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case postale, 1260 nyon, suisse; téléphone 41 (22) 61 82 82; telex 28840 ifda ch
bureau de rome: 207 via panisperna, 00184 rome, italie; téléphone 39 (6) 48 65 87

THE MAJORITY (THE NON-GREAT POWERS) MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN REMAKING THE UNITED NATIONS

by Maurice F. Strong

The basic premise of my prescription for United Nations reform is that the majority of the UN membership, i.e. the non-great powers, must take the lead in remaking the UN. In effect, they should exercise the responsibility which must accompany their overwhelming majority in the membership of the UN. And they should recognize that as the great powers no longer see the UN as a reliable instrument for pursuit of their own interests, albeit they may acknowledge its occasional usefulness, they have no strong incentive, at this point, to take the initiative for reform.

However, those seeking changes in the effectiveness of the UN system have too often allowed their commitment to change, to be blunted by the difficulties of obtaining changes in the Charter and have not sufficiently concentrated their energies on the changes that can be made within the Charter.

One of the principal barriers to change in the present system is the way in which the UN is financed and its continued dependence on the great powers for such a high percentage of its finances. This provides the larger contributors, particularly the United States, with a financial veto which is often just as effective in overriding the decisions of the majority of members as their constitutional veto in the Security Council. I believe that this system of financing should be changed so that over a period of, say, 10 years, there would be a gradual reduction in the level of support for the regular budget of the UN provided by the major contributors to the point where, at the end of the period, no member country would pay more than 10% of the total budget. This would, of course, require corresponding increases in the contributions of other members, notably the middle powers, in both the industrialized and the Third World.

This, I contend, would be a very good investment for all those smaller and middle powers whose share of the regular budget would be thereby increased. The cost would be extremely modest for any one country compared to the benefits that could be achieved from the point of view of their own interest and that of their people.

(Excerpted from the remarks of Maurice F. Strong at a meeting of the New York chapter of the Society for International Development, 29 November 1984. Maurice F. Strong, a founding member of IFDA, was the Secretary-General of the UN Conference on human environment (Stockholm, 1972) and was the first Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme. Earlier this year, he came back to the UN, having been appointed Executive Coordinator of the Emergency Operations in Africa).

AGAINST PROFESSIONALISM

ARCHITECT OR FACILITATOR? - A LIFE STORY FROM NEPAL

by Ramesh Manandhar
Action Research Centre
P.O.Box 2712
Kathmandu, Nepal

Original language: English

Abstract: The author is a Nepalese architect who had undergone the conventional training of a 'professional' and, having been exposed to the contradictions of an industrialized society (Australia), has re-discovered his own roots among his people - whom he wants to serve. He tells the story of his re-education and explains how he realized that people are better equipped than professionals to solve their problems. They know how to use local, ecologically-sound materials and master age-proof techniques. This is not to say that professionals have no role, but they must be conscious of their limits and mind their social responsibility.

CONTRE LE PROFESSIONALISME

ARCHITECTE OU FACILITATEUR? - UNE HISTOIRE VECUE AU NEPAL

Résumé: L'auteur est un architecte népalais qui a subi la formation conventionnelle d'un professionnel et qui, exposé aux contradictions d'une société industrialisée (l'Australie), redécouvre ses propres racines parmi son peuple au service de qui il entend mettre ses capacités. Il raconte sa ré-éducation et explique comment il s'est rendu compte de ce que les paysans étaient mieux équipés que les professionnels pour résoudre leurs propres problèmes. Ils savent utiliser les matériaux locaux, mieux adaptés et ils maîtrisent des techniques qui ont fait leurs preuves. Ce n'est pas que les professionnels n'aient aucun rôle, mais ils doivent prendre conscience de leurs limites et penser à leur responsabilité sociale.

CONTRA EL PROFESIONALISMO

¿ARQUITECTO O COLABORADOR? UNA HISTORIA VIVIDA EN NEPAL

El autor es un arquitecto nepalés que recibió la formación convencional de un "profesional" y que, habiendo estado expuesto a las contradicciones de una sociedad industrializada (Australia), redescubre sus propias raíces entre su pueblo, al que desea ayudar. Describe su reeducación y explica como se dió cuenta de que el pueblo está mejor equipado que los profesionales para resolver sus propios problemas. Saben hacer uso de los materiales locales dentro del contexto ecológico y dominan Técnicas probadas por el tiempo. Esto no quiere decir que los profesionales no tienen un papel que desempeñar, pero deben estar concientes de sus limitaciones y de su responsabilidad social.

AGAINST PROFESSIONALISM 1/

ARCHITECT OR FACILITATOR - A LIFE STORY FROM NEPAL

My ideas on education in Nepal started when I was drafted to Surkhet, in Far Western Nepal, as a part of my professional job in His Majesty's Government's 'Bhawan Bivag' (Department of Housing) in Kathmandu. I still remember the 'hue and cry' that went on within my family when I was leaving a 'healthy Kathmandu' for a 'malaria stricken Surkhet'. At that time (and even now in some cases), going to a village from a city is a 'low status job' for unskilled and semi-skilled professionals. Many qualified professionals in Nepal held that they should stick to Kathmandu, formulate plans and projects to be implemented all over Nepal. I was then one of those who chose (or was forced to choose in those circumstances) to leave winter-cold-Kathmandu for warm-Surkhet.

Surkhet was then an emerging regional centre created by the regionalization policy of the government. The new town was called Birendranagar after our present King Birendra. The King used to camp here once every two years and it so happened that my 'drafting' to Surkhet coincided with the King's proposed visit. I could see the preparation taking place, the government officials worrying about the incompletion of some of their projects and their progress reports 'Pragati Chart'. Gates were being made, one for each Government office, and the expenses on those were not questioned. Someone told me that any expenses incurred during the King's visit is overlooked by the office of the auditor-general. Surkhet was as if preparing for a wedding.

Amongst these brisk activities, I noticed many small children from Jumla who had come down with their parents to spend about 4 months of winter in Surkhet to save themselves against bitter cold of Jumla 2/. These children were deprived of education as they could neither fit in the regular classes of Jumla nor were they allowed to join classes in Surkhet where they were looked upon as 'aliens'. As an architect, I saw my limitations, but as an educator, I would be more useful. Hence, along with some of my colleagues, I ran a school for about 3 months under a tree for these kids. During the final ceremony, we distributed certificates so that they could continue their studies when they went back

1/ Professionalism is discussed here with reference to technical professions. Most of the examples are derived from architectural and build profession. How one can relate these cases to other professions is left to the readers.

2/ The Jumla people would sell their products, barter and buy new goods necessary for their area and go back to their homes with the onset of spring.

to Jumla. On that occasion, one of the kids said:

We are far from you but we also want to be like you. If only we could get some help.

These words have ever since been ringing inside me. And over the years, I have been critically examining whether our professional degrees and qualifications are really going to help them in their search for a better life. Today, I have come to the conclusion that the kind of professional degrees that we hold, the kind of professional training that we have will not help to realize the dreams of these children. In fact, we may only push their dreams farther from being realized. Let me explain:

1. It was in Surkhet that my professional expertise was challenged. I had a bachelor's degree in Architecture from Bombay University, and this means I had a professional expertise in design and building. What I saw in Surkhet was that ordinary people were struggling to satisfy their hunger first, while building was a common activity of many people. Although village people did not have any professional degree, they would build their own homes, repair them and maintain them. They were using local materials and the house design, size and materials varied according to their individual budget and culture.

There was unity in diversity. There were, of course, skilled masons, carpenters etc. who had never undergone any formal training but perhaps learnt from their association with their seniors. They were doing very well. Even these skilled workers were engaged in farming which satisfied most of their food needs. Here, I could see that a person had many skills that were unnoticed by outsiders. They would use these skills whenever it was necessary. You could see all the villagers in the fields during the plantation and harvesting and also see them during the construction of community houses in off-peak season.

In my recent survey of a Magar village in Gorkha district, it was found that out of 24 families, about 16 families knew how to lay stone walls, 6 families knew carpentry and everybody knew about the management of house construction. This is in sharp contrast with the modern tendencies of getting certified as professionals after undergoing many many years of schooling and yet come to the field with very little knowledge about the actual handling of the tools and materials. Yet, we have called this form of education more important than the practice of 'learning by seeing and doing'. It is an irony today to see a carpenter who had undertaken 10 years of schooling and several years of vocational training to come out in the field still without command over his tools.

Today, they are competing with local village carpenters and tomorrow they will make carpentry a 15 years course. A sim-

ple logic will tell us that this is a waste of energy of the people and the resources of the nation. It is even more surprising to see many architects and engineers completing their professional degrees in architecture and building but had not laid down a single course of brick in mud mortar which the rural people have known for centuries. Yet, they are the ones who hold high positions and reap the benefits of the modern system. I am here reminded of my discussion with a very old 'master-builder' in Kathmandu who had designed and build hundreds of buildings in Kathmandu valley. It was a sorrowful message that modern engineers and architects who work only on paper did not listen to his experiences. He said:

When there was trouble, they would accuse me, but when it was a success, they would get the credit. Why do people believe in 'Paper-Dragons' and not anymore in those who actually make the building possible? We used to build houses with the owners to suit their budget but now architects design buildings to suit their own fees.

There were certainly problems in these buildings by people, but the villagers were engaged in trying to cope with it with their own means. In their situation, I could not see my conventional professional expertise of any meaningful use. Although I was called an 'expert' in architecture, I had no previous knowledge as well as the experience of the village situation. My training was paper oriented and urban directed. It cannot serve the masses of rural people of Nepal. Therefore, I had to question my professional expertise. When people could build their own houses mostly by themselves, why was there a need for an architect who has undergone about 17 years of schooling out of the context of the village culture? Can a poor country like Nepal afford me? Now, he has come back to the village to command a position that would affect the lives of many villagers. The professional degree is a 'mismatch'.

2. The Surkhet Town Planning Office, in which I worked, made it mandatory that people had to build houses according to the rules laid down by the office. This was aimed to bring uniformity in the townscape and promote a better master-plan for Surkhet as envisioned by a senior planner a professional. A blueprint for a house was sold at a cheap price for those who could not afford an architect or an engineer. This process immediately helped local draftsmen, technicians, engineers and architects to get more private jobs for themselves. But what it did was to ignore the capacity of ordinary people to design and build their own houses. Ordinary people became more dependent upon the professionals. This practice of taking power away from the people and vesting it in the professionals is not only in Nepal but going on in many countries of the world. The result has not been rewarding and many problems have cropped up against the poor. Illich has summed it up:

On the day Venezuela legislated the right of each citizen to 'housing'

conceived of as a commodity, three quarters of all families found that their self-built dwellings were thereby degraded to the status of hovels. Furthermore - and this is the rub - self-building was not prejudiced. No houses could be legally started without the submission of an approved architect's plan 3/.

3. Seeing a very limited role for the professional architect in helping the poor people of Nepal, I went to spend another two years of my life in an academic environment that gave me a further qualification of a 'human settlement planner'. The awarding of this degree meant that I am qualified to undertake professional responsibilities for building in the environment of the Asian poor. With this added degree, I came back to Nepal to find that I had greater opportunities to work besides in an architectural office. I also found that this added qualification imposed on me additional responsibilities. I was expected to earn a higher salary, get a high status job and provide many other facilities for myself, my family and friends. It would be 'unprofessional' to get involved in small projects involving small incomes. Rather, I should be involved in large 'international' projects and make quick money to buy land, house, car and other modern amenities. My own expectations increased (and also fear that I could not get such a job) and in a poor country like Nepal, I was not very lucky. My frustrations increased and I could not last long in Nepal. Hence, I left Nepal again for Australia to acquire the highest degree ('Ph.D.') that would provide more opportunities for a high salary, high status job while working for the poor...

This is what Gunnar Myrdal has described as a 'revolution of rising expectations'. In simple terms, when people see that there are more things, they want more. What is interesting here is the fact that this 'revolution' takes place at different speed. For a hungry farmer, he may want a bit more food, for a landlord he may want a transistor radio, for a 'Sahuji' (merchant) he may want a bigger house. Similarly, a professional, who has seen a better world and heard more about it, may want to possess more things than uneducated villagers, landlords and 'Sahujis'. In other words, the professional sees greater need for different materials, comforts like car, motorcycle, stereo etc. In the absence of these materials, she/he may indulge in illegal activities. It is an open secret that today's professionals as well as decision-makers are mostly corrupt and this is one of the primary reasons why the external assistance does not adequately trickle down to the masses. In fact, it is 'trickling out'. Equally, one can understand the rising expectations of uneducated landlords, Sahujis and farmers but one finds it difficult to excuse the educated professionals (who have used the taxpayers money in most cases) to pursue their

3/ Ivan Illich, The right to useful unemployment and its professional enemies (London: Marion Boyars, 1978).

'rising expectations' at the cost of the masses. Does professionalism produce greed then?

4. In Australia, I was surprised, as well as shocked to discover two Australias. One Australia, in which a large proportion of people lived, was pursuing the conventional educational activities of acquiring university degrees for high-tech jobs and pursuing a professional career to become eventually a regular industrial consumer. I also witnessed a second Australia (however not as clearly defined as the first one) known popularly as 'Alternative Australia'. In these communities, there were many categories of people, university drop-outs, young professionals, professors, single parents, hippies, unemployed youths etc. They were seriously questioning their industrial mode of consumeristic life-styles and questioning the conventional role of professionals in development. They were small in number and it is with them that I was further educated in professionalism. These people saw that the consumer society did not provide them with opportunities to produce, to create and to decide for themselves the kind of life-styles they wanted to pursue. There was no genuine freedom. The few professionals at the top were responsible for deciding for the entire population and this was becoming dangerous.

The Western democracy is tilted more in favour of 'expert opinion' instead of collective opinion and thus, great national decisions of life and death are made by technological elites (professionals), and both the Congress and the people at large retain the mere illusion of making the decisions which the theory of democracy supposes them to make.

Thus, the alternative people of Australia were trying to create their own habitat based on self-expression, creativity, love and freedom. In terms of architecture, they were trying to build their own houses, create their own furniture, decorate their own houses and vegetable gardens. In short, they were also becoming producers. They were living mostly away from the cities, like a 'commune'. As I stayed longer in Australia, I saw that these so called 'minorities' were, in fact, not very small in number. They were seen sprouting in various places. It was a 'silent revolution'. Even within cities, they were making arrangements so that they could create a community and participate in the making of the community. We could see small vegetable back yards, fruit trees, co-operative living etc. becoming a common pattern of many city people in Australia. Many of them were forced into such arrangements for economic and social reasons.

One of the interesting things that happened to me was my own involvement in their struggle to be 'free' and to be 'productive people' who were building in earth, and I happen to come from a country with a great cultural heritage of earth construction. I discovered that my professional career as a conventional architect was not useful for them, but I cer-

tainly had a role to act as a facilitator to provide them with opportunities of building in earth, learning and discovering about mud brick construction and roofing. We organized small workshops in mud construction that brought many ordinary people together to discuss and debate on these issues.

The Maryborough community, for example, came in to make and lay mud bricks while the workshop participants completed the mud brick roofing with a mud brick dome and vault. It is, here, that I learnt that when the conventional role of a professional is changed to a facilitator, many people could participate in their own building. I came to the conclusion that collective consciousness is far superior to individual consciousness. My findings were further attested during the organizing of a national conference on Owner-Building and Earth Architecture. This was attended by more than 280 participants who were effective in making some changes in the regulation that inhibited their owner-building. It is heartening to note that even the Ministry of Housing has realized that conventional housing programmes would not satisfy the demands for housing, and certainly, even less for the poorer section of the community. Thus, they are currently undertaking a programme of 'self-build housing' where assistance is provided to owner-builders in earth in which the principle of 'sweat-equity' ^{4/} allows poor people to own their own houses. This is also a recognition that ordinary people have the capacity to build their own houses. Many times, they design and build houses of far superior quality than those designed by professional architects. This was clear from 'earth architecture exhibition' of owner-builders that took place during the conference.

The recognition of the Australian government towards people building their own environment has gone even further. At a 1983 ILO conference, Prime Minister Bob Hawke said that the structural unemployment of industrial countries cannot be fought only by increasing employment opportunities, although this may be necessary, but by 'reducing demand for employment'. Today, Hawke's government is assisting the formation of self-reliant, self-sustaining communities in Australia. These communities do not encourage professionalism but see professionals as part of the community whose contribution lies in facilitating and educating other members of the community to be self-reliant.

