic ideals; national reconstruction; national integration; education; women; youth; children; social problems; communication and communications; and peace on earth and goodwill for all.


  - Sachchidananda, *Shifting Cultivation in India*, 181pp. A comprehensive overview of shifting cultivation community is presented in this volume. Part I focusses on the geographical spread of shifting cultivation, demographic distribution and ethnic composition of shifting cultivators, topology of shifting cultivation, review of government policies and programmes and identification of problems. Part II is the case study of a shifting cultivation community in Arunachal Pradesh - the traditional home of shifting cultivation.

  - M.L. Dewan, *Agriculture and Rural Development in India*, 227pp. The first part of the study provides a fascinating experience of Dignity of Labour Camps organised in Maharashtra where agricultural universities, colleges and schools were involved in agricultural development programmes. The second part of the study deals with the project approach to agriculture and general development in India. It proposes certain plans of operation in a novel and unorthodox format and advocates a further increase in agricultural production, an increase in the use of renewable energy resources, national character building and improving national institutions.

  - Tej Ram Sharma, *A Political History of Imperial Guptas*, 213pp. The Gupta period (319-468) of Indian history is a rich mine of information with dark and glittering segments, requiring a review of the literature every decade. Apart from thematic approach on the various facets of the political history of the Gupta period, the author has made a penetrating analysis of the rise and decline of the Gupta empire in great detail.

  - S.P. Agrawal & J.C. Aggarwal, *Information India 1988: Global View*, 220pp. This is a comprehensive reference volume providing an overview of national and international data on demography, economics, education, health, nutrition as well as a comparative country profile. It gives a glimpse of the land and its people, India since independence, five year plans, state of economy, agriculture and rural development, industries and education.


India, 158pp; P.P.S. Gusain, Cooking Energy in India, 127pp; Puneet Kishore, Weaving Technology in India: Jacquards, 68pp: A new publication venture called the "Sustainable Development Monograph Series", a joint effort between Development Alternatives and Vikas Publishing House*, plans to publish issues relating to environment, science and technology, institutional design and sustainable development. The books in the Series will range from policy-level studies to specific technology design reports, and should be of interest to decision-makers, academic researchers, field workers and development practitioners.


- Jean-Michel Fourniau, Marché socialiste et ouverture sur l'extérieur. Les transformations du commerce international du Viet Nam (Arcueil: INRETS, 1989*) 47pp. Les débats ouverts au Viet Nam depuis quatre ans, l'évolution rapide de la situation économique de ce pays depuis un an comme les bouleversements en cours dans le monde socialiste, renouvellent l'intérêt - et sans doute la faisabilité - d'études économiques des politiques de développement mises en œuvre, en particulier sur le thème de l'insertion du Viet Nam dans l'économie mondiale.

- Carlos Franco, El Perú de los 90: un camino posible, 106pp. El propósito del presente ensayo es contribuir al desarrollo de la reflexión sobre los caminos abiertos al Perú en los próximos años. Asaltado por las mismas dudas que hoy inhiben la capacidad de iniciativa y respuesta intelectual en el Perú, el presente ensayo se enralza, sin embargo, en una voluntad afirmativa y expresa una opción deliberada por la construcción en nuestro país de una sociedad democrática e independiente. Castro Pozo: nación, modernización endógena y socialismo, 119pp. Los propósitos de nuestro análisis son mostrar, por un lado, el papel jugado por Castro Pozo en el desarrollo en los años 20 del enfoque de Mariátegui sobre la sociedad y el socialismo peruano y, por otro, la manera cómo desarrolló ese mismo enfoque en los años 30. (Lima: Cedep, 1989*).


- Teresa Tovar, Ser Maestro: Condiciones del trabajo docente en el Perú, (Lima: DESCO, 1989*) 194pp. A través de la mirada a lo singular y a las historias de cada maestro y de cada escuela, Ser Maestro indaga sobre los distintos aspectos de la condición docente en el medio marginal, tanto urbano como rural.

- CED, Fuerzas Armadas, Estado y Sociedad: El papel de las Fuerzas Armadas en la futura democracia chilena (Santiago: Hachette, 1989*) 156pp. En los últimos dieciséis años, las Fuerzas Armadas han sido protagonistas centrales de la vida política de Chile, de ahí que al abordar el CED el cardinal problema de la gobernabilidad apareció como una necesidad ineludible el estudio del papel de las Fuerzas Armadas en la futura democracia.
de Chile. Numerosos investigadores, civiles y militares prepararon documentos que permitieron obtener una visión amplia y multidisciplinaria. Los resultados de esa investigación son los que se entregan en este libro.


- Moses N. Kiggundu, *Managing Organizations in Developing Countries: An Operational and Strategic Approach* (West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1989*) 328pp. The analytical framework developed in the book spans private and public sectors, and facilitates valid and reliable intercountry comparisons. Starting with a reasonably parsimonious set of concepts, Dr Kiggundu constructs a sturdy framework which he tests and elaborates with an impressive cut of the literature of the field. His unique combination of African and North American experience implicitly applies a valuable "reality test" to the applicability of the framework in different settings.

- Charles K. Mann, Merilee S. Grindle & Parker Shipton (eds), *Seeking Solutions: Framework and Cases for Small Enterprise Development Programs* (West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1989*) 434pp. The book presents in Part I an innovative conceptual framework for organizing the search for solutions to the problems of designing and managing small enterprise support programs. It provides in Part II twenty-one management teaching cases drawn from the actual experiences of pioneering agencies in the field. Each case places the reader in the position of decision maker, presenting information about a critical management decision faced by an organization. Part III provides an introduction to the AskARIES Knowledgebase, the pioneering PC-format database of the literature of small enterprise development.

Regional space

- Göran Lindgren and Peter Wallensteen (eds), *Third World Dimensions in Conflict Resolution* (Uppsala University, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, 1989*) 323pp.

- Guillermo Sunkel, *La Paz no es noticia: Los discursos sobre la paz en la prensa de tres países sudamericanos* (Santiago de Chile: Comisión Sudamericana de Paz*) 51pp. ¿Qué factores han determinado que el tema de la paz haya cobrado importancia para la opinión pública sudamericana? ¿Cuál ha sido el rol de la prensa en hacer de la paz un tema políticamente relevante? ¿Cuáles son los sentidos que distintos actores sociales y políticos dan al concepto de paz? Estas son las interrogantes que orientan este trabajo.

- Pilar Armanet, *Políticas marítimas sudamericanas* (Santiago de Chile: Comisión Sudamericana de Paz*) 71pp.
Biserka Cvjetanin (ed), *Communications for Development* (Zagreb: Institute for Developing Countries, 1989*) 275pp. Reviews the structure and institutional framework of information in the international community (the role of the United Nations and its specialized agencies) and the work of the non-aligned movement in the sphere of information and communication. A large part of the research is devoted to the challenges of the new information/communication technologies. The effects of the new technologies are analyzed in a wider socio-economic context - for instance, in employment, education and culture. The current state of the information/communication complex in the developing countries is reviewed.


Fantu Cheru, *The Silent Revolution in Africa: Debt, Development and Democracy* (London: Zed Books, 1989*) 189pp. In this penetrating new analysis of the African crisis, Fantu Cheru ascribes its origins to the misguided strategy of export-led development rather than natural factors such as drought and famine. Through case studies of Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan and Zambia, he dismisses the World Bank's Berg report and the African-initiated Lagos Plan of Action as blueprints for the recolonization of Africa. There can be no end to Africa's maldevelopment, he concludes, without the emergence of real democracy. The silent revolution is ordinary Africans opting out of the formal market and developing a parallel barter economy.

Goran Hyden, Claude Meillassoux, Benno Ndulu, Nzongola-Ntalaja, *Strategies for the Future of Africa: An Evaluation* (Stockholm: SAREC, 1989) 47pp. Strategies for the Future of Africa is one of the most important programs sponsored by SAREC in Africa. The program is organized as a network of researchers coordinated from Dakar under the leadership of Samir Amin.