This Australian experience is of particular importance for us as we are marching towards a modern society with new ide-

^{4/} The term 'sweat-equity' refers to share capital of owner-builder towards the construction of his house with his own sweat. This reduces his cash cost and hence he does not have to take large loans to construct his house. This allows even poorer sections of the people to own their own house.

als. Some of these ideas are mere copies of western models of development where professionals have relatively dominant positions. Our country may not have reached their stage, but in attempting to do so, we are clearly losing some of our traditional skilled people in various fields for good. In my village survey of Gorbung in Gorkha district of West Nepal, it was found that the younger generation is less skilled than their seniors and hence more dependent upon external help and outside employment. It was found that to promote community self-reliance in the village, it was necessary to facilitate their indigenous technology and culture and give more support to village professionals. This loss of skill is happening in other countries too and many reputed thinkers and historians like Lewis Mumford are worried:

While the population of complex and technically superior machine has enormously increased during the last century, the technological pool has been actually lowered as one handicraft after another has disappeared. The maintenance of this variety has been one of the conditions of human prosperity 5/.

Today, a large investment is made in higher education to train manpower to become professionals in various fields. In Nepal, from 1961 to 1971, the enrolment for Third Level Education (university level i.e. campuses, centres etc.) increased by four fold. the number of campuses increased from 49 to 79 in the same period. During the same time, there was a rapid rise in number of graduates coming from India, USSR and other countries. Today, our education does not seem to be complete unless we send our children abroad to receive a professional degree. This rise in number of graduates is posing problems of educated unemployment. With a tremendous rise in educated people, our country is also facing growing shortages of food and rapid depletion of natural resources. We are going from bad to worse. 'Nepal is poor and daily becoming poorer' 6/. The time has, therefore, come to rethink our educational goals. This myth that development is possible by increasing the number of professionals has to be clarified.

It is not the intention of this paper to prove that professionals have no role in development but what I have said so far that the current trends in professionalism have not been of substantial help to the rising number of poor people and that in a way these professions do not encourage the development by the people 7/. The open hand given to the profes-

5/ Lewis Mumford, The myth of the machine, The Pentagon of power (New York: Harcourt Brace, Jovanovich, 1964).

6/ ARTEP, 'The challenge for Nepal-growth with employment' quoted in Piers Blaike, John Cameron, David Seddon, Nepal in crisis, growth and stagnation at the periphery (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

7/ Guy Gran, Development by people, Citizen construction of a just world (New York: Praeger publishers, 1983).

sionals is a product of materialistic mode of development. In this process, where materials are valued more than the people, the professionals determine what kind of materials are more suited to the people. In fact, they determine what kind of life-style is best suited for them. The masses, on the other hand, accept that professionals will bring development ('Bikase Manche Aayo' a village saying in Nepal). They may not, however, realize that the right for self-development is now expropriated from them. On this point, Illich argued:

Development has had the same effects in all societies: everyone has been enmeshed in a new web of dependence on commodities, factories, clinics, televisions, studios, think-tanks. To satisfy this dependence, more of the same must be produced: standardized engineered goods, designed for the future consumers, who will be trained by engineers agents to need what he or she is offered. These products - be they tangible goods or intangible services - constitute the industrial staple. Their imputed monetary value as a commodity is determined by state and market in varying proportions. Thus, different cultures become insipid residues of traditional styles of action, washed up in one world-wide waste-land: an arid terrain devastated by the machinery needed to produce and consume... the modernisation of poverty means that people are helpless to recognize evidence unless it has been certified by a professional 3/.

If this continues unchecked, one can well understand why George Orwell wrote Nineteen Eighty Four. What Orwell predicted may not have become a total reality, but they are many signs that his predictions are proving to be correct. Today, 'Big Brother' is being disguised as a 'Professional'. It is thus necessary to realize this fact. Professionalism may have been epidemic in industrial countries, this disease is slowly catching up in poor countries. We have to become aware and take appropriate actions now. When people could build their own houses themselves, it may be unwise to bring in an expensive professional (who is educated outside the village culture at the cost of the masses and who consumes a lot of resources like a western individual), B.P. Koirala was worried with this form of development:

Now the population of the U.S. is only 6 percent of world population. To maintain these 6 percent in their present condition of affluence, the U.S. uses up between 30 and 35 percent of world's natural resources. If China and India, while between them contain 60 percent of the world population, try to plan their economies on the same model, there will not be enough resources available. So that model is not relevant by the very logic of it. And that model is very very inefficient... The Nepali cultivator with limited input produces more rice per acre of land than you do. Then, there is the problem of wastage through consumption of fuel. Your economy is dependent on the consumption of fuel which is not unlimited. Unless you redesign your machine, I see a collapse of your system by the turn of the century 8/.

8/ An interview of B.P. Koirala reproduced by Bhola Chatterji, B.P. Koirala, Portrait of a revolutionary (New Delhi: Ankur Publishing House, 1982).

We have to make more out of whatever we have. Most of what is available within Third world countries is their people and their local expertise. If we degrade those village experts as not modern, less efficient and then introduce modern machinery and its agents, the professionals, we will be treading a very expensive path in which we will not only lose our great cultural heritage but will become dependent and thus deprived of the opportunities to create and participate in self-development. B.P. Koirala borrows words of wisdom from Gandhi who said that any development that bypasses the villager is not development at all.

Let me elaborate this point further in the architectural profession. Today, Nepalese architects are bent on bringing modern technology of cement and steel in their architecture. Although certain merits are found in these materials, the traditional mud, timber and stone are certainly not of inferior materials. Many times, they are far superior 9/.

These architects have completely ignored the rich cultural heritage of our traditional architecture. This is most evident in Kathmandu. The modern architecture of Kathmandu is in sharp contrast with the traditional one which relied on local materials and local know how. The Newar architecture is so sophisticated that many tourists from all over the world wonder whether these could be real. Allan Rodger, Professor in Architecture at Melbourne University, who visited Nepal, said:

If one of your traditional buildings is placed in New York or in any major city of the industrialized country, it will be a museum on its own. Here, you have the whole city of it... Nepal is a very capital intensive country with its rich terrace-fields and beautiful architecture. The Nepalese professionals have failed to respond to this cultural development in pursuit of western culture. This can bring no healthy development of the people except deprivation and dependence.

The fact is that the Nepalese architects in India, Soviet Union and other industrial countries have no expertise in traditional building techniques: detail designing, wood carving, integrated community planning and architecture. They, therefore, feel helpless when trying to respond to these cultural traditions. They then ignore it in favour of modern design which is easier to work with their new tools of T squares and set squares that give straight lines only. The people, in general, believe that a trained professional produces a better home and hence regard that their own houses are of an inferior quality. They would not hesitate to destroy their own culture for the new mode.

9/ Ramesh Manandhar, 'Cement, steel or mud', The rising Nepal (Kathmandu, 17 Sept. 1982); 'Mud brick roofs in developed countries', The rising Nepal (June 1982); 'Mud, mud, glorious mud', Development Forum (October 1983).

Introducing modern technology and architecture are to their own benefit for the professionals as they can get a greater share of income from expensive modern buildings. Thus, in Kathmandu alone in 1977, 2000 million rupees were invested in buildings when the total national budget of Nepal for that year was only 7000 million rupees. Many of these new buildings were designed and constructed with the help of architects, engineers and contractors.

Out of this investment, a substantial proportion of funds went out of the country in the importation of cement, steel, oil and other materials. If you ask an architect or an engineer about this, they will tend to say that it is not their headache. "That is not my business, I am a professional and I am trained in design and construction and to give service to the client for a fee. Why should I bother about economics. There are plenty of other professionals to look after them". Today's professionals have become self-centred and money oriented and they are very little conscious of their social responsibilities.

To combat this disease, Mwalimu Julius Neyerere suggests:

Indeed by using good local farmers as supervisors and teachers of particular aspects of work, we shall be helping to break down the notion that only book learning is worthy of respect.

This may precisely, be what we should aiming at towards our outlook in professionalism. Here, I am reminded of one incident. After Australia, I came back to Nepal again to explore mud construction (as well as mud roofing) in rural areas of West Nepal. I was trying to build a small demonstration temple in mud and stone. It was in the school premises that we were building and hence the students came to see me digging earth. One of them remarked:

This is not good, Sir. An engineer digging earth like an ordinary farmer! Please come and teach us. We lack teachers.

I replied:

If you help me in my work, I shall help you in your classes.

The student again:

But Sir, why are we in schools if not to get away from working on the land?

This is a very important truth said by a kid of our present educational system. Children are led to believe that our education is provided so that one need not work on land anymore. This is how one degrades the farming profession. My ideas about professionalism is that there already exist a tremendous cadres of professional expertise with the village people. This must be relized as our most important resource and, therefore, this must be facilitated. The present professionals have undermined these 'native professionals' and instead subjected the 'native professionals' into hardship

by imposing their own professional standards. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that if the present professionals are to play important roles in development, then they should act as facilitators.

In the village where I was building the temple, I was keen to see that the students should learn more about education not only from books but through actual experience. Hence, we continued to discuss together. Initially, the students hesitated to touch the 'dirty mud' with their 'clean hands'. But seeing that I was very persistent, they came down into the soil. They helped me eagerly to make mud, mud bricks and carry stones for the temple. It was interesting to see that once they shed their hesitation, all the kids were playing in mud and expressing joy in seeing the mud bricks made. It was so simple that everyone could do it. They may have not realized this joy from their text books, the pursuing of which is to pass an examination once a year or so. Those who fail become 'pillars of death'. The temple got built in a short span of time with their participation and I, in turn, helped them in their classrooms. It was, in a sense, a perfect match.

Today, it is often heard in Nepal that such and such project did not meet its stated objectives although the project may have the most qualified and expensive professional expatriate and highly trained Nepalese professionals and, of course, a big budget. Although it is true that there are many reasons for a project failure, I am inclined to think that the professionals are partly to blame.

They portray an image of a 'developer' to develop people as if they are objects, like when developing a land with services. They have failed to recognize that the centre of development is people themselves and, therefore, people's professional expertise is the foundation of all development on which further supports would be weak and short lived. This suggests the need to explore cultural dimensions of development in which people's tools, technology, know-how become the stepping stones for their development with their own efforts. An external professional may be able to facilitate these processes if they go back to land, live with the people and learn with them. Such a professional, then, need not be a well trained American graduate but a village educated professional, one who understands the culture of the village; the potentials and its limitations and some knowledge about how to solve them locally by actually working with the people and participating in the change. Thus, a village educated professional will be most likely a villager himself. Because he is not expensive, we can have more of them. In fact, every village will have many village educated professionals who are farmers, educators, facilitators all combined into one. You may say, then, that he is not a professional anymore. I would agree. He will be a villager first and last but with a difference: a villager who is now self-reliant, more creative and more political.

REGENERATIVE ZONES

REGENERATING THE UNITED STATES ECONOMY THROUGH GROWTH IN REGIONAL AND LOCAL SELF-RELIANCE

by Medard Gabel and Robert Rodale
The Cornucopia Project
33 East Minor Street
Emmaus, Pennsylvania 18049, USA

Original language: English

Abstract: Starting from a critique of conventional planning and its results ('the mess we are in'), the authors offer an alternative focusing on local self-reliance in substance and participatory planning in method. The basic idea is to do more with less material resources and to match local needs with local means. The regenerative technology is in tune with nature and information intensive. The authors describe regenerative programs and work out two indices (vitality index and regenerative index) to measure progress from or towards the regeneration of a zone (in the full paper, somewhat abridged here due to lack of space, the indices are illustrated in great detail). A method of planning is outlined where planners are more facilitators than 'authorities'.

ZONES RÉGÉNÉRATRICES - RÉGÉNÉRER L'ÉCONOMIE DES ÉTATS-UNIS PAR L'AUTONOMIE RÉGIONALE ET LOCALE

Résumé: A partir d'une critique de la planification conventionnelle et de ses résultats, les auteurs offrent une alternative centrée sur l'autonomie locale quant à sa substance et la planification participative quant à sa méthode. L'idée fondamentale est de faire plus avec moins de ressources matérielles et de satisfaire les besoins locaux avec les moyens locaux. La technologie régénératrice est en harmonie avec la nature. Elle comporte une forte intensité d'information. Les auteurs décrivent des programmes régénérateurs et élaborent deux index (index de vitalité et index de régénération) pour mesurer l'approche ou l'éloignement de la régénération d'une zone. Ils esquissent une méthode de planification dans laquelle les planificateurs se voient comme facilitateurs et non comme 'autorités'.

ZONAS REGENERADORAS - REGENERACIÓN DE LA ECONOMÍA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEDIANTE EL DESARROLLO DE LA AUTONOMÍA REGIONAL Y LOCAL

Resumen: Partiendo de una crítica a la planificación convencional y a sus resultados ("el caos en que nos encontramos"), los autores ofrecen una alternativa basada, en su esencia, en la autonomía local, y en cuanto al método, en la participación en la planificación. La idea fundamental es hacer más con menos recursos materiales y satisfacer las

(sigue en la página 39)

Medard Gabel and Robert Rodale

REGENERATIVE ZONES

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INTRODUCTION

"Economic development" is a term often given by planners in states and communities to those actions which they believe will benefit their region. To be less generous, these actions are often ill-conceived, not coordinated with other programs, not in tune with any long or short-term goals, and not tied in with any objective criteria for evaluation - at best. They are often the products of special interest investors, usually from outside the region, and are not formulated by the people who will have to live with the results. The combined efforts of all the local, regional, state and national "economic development" programs by all our planners and policy makers have resulted in the mess we are in. So far, these efforts have run the collective debt of the United States to over \$4.5 trillion.

The U.S. government alone is over \$1.5 trillion in debt. The interest on this debt - \$83 billion - is more than the GNP of most countries of the world. In addition, there are ten million people, 9.8 percent of the work force, unemployed in the United States and 34.4 million people who are below the official poverty line. The idea of full employment is no longer thought a possibility, but has been relegated to the domain of a pipe dream by government and corporate planners. To make matters worse, much of the industrial base of the United States is old, and in many vital areas, obsolete. Finally, the resources upon which the U.S. economy is dependent are growing increasingly scarce and expensive while competition for these resources and global markets is growing fiercer.

These and other symptoms have been pointed to for many years by doomsayers as heralding everything from the fall of the American dream to the end of Western Civilization. They point out that the problems are not going away, nor are they limited to the United States. And, the problems are, according to some, getting worse and more numerous.

Imbedded in these macro-economic issues is a structural arrangement which fosters an ever decreasing amount of self-reliance and thereby compounds the difficulties for states and communities to make headway in solving their economic and social problems. For example, states, regions and local communities around the country import large percentages of food, energy, materials, insurance, and the like while exporting dollars - thereby draining the community of a valuable resource.

Pennsylvania, for example, the leading agricultural state in the Northeast, imports 71 percent of its food and exports \$8.6 billion to pay for this food. Much of the food could be produced in Pennsylvania by area farmers. Most Eastern and Midwestern states and towns follow a similar pattern. This outward flow of dollars is a drain on local resources and harms the local food producer, ties the distributor into a vulnerable long-distance transportation network and delivers an expensive product to the consumer that is inferior in nutrition and flavor.

As Jane Jacobs, the noted economist and historian, points out in her recent articles, it is the substitution of locally produced goods for imported items that drives economic development in any given city region. As a region produces more and more goods for its own needs - thereby importing less of these same goods - the region's economy grows. More money stays in the region - because it goes to the local producer - and then has a multiplier effect on the entire local economy.

Imports stimulate the market. They create the need for certain products or services. The local economy - if it is healthy - can tap into this ready-made market by producing these needed goods and services. The local market is usually the largest market readily available to a producer. It is also the local market that can generate the capital that the local economy needs to grow.

Old approaches to solving the above mentioned and our other social and economic problems have not worked too well. From the New Frontier and Great Society to Supply Side Economics, nothing seems to be solving our problems.

Some approaches to solving society's problems are claimed to be new or more effective but they are little more than history with new faces. "Industrial Policy" or the "Reindustrialization of America" are national planning approaches out of the Soviet Union of the 1920's - which was copying the late 1800's United States and Great Britain's industrialization patterns. Little appears on the horizon of planning, problem solving methods or economic development that offers anything more than the bold attempt to come up with something that fails slowly. No real systemic, sustainable solutions or methods of arriving at solutions are being offered by planners or policy makers at the federal, state, regional or local level. Management by objective, zero base budgeting, planning-programing-budgeting systems, comprehensive planning and strategic planning are all noble attempts to stem the tide of our growing problems, but they each lack some key features that tie them into the economic, ecological, resource and human-need realities of today.

The need for a new approach is readily apparent. An effective way of both looking at our problems and solving them is needed that will regenerate our local, regional and state

economies and thereby the United States economy and society. One approach that offers this radical, but necessary, possibility is what we call the Regenerative Zone Development Plan.

REGENERATION

An adequate presentation of this concept demands an exploration of the meaning of the ideas of "regenerative" and "regenerative technology and programs." Regeneration means "to restore to a previous condition; to improve". Biologically, it means "the replacement of lost or injured tissue, permitted by the ability of some cells to dedifferentiate and develop in a new way." What this means in the sense we are using the word, that is, in an economic development framework, is that economic recovery and growth are furthered by the ability of the economy to de-specialize itself and produce a more diverse set of products.