ANGOC, *Small-Scale Fisheries Development in Southeast Asia* (Metro Manila, 1989*) 117pp. *Report of the Regional Consultation on Small-Scale Fisheries Development in Southeast Asia*. This publication is ANGOC's current contribution to the documentation of the problems and needs of small fishermen organizations, which are one of the most marginalized and depressed sectors of the rural poor, yet one of the least organized sectors of the peasantry.
Global space


- H. Jeffrey Leonard et al, *Environment and the Poor: Development Strategies for a Common Agenda* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1989*), 222pp. Six out of every ten of the world’s poorest people are being inexorably pushed out by agricultural modernization and continuing high population growth rates into ecologically vulnerable environments: tropical forests, dryland and hilly areas, and the fringes of great urban centers. Unless development strategies support their capabilities to ensure their own survival, the 470 million people living in these vulnerable areas will be forced to meet their short-term need to survive at the cost of long-term ecological sustainability and the well-being of future generations. The development strategies of the 1990s must take on the critical twin challenges of environment and poverty jointly. No long-term strategy of poverty alleviation can succeed in the face of environmental forces that promote the persistent "erosion" of the physical resources upon which poor
people depend. No environmental protection programs can make headway without removing the day-to-day pressures of poverty that leave people little choice but to discount the future so deeply that they fail to protect the resource base to ensure their own or their children's well-being.

- Janet N. Abramovitz, *A Survey of U.S.-Based Efforts to Research and Conserve Biological Diversity in Developing Countries* (Washington: World Resources Institute, 1989*) 71 pp. The earth's biological diversity is vital to human welfare and long term security. Yet the loss of the world's wealth of biological diversity has reached critical proportions. Nothing less than a concerted response on a worldwide scale will bring a halt to this destruction. Yet US resources committed to its resolution are exceedingly small.

- The Pesticides Trust, *The FAO Code: Missing Ingredients* (London, 1989*) 112 pp. This Report provides direct evidence from Third World countries affected by the use of hazardous pesticides showing that seven particular pesticides cause acute health and environmental hazards in a number of countries. The Report is part of the continued monitoring of the FAO’s International Code of Conduct on the Use and Distribution of Pesticides by the Pesticides Action Network (PAN). PAN groups have played a crucial part in informing delegates at FAO Conferences of the abuse and misuse of pesticides, and have lobbied successfully for the incorporation of the principle of Prior Informed Consent (PIC) in the FAO Code. PIC means that certain hazardous pesticides, which may be banned or severely restricted in exporting countries, may not be exported without first seeking the consent of the government of the importing country following a detailed exchange of information about the hazards. However, the list of pesticides to be subject to PIC has been drawn up in such a way as to exclude many of the pesticides responsible for the widespread poisoning of Third World people.


- Ivan Kovalenko and Rais Touzamhammadov (eds), *Disarmament for Development* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Ltd, 1989*) 138 pp. This book by a group of Soviet scholars examines the complex issue of disarmament for development in detail, highlights the possibilities and advantages of conversion and disapproves the widespread misconception that the process would lead to unemployment. It should evoke keen interest in countries of Asia where armament deflects enormous resources from developmental objectives.

- Richard Fieldhouse (ed), *Security at Sea: Naval Forces and Arms Control* (Oxford: OUP, 1990) 301 pp. This book is the second of two volumes resulting from the SIPRI Project on Naval Forces and Arms Control. It explores the problems, possibilities and prospects for naval arms control. It contains papers by naval professionals, arms control experts, strategic analysts and experts in international law, who examine the risks of unconstrained naval competition and the challenges and potential benefits of naval arms control,
and consider possible approaches, including confidence-building measures. The book concludes that there are many possibilities for incorporating naval forces and activities in arms control efforts and offers suggestions for future action. It serves as an important contribution to the emerging debate on naval forces, arms control and security.

- United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations, Services and Development: The Role of Foreign Direct Investment and Trade, 187pp. (UN Sales N°E.89.11.A.17).


- Independent Group on British Aid (IGBA), Real Aid: What Europe Can Do (London: 1990*) 79pp. This report by the Independent Group on British Aid investigates the aid programme of the European Community. IGBA’s recommendations for reform are a result of this thorough analysis of both the practical and the political channels through which an aid programme operates. This report argues that the European electorate should be better informed on how aid is allocated and disbursed. It contends that increased EC public accountability would be a major step towards furthering the political will of the Community for a more equitable programme of partnership, and for achieving real aid.

- Jim MacNeill, John Cox and David Runnalls, CIDA and Sustainable Development (Halifax: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1989*) 90pp. The report begins with a brief chapter on growth and its implications for economically and ecologically sustainable development. It considers the meaning of sustainable development and identifies some of the obstacles and constraints that limit the possibilities of moving towards it. Chapter Two considers a number of measures to encourage and support the integration of environmental considerations in economic and sectoral policies. Chapter Three turns to measures to preserve and enhance the ecological capital base of recipient countries. Chapter Four considers the urban dilemma. Measures to promote the democratization of the development process, which is essential to sustainable development, are discussed in Chapter Five. In Chapter Six, a number of operational priorities for sustainable development are considered.

- OECD, Development Co-operation in the 1990s: Efforts and Policies of the Members of the Development Assistance Committee (Paris: 1989) 287pp. The 1989 Report of the Chairman of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) reflects a year of work in the DAC on priorities for development co-operation in the 1990s. It marks new thinking in the “donor community”, setting a strategy for the years ahead after the difficulties of the 1980s. In his introductory chapters, the Chairman identifies three key sets of issues - population and environment, relations between society and the individual, and the need for a rural income strategy.


- Kimmo Kiljunen (ed), Mini-NIEO: the Potential of Regional North-South Coopera-
The objective of this volume is to assess potentials of the Nordic-SADCC initiative, or of any similar type of region-to-region cooperation scheme. The analysis is based on an examination of different types of selective arrangements in the North-South context. Both past records and new initiatives are investigated. Also, the concept of MINIEO is related to the current global North-South discourse.


- Peter Fromuth (ed), A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow (Lanham: University Press of America, 1988*) 385pp. This book diagnoses the cause of the UN's troubles and proposes a plan for steering it on course. The analysis and proposals contained in the first half of the book are the product of an international panel that met during 1986 and 1987 under the auspices of the UNA-USA. In the second half of the book are to be found the many supporting essays provided by the panel staff in the course of the study. They tell a frank and unsentimental story of where the UN has been and where it is headed. The approach could help spur a renaissance in international cooperation.

- William Preston Jr, Edward S. Herman, Herbert I. Schiller, Hope & Folly (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989) 367pp. The purpose of this book is to put the anti-UNESCO campaign in historical perspective, to elaborate the entire history of U.S.-UNESCO relations, without which it is impossible to understand fully the events of the last few, stormy years of what was once a staunch alliance. Indeed, it is only in light of this history that the intensity and significance of the campaign against UNESCO can be appreciated. It is also necessary in order to understand the gulf that separated the realities of U.S. policy from the general, often greatly distorted, perceptions of that policy. Another, albeit implicit, purpose of this book is to raise one more voice in defense of international cooperation and the United Nations system. The virulence of the irrational attack against that system has intensified as of late. In a time when we can destroy our planet not only by nuclear holocaust, but also, it seems, by the senseless rape of the world's environment, universal, international cooperation is more important than ever.

- Medea Benjamin & Andrea Freedman, Bridging the Global Gap: A Handbook to Linking Citizens of the First and Third Worlds (Cabin John, Maryland: Seven Locks Press, 1989*) 338pp. The internationalism that is described in this book is based on a healthy combination of honest self-interest mixed with deep compassion. It recognizes that the interests of the Third World poor coincide with the interests of the majority of North Americans. Less poverty abroad would mean fewer companies abandoning the United States in search of cheaper labor; higher standards of living in Third World countries would mean more markets for our goods; greater democracy overseas would mean less U.S. tax dollars wasted on military aid to repressive regimes. Internationalism does not mean abandoning our problems at home for more "glamorous" struggles abroad. On the contrary, it means showing the connections between local and international struggles. It demands that we integrate our efforts to change foreign policy with our efforts to eliminate hunger and the homelessness in our own communities. It also demands that we struggle against racism and
sexism at home and abroad, and that these efforts be an essential part of the "new internationalism". This book strives to capture this new spirit of internationalism. We hope to give those already involved an extra push - especially in those inevitable moments of self-doubt. For those who are not involved, we hope to spark their desire to get on board. The voices in this book will prove that a spirited committed group of individuals can indeed make a difference.