The concept of regeneration is an extension of the words "benign" and "sustainable." Benign means that something is safe, non-destructive, biologically fitting or neutral. Sustainable means that something is not only safe and non-destructive in the present, but that it is safe and non-destructive into the future. Regenerative means that something is more than safe and non-destructive in the present and into the future. It is more than neutral, it is positive. Regenerative means that something has the ability to go beyond just sustainability and into the realm of repair, restoration and growth.

There is a trend towards miniaturizing our technological processes - doing more with less in other words. This trend's logical progression leads to regeneration. That is, in the evolution of technology, first we learn how to do something, then we learn how to do it better, how to do it more efficiently, to make it do more with less. As we use technology we learn how to do it/build it better. Continuing the more with less trend, we then learn how to make it smaller and smaller, and then we learn how to make it regenerative. Each step along the way of "doing more with less" is filled with increased knowledge of how nature works. A regenerative technology is one that is in tune with nature - it has nature perform much of the work that was previously performed by brute force. In a strict economic sense then, a regenerative technology is a more efficient and economical technology because the inputs - the paid-for-in-dollars inputs - are less. Nature does more and more of our work, supplies more and more of our inputs as we learn more and more about how to work with nature.

A regenerative technology is a resource efficient or low-input technology. Just as a city region grows through "import substitution," a regenerative technology develops through "input substitution". That is, a regenerative technology substitutes natural processes, biological struc-

tures, conservation and prevention for store-bought inputs. What runs throughout the progression of technological development - from the first prototype, to increased efficiency, to miniaturization and the doing more with less - is the increase of information. Regenerative technology of programs are not energy or materials intensive, but rather, information intensive. They embody more information - but know-how-what-and-where - than do the non-regenerative technology or programs that they supplant. For example, it takes much more information to control pests with biological pest control than it does with pesticides.

Regenerative technology works with nature, not against it. It starts with the honouring of the value of natural systems and takes advantage of the natural patterns of energy and materials and harnesses these flows and cycles to bring about desired conditions.

As the above technological development process happens, it allows and facilitates decentralization. This is because the process is dependent on information, not energy, materials or capital. Information resists centralization and monopolization because it can not be as easily contained. Unlike other resources, it is not diminished by sharing. It is multiplied by being divided.

As we do more with less, the economy of scale changes. As economy of scale changes, what can be done efficiently and economically on the local level changes. Once we can do something economically on the local level, import substitution can begin. And, the ongoing process of making it regenerative can continue.

REGENERATIVE TECHNOLOGY AND PROGRAMS

Regenerative technology and programs refers to those technologies and programs that do not degrade but improve the biological, resource or human basis of their functioning. They are used to produce goods and services that society needs, while also undoing the environmental damage caused by our present energy and materials intensive technology.

Regenerative technology or programs lead to an improvement in the quality or to the preservation of the resource base that a system is dependent upon. It is a strategy for creating wealth while actually improving the resource base. For example, agriculture is dependent upon soil. Food production technologies that lead to rapid soil erosion can be classified as non-regenerative or "degenerative" technologies. On the other hand, technology that allows for the production of food and fiber but which also preserves and even builds up the soil, so that the resource base is better after farming than before, can be classified as a regenerative technology. Examples of regenerative technologies or programs in other areas are technologies for harnessing renewable energy sources, education, pollution control and recycling, accident

prevention, housing stock repair, restoration and retrofitting, remanufacturing of durable products such as automobiles and other machines and preventive health care techniques, especially community-based prevention.

It is important to note that the concept of regenerative technology and programs are not the antithesis of high technology, but rather an entirely different concept which has meaning in a different context. If regenerative technology is the antithesis of anything, it is of those technologies that degrade either the human organism, society or the resource base they rely on.

Regenerative technology focuses on the good that technology can do deliberately, rather than the harm it causes accidentally. It is also human scale and its effectiveness and measures of efficiency go beyond the bottom-line. That is, whether regenerative technology is "economical" or not is determined by more than just those items traditionally paid attention to by economists.

VITALITY INDEX AND REGENERATIVE INDEX

The Vitality Index and Regenerative Index are tools for measuring the relative economic health of a particular area or zone. They also measure progress away from or towards the regeneration of an area or zone. The Indexes are explicit statements of the evaluation criteria that will be used in the region to make planning decisions. They will tell planners, government and business policy makers, researchers and the general public where the region is and what progress it is, or is not, making. As such, they are essential tools for decision making, planning and societal navigation: we need to know both where we are and where we are heading if we are to stay or adjust our course.

The Vitality Index is made up of general factors in a particular community or zone that indicate overall societal health and the ability or capacity of the zone to be regenerated.

These factors are:

Full employment - defined as 100 percent of those who wish employment, having a job; measured by

- . Percent employed in zone
- . Percent of labour force employed in small manufacturing and service businesses

Full Health - defined as 100 percent of the zone's population without sickness; measured by:

- . Percent of people who are not sick (percent not in hospitals, percent not absent from work or school due to sickness).
- . Percent of population under 65

Full Energy - defined as meeting the energy needs of the zone with in-zone energy sources; measured by:

- . Percent of total energy used that is produced in-zone
- . Percent of total energy available within zone that could be used to meet local needs.

Full Food - defined as meeting the food needs of the zone with in-zone food sources; measured by:

- . Percent of food consumed that is produced in the zone
- . Percent of food consumed that is processed locally
- . Percent of water supply that is non-polluted
- . Percent of food produced locally with regenerative techniques
- . Percent of food that could be produced locally

Full Materials - defined as meeting the material needs of the zone with in-zone materials; measured by:

- . Percent of material needs that are met with internal zone materials
- . Percent of infrastructure in need of regeneration

Full Capital - defined as keeping the capital resources of the zone within the zone; measured by:

- . Percent of money that stays in the zone - for such things as insurance, energy, food, healthcare, materials, etc.
- . Percent of population not on welfare
- . Percent of people not on social security
- . Percent of people heavily in debt in zone

These factors can be employed separately as indicators of the general well being of their respective areas, or they can be combined into one number that indicates the entire, overall vitality of the zone. This Vitality Index will furnish the planner, policy maker and general public with a powerful tool for judging the health of their region, comparing that health with other regions, measuring the health of their region from one year to the next, determining the overall efficacy of different economic development strategies and programs and furnishing the population of the region with an easy-to-understand yardstick for measuring the success or failure of their elected (and non-elected) leaders and institutions.

The Regenerative Index is made up of factors that contribute to regeneration. As such, it goes beyond the Vitality Index, which just measures relative vitality. The Regenerative Index is more specific. It will lead to specific policy alternatives by disclosing factors in need of remediation and opportunities for enhancement. The areas covered by the Regenerative Index are the same as the Vitality Index - employment, health, energy, food, and agriculture, materials, capital.

The Regenerative Index measures the actions being taken by individuals or organizations within the zone that regenerate health, employment, local energy, food and materials consumption, and capital.

These components are:

Regenerative Employment

- . Hire in-zone unemployed to fill job openings
- . Create new jobs in-zone for unemployed
- . Allow job sharing and flex-time
- . Increase percent of product or service marketed in-zone
- . Decrease handling of toxic materials
- . Increase waste management and recycling
- . Increase air pollution controls
- . Decrease work noise levels
- . Begin or improve work health/fitness programs
- . Replace imports with in-zone materials, products, services

Preventive Health (Ranked in order of importance to health, safety and regenerative effects to the individual)

- . Stop smoking
- . Moderate alcohol consumption
- . Wear seatbelts
- . End exposure to toxic substances
- . Install smoke detectors in home
- . Have access to clean water
- . Exercise regularly
- . Restrict fat consumption
- . Maintain weight
- . Take steps to control stress
- . End getting too much cholesterol
- . Restrict sodium
- . Restrict sugar
- . Get 7-8 hours sleep

Energy Conservation

- . Caulk and weather strip windows, doors
- . Add insulation to attic
- . Add Set-back thermostats
- . Replace old burner unit with more efficient one
- . Add insulation to hot water heater
- . Lower thermostat on hot water heater
- . Add flow-reduction shower heads
- . Insulate windows
- . Install storm doors, storm windows
- . Insulate walls
- . Increase south windows area
- . Install low cost air heating solar collectors
- . Install solar hot water heater

Regenerative Food and Agriculture

- . Diversify production regime
- . Rotate crops, including legumes for nitrogen fixation

- . Intercrop
- . Plant cover crops
- . Use more manure for fertilizer
- . Store manure, minimizing nutrient losses for application at proper time
- . Increase number of livestock
- . Reduce soil erosion
- . Install on-farm alternative energy sources
- . Reduce pesticide use, control weeds mechanically
- . Market products locally
- . Process products locally

Regenerative Shelter

- . Conserve energy via weather stripping, insulation, etc.
- . Conserve water via flow reduction shower heads, etc.
- . Produce food in garden
- . Process garden food
- . Paint shelter
- . Refurbish shelter
- . Repair structure
- . Add space

Local Materials

- . Buy in-zone products
- . Buy in-zone raw materials

Regenerative Capital

- . Buy food, energy, materials and services from local suppliers
- . Invest capital in-zone enterprises
- . Invest capital in enterprises which employ the most in-zone people
- . Invest capital in enterprises which use the most in-zone materials, energy, food
- . Place savings in banks which invest your money in in-zone enterprises
- . Purchase insurance from in-zone insurance company which keeps the money in-zone
- . Dis-invest from enterprises which drain the zone of your capital resources

Together, the above five areas will be an indicator of the level of regeneration of a zone. Taken separately they will identify specific actions that can be taken and areas that can be improved or that show potential for regeneration.

REGENERATIVE ZONES

A "regenerative zone" is an area that seeks to solve or reduce its economic and social problems of unemployment, capital drain, health care, energy use, food production, environmental damage, resource cost, etc. by developing its regenerative technologies. A regenerative zone focuses, in a specific geographic region, multiple regenerative forces. It would aim to increase self-generated growth within a region.

REGENERATIVE ZONE DEVELOPMENT PLAN

A Regenerative Zone Development Plan is, at a general level, a method of recognizing, defining and solving society's problems. It seeks to do this through the development of regenerative technologies on a regional scale. Its emphasis would be on jobs for the people who live in the zone, clean and safe energy production, fresh and nutritious food, clean and safe water, a healthier population and environmental improvement. "Well being" and "success" would be defined and centered upon the health of the people in the zone, not the amount of money that is transacted through the zone. Maximum economic activity with minimum outside-the-zone outputs would be aimed for. This is different from the conventional economic approach which seeks to maximize output but does not consider the concept of getting its inputs from within the region. Less attention is focused on output and more to increasing labour-related wealth and value in the zone.

In summary, Regenerative Zone Development Planning provides the conceptual framework for program development that will increase the size and depth of the areas in a community that are economically and socially vital. In addition, the Regenerative Index and Market Searches provide the measurement structures that are needed to both monitor progress and to locate development opportunities.

A METHOD FOR BRINGING ABOUT DEVELOPMENT THROUGH REGENERATIVE ZONES

Regional and local planners can best bring about the development of a regenerative zone by viewing themselves as catalysts, not leaders or authorities, as facilitators, not directors, and as information collectors and disseminators who judge the success of their efforts by how many people are involved in the planning process. By adapting the following general guidelines to their unique region and need, the planner can set in motion the process of local regeneration.

Step I

Set up Regenerative Zone Development Task Force. Members should be from all segments of society. This group would be responsible for doing and coordinating the following activities:

Step II

- A. Define geographical limits of Zone
- B. Formulate and execute a Regenerative Index for Zone
- C. Inventory: natural stocks (land, climate, water, natural and human resources)
- D. Inventory: industry (flows of energy, materials, food, water, capital into and out of zone)
- E. Inventory: needs (Basic human needs in zone for: food, energy, water, shelter, health care, information, materials, education, transportation, jobs, recreation, access to government).

Step III - Market search

A key to effective and progressive development of in-zone resources, jobs and other potentials are economic opportunities for local entrepreneurs. A key to this is the identification of local markets for in-zone produced products. To accomplish this a series of market searches should be undertaken, including:

A. AgMarket Search - A market survey of all in-zone bulk buyers of food - grocery stores, restaurants, schools and other institutions, wholesalers, and food processors - should be conducted. These bulk buyers of food products should be asked if they would be willing to buy their food products from a local producer, and how much of each commodity that will grow in the zone they would purchase per week. This market search will furnish local food producers with the information they need to expand and diversify their production. An AgMarket Search recently conducted for a two county region in Pennsylvania disclosed, to most everyone's surprise (including local farmers), a \$20 million market for locally produced food products.

B. Farmer Search - A "companion" survey to AgMarket Search, this survey would locate all the farmers in the zone who are producing commodities for the zone. This information will be useful to the bulk buyers, as well as consumers.

C. Energy Search - A market search of all in-zone users of energy - houses, factories, businesses, etc. - that would ask if they would be able to convert their energy use from import based energy consumption to in-zone based energy, and the price they would be willing to pay for it. This would furnish local energy or conservation suppliers with the information they need to expand their operations.

D. Wellness Search - A market search of consumers in the zone that would identify the need, desire and market for preventive health care. This would give local health care delivery entrepreneurs the information they would need to expand their operations in preventive, rather than "curative" directions.

E. Shelter Search - A market search of householders, landlords, etc. that would determine the potential for renovation and repair of shelters by in-zone construction companies.

Step IV - Local Goods and Services Fair

All in-zone manufacturers or suppliers of goods and services would be featured at an exposition/fair. This event would help in-zone businesses and organizations to market their products to other zone members.

Step V - Citizen Participation

- A. Communication of Regenerative Zone concept to citizen groups
1. Following the approach of John Friedman or Russell Ackoff - Transactive or Proactive planning - the planner would seek to involve as many people as feasible in the planning process. This can be furthered by:
 2. Community meetings, newspaper articles, etc. and:

- B. Goal formulation for region by citizen groups
 1. Begin discussion with citizen groups on technological choices and the probable result they would have, on region.
 2. Furnish people in zone with the means to judge the various technological options - the job eliminating or creating, or regenerative contribution of specific new and existing technologies. This is the Regenerative Index.
 3. Formulate goals for region through meetings, policy, etc.

Step VI - Meeting Needs

Given the above basic needs and the goals of the zone, how can the zone meet its needs and move towards the goals with the natural resources inside the zone? Part of this process is for the planner to facilitate the matching of resources with needs wherever there is a direct one-to-one relation. When there isn't a direct correlation then the planner needs to develop the linkages between the needs of the zone, its resources and available technology. Priorities will arise both from the major needs of the region as well as from the in-zone resources and economic opportunities.

Step VII Outreach/Implementation

Having done the above the planner and the zone would have a preliminary plan of action - a list of things that could be done to increase the well being of the zone, that would meet the needs of the people in the zone, with the resources of the zone.

Moving from this stage to implementation will need the coordination of many actors within the zone - local businesses, government, educators, consumers, farmers and the like. The planner's most efficient approach is one of supplying information to these interested parties and, if he or she has done a good job, keeping out of their way. The Regenerative Index will chart the progress, or lack of it, that the various programs that are implemented have. By monitoring the Index, the general public and zone's decision makers can accurately evaluate the efficacy of their actions and program.

CONCLUSIONS

The economic and social development paradigm of Regenerative Technology, Zones and Index can make a valuable contribution to America's economic recovery. By formulating Regenerative Zones, Regenerative Indexes and bringing regenerative technology and programs to bear upon the problems of that region while using the resources of the region, the welfare of the citizens of each zone will be improved through increased job opportunities, better food and water supplies, cleaner energy and increased health. By the ubiquitous adoption of the regenerative zone development plan throughout the United States, the entire country's economy and social well being would be greatly improved - at a cost far less than any other development scheme.

LAS ORGANIZACIONES ECONOMICAS

La experiencia de las nuevas organizaciones económicas populares en Chile. Situación y perspectivas por L. Razeto, A. Klenner, A. Ramirez y R. Urmeneta (Santiago: Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Programa de Economía del Trabajo Populares, 1983), 159pp.

A review by Mariana Schkolnik
Academia de Humanismo Cristiano
Catedral 1063, 5° piso
Santiago, Chile

This book constitutes a systematical essay about one of the forms of social response to the economic situation resulting from the authoritarian regime in Chile. It analyses the constitution of new forms of popular associations whose principal purpose is to overcome the constraints of unemployment, the decrease of salaries and increase of the cost of social services, in short, the problems of subsistence and basic needs satisfaction of the poorest, affected as they are by the neo-liberal economical model.

These organizations - Organizaciones económicas populares (OEP) or popular social organisations - bring together men, women and young people, unemployed or retired, most of them living in the poorest areas of Santiago (the slums or poblaciones). Five types of organizations are distinguished:

- talleres laborales or workshops established by workers having a certain technical specialisation, producing goods and services sold by themselves;
- organizations for the unemployed, whose goal is collective job seeking, they include committees of unemployed, informal agencies of job surveys, etc.
- consumers organizations, bringing together poor families, facilitating access to food or improving and increasing consumption of food; These organizations have taken the form of comedores infantiles (children's soups), comedores populares (popular soups), huertos familiares (kitchen gardens) or purchase committees;
- organizations dealing with housing problems, electricity and drinkable water, they are more revendicative, but there are also some pre-cooperative organizations for the purchase and self-construction of dwellings;
- organizations delivering community services (health, education and culture);

The OEP constitute a rather heterogeneous, experimental and precarious reality. Still, they have progressively spread out in Santiago and other areas, widening their social basis and taking new proportions and characteristics. Some are obviously more stable than others, or have become more autonomous from the institutions that gave them initial support, the Catholic Church and some international aid organizations.

These organizations oscillate between a more traditional advocacy character - pressing the government for solutions, and newer forms of auto-response, and the latter breaking more clearly with the traditional ways of organization of the Chilean people. This new pattern results from the neglect of its social functions by the state, the privatization of the social services (health, education, social security) and the dramatic unemployment (more than 30% at the present) and the general situation of poverty.

Another element of the novelty of these organizations is their "global" or "integral" character. They are seeking not only an improvement of their current situation, but also a better way of life, habitat and convivial conditions based upon democracy and solidarity, just the opposite of the individualistic attitudes characteristic of the authoritarian period.

The question, of course, is whether the OEPs are not only another small sector of the Chilean enterprises and organizations that grow correlatively to the worker's exclusion of the formal sector? And also, will this sector become formal (and even recognized by the state) if and when there is a process of economical recovery? In their majority, they correspond to desperate and elementary attempts at survival, but at the same time they include elements of renewal. They share a common sensibility with the social sectors that support a redemocratization process. They represent a culture, a language and attitudes opposed or alternative to authoritarianism. The practices of solidarity are typical of these organizations.

The OEPs are not simply organizations of the "informal sector". The informal sector usually corresponds to individual or collective activities that depend closely on the formal economy and where there are no relations among informal activities. The OEPs show on the contrary that there are horizontal links between their different economic activities (purchase, production or elaboration, commercialisation and consumption) and also vertical ones (with finance institutions, aid institutions - specially the church - professional centres, technicians, workers, unemployed, women that work in their homes, youngsters and children).

It is however especially in the rupture with the state that lies the central characteristic of the OEPs to the extent that finally it is an autonomous answer of the society to a government which is negating it a proper space. As far as the future is concerned, an important question is the evolution of such networks after the return of democracy and economic recovery. In fact, the very survival of these organizations is not assured. But we must consider the possibilities of a democratic government to overcome the economical crisis. The reconstruction of the Chilean economy on the basis of reindustrialization, surely will not solve unemployment in neither short nor long term. Then, these popular organizations will still be necessary.

If we see them not only as informal organizations, but as a network of small organizations based on solidarity, we realize that they are not only necessary but also desirable since they permit the existence of autonomous forms of production. It is one of the challenges to the next democratic government of Chile to refrain from the state omnipresence and leave to the civil society the space it needs.

EDUCATING WOMEN FOR DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF MOROCCO

by Zakia Belhachmi
13 avenue d'Alger
Rabat, Morocco

Original language: English

Abstract: Western theories of modernization, and the resulting development strategies and planning, do not contribute to the liberation of women in the Arab muslim context in so far as they see 'tradition' and 'modernization' as mutually exclusive concepts. In fact, as the author shows, Arab muslim tradition does not demand women's inferiority. She quotes Tahar Haddad, an early Tunisian feminist, who already in the 20s advocated education of women as a key element of their liberation as well as of development. The author also examines the case of her own country, and sees in the type of exogenous modernization embarked upon after Independence a major structural barrier to women's liberation. She calls for a shift from anti-participatory strategies to a new, people-oriented, paradigm. (This paper constitutes a chapter of a forthcoming book whose title is the same as that of the article.)

EDUQUER LES FEMMES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT: LE CAS DU MAROC

Résumé: Les théories occidentales de la modernisation et les stratégies et plans de développement qui en résultent ne contribuent pas à la libération des femmes dans le contexte arabo-musulman. En fait, la tradition arabo-musulmane ne postule pas l'infériorité des femmes. L'auteur cite Tahar Haddad, féministe tunisien, qui déjà dans les années 20 se faisait l'avocat de l'éducation des femmes comme élément-clé de leur libération et du développement. L'auteur examine aussi le cas de son pays, et voit dans le type de modernisation exogène adoptée après l'Indépendance un obstacle structurel majeur à la libération féminine. Elle appelle à l'abandon de stratégies anti-participatives et plaide pour un nouveau paradigme, fondé sur le développement humain.

EDUCACIÓN DE LA MUJER PARA EL DESARROLLO: EL CASO DE MARRUECO

Resumen: Las teorías occidentales de modernización y las estrategias y planes de desarrollo que de ellas se derivan, no contribuyen a la liberación de la mujer dentro del esquema árabe-musulmán mientras sigan considerando "tradición" y "modernización" como conceptos exclusivos. En efecto, como la autora muestra, las tradiciones árabe-musulmanas no imponen la inferioridad de la mujer. Cita el caso de Tahar Haddad, pionera del feminismo tunesino, quién ya por los años 1920 defendía la educación de la mujer, considerándola como un elemento clave en su liberación y desarrollo. La autora examina el caso de su propio país y ve en el tipo de modernización exógena, adoptada después de la independencia, una gran barrera estructural a la liberación femenina. Finalmente hace un llamado a cambiar las estrategias antiparticipativas por un nuevo paradigma basado en el desarrollo humano.

EDUCATING WOMEN FOR DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF MOROCCO

1. THE ARAB MUSLIM CONTEXT

The Arab Muslim context, while having many of the generic characteristics of other Third World nations, has at the same time specific cultural idiosyncrasies that determine the particular conditions of women and the related problems of development. In order to grasp the meaning of such specific cultural characteristics, one has to place the Arab Muslim countries in their particular historical contexts and examine them in the light of their own process of social change.

Significantly, the social change of Arab Muslim countries has been subjected to Western values during colonial times as well as to Western theories of modernization. These theories suffer from limited perspective deriving from its particular temporal and social origin that generated simplistic and definite concepts about modernization, tradition and development.

Instead of conceiving modernization and tradition as essentially asymmetrical concepts, most Western social scientists set forth an ideal model of modernization and labeled everything different as traditional. Yet, tradition is not only too heterogeneous and evocative to be of much use as an analytical concept, but it is also diverse in values and structure. To view tradition as "static" and the concepts of modernization and tradition as being necessarily conflicting is erroneous.

In fact, the concept of modernization sustains several ambiguities which stem from the tendency to identify and associate modernization with virtue. This failure in conception is due particularly to the failure to distinguish between what is modern and what is Western. Implicitly, the two are assumed to be identical. Nevertheless, to a non-Western society, the process of modernization and Westernization are two different matters altogether.

In such a perspective, a modern society can be both modern and traditional because modernization and tradition are not "mutually exclusive" ^{1/} concepts. The attitudes and behavioral patterns of people, in turn, may in some cases be fused; in others they may comfortably coexist, despite the apparent incongruity of it all. Accordingly, the cultural, psychological and behavioral continuities existing within a society through both its traditional and modern phases may

^{1/} Reinhard Bendix, "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (Vol. XV, April 1967) p.3.

be significantly greater than the dissimilarities between them. Therefore, the Arab Muslim culture generally viewed as one that keeps women in a state of subjugation is in fact a complex and social situation where tradition does not necessarily demand female inferiority. As we shall see in our exploration of the specific historical and cultural setting of the Arab world, it can be viewed as a liberating factor.

It can be argued that the whole problem of modernization today suffers from a severe lack of the notion of process, viewing tradition and modernization as parts of an infinite continuum from the earliest times of society to the indefinite future. This notion of process reveals the inherent structural inequalities of the present world-system, both at the international and national levels.

REPLICATION OF THE STRUCTURAL INEQUALITIES

The structural inequalities which dominate the world's economic system separating the interests of the North and the South, and imposing inequalities within individual Third World countries are to be found within the Arab nations too. Such inequalities are of special concern to the issue of the participation of women, on a basis of justice and equity, in the development process. These structures, therefore, must be kept in mind as the basic background for planning education in order to contribute more equitably to the integration of women in development.

Because the prevailing concept of development is imbued with a marked ideological content stemming from a predominantly economic, theoretical paradigm designed to explain and justify various facets of social reality, the cultural idiosyncrasies and particular priorities of Third World countries are overlooked, while abstract cross-cultural generalizations are applied to development. Accordingly, the Arab world is virtually "coerced" by the industrial world to believe that development is the direct extension of a whole world of knowledge, patterns of thoughts, lifestyles and experiences that have culminated in Western technocratic society. Similarly, Arab social scientists are provided by their counterparts in the Western countries with definitions and models regarding ways and means by which their own Arab structures are to develop! Those patterns of analysis engender a dependency devoid of socio-cultural processes and lacking relevance to the resources and needs of Arab societies it is addressed to.

Moreover, this alienating situation is aggravated within particular nations by the literal transfer of patterns of thoughts and forms of analysis from industrial countries. Very often, Arab officials tend to equate the success of modernization or developmental process with a society's ability to import as well as to perform according to standard models originating in the West.

As a result, most of the developmental projects designed for Arab communities, even by Arab policy makers, tend to be characterized by a blind duplication of conventional Western measures governed by exogenous centers of economic powers viewed as the repositories of "Truth", "Civilization", and "Universality". Like their counterparts in the other "recipient" bloc of countries, Arab ones are pressured into situations of dependence accentuated by various effects of relationship of dominance created and nurtured by their "donor" countries' conceptions and patterns of analysis of development.

These situations of dependence are exacerbated by the application of the imported analytical tools to Arab development projects. For example, Nadia Youssef 2/ argues that Arab development projects, when dealing with women's role in society, show that however onerous women's lives are, development plans have seldom helped them. In fact, the process of development has tended to restrict the economic independence of women as their traditional jobs have been replaced by new methods and technologies. Accordingly, Western stereotypes of appropriate roles and occupations for women, exported with modernization, continuously increase the gap between men's and women's ability to cope with the modern world.

Those Western stereotypes and images of female domesticity impinging on Arab cultures were long ago denounced by voices like Amin Kacem's, who viewed them as forms of manipulation. As early as 1899, Amin Kacem explained that the conditions of women in the Arab world were related to the prevailing types of social organizations that were importing foreign concepts such as the Byzantine and Persian customs, namely, imposing the veil on women. He argued that women's seclusion and exclusion from social affairs were a direct extension of such secular customs rather than of Islam.

It can be claimed that Islam is a liberating religion:

"Muslim Law, before any other legal system legalized women's equality with men and asserted their freedom and liberty at times when women were still in the most debased conditions in all nations of the world. Islam granted them all human rights and recognized their legal capacity, equal to that of men in all matters..." 3/.

Basing his arguments on the precepts of Islam, Amin Kacem also contended that women and men are equal in the eyes of God and advocated their equal share with men in both rights and responsibilities towards their society. Accordingly, he

2/ Nadia Youssef, "Women in Development: Urban Life and Labour" in Irene Tinker and Michele Bo-Bransen (ed) Women and Development (Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1976).

3/ Amin Kacem, Fi-Tahrir Al Mar'a [Women's Liberation] (Cairo: Unimal Makatib Bismir WalKharij, 1928) p.15.

identified the Arab-Muslim weakness in denying women the involvement in the process of production:

"among the weaknesses in a society is the fact that the majority of its members are not involved in a productive work process... Women in every society average half of the population. To condemn them to be ignorant and inactive occasions the loss of half of the society's productive potential and creates a considerable drain upon the society's resources". (ib., p.18).

Consequently, he advocated the education of women by identifying education as another secular liberating force from the bondage of a male societal-structure, as well as an essential key component in the process of development and production.

Carrying Amin Kacem's work a step further, Tahar Haddad advocated women's training in the sciences and industries combined with human sciences. As a North African feminist of the thirties, he strongly believed that involving women in the professions by training them in professional skills should be one of the highest priorities for Arab nations 4/.

Other indigenous criticisms of the "domestication" of women in the contemporary Arab world are represented by Farag 5/ who argues that investment in "woman-power" is synonymous to investment in a country's human potential, because women's participation in society is an index of the degree of civilization of that society. He maintains that women's contribution to development is closely related to the degree of awareness, culture, education and development of the society as a whole. To ensure women's full participation in public life, he recommends Arab decision makers to take into consideration in their planning factors like education, legislation, women's organizations, child-care and health services.

In 1974, Ahmed Wajih 6/ advocated the need for a holistic approach to development by denouncing the "urban bias" prevalent in most developmental projects and asking for women's integration in rural development instead. He contended that female demands for economic parity with men will not in

4/ Tahar Haddad, Imr'atuna a fi-al Sharia wa-al-Mujtamaa (Women's Status as Reflected in Law and Society) (Tunis: Dar al Tunisiya Linashr, 1972, 2nd ed.)

5/ Osmal L. Farag, "Arab Women and National Development", Les Carnets de L'Enfance (Vol.23, 1973) pp.87-97

6/ Ahmed Wajih, Constraints and Requirements to Increase Women's Participation in Integrated Rural Development, unpublished paper presented at the seminar of the "Role of Women in Integrated Rural Development with Emphasis on Population Problems", Cairo, 1974.

crease unless more adequate opportunities are given for the rural group as a whole. He also called for the establishment of small industries in the countryside offering job opportunities as a means to improve the standard of life for both women and men. Arab governments, he contended, should guarantee women access to training programs and protect them against complete relegation to the lowest paying jobs. Having wider options open to them, Arab women will have the opportunity to utilize their creative energies for goals other than motherhood, and learn that they are capable of controlling their own lives.

Consequently, one can observe that in spite of the predominance of the structural inequalities at the global level, and their replication at the national levels of individual countries, there has always been a sharp indigenous consciousness and scholarship, as exemplifies in the Arab context, aware of the threats and ramifications of dependence relationships established by the West, and ready to denounce them as forms of manipulation and exploitation of countries striving for self-reliance. Nevertheless, awareness of dependence modes and structural inequalities, although vital for cultural identity and survival, are hardly sufficient. Like most Third World countries, Arab countries need a holistic conceptual framework of development combined with the building of an endogenous infrastructure leading to genuine development.

THE MOROCCAN CONTEXT

How does Morocco, as a specific example of Arab-Muslim context, enlarge, diffuse and realize the opportunities of its citizens leading to endogenous development? Although Morocco is an Arab muslim country and has the common generic characteristics described in the Arab world, it can be distinguished by its own cultural idiosyncrasies, especially when dealing with women's integration in development. Understanding the Moroccan context resides in exploring the socio-economic, cultural and political structures unique to Morocco and its history.

Like its counterparts in the Arab world, Morocco's spontaneous drive to fight economic backwardness and for independence was born during colonial times (French and Spanish Protectorates, 1912-1956). After independence, however, the kind of modernization started in the country was mainly acculturative due to the imitation by Moroccan policy makers at the time of patterns of analysis and models of development acceptable to the West and not necessarily consonant with their own cultural heritage.

The Moroccan historian, Abdallah Laroui, argues that the creativity of the Nationalist Movement as a producer of generative ideas of change receded before independence, namely, during 1930-1932. Moreover, the most important groups in

national development in the last eighteen years did not offer an integrated approach to the problems and development of the nation 7/.

As for the post-independence period, Samir Amin 8/ describes it as a period of empiricism, ad-hoc decision making, rather than the relegation of decisions for long-term programs of action, thus confirming the duplication of the imported fragmentary patterns of analysis of development deployed by Western industrial countries. What happened in Morocco was a total neglect of the building and strengthening of the country's economic, social, political and cultural structures.

STRUCTURAL BARRIERS

To understand the structural barriers to Morocco's endogenous development, one has to examine the type of modernization the country embarked on after independence. Following the Western type of modernization and, more specifically, the French style, Morocco's officials did not replace the old structures by new ones. Occasionally, the process of development since independence enriched the traditional culture with new heterogeneous elements but, for the most part, this enrichment led to its own impoverishment and distortion. Furthermore, education, as a generating element of change and reproduction of modern social structure, remained acculturative too. Indeed, the educational system was not totally reformed; instead, it perpetuated the values and concepts that were designed initially by the French during the French Protectorate for the French youth 9/.

This cultural dualism is reinforced by a marked schism demonstrated in the institutional discrimination against women. This is due partly to the failure of the Nationalist Movement to carry out its post-independence task of socio-economic regeneration. The movement, indeed, neglected to continue to support changes in women's situations in society that had started in the urban areas during the late years of the French Protectorate.