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Periodicals

(The addresses of the 171 periodicals mentioned below appear in alphabetical order at the end of this section).

**Derechos Humanos:** 'Los indios de México organizan su primer foro internacional sobre derechos humanos', en el Boletín de la Academia Mexicana de Derechos

Cultures * Culturas: 'Andean culture under assault' in Andean Focus (Vol VI, N°4). Dans Culture + (Vol II, N°1) 'Cultures de quartier: animation culturelle en milieu urbain' et 'L'interface entre la culture et le développement'. En Hombre y Ambiente (Año III, N°12) 'El agua, precioso don de las divinidades: factor de agregación social en las tradiciones culturales andinas'. 'Aspectos de la cultura popular en Belice' en Del Caribe (Año V, N°14). The Mapuche are Indians in the Argentine province of Neuquén who have found their voice in Grassroots Development (Vol 13, N°2). 'Belice: Land tenure and ethnicity' in Cultural Survival Quarterly (Vol 13, N°3). In Asian Exchange (Vol VI, N°4), the 'Sacred right of Cordillera peoples to ancestral lands'. 'Presencia de la mujer indía, Noble de la Paz para Rigoberita Menchú' en La Voz de las primeras nacionales (Año 1, N°3). 'Encuentro sobre experiencias reivindicativas de las organizaciones indias de América Latina en Indigenismo (N°8). 'Violencia antiindígena en la Venezuela contemporánea' en Nueva Sociedad (N°105).

Poverty * Pobreza: 'Why the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer' in Utne Reader (N°37). Kasarinlan (Vol 4, N°4) features the social roots of poverty in the Philippines. 'La seguridad social en Chile en los años 90' en Estudios Cieplan (N°27). César Ferrari trata el tema 'Desarrollo económico y superación de la pobreza en el Perú' en Socialismo y participación (N°47).

Needs: 'Satisfying needs of the Third World through space exploration' in The Third World Academy of Sciences Newsletter (Vol 2, N°1). Dans Futuribles (N°139) 'Protection sociale et revenu minimum garanti'.

Santé * Health: 'Santé et ajustement structurel' dans Vie & Santé (N°2). Médicaments Essentiels: le Point (N°8) est consacré au développement des programmes de médicaments essentiels en Amérique Latine. 'The control of neonatal tetanus' in Mothers and Children (Vol 9, N°1). The state of India's health and an article on natural healing in Health for the Millions (Vol XV, N°5). 'Ayurveda and modern medicine' in Ancient Science of Life (Vol VIII, N°3/4). 'Community based health programs in the Philippines' in Health and Popular Education (N°12). 'Local varieties are our source of health and strength' in ILEIA Newsletter (Vol 5, N°4). In Pesticides News (N°6) the 'public health impact of pesticides used in agriculture'. In IOCU Newsletter (N°184), 'Selling smoke in Latin America'.

Food * Alimentation: Maurice F. Strong explains how to end hunger through sustainable development in African Farmer (N°2). The advocates for African food security use an insider’s approach to influence the UN in One Country (Vol 1, N°4). 'Food for work aids' in Dialogue (N°10). 'The first seed' (in Italian) in AAM Terra Nuova (Anno IX, N°49). An inquiry on the relationship between allergies and the excessive use of chemicals and additives in nutrients' (in Italian) in Quaderni di controinformazione alimentare (N°51). 'L'essor de l'agriculture ivorienne: facteurs explicatifs, limites du modèle' dans Revue
africaine de développement (Vol 1, N°2).
'Les flux de céréales en Afrique de l'Ouest' dans La lettre de Solagral - Stratégies alimentaires (N°31) et dans (N°32) 'Aide alimentaire: les donateurs se concertent'.

Education: Adult learning and educational futures in Futurics (Vol 14, N°1). In the iCEG Newsletter (Vol III, N°3) a new look at the relationship between education and income inequality. Tanmiya (N°15/17) reports on the 'Unequal schooling: Palestinian education inside Israel'. The New Paradigms Newsletter (N°9) features 'The nature of education'. In the Journal of Abstracts in International Education (Vol 17, N°1) is 'multicultural education in South Africa possible?', 'Intercultural education' (in Italian) in Intercultura (N°18/19).