In fact, women in Morocco were and are still confined to laws and customs confining them to the domestic sphere, thus subjugating them to men. These laws are crystalized in the Moroccan Family Law, based on 1957 Code du statut personnel which grants male-supremacy and authority over women. By confining women to the family structure, Moroccan officials have kept them at a subsistence level when most sectors of

7/ Abdallah Laroui, L'histoire du Maghreb: Un essai de synthèse (Paris: Maspéro, 1970), p.346

8/ Samir Amin, Le Maghreb moderne (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1970)

9/ Allal Al-Fassi, The Independence in Arab North Africa (New York: Octagon Books, 1970).

the economy are money-based. Moroccan experience, therefore, confirms Boserup's 10/ argument that industrialization and modernization tend to enhance the difference between the sexes in under-developed economies and that it has produced a distortion in the dynamics between the sexes at the economic level.

Paradoxically, the Constitution of Morocco grants women parity with men in all spheres of modern life.

"Article 5 of the Constitution affirms the equality of all Moroccan citizens before the law. Article 8 specifically establishes that female citizens have the same rights of choice and eligibility as male citizens. As a result of these measures, the number of female white-collar workers in the government has increased considerably in the two decades since independence" 11/.

ADVERSE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT ON MOROCCAN WOMEN

The co-existence of incompatible forms of legislation, as shown in the Constitution and Family Law, aggravate and delay the integration of women into the process of development. In fact, when women have access to the modern sector, they are restricted to "pre-industrial" roles because performance in these related traditional tasks in the modern world does not require any training in new skills leading to decent places in the nation's economy.

El Belghiti argues that: "According to official statistics only 8% of women have a job, yet such basic chores as child-care, children's education, the practice of popular medicine, domestic services and many more, are not taken into account in studies of the market economy. The changes that occur in a woman's life due to processes of migration, urbanization and the modification of domestic structures cannot be measured" 12/.

Confirming the international silence of statistics regarding women's integration in development, El Belghiti's study supports Rogers' statement: "What is not counted is usually not noticed". Furthermore, El Belghiti denounces the inadequacy of the currently applied socio-economic indicators in Morocco and advocates their elaboration by a serious commitment to a:

10/ Ester Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development (New York: St. Martin Press, 1970) pp.117-139

11/ Fatima Mermissi, "The Moslem World: Women Excluded From Development", in Irene Tinker, op.cit. (cf.note 2)

12/ Malika El Belghiti, "The Role of Women in Socio-Economic Development: Indicators of Social Analyse - The Case of Morocco", UNESCO - Socio-Economic Studies N°3 (Paris, 1981) p.18

"political and ideological position". In such context, the quantitative achievement of occupational equality in urban areas should be accompanied by related questions such as the rate of increase by sex; the ratio of female performance in scientific and technical fields; attitudes of various groups (teachers, administrators, parents, etc.).

However, the improvement of socio-economic indicators is impeded by various inoperative analytical tools for the evaluation of change nation-wide:

"In the first place, there is a very obvious lack of researchers, experts and technologists. And those that do exist are very often placed in administrative jobs and 'digested' by the bureaucratic machine. Secondly, the methods and tools for investigating, measuring and analyzing the situation of the majority of Moroccan women, do not exist" (p.24).

In addition, there is an obvious gender discrimination both in education and employment. As identified by Bennani:

"In Morocco the participation of women in the economy in general and in industry in particular is substantial although it is more often than not ignored and its value remains only partially recognized. The problem is a lack of education. The national illiteracy rate is 76 percent for all citizens, and for females it is 86 percent at the national level and 98 percent in the rural area" 13/.

On the ideological level, the concept of "domestication" is manifested in educators' behaviour and attitudes to female education:

"The female teacher daily drills into girls the conviction of their own degradation. 'You are only a girl', 'a pretty girl is a semi-loss, an ugly girl is a total loss'. Similarly, ignorant mothers 'train' their daughters in housework duties and prepare them to assume their 'natural' role in society." (ib., p.20)

The discrimination against women is further reflected in the labour-market by the degree of women's participation in various aspects of public life. For example, the industrial sector is generally believed to be exclusively a "male domain". This belief is fostered by cultural attitudes and related family laws preventing Moroccan women from participation in the process of development. Similarly, the same segregation is manifested in training programs initially planned for the integration and advancement of women's conditions in cooperation with international development agen-

13/. Fatima-Zohra Bennani-Baiti, "The Role of Women in Industrialization: A Case Study of Morocco" in Women and Industrialization in Developing Countries (New York: UNIDO, 1982) p.95

cies. The "Office de formation professionnelle et de la promotion du travail" (OFPPT) is a case in point. Established in 1974 in collaboration between AID and the Ministry of Labour, the OFPPT was designed to administer vocational training programs recruiting and training instructors, and to determine "manpower" needs in industry and commerce in Morocco.

In practice, however, the OFPPT is discriminating against women, writes Bennani:

"The training of women is restricted to the commercial sector. Women have access only to training courses in typing, shorthand, bookkeeping and accounting. In fact, commercial training in all but the last are exclusively female. Although training in accounting is mixed, it is in fact heavily dominated by males. Other signs of male favoritism were found in the provision of dormitory facilities and in the placement of graduates". (ib.p.103)

As Bennani's study shows, a single project like "industrial development" per se can hardly be considered a factor in the promotion of equality between women and men in Morocco. This project has been a failure because it did not deal with the problem of discrimination at the grass-root level. Imposing a program at the macro level cannot remove attitudes and beliefs that are internalized and ingrained in people's belief system (attitudes, values, norms).

For people to change their belief system into positive attitudes towards development and the integration of both women and men alike, they need an adequate management of a system of education that nurtures such attitudes and enables people to internalize positive responses leading to development.

Therefore, Morocco's capacity to invest in its "man-power" as well as its "woman-power" is not a function of society's wealth or a lack of training programs, but rather a function of its educational management. The latter is ad-hoc partial and fragmentary due primarily to the disintegration of the traditional system under pressures from within and without as well as the lack of commitment on the part of Moroccan "decision makers" to a full participation of women in development-planning.

Conversely, it is hardly contestable that there have been substantial changes in Moroccan women's conditions since independence, such as the right to education, to vote and to be elected, and the right to work. However, these "rights" have not been incorporated in a careful plan of controlled nation-wide development.

Consequently, it can be justifiably argued that although Moroccan "decision makers" have recently realized that to build a sovereign future, they need the adequate utilization of all human and material resources for the entire popula-

tion, women's potential is still perceived as secondary in the mainstream of development; hence, the handicap and failure of substantial achievements. Mernissi comments:

"Any economic development in the Moslem countries which considers the utilization of 50 percent of its human resources as secondary is a quixotic form of development that can only bring about illusory achievements" 11/.

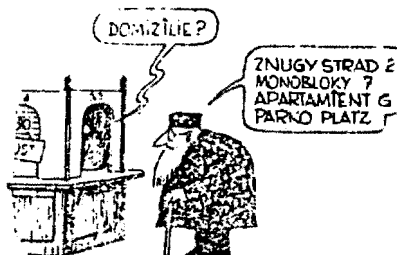
If "the medium is the message" 14/, that is, the most important impressions made by people come from the character and structure of the environment within which these people function, then the environment itself conveys the critical and dominant messages by controlling the perceptions and attitudes of those who participate in it. the Moroccan environment is the message, meaning the perceptions women are allowed to build, the attitudes they are entitled to assume, the sensitivities they are encouraged to develop - almost all one learns to see, feel, think about, act upon and value!

The failure of anti-participatory development strategies, as exemplified in the global, Arab and Moroccan contexts with their presages of growing mass poverty and lack of endogenous development, suggests the necessity of a shift in development paradigm that is people-oriented and resource-efficient leading to a more participatory development.

14/ M. McLuhan et al., The Medium is the Message (New York: Bantam Books, 1967)

(Viene de la pagina 15)

necesidades locales con medios locales. La tecnología regeneradora está en armonía con la naturaleza y la información intensiva. Las autores hacen una descripción de los programas regeneradores y obtienen dos índices (índice de vitalidad e índice regenerador) para evaluar el progreso desde o hacia la regeneración de una zona (en el documento, abreviado aquí por falta de espacio, los índices son tratados en forma detallada). Hacen el bosquejo de un método de planificación donde los planificadores son más bien colaboradores que "autoridades".



THE GREENS IN ITALY

by Alexander Langer
Member of the Regional Council
POB 396
38100 Bozen/Bolzano, Italy

These days there is much talk in Italy about a new political force, actually not yet existing as such on the political scene, and, at best, sprouting. "I verdi", the Greens: chiefly known after their electoral successes in Western Germany, they have been the subject of conferences (with mostly international participation) for almost two years. For their future voters, they still remain a rather shady business, for the political parties, however, they represent already now a very unpleasant idea.

A political scientist from Milano, Enrico Finzi, made a prognosis in March 1984 (meanwhile confirmed by a Makno-poll): 12 to 14% of the voters were more favourable to the Greens and sympathized with ecological and pacifist ideas. Elections could bring 6 to 7% for a green party, if... if the circumstances are favourable and if the Greens know how to take advantage of the the political facts. Italian people too, take more and more offence at pollution, nature degradation and metropolitan chaos, and look for alternatives. Publicity for instance already clearly goes out for nature's conservation. In a very short time, several ecological magazines gained ground on the publishing market. The tourist industry does its best to make potential customers believe in unspoilt nature, and so do many other industries, from the food sector to furniture business. Green is definitely in, and a self-respecting municipality has to place as soon as possible some waste-glass containers or organize some cycle-tracks. Moreover, one must consider people's fatigue with the traditional political parties, an increasing mistrust towards politics as a problem solving method, as well as the growth of different grassroot movements. These facts explain the already considerable and surely rising demand of going beyond the traditional representative political system.

WHY IT DOESN'T EASILY GROW GREEN IN ITALY

On the other hand, there are a series of circumstances explaining why Italy is a rather difficult ground for a green movement. In the first place, there is a distinct political tradition, which made Italy for many years a kind of dream-world for all those who admired (and tried to imitate) spontaneous social movements with mass character. The idea that social change can only be achieved by a change of political power structures is still deeply rooted. From this results the strong political character of all social movements, in the late sixties and the seventies, often admired and envied abroad. That process is now somehow exhausted and has come to a dead end: what could, years ago, give an insight into complex interrelations and a perspective for global actions, nowadays shows up to be a ballast and a brake for new, rising, energies.

The disillusion of the last years finally brought the inside that even a strong or majority Left (being for the rest, in concrete power on many

spaces) didn't really bring the expected social and cultural Revolution. Therefore, the New Left in Italy has gone for many years through processes of dissolving and changing. Parts of the movement (important ones) can be found back in the embryonic green movement. Certainly, something of the typical Italian "Trasformismo", a typical phenomenon of Italian politics since the 19th century, plays a part here.

In Italy, the class conflict-oriented political theory and praxis loses impact only slowly. Left traditions are thus strongly rooted. Although not creating anything original and effective, it is still strong enough to freeze some new orientations. Obviously, the Communist Party, for decades the natural homeland of all social movements, plays an important role in this process. Like the Catholic church, it has a large stomach, able to tolerate and digest new movements.

Even specific political mechanisms contribute to make a Green start in Italy more difficult: so, for instance, the proportional electoral system, enabling small parties to political representation, but also preventing a restructurization (the Radicals hold on to their 3%, the "Democrazia Proletaria" on to their 1.5% etc.). But above all, there is in Italy, so far, no awareness (and therefore no larger social conflicts and movements) that the problems of survival, connected with peace and ecology, are so important, so vital, that they can become also a key for social change.

WHO IS WORKING FOR A GREEN MOVEMENT?

In spite of these unfavourable circumstances, there is something going on, often with a really good political quality, for the very reason that these initiatives did not grow on a "naive and virginal soil", but went somewhere through the waters of an intense social and political interaction. It is possible that we will have Green lists at the coming regional and municipal elections in May. There are some local experiences here and there, with a certain success, but - apart from few exceptions - without overwhelming changes. In November 1983, a Green list entered for the first time a regional Parliament (in Trentino, with 3%); in South-Tyrol, the green-alternative list ("The Other South-Tyrol") reached 4.5% (in the city of Bolzano 8%). In Avetrana (Apulia) the opponents of the local nuclear power reactor even got the majority in the town-council; in Viadana (Po Valley) 5% representation; in Ancona and Viterbo there are more radical Green lists (inspired by Marco Pannella); in Monza (Lombardia); and Grado (Veneto) there are also Green alternative town councillors.

The "Lega per l'Ambiente" (an ecological organization, associated with the left cultural organization ARCI) has been developing during the last two years into a workshop for red-green ideas. The Radical Party advocated the forming of Green lists in the regional and local spaces. Even so far rather unpolitical organizations such as the WWF and "Italia Nostra" are showing, from time to time, a more political face. The daily paper "Il Manifesto" and the monthly magazine "Nuova Ecologia" are the most important newspapers for the Green discussion. So, it is quite possible we will hear more from Italian Greens in the coming months.

(Freely translated from German)

L'ASSEMBLEE FEDERALE DES VERTS ALLEMANDS

par Cristina Herz
Rédactrice-en-chef du mensuel Tandem
Case postale 155
38100 Bozen/Bolzano, Italie

"On joue à l'assemblée fédérale", un jeu vert, un dé vert, qui décide du parcours à suivre à travers cette assemblée fédérale des Verts, de nombreux obstacles, avancez, reculez, une seule chose est sûre, c'est qu'à l'arrivée, on verra "du nouveau".

Ce jeu, distribué à la presse avec un paquet de documents comprenant un plan pour se rendre au palais des congrès de Hambourg, était peut-être destiné à nous donner une première idée de tout ce à quoi on pouvait s'attendre, peut-être devait-il nous encourager à prendre tout cela comme un jeu, ou bien s'agissait-il d'auto-ironie?

La réalité "assemblée fédérale des Verts", était, elle, bien plus confuse. Au départ, objectifs et route à suivre étaient loin d'être clairs pour les 706 délégués et les 600 autres participants; là, pas de dé, ou peut-être y en avait-il trop? Tout cela rendit les choses passionnantes et les trois longues journées de Hambourg très courtes.

Très vite, il apparut clairement que malgré le non-conformisme ambiant, d'une diversité si fascinante, cette assemblée fédérale prenait - et les sièges disposés comme au parlement n'étaient pas pour démentir cette impression - toutes les apparences d'un congrès de parti. Tout aussi vite, il fut clair que l'objectif dont il allait être question serait, en fin de compte, le renforcement politique. Mais, pour beaucoup de participants, les différentes stratégies de jeu envisagées restaient trop difficiles à ranger dans une catégorie précise et, dans tous les cas manquaient de concret. "Fondamentalistes, réalistes, anarcho-réalistes, écolibertaires, socio-libéraux, féministes, ou quoi?" me demande un délégué; et de m'expliquer le dénominateur commun qu'il voit dans tout cela: "Au village, nous faisons ce que nous pensons devoir faire, mais ici, la seule question, c'est SPD ou pas SPD!"

Nombreux sont ceux qui, à la base, en restent à l'idylle champêtre renaissante des jardins ouvriers, et cette base, qui en même temps a pris confiance en elle et agit avec plus d'assurance depuis les succès électoraux des derniers temps (depuis 1979, les Verts sont représentés dans les parlements de différents Länder, et maintenant au Bundestag également avec 28 députés; dans certaines villes, ils ont obtenu jusqu'à 18% des voix) est probablement à l'origine de l'inquiétude, plus ou moins formulée, perceptible auprès de toutes les tendances: il est question de "petits-bourgeois", de "position au milieu social-démocrate de gauche" et de son cortège "d'idées usées jusqu'à la corde".

Méfiance perceptible dans les commissions devant une "mauvaise" base, réservés d'une "bonne" base, envers les ténors du mouvement vert contribuant pour une bonne part à ce que revienne sans cesse dans l'assemblée le mot d'ordre d'une nécessaire transformation du système?

Transformation qui a toujours fait partie du programme, mais sur laquelle il faut se décider à ouvrir le débat, comme l'a expliqué Trampert, membre de la direction.

Une base faisant problème et rendant nécessaire la discussion, l'inquiétude que le parti pourrait, à mesure que s'élargit sa base, perdre la netteté de son profil politique et se dévoyer, tout cela n'a pas débouché sur la discussion de questions venues de la base (dont les propositions, omises dans l'ordre du jour, n'ont pas été discutées), ni de la question de savoir où en est le parti, comment se profile son évolution interne, ni du problème du roulement entre la base et la "tête": le débat s'ouvrit seulement sur le problème, soulevé par la direction du parti, de la stratégie à adopter en vue d'un renforcement. La question d'une alliance avec la SPD fut incontestablement le point le plus âprement discuté de cette assemblée fédérale.

* * *

Deux propositions devaient tenter de clarifier cette stratégie et de délimiter les orientations de l'action au plan national:

La stratégie fondamentaliste d'un Trampert, tenant de l'extrême gauche traditionnelle, et d'un Bahro, philosophe politico-religieux, stratégie à laquelle s'est ralliée la direction nationale, était que les Verts se cantonnent, à moyen terme, dans une opposition au système, excluant toute forme de participation au gouvernement, fusse-t-elle simple cohabitation, qui pourrait avoir des conséquences désastreuses pour une vraie politique verte. En ce sens, il faudrait bien plus se concentrer sur les liens existants avec les forces extra-parlementaires, car il faut absolument trouver un nouvel élan en s'appuyant sur l'action, menée sur le terrain social, de mouvements qui résistent ou cherchent une alternative au système existant.

Les réalistes, réunis autour de Fischer, Schily et beaucoup d'autres, résumant ainsi la position des fondamentalistes: d'un côté un système pourrissant, corrompu et décadent, réunissant tous les ingrédients d'un film-catastrophe (course aux armements, tout-nucléaire, misère généralisée) et de l'autre côté, l'opposition à ce système, rassemblant ses forces en vue de la grande percée. Resterait à trouver le chemin vers ce succès, vers la transformation de ce système, les étapes concrètes par lesquelles il faudrait passer, en posant des objectifs à moyen terme, pour satisfaire des désirs tels que, par exemple, "vivre sans armes", ou "restructurer l'économie en fonction de l'écologie", empêcher que "sans cesse plus de gens soient rejetés en marge de la société". Cette proposition, repoussée comme "un peu simple" et "naïve" par les "réalos" qui considèrent que ce serait "retomber dans des positions sectaires sorties tout droit des années 70", n'équivaudrait plus qu'à éditer un catalogue de défenses et d'interdictions, et paralyserait complètement toute politique pratique.

Pour ce qui est de leur propre position, les réalistes se sont déclarés en faveur d'une politique de réforme écologiste responsable. A leur avis, d'éventuelles alliances parlementaires ne seraient de toute façon pas une fin en soi, mais un moyen pour les Verts de prendre leurs responsabilités et de marquer concrètement des points dans une politique d'environnement et de paix. Ils ont défendu l'idée qu'il faut faire des

expériences, sans s'embarrasser de dogmatisme, et ils réclament que les Verts se gardent des possibilités politiques allant de l'opposition comme attitude fondamentale à la coalition sans qu'une limitation n'intervienne d'en haut.

Cette stratégie s'est attiré beaucoup de critiques: une politique de cohabitation ne serait possible qu'au prix de l'abandon du travail d'opposition, et cette proposition, selon certains, relève de la pire démagogie et de l'abrutissement des masses. Christa Nickels qualifie les nombreuses positions social-démocratiques et le "flou artistique" de beaucoup de paragraphes de "dignes d'un Zimmerman" (ministre allemand de l'intérieur, CDU), bref, elle trouve cela "incroyable"; par ailleurs, elle a critiqué la surabondance de professions de foi et l'absence de mots d'ordre verts. Ces critiques sont à mettre en rapport direct avec l'expérience malheureuse de la coalition en Hesse, qui a démontré aux Verts qu'ils ne peuvent influencer le SPD, mais que ce parti, au contraire, ne ferait que se servir d'eux.

L'avenir nous dira si ces deux stratégies, à long terme, sont compatibles, et si une cohésion dans le respect des différences restera possible. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce ne sont pas les grandes figures de la vieille époque pré-parlementaire qui pourront recoller les morceaux: leur influence décline, ils ne se manifestent plus qu'en claquant la porte ou pour protester bruyamment, comme on a pu le voir lorsque Bahro a pris la parole dans le débat sur les perspectives: protestation incendiaire et provocatrice devant le réformisme ambiant, et, pour lui-même, retraite dans "l'innocence" de la réflexion philosophique: colère, haussements d'épaules, isolation. Exclusion en douceur.

* * *

Observant de l'extérieur le jeu "assemblée fédérale des Verts" on pouvait voir deux choses: d'un côté, comment les partisans d'une certaine stratégie politique se définissent une certaine liberté de mouvement, en cherchant une base "adaptée", et, de l'autre côté, une base en général qui se sent mal comprise de la "direction". En se disputant pour savoir quelle serait, dans le contexte parlementaire, la stratégie de renforcement la plus adaptée, on a complètement laissé de côté le fait que la parlementarisation n'est pas seulement un phénomène extérieur aux Verts, qui ne leur serviraient qu'à faire front commun contre les adversaires CDU et SPD, mais que le parlementarisme, comme une maladie bureaucratique, les atteint eux-mêmes, dans leurs rapports entre eux.

Le malaise que ressentent beaucoup de Verts dans des fonctions nouvelles pour eux, avec leur lot de compromis et de marchandage, et devant l'exercice d'un pouvoir auquel ils ne sont pas habitués, ce malaise renforcé par la défiance des fondamentalistes et les espérances sans perspectives concrètes ("ils feront bien ce qu'il faut") ce n'est pas la proclamation de stratégies d'accession au pouvoir qui le dissipera, d'autant plus que cette accession au pouvoir n'est pas de la plus grande actualité, deux ans avant les élections. Le problème actuel, c'était d'envisager ce débat au niveau d'objectifs concrets, communaux pour la plupart, chose dont on n'a pas parlé.

Au bout du compte, on s'est toujours mis d'accord sur un bilan de raison, autorisant des espoirs: la direction fédérale (c-à-d. nationale,

l'Allemagne étant un état fédéral) nouvellement élue se compose de 3 fondamentalistes, 2 réalistes, 1 écolibertaire et le rapport de clôture ne donne ni tort ni raison à personne; bien au contraire:

- . les différents documents sur la situation politique actuelle représentent un enrichissement pour la discussion sur l'attitude à venir des Verts envers les partis de l'establishment;
- . vu l'actuelle position du SPD et des autres partis établis, les Verts n'aperçoivent actuellement aucune possibilité de coalition ou de toute autre forme de soutien au gouvernement;
- . la décision de collaborer éventuellement avec d'autres partis revient uniquement aux fédérations locales concernées, au plan communal, des Kreise (= à peu près départements), et des Länder;
- . au plan national, il n'existe pour l'instant aucun besoin de prendre une décision. Celle-ci devra être prise lors de la préparation des prochaines élections au Bundestag, et devra être l'expression des expériences faites jusque-là, et d'un processus démocratique de discussion à la base.

(Traduction libre de l'allemand)

(from page 56)

He insists that the post-authoritarian society must pass "through a democratic phase of political struggle" regardless of how long that takes. Thomas' essential argument is that the authoritarian state has survived for so long precisely because of its capacity to exclude the working class and the peasantry from political power.

Thus, "all those opposed to the authoritarian state must recognise that the independent organisation of the working class and the peasantry is necessary before any serious socialist advance can be contemplated", he writes.

Failure to recognise this has led to catastrophes ranging from "misguided attempts at forced collectivism" to "elimination of dissidents". At the same time, Thomas warns against "premature engagements with imperialism based on a self-promoted identification with the socialist/soviet bloc".

The analysis is particularly timely in view of the Reagan administration's hardline policies toward leftist governments that overthrew dictatorships, such as Maurice Bishop's Grenada and Nicaragua under the Sandinistas, while lending support to authoritarian regimes professing anti-communism, as in South Africa and Guatemala.

"The rise of the authoritarian state in peripheral societies" is an important contribution to an understanding of the on-going struggle for independence and democracy.

DESARME EN AMERICA LATINA: UTOPIA O REALISMO?

por Juan Somavia
Presidente del ILET
Callao 3461
Santiago, Chile

En estos días Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética han decidido volver a la mesa de negociaciones para tratar de llegar a "acuerdos efectivos destinados a evitar una carrera armamentista en el espacio y a terminarla en la Tierra."

Nadie se hace ilusiones sobre los resultados, pero el solo hecho que ambos países estén nuevamente conversando sobre el tema permite dis-
tender, en algo, un ambiente internacional de gran inseguridad generado por los peligrosos niveles a que ha llegado la tensión entre las super-
potencias.

Este paso, a la vez cauto y promisorio, nos lleva a pensar en la urgente necesidad de abordar en un marco subregional y regional los problemas del desarme y del gasto militar en América Latina.

El grupo de Contadora ya ha colocado el desarme en Centroamérica cómo un eje central de su propuesta de paz. El Presidente Raúl Alfonsín ha reducido los gastos militares argentinos en el marco del tratado que puso fin al centenario conflicto austral con Chile. Muchos políticos de la región han concluido que para cumplir con el Fondo Monetario Internacional, reactivar la economía, generar empleo y aumentar las exportaciones, se hace inevitable reducir los altos niveles de gasto militar. Ante las otras urgencias económicas y humanas, éstos son vistos como crecientemente improductivos social y políticamente.

El círculo no se puede cuadrar y el tema no se puede eludir: hay que proceder a crear las condiciones adecuadas, en lo nacional, regional e internacional, para reducir los gastos en armamentos de la mayoría de los países latinoamericanos.

Sólo algunos ejemplos de la magnitud del problema. De acuerdo a cifras del Sipri (Instituto de Investigaciones para la Paz de Estocolmo), de reconocida autoridad en la materia, entre 1975 y 1983, los gastos militares de Chile sumaron catorce mil 500 millones de dólares, equivalente al 70 por ciento de toda su deuda externa acumulada desde la independencia. En el mismo período, Argentina llegó a 20 mil millones de dólares, equivalente a cerca del 45 por ciento de su deuda externa. En 1982 estos gastos representaron el 8,5 del producto bruto interno de Chile y el 6,4 de Argentina. Por el contrario, en países como Costa Rica y Jamaica, estos gastos representaron ese año el 0,7 y el 0,6 del producto. Si esto continúa, no hay desarrollo ni justicia posible para la región. Son evidentes los usos alternativos en términos de salud, vivienda y educación. Obviamente, éste no es el único problema que impide nuestro crecimiento. Un sistema económico internacional que favorece al mundo industrializado, una crisis de ese sistema que estimula el proteccionismo, las so-

luciones bilaterales y las políticas de fuerza, una irresponsabilidad tanto de los gobiernos como de los bancos que nos transformaron en deudores indigentes y políticas nacionales que exacerban la polarización social y la extrema pobreza, son todas causas de nuestra actual situación.

Salvo ciertas situaciones de amenazas externas a América Latina en Centroamérica, el Caribe y el Atlántico Sur, la gran mayoría de los gastos militares en la región, y particularmente en América del Sur, se fundamentan en hipótesis de guerra en contra de quienes damos en llamar nuestros "países hermanos". Los armamentos de más alto costo se adquieren para defendernos de eventuales ataques de países vecinos con los cuales subsisten disputas territoriales o marítimas de diversa naturaleza. Relativamente hablando, los fondos destinados a compras de armas por problemas de orden y seguridad interna son sustancialmente menores.

Hay en todo esto una esquizofrenia política y cultural. Por un lado nos armamos los unos contra los otros y por otro lado proclamamos nuestra eterna amistad. Quienes hemos participado en los esfuerzos por hacer realidad la integración económica de la región, bien sabemos que entre los múltiples obstáculos que se levantan en su contra están las suspicacias y resentimientos que provocan los conflictos fronterizos heredados del pasado lejano o cercano.

No hay duda de que hay que reflexionar sobre este punto. Qué pasaría si esos conflictos no existieran? O dicho de otra manera, qué podemos hacer para que se atenúen y resuelvan? Cómo desactivar progresivamente estos eventuales enfrentamientos? Chile y Argentina han dado un buen ejemplo, más allá de los juicios sobre los términos de la negociación.

Por qué ha de ser imposible que otros países también privilegien la paz externa por encima del armamentismo y la confrontación latente?

Para lograr ese objetivo, hay un largo trecho que recorrer. Lo central ahora es tomar conciencia del problema y estimular su discusión. En ello tendrán gran responsabilidad las organizaciones sociales, los partidos políticos, los medios de comunicación, las organizaciones femeninas y la juventud, entre otros. Son temas de tal envergadura nacional que requieren ser analizados públicamente como es la práctica en países como Estados Unidos, Alemania y Suecia. Supone también, en las Fuerzas Armadas de la región, una disposición para asumir esta perspectiva como la mejor expresión contemporánea del interés nacional. Hay que inmovilizar el gatillo de la guerra con una gran voluntad nacional y popular de paz. En muchos lugares esa voluntad ya existe, como lo ha demostrado el pueblo argentino, que aprobó con más del 80 por ciento de sus votos el tratado de paz con Chile.

Aprovechemos la creciente "coincidencia democrática" en América del Sur como punto de partida para una iniciativa política regional en que las democracias se comprometan con la paz en las fronteras y eliminen - por las vías adecuadas a cada caso - una de las causas principales del armamentismo. Y en esta vía, por qué no pensar que nuestros países también se propongan llegar a "acuerdos efectivos destinados a evitar la carrera armamentista" en esta parte de América Latina?

¿Todo esto, será utopía o máximo realismo en las actuales circunstancias?

LUTTE CONTRE LA FAIM EN ZONE SAHÉLO-SOMALIENNE

Propositions d'ENDA
(Environnement et Développement du Tiers-Monde)
Boîte postale 3370
Dakar, Sénégal

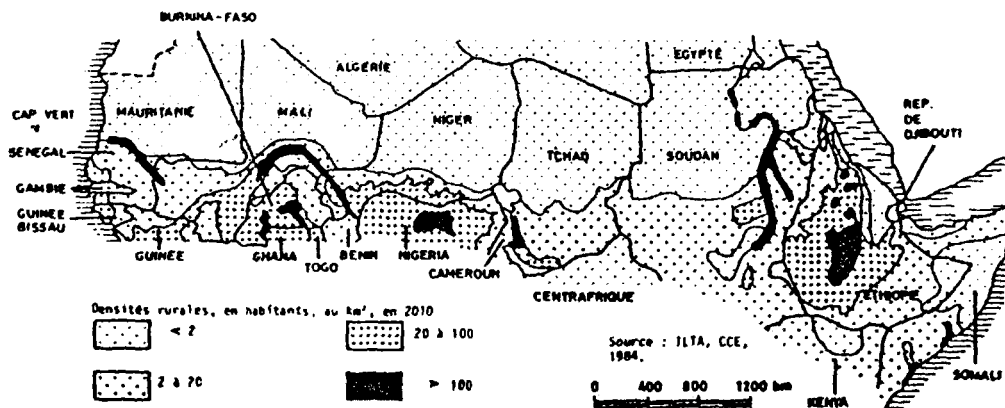
QUE FAIRE?

1. Les populations de la zone sahélo-somalienne - des Iles du Cap-Vert à l'Ethiopie et à la Somalie - sont les plus éprouvées du monde, de tous les points de vue - économique, nutritionnel, sanitaire, socio-économique... Ces populations vivent aussi dans des contextes politiques difficiles.

2. L'appui indispensable doit être important et relativement continu. Pour que le sort de ces populations change réellement, il faudra au moins deux décennies. Dans ce laps de temps, les densités humaines vont croître (carte 1).

Les populations rurales prévisibles en l'an 2010 ne pourront survivre sans un effort continu, au ras du sol.

Carte 1



Pour que ces hommes plus nombreux puissent se nourrir et travailler, pourra-t-on stopper la désertification (carte 2), limiter l'érosion (carte 3), reconquérir une partie des terres marginales?

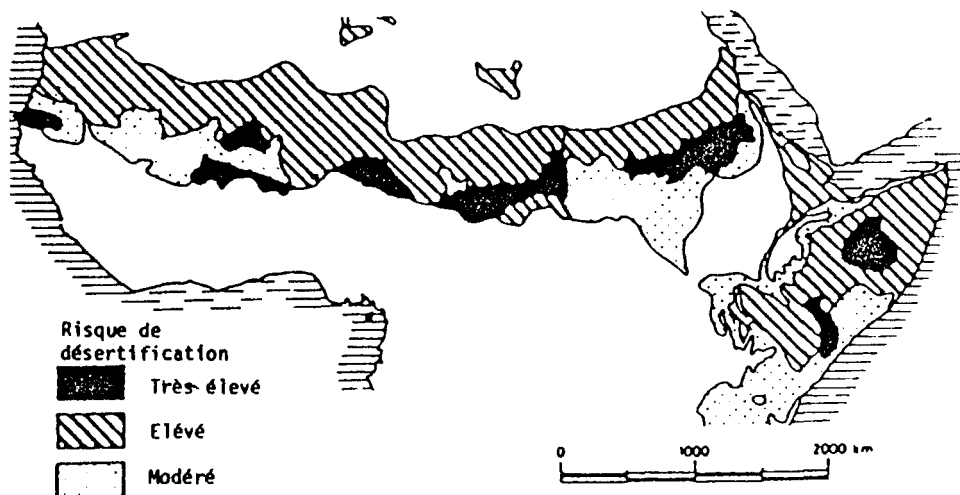
3. L'appui indispensable doit surtout:

- . éviter à tout prix l'extension de mentalité d'assistance: la manière dont on fait les choses compte presque autant que ce qu'on fait;
- . se plier à la diversité des situations et des cultures;
- . se traduire dans l'immédiat par des rapports alimentaires mais donner la priorité à tout ce qui contribue à une autosuffisance alimentaire à moyen et long terme;
- . accroître l'autosuffisance, ce qui signifie, pour les populations sahélo-somaliennes, avoir suffisamment d'aliments:
 - . qu'ils puissent produire sur place ou acquérir sans grande difficulté;
 - . et dont ils aient la gestion.