Rural: 'Rural development to satisfy the thirst of the Sahel' (in Italian) in Cooperazione (Anno XIV, N°88). In Ecoforum (Vol 14, N°2) 'Rural electrification: issues and options from a Southern perspective'. En los Cuadernos de la Realidad Ecuatoriana (N°4) 'Empleo rural y migracion'. Spore est un bulletin bimestriel d'information scientifique et technique en matière de développement et rural. 'Agriculture dans les pays socialistes' dans Nature et progrès reunion (N°17/18).

Environment: A quick overview of some of the most urgent ecological crises in Breakthrough (Vol 11, N°1). 'Tropical rainforests and Japan: profits versus responsibility' in the Peace Studies Newsletter (N°9). In CEPNEWS (Vol 3, N°4) an introduction to marine pollution. 'Indonesia's watersheds struggle for survival' in Environesia (Vol 3, N°4). Trying to make sense of the British Columbia government's record on the environment is no easy task in the Catalyst (Vol 13, N°2). 'Spain: more polluted than green' in Green Line (N°75). 'Ecological thinking: key ideas and concepts on ecology' in Utusan konsumer (N°201).

Women • Mujeres: 'U.S. bases and sexual labor' in Philippine Resource Center Monitor (N°1). 'Traditions that oppress women in Eritrea' in Voice of Eritrean Women (Winter 89). 'Chipko: people's movement and an example of leadership of women' in Caritas India (N°2). In a supplement issue of Upstream Journal (Jan/Feb 90), 'Imported strategies: women and development'. The findings of a research/action project concerning 'Women in Caribbean agriculture' inCAFRA News (Vol 3, N°4). En Mujeres en acción (N°17) '¿Qué pasa en el movimiento de mujeres?' En La Mujer (N°22) 'Se inició año de prevención de la violencia contra la mujer'. 'Mujeres empresas' en Dinámica cooperativa (N°104).

Workers • Unions: 'Captive workers: today's slavery' in Panoscope (N°17). 'The future of trade unions in Eastern Europe' in Tie Bulletin (March/April 90). 'Government and unions: the gulf widens in Zimbabwe in International Labour Reports (N°37) and 'Migrant workers organise against fortress Europe' in (N°38). In Bosebetsi (Vol 4, N°33) 'Trade unions and the global problems of today'. The National Union of Plantation Workers in Malaysia succeeds in commercial ventures and at the same time fails its members in Aliran (Vol 9, N°11). 'Las empresas administradas por sus trabajadores' en la Revista Iberoamericana de autogestión y acción comunal (Año VII, N°17/18). 'Les syndicats entre le
néo-corporatisme et l'élargissement de leur mission' dans Transnational Associations Transnationales (N°6). 'Environnement marin et avenir des travailleurs de la pêche' dans Samudra (N°2).


*NGOs* *ONGs*: 'Opportunities and risks for private voluntary organizations as agents of LDC policy change' in World Development (Vol 17, N°11). Algeria's first NGO has been established, details in Haramata (N°6). 'NGO - private sector collaboration' in Trialog (N°22). 'NGOs for Unita' in Southscan (Vol 5, N°4). The experiences of the national NGO council of Sri Lanka in AIRD News (Vol 8, N°10). Dans le Bulletin Cridev (N°91) 'Voyage au pays de ONG'.

Science & Technology: In a survey prepared by the USSR Foreign Ministry, an insight into 'International scientific and technological and cultural cooperation' in International Affairs (N°1/90). Tranet, a bimonthly newsletter serves as a network for appropriate/alternative technologies. 'Religion and science with particular reference to science in Islam by Abdus Salam in Holistic Science and Human Values (Vol 1, N°3). 'Science and technology for development' in Science International (N°39). El (N°25) de Minka está dedicado al desarrollo de la tecnología andina. 'Impacto tecnológico regional, producción y empleo' en Cuadernos del IIESES (N°23).