4. Certes, il faut faire vite, mais dans une perspective de durée. Une fois les secours d'urgence apportés, il faut travailler d'abord avec les groupes humains - il en existe - qui acceptent de se cramponner au terrain et qui voient un avenir possible sur place, pour eux et leurs enfants.

Pour faire régresser la désertification, il faut appuyer prioritairement ceux des groupes pasteurs et paysans qui s'accrochent au Sahel.

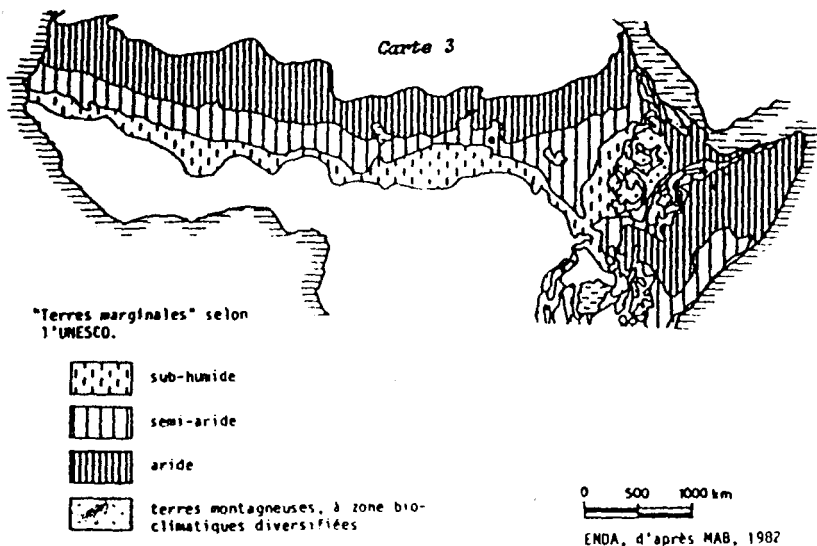
Carte 2



d'après conf. N.U. sur la désertification, 1977.

5. La priorité numéro 1 vise les technologies de terrain conditionnant directement la production, la conservation, la commercialisation et la transformation des aliments, à savoir développer et améliorer celles qui existent, diffuser, en fonction des nécessités locales et des moyens, des techniques traditionnelles ou modernes, s'assurer que paysans et pasteurs en conservent ou en acquièrent, le plus possible, la maîtrise.

C'est en reprenant en main la gestion des terres et en aménageant les terroirs que les Sahéliens pourront reconquérir les "terres marginales".



6. La plantation d'arbres, les barrages de terre, les puits équipés, les irrigations, la mise en défense des pâturages... sont essentiels - mais comme éléments d'un ensemble cohérent. Les pasteurs et les paysans de la zone sahélo-somalienne assureront leur avenir en réalisant un nouvel aménagement des terroirs.

7. A travers toutes les actions, il faut viser:

- . le renforcement de la communication à la base et de la capacité d'organisation des paysans et des pasteurs;
- . l'implication effective des femmes et des jeunes, y compris dans la conception et la décision;
- . la reconnaissance par les pouvoirs publics des "groupes de base" comme des partenaires devant disposer d'une large marge d'autonomie;

8. Agir directement dans les campagnes, mais sans tomber dans l'illusion qu'une action uniquement en milieu rural suffira, ceci pour plusieurs raisons

- . l'incessant va-et-vient ville/campagne, la misère rurale qui se prolonge en ville, la nécessité d'un nombre d'appuis techniques uniquement disponibles en ville.

Il faut tenter de faire mieux comprendre aux cadres et aux "décideurs" les difficultés des ruraux et les nouvelles solidarités indispensables.

9. Ne pas faire semblant de croire au soutien actif ou à la neutralité bienveillante de l'administration qui constitue, dans la plupart des pays, une catégorie sociale ayant sa logique et ses intérêts propres, mais recourir largement à cette administration et, partout où c'est possible, prendre appui sur de nombreux "alliés" virtuels qu'elle recèle et favoriser de nouvelles formes de travail en commun (administration/population).

QUELLES ORIENTATIONS POUR L'ACTION?

10. Les "actions contre la faim", pour être réalistes et efficaces, consisteront, au cours d'une première phase de trois années, d'une part, en une série d'activités et, d'autre part, en renforcement de réseaux locaux ou régionaux de groupes de base et/ou d'institutions capables de relayer et d'étendre les actions d'ENDA ou d'autres organismes oeuvrant dans le même sens, au cours d'une phase ultérieure.

Ces activités, présentes par commodité sous forme de liste, se caractérisent par le fait qu'elles sont liées entre elles, qu'elles se complètent et se renforcent les unes les autres ^{1/}. Un schéma d'action peut s'établir comme suit:

11. Appuyer l'autoplanification 2/ des groupes pastoraux, paysans et pêcheurs, notamment par:

11.1 l'appui direct à des réalisations sur le terrain à même de réduire les risques liés à la famine

1/ Par exemple, la promotion de technologies combinées (11.3) concerne en premier lieu les campagnes, mais elle suppose, dans les villes, des fabrications artisanales plus importantes et mieux adaptées aux besoins des paysans (12.2) et nécessite un appui de l'administration qu'il faudra convaincre (13.1-13.2), ainsi qu'une modification du style et du contenu de l'enseignement (14.4) et une "reconnaissance" par l'opinion publique (14.1-14.2-14.3).

2/ Autoplanification: démarche systématique d'un groupe (villages, quartiers, etc.) se fixant, à partir de sa culture et de ses besoins, des objectifs à atteindre dans un temps donné, en comptant prioritairement sur ses propres moyens.

(irrigations, ouvrages anti-érosifs, boisements, amélioration des pâturages, hydraulique villageoise, énergie, actions de santé populaire, etc.);

- 11.2 intensification de la communication à la base (transmission culturelle, discussion des expériences et innovations...);
- 11.3 promotion de technologies combinées, dans les processus de formation et de production, et valorisation des ressources locales;
- 11.4 expérimentation de processus originaux d'autoplanification, et d'articulation à ces processus de la planification nationale et régionale.

12. Appuyer l'économie populaire urbaine:

- 12.1 autodéveloppement de quartiers populaires urbains (appui notamment à la petite production et transformation alimentaires);
- 12.2 adaptation et introduction de technologies combinées (notamment par des échanges d'expériences Sud-Sud), visant, en priorité, la lutte contre la faim;
- 12.3 expériences de création d'emploi de la jeunesse urbaine;
- 12.4 actions en direction des marginalisés urbains;
- 12.5 extension des relations directes entre économie populaire urbaine et économie paysanne (modification des circuits de commercialisation);
- 12.6 échanges d'expériences entre groupes de base, d'une part, dans la zone sahélo-somalienne et, d'autre part, entre cette zone et d'autres pays du Tiers Monde à problématique similaire.

13. Aider l'administration à accompagner l'autodéveloppement:

- 13.1 réflexion avec les populations concernées sur leurs rapports avec l'administration, notamment en relation avec les activités productives;
- 13.2 enseignement et travaux pratiques dans les écoles d'administration et autres écoles supérieures;
- 13.3 infléchissement dans le sens de l'autoplanification des travaux de recherche et d'enseignement (mise en place d'"assistants de recherche paysanne");
- 13.4 stages d'application pour les cadres administratifs en milieu urbain et en milieu rural;
- 13.5 initiation et suivi d'expériences novatrices dans le domaine des rapports administration/population (co-notation par la population des agents administratifs);
- 13.6 recherche et expérimentation de nouveaux modèles administratifs correspondant aux différentes cultures.

14. Agir auprès de l'opinion publique au Sahel!

- 14.1 à travers la radio et la télévision;
- 14.2 à travers la presse 2/ par exemple et notamment grâce à un magazine à grand tirage: Vivre autrement, attaquant de front le modèle de consommation importé;
- 14.3 par le moyen de films, diaporamas, journaux locaux, théâtre populaire, etc.;
- 14.4 à travers tous les systèmes éducatifs ("traditionnels" et "modernes");
- 14.5 par le truchement d'une action sur les milieux intellectuels (publications et sessions diverses);
- 14.6 en élaborant et en popularisant des prospectives régionales et zonales de développement en concertation avec les populations.

COMMENT FAIRE?

La réponse est à chercher en termes de méthodes et en termes de moyens.

15. En divers domaines et nombre de points limités de la zone Sahel, prouver que des actions efficaces sont possibles et qu'elles peuvent être menées avec cohérence et demeurer valables dans des perspectives de moyen et long terme.

SELON QUELLE METHODE?

- . Avoir la hantise d'efforts, notamment techniques, qui soient directement utiles contre la disette ou la famine;
- . Travailler toujours en liaison avec des groupement ou des associations du pays ou de la zone où l'on se trouve.
- . Ne jamais rien entreprendre que ces groupements partenaires n'aient compris, voulu, décidé.
- . Etre prêts à stopper toute opération qui ne rencontrerait plus l'agrément des groupes partenaires.
- . Déterminer avec eux les besoins réels, souvent des besoins exprimés dans des contacts trop rapides et biaisés.
- . Accepter une marge absolument inévitable d'échecs et d'erreurs, ce qui constitue le vrai baromètre d'un effort réellement accompli avec la population.
- . Parler en termes d'actions plutôt qu'en termes de projets ou de programmes. C'est-à-dire donner la priorité non pas à des prévisions détaillées donnant l'apparence de la précision, mais à une démarche accompagnée elle-même par des évaluations aussi strictes que possible.
- . Pouvoir réagir rapidement à des situations fluctuantes.
- . Faire en sorte que le maximum des sommes affectées à la lutte contre la faim soit dépensé sur place.

THE RISE OF THE AUTHORITARIAN STATE

by Claude Robinson
IPS Third World News Agency
Room 485
United Nations
New York, NY 10017
USA

Why have so many newly independent states, whether capitalist or socialist, degenerated into authoritarian regimes where popular and democratic demands are met with repression?

This question is explored in a new book by Clive Thomas ^{1/}, Guyanese economist who has remained in the forefront of Caribbean scholarship and political activism for much of the last two decades.

Focussing mainly on the Caribbean and Africa, and somewhat less on Latin America and Asia, the book argues that the authoritarian state has its genesis in the exclusion of the general public from real power under colonialism. This, in turn "constituted the principal social basis on which the post-colonial state - and its authoritarian version - was founded". This exclusion continued after independence despite the leading role played by workers and peasants in anti-colonial and independence struggles.

Thomas, who has taught economics at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica and at the University of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania, also argues that the weakness of the economies gave the new state structure a leading role in economic development - a role that was used to consolidate power.

Finally, the class structure was very weak, with no indigenous middle class and with non-class alignments playing a major role in political life. The result was that the lower middle class, to whom power had been transferred at independence, used state power to form the nucleus of an indigenous middle class.

In the absence of middle class-democratic constitutional restraints, the "institutionalisation of all forms of corruption" occurred, the property held by this class was substantially "enlarged" and there was an accumulation of power in the hands of the executive. "There are even cases where the head of state is constitutionally given the power to appoint every important state official, is constitutionally made head of the security forces, and is constitutionally given the office of leader of the ruling party".

His native Guyana, lead by President Forbes Burnham, is cited by Thomas, who is currently director of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Guyana, as an example of this "equation of person and authority".

^{1/} Clive Thomas, The Rise of the Authoritarian State in Peripheral Societies (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984) 157pp. US\$11.

Methodologically, the authoritarian state not only expands executive power over the bureaucracy and the military but promulgates a new legal order to give constitutional effect to that extension. Terror becomes generalised, the security forces are "deprofessionalised", "nepotism and clientelism" become rampant and there is manipulation of the media and the electoral process.

Thomas regards the authoritarian state as a new socio-political category that is different from European facism. Further, it is not the end of a process but can in fact degenerate further into military dictatorship or deeper repression.

Among the examples of the authoritarian state cited by Thomas are Chile, Guyana, South Korea, Philippines, Iran (under the Shah), Uganda (under Idi Amin), Grenada (under Eric Gairy), and Brazil and Uruguay under the military. But he argues that the phenomena is more dangerous when the state adopts the ideology of "pseudo-socialism".

In this situation, socialism authoritarianism and arbitrary rule "have become increasingly equated in the public consciousness" and hence "the future project of creating a more equitable, socially just and non-exploiting society is discredited". The author addresses the questions of how do citizens get rid of the authoritarian state and how do they prevent it from rising in the first place.

While Thomas describes accurately the manifested characteristics of the authoritarian state and the economic and social bases of its roots, the analysis does not sufficiently explain why it occurs in some places and not in others where the objective conditions appear similar. He concedes that the rise of the authoritarian state is "not automatic", but depends on the response of the ruling classes to "anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and domestic struggles" waged in these countries.

What is not so well explained is why these struggles are engaged in some places and not in others and why some societies are able to maintain social peace and provide reasonable access to opportunity even when their economies are underdeveloped. Another unexplored theme is the extent to which internal factors, such as ethnicity, are exploited by leaders and social groups to enhance the social and economic power by one over the other.

Thomas notes that the unwillingness to recognise signs of authoritarianism in the early stages not only help in its ultimate creation but adds an additional difficulty in getting rid of the problem. The correct political practice to end authoritarianism, Thomas argues, is to form a "cross class alliance", but not just to change the government. "What is at stake is a fundamental transformation of state and political relations in favour of the popular forces". But he concedes that the forging of this alliance is difficult and will not be readily accepted by "dogmatic, purist marxists" who do not share this strategy and see themselves as being in the vanguard role. If formed, Thomas makes an intense plea that such an alliance should try to build democracy and to seek a clear understanding of the United States' role in the survival of authoritarian states.

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THE SOUTH: A PART OF OUR SECURITY

by Thorvald Stoltenberg*
Mogens Thorsensgate 1
Oslo
Norway

The United States is the only country which has the political, economic and military capacity to have a global strategy, in the sense of a strategy which can be pursued globally, in practice. The Soviet Union is building up the military power to enable her to be present in all the world's waters. From an economic view point, she does not have a possibility of pursuing a global strategy.

Europe, naturally enough, has even less possibility of pursuing a global strategy - presuming Europe had one.

The political co-operation which has developed in the EEC becomes an increasing challenge to the European countries which are not members of the EEC. This is especially the case as the politics gradually appear to include also policies of security. The day the United States and the EEC meet under the auspices of NATO with clear, finalized viewpoints, the non-EEC countries' influence in such a vital area as policies of security will be very limited.

After having mentioned these problematic sides of political cooperation which are developing in the European Community, it should be made quite clear that all Western European countries, including non-EEC countries, feel a growing need to coordinate their foreign policies, so that they can increase their influence on world development more than is the case today. Europe has not been able, to any degree, to present a reasonably homogeneous policy. The result is that Western Europe has limited itself to deplore or criticize USSR's and the United States' policies without presenting any alternatives.

There is a great need for a European policy. In practice this means, first and foremost, an EEC policy, where we who are not members can influence the decision process via the channels and possibilities open to us. These are numerous, but any one who has participated in the forming of policies

*/ Thorvald Stoltenberg, currently leader of the opposition (Labour Party) in the Oslo City Council, was, among other things, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, International Secretary of the Labour Party and Minister of Defence. He is a member of the IFDA Council, and was its co-chairman in 1983 and 1984.

internationally, knows that, when all is said and done, it is important to sit at the negotiation table until the final full stop in the joint agreement has been written. In the long term we would like to see a European policy which includes the real Europe - both East and West. But this is a long way down the road. The time is ripe for the EEC to feel the pressure of a demand for a better coordination of the Community's foreign policy.

Notwithstanding their strength, the super powers' influence is declining, not least because regions increase their self-assertion and raise their ambitions to participate in the international decision process. Exceptions are, however still apparent. The Falkland and Lebanon conflicts would appear to be bad examples of the region's increasing influence because words remained words and were not translated into actions. The practical support of the Argentine from Castro's Cuba to Pinochet's Chile never went further than speeches. The Argentinian noticed little in the form of action from his Latin American friends. The Palestinians feel the gap between words and actions from the Arab world even more.

Nevertheless these two conflicts may be important elements in the development of a political solidarity in the regions, which may be noticeable internationally. We must continue to hope that as a rule, political solutions will be found, and that military solutions will be the exception.