Economy: The special issue on global economy of Futures (Vol 21, N°6) features Hazel Henderson's 'Mutual development'. 'Economics of the coup' in IBON Facts &


New Periodicals: Setiakawan, an Indonesian monthly publication aims to develop solidarity actions to save Indonesia's tropical forests and their people. SADCC-NGO newsletter replaces the SADCC-EC briefings. No Nation Bulletin is issued by the people to people friendship association. 'Technology and development in the third industrial revolution' in the first
volume of The European Journal of Development. Defence Economics embraces all aspects of the economics of defence, disarmament and peace. In the first number of Planning and Building in the Tropics 'Industrialization of the rural areas'. The activities and goals of UNEDIL in the 'UNEDIL News' (vol 1, No 1). A new content and format for Rural Development Notes. Change in name for Kaugmaran which is now Bidiisiw sa Kaugmaran. In the premier issue of Quid pro quo the theme is cultures and development. 'L'évaluation des actions de santé dans les pays en développement' dans Les cahiers de l'Institut Santé et Développement (N°2). Liaison est une publication de l'Association haitienne des agences bénévoles. 'Les tests: découverte ou discrimination?' dans Action contre le SIDA (N°2). En el primer número de Ciudad alternativa 'La perspectiva popular sobre la reforma y política urbana'. Cooperación Económica es la nueva revista de coyuntura económica. 'Releer la ciudad para entender al movimiento urbano-popular' en Salida (N°1). 'Tecnología, modernización y desarrollo' en Payst (Año 1, N°1)

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Local space
- Luis Enrique Agudelo Pino, La Vivienda en Colombia: El Poder de la Voluntad
contra la Voluntad del Poder (AA 127, Manizales, Colombia) 13pp.
- Chandio Munir Ahmed, Report of the Training Workshop at Mithi, District Tharparkar,
(Sindh Rural Workers Cooperative Organization, 93-D/1, Block-6, P.E.C H.S, Karachi
29, Pakistan) 12pp.
- E.O. Babalola, The Interaction between Muslims and the African Traditional Society:
The Akoko Yoruba as a Case Study (Dept of Religious Studies, Obafemi Awolowo
University, Ille-Ife, Oyo State, Nigeria) 21pp.
- Erika Maerke, The Nineties: The Decade of Women’s Development? (AGKED,
Kniebisstrasse 29, 7000 Stuttgart 1, FRG) 10pp.
- P.C. Mathur, Poverty, Rurality and Modernity: Four Decades of Economic Dynamism
and Village Survival in India, 1948-1988: The New Gandhian Dilemmas (Dept of Political
Science, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur 302 004, India) 11pp.
- Fernand Vincent and Piers Campbell, Alternative Financing Strategies for NGOs
(IRED. Case 116, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland) 9pp.

National space
- Richard L. Bernal, Debt or Development: The Jamaican Dilemma (Ministry of
Finance, 30 National Heroes Circle, Kingston 4, Jamaica) 8pp.
- Abdel-Fattah Ezzine, Which Television is which spectator? (Inst of Studies and
Research on Arabization, University Mohammed V, BP 26216, Rabat, Morocco) 6pp.
- Julio Ortega, Por que no votaré por Mario Vargas (Dept of Hispanic Studies, Brown
University, Providence, R.I. 02912, USA) 4pp.
- Gallego Punyawardana, Agriculture: A Deep Rooted Malaise (Swarna Hansa
Foundation, POB 16, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka) 7pp.

Regional space
- Daniel Smart Asante-Odame, Social Responsibility of Business in Africa: Some Notes
(Lycée Issa Korombé, BP 222, Niamey, Niger) 27pp.
- Silvia Borbély, Modernization Experiments in Latin America (1221 Kossuth L. u. 43,
- André Gunder Frank, The East European Revolution of 1989: A Dozen Lessons for
Democratic Social Movements (and Socialists?) (University of Amsterdam, H. Bos-
mansstraat 57, 1077 XG Amsterdam, The Netherlands) 15pp.

Global space
- Carlos Cardoso Aveline, How to Stop Nature Destruction (UPAN, CP 189, 93001 São
Leopoldo RS, Brasil) 18pp.
- Rudolf J. Siebert, From Critical Theory to Critical Futurology: Three Alternative Futures
(Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3899, USA) 40pp.
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