To the degree that experience comes to the fore in shaping future policies, Europe should be on solid ground. Historically this has been the field of fire for the policies of the super powers, whether they resulted in disagreements and war or in agreements and new alliances. Our attention has been concentrated on the relationships between those countries participating in the international decision process, which means the industrial world. The rest of the world, that is the majority of the world's population, has been held either as colonies or, as lately, receivers of smaller or larger alms. We have, however, not taken the majority of the world's population seriously, in the sense that we have regarded the development of the Third World as important also for us - our economy, employment and our security. Before this is recognized fully both in the Eastern and the Western blocks, we will continue to give priority to counter-acting the traditional contrasts and will neglect the greater danger inherent in such an "ostrich" policy vis-à-vis the Third World.

Two examples will indicate what I mean. Endless negotiations between North and South in the 70s, in respect of economic cooperation which could benefit both parties, gave few results. One of these, however, was the establishment of a joint commodities fund. In short, the intention was to secure the producer stable prices, and the consumer stable supplies.

A positive element in these negotiations was that the division between consumer/producer was not the same as the division between North and South. The mixed interest grouping provided a positive base for results. There was in fact a formal result - the establishment of the fund. The existing structures in the international commodities markets appear to be so strong, and appear to fear such a fund, that the fund does not seem to be able to make the step from a document to an activity. This causes political and economic frustration in both North and South and in the extreme involves also a security threat. In addition to being a contributing element to the weakening of the world economy, such a situation also helps strengthen the position of those who do not believe in negotiations and political solutions, but who believe that the use of force and weapons is the only possible way to lift the majority of the world's population out of poverty and misery. The motives behind the desire for change vary. Not every one who claims to represent the poverty stricken can be said to do so, when one analyses the policies followed. The need, however, to participate more in the international decision taking, which has major effects on their respective countries, will be powerful, no matter what the political colour may be.

We are not, therefore, looking only at a social problem - that the majority of the population in a rich world should not live in poverty, but also a political one - that few countries are involved in decisions of paramount importance to many countries.

Points of mutual interest exist between small industrial countries and Third World countries. Few, on thinking the matter over, doubt this situation will change, given time. The exciting question is how it will happen. By means of negotiations, cooperation and a determined long-term change in the conditions prevailing in the countries, or by a development towards more chaos, force and militarism.

The peace effort has taken a central position in the political debate in Europe and in the United States. The nuclear weapons in particular are in focus. This is natural, and it is important that we reduce our dependence on such weapons, in order to reduce the threat of war and the danger that such weapons may be used. Results may be reached by getting the nuclear powers, first and foremost the USSR and the US, to agree on disarmament rather than the vicious circle that the armament race is. The results of the negotiations in Geneva and Vienna will have a major impact on the position Europe will find itself in at the end of the century.

It is, however, unfortunate that by focusing on disarmament and on a reduction of the tension between East and West, we ignore the dangers that may result in armed violence in the coming years. A confrontation between the super powers will hardly be a result of rational evaluations in Washington and Moscow.

The danger of a confrontation, as has been pointed out time and time again, lies in technical faults which end in misunderstandings. Naturally, everything must be done to prevent this from happening.

The danger, ignored both in the East and the West, is that a continued frustration among the majority of the world's population, resulting from the fact that they can see no improvement in their situation, from the fact that a decade's negotiations have not produced the hoped for results, from the fact that the industrialized countries in the East and the West appear to have lost interest for that side of the world situation which can result in bigger and bigger groups believing that armed violence is the only possible way to force through a better existence for themselves and their fellows.

We know that this frustration is increasing, at the same time as the danger of a proliferation of nuclear weapons is present. Who can produce nuclear weapons? Who has such weapons today that we are not yet aware of? Libya, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Israel, South Africa, Pakistan, India, Argentina, Brazil?

The combination of rational thinking which results in a need to use force and the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons opens up frightening perspectives. I am not thinking about a collective rising by the South against the East or West. That is unrealistic, both politically and militarily. I am thinking of terror situations, which we already today see the outline of and which at the end of this century may be our greatest security risk.

Our fear of force and war is first and foremost because of the insane waste of human life involved. In many Third World countries, many people are already today living in such a "state of war". Not because people are being killed by bombs and shells, but by a shortage of food and medicines - when half the babies in a village die before they are one year old - then may be war is not as frightening as it is for us with a life expectation of 70-80 years.

It is in this perspective Europe must expand its conception of security to be more than a satisfactory defence, an active detente and disarmament policy, to include solutions to national and international social and political problems. Without giving great weight to these areas, we do not increase our security, we reduce it. Stated in its extreme, the Afghanistan conflict is more dangerous to world peace than is Poland. The situation in Poland is extremely serious, not only for the Poles, but also for the stability of Europe, and possibility of returning to a European detente. It is not by chance that post-war Europe has been the most peaceful area in the world. European security has been arranged with all the negative elements this involves. Nonetheless, this means that both East and West know which cata-

strophy is involved if one tampers with the bloc borders. That is why this has not happened.

Afghanistan's position is not quite clear. True, the country had a Soviet friendly regime but could not, with any certainty, be said "to belong to Soviet's sphere of interest". Therefore the USSR took a serious risk by entering Afghanistan. One positive result may emerge from the situation. The USSR learns that military superiority no longer ensures control and strength. On the contrary, on the whole it must be a political, military and economic strain on the USSR. One of the few occasions where the Third World reacted more or less as one entity in the UN was in the condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. It was a strong reaction and for the USSR an unexpected one. We in the West, however, helped Moscow out of this East-South conflict by bringing it into the traditional East-West conflict sphere. In Western Europe there were remonstrances against such short-term reactions, but experience and knowledge lost out against the strong immediate feelings. In this case a stronger and more well established Western Europe cooperation could possibly have had a better chance of being heard in Washington.

Policies of sanctions rarely give the desired results. The sanctions against Poland break down the cooperation Poland has had with the West and make Poland more and more dependent on the Soviet Union. Was this what we really wanted? In addition, the policy of sanctions resulted in disagreements in the Western cooperation. Thus, we got yet another West-West conflict.

What should our Eastern Europe strategy be?

Does this mean that we should simply accept today's divided Europe with the demands this makes on millions of people? The answer is a definite no - because such a policy is neither desirable nor possible. An unchanging policy in a rapidly changing environment will not serve its purpose. Equally clear is the fact that people of Western and Eastern Europe have little to gain from a "brink of war" policy. If we accept that the conflict is not ideological, but one of interest, and if we further accept the USSR's security interests, the basis should be formed for a realistic policy.

The new generations growing up in Eastern Europe do not appear to be more willing to accept their situation than were earlier generations which were behind the uprising in DDR in 1954, Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968. The opposite is true, and Poland today is a good example. Youth does not turn to the Communist Party, but join together in Solidarity and assemble in the church. The internal conditions, in other words, do not seem to settle, even though the new generations have never experienced any other way of life.

The security Eastern Europe should represent for the Soviet Union must be extremely delicate. If it were put to the

test, it is doubtful if Moscow would have much pleasure from its allies. This means that Eastern Europe is developing into an economic, political and security strain on the Kremlin. It is possible, therefore, that the Kremlin is now evaluating other forms of cooperation which will provide the Soviet Union with more tranquility and stability in its immediate surroundings. If they look around they will see that the democratic and independent neighbour, Finland, has given far fewer worries - if in fact any - than the Moscow dominated Eastern European countries. A so-called "Finlandization" of Eastern Europe, whilst maintaining the Warsaw pact may be a development in the Soviet's interest. This would then open new perspectives for European cooperation across East-West borders. Part of Western Europe strategy must be that we do not follow policies which counteract such a development in Europe.

If we accept that the conflict between the USA and USSR is not an ideological conflict between communism and capitalism, but a conflict of interest between two super powers, we have a reasonably sober basis for the policies we should be looking for. The economic problems are not reserved solely for the West. The economy haunts also the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European countries.

This, combined with the increased strength of the population's demands and opinions results in a number of Eastern bloc countries dramatically altering the economic course. In the long term this should provide possibilities of a more balanced economic cooperation between Eastern and Western Europe.

All post-war experience from divided Europe indicates that detente and cooperation have not only served the cause of peace, but have also aided in the development of human rights and possibilities in Eastern Europe.

It is more or less readily apparent that the open democracies in the West have no reason to fear a cooperation, as open as possible, with Eastern Europe. Therefore it is contrary to what we stand for when we go in for a policy aimed at closing and isolating authoritarian states in the East. This does not mean that there will not be situations where our emotional reactions are so strong that we, for a shorter or longer period, indicate this by means of sanctions, even though these may not be rational with regard to our political goals. Examples such as Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 show this. But our main line of policy must be to promote open cooperation between Eastern and Western Europe. There appears to be, for the most part, agreement on this in Western Europe.

MOUVEMENTS POUR LA PAIX EN EUROPE ET MOUVEMENTS DE LIBERATION EN AMERIQUE LATINE

POUR DES LIENS NOUVEAUX PAR UNE MEILLEURE COMMUNICATION

par Hector Vera
c/o Université de Paix
Boulevard du Nord 4
5000 Namur, Belgique

Langue originale: français

Résumé: Constatant la faiblesse du mouvement pacifiste en Amérique latine et l'absence de mouvements populaires en Europe occidentale, l'auteur en analyse les raisons. Il examine aussi les obstacles à la solidarité entre ces mouvements et voit son développement dans l'éducation pour la paix et les droits de l'homme dans les deux régions. Il formule quelques suggestions à cet égard et insiste, dans la dernière partie, sur la nécessité d'une autre information, découlant des activités des acteurs sociaux et plaide pour la création de nouveaux réseaux de communication facilitant le dialogue entre mouvements populaires en Amérique latine et en Europe occidentale.

(L'article ci-dessous reprend une partie du rapport en espagnol présenté par l'auteur, journaliste chilien réfugié en Belgique, au 1er séminaire latino-américain d'éducation pour la paix et les droits de l'homme, organisé à Caracas, Venezuela, en septembre 1984 par le Conseil pour l'éducation des adultes d'Amérique latine, dont le président est Paulo Freire).

PEACE MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA

Abstract: Noting the weakness of the peace movement in Latin America and the absence of popular liberation movements in Western Europe, the author analyzes the reasons of such a situation. He discusses the obstacles to solidarity among such movements and suggests that education for peace and human rights, in both regions, would contribute to it. He insists on the need for another information, resulting from the activities of social actors and for new communication networks facilitating a dialogue between Latin American and European people's movements.

MOVIMIENTOS PACIFISTAS EN EUROPA Y MOVIMIENTOS DE LIBERACIÓN AN AMÉRICA LATINA

Resumen: Constatando la debilidad del movimiento pacifista en América latina y la ausencia de movimientos populares en Europa occidental, el autor analiza las razones de esta situación. Examina los obstáculos a la solidaridad entre estos movimientos y sugiere que, en ambas regiones, la educación por la paz y los derechos humanos debería contribuir a ella. Insiste, finalmente, sobre la necesidad de otro tipo de información, resultante de las actividades de los actores sociales y aboga por la creación de nuevas redes de comunicación que permitan el diálogo entre los movimientos populares en América latina y Europa occidental.

Hector Vera

MOUVEMENTS POUR LA PAIX EN EUROPE ET MOUVEMENTS DE LIBERATION EN AMERIQUE LATINE

POUR DES LIENS NOUVEAUX POUR UNE MEILLEURE COMMUNICATION

LE PACIFISME POUR L'EUROPE ET LE SOCIALISME POUR L'AMÉRIQUE LATINE?

Face à la problématique de la paix et des luttes populaires de libération, la première observation à faire est qu'en Amérique latine le mouvement pacifiste est très modeste et qu'en Europe occidentale il n'existe rien de comparable aux mouvements populaires de libération.

La non existence des mouvements populaires de libération en Europe s'explique par le fait que les inégalités sociales sont moins irritantes et les besoins collectifs non satisfaits sont moindres qu'en Amérique latine.

Ceci ne signifie nullement que l'Europe soit démunie d'agents de changement. Mais il serait excessif de qualifier les efforts de transformation sociale de "populaires" et de "libération". Aucun projet de changement ne compte sur un appui actif de la majeure partie de la population et le processus individualiste en Europe occidentale limite la vie et l'identité collectives. D'autre part, les Européens partisans du changement social ne se sentent pas suffisamment opprimés pour parler de luttes de libération.

Par contre, il est plus difficile d'expliquer pourquoi le mouvement pacifiste est très réduit en Amérique latine, voir inexistant. Il s'agit d'un continent directement lié au voisinage géographique des USA et à leur "espace de sécurité"; en conséquence, il est vivement concerné par les tensions Est-Ouest, et plus encore à l'heure actuelle alors que les USA sont engagés dans un conflit armé en Amérique centrale et aux Caraïbes. A mon avis, le mouvement pacifiste est insignifiant en Amérique latine pour les raisons suivantes:

1. L'histoire de l'Amérique latine n'a pas connu les guerres généralisées, tel le cas de l'Europe contemporaine.
2. L'urgence historique pour l'Amérique latine est la lutte pour la justice, pour vaincre la faim et la dépendance économique et culturelle.
3. L'affrontement Est-Ouest est ressenti en Amérique latine comme une préoccupation des pays qui poursuivent des projets d'hégémonie. Il est difficile de placer dans cette catégorie les pays latino-américains, à l'exception peut-être du Brésil.

4. Le nationalisme latino-américain a toujours lié les "gloires nationales" aux actes des militaires. Les bourgeoisies, mais aussi la classe populaire, nourrissent une telle idéologie. Le nationalisme européen semble plus "civique" et le rôle de l'armée ainsi que celui de l'Etat sont relativisés par rapport à l'énorme place qu'ils occupent dans les sociétés d'Amérique latine. Et de là découle un fort sentiment qui lie la "fierté nationale" à l'existence d'un Etat fort, doté d'une puissante armée au détriment du rôle de la population civile.

5. L'idéal de paix, d'une certaine manière, est lié à un sentiment de satisfaction et de défense de ce qu'on possède, soit de type matériel, spirituel ou politique. Et beaucoup de Latino-américains ont plutôt le sentiment qu'ils sont loin d'être arrivés à de telles conquêtes. L'heure est donc à la rébellion plus qu'à la tranquillité.

6. Les bourgeoisies latino-américaines ont su associer l'idéal de paix à l'ordre social existant. C'est-à-dire, la paix est ici synonyme de "tranquillité sociale" et en définitive une telle aspiration est un des visages préférés de la classe dominante. Ainsi, "l'ordre et la paix" s'opposent à la lutte pour les changements et surtout à la lutte politique armée.

Ces constats pourraient nous conduire à affirmer que l'Europe va se fixer dans la voie pacifiste, sans franchir un niveau politique plus approfondi et que l'Amérique latine n'arrivera pas à former un mouvement pacifiste d'importance et de signification.

Mais les dynamiques actuelles aggravent les problèmes économiques, sociaux et de défense, aussi bien au Sud qu'au Nord. Ainsi la nécessité de radicaliser les luttes pour le changement en Europe et sa repolitisation iront croissant. Pour sa part, les confrontations entre conservateurs et progressistes en Amérique latine ne feront qu'augmenter et comme les positions réactionnaires sont encore très puissantes, il faudra s'attendre à des processus d'aggravation de la répression et une nouvelle militarisation de l'Etat. Parallèlement, la population prendra plus nettement conscience de la nécessité de récupérer les idéaux de paix et songera à construire une défense moins coûteuse, plus axée dans la confiance populaire et moins militarisée qu'à l'heure actuelle.

L'ingérence et le contrôle économique et politique exercés par les USA dans la région entrera de plus en plus en contradiction avec les nécessités de sortir de l'asphyxie de la dépendance.

Ces grandes dynamiques accélèrent le processus d'universalisation des luttes idéologiques et sociales dans le Sud et le Nord. Les particularités régionales entre l'Europe et l'Amérique latine tendent à diminuer, sans nullement disparaître,

et les efforts pour coordonner les activités des progressistes des deux continents se fera de plus en plus urgent.

OBSTACLES À LA SOLIDARITÉ ENTRE PACIFISTES ET MOUVEMENTS DE LIBÉRATION

La tendance de concertation des efforts pour le changement en Europe et en Amérique latine fait partie d'un axe général de développement politique dans le prochain avenir, mais les difficultés pour concrétiser ces aspirations sont nombreuses et importantes.

Nous avons vu que dans le fondement idéologique du pacifisme européen et du mouvement populaire latino-américain existent de très profondes différences ^{1/}. Il ne sera pas facile pour les pacifistes de soutenir la lutte armée contre les dictatures, ni aux révolutionnaires d'accepter et de comprendre le rôle progressiste des prêcheurs de la paix dans un monde de violence.

S'il y a des difficultés doctrinales pour la collaboration entre eux, il y a aussi des obstacles pratiques. Une telle situation de mutuelle incompréhension, provient des faiblesses ou des vides idéologiques des deux mouvements. La culture hégémonique en Europe, comme en Amérique latine, tend à spécialiser l'esprit dans le domaine intellectuel ou de l'action. Et de là résulte l'intégration très difficile des fragments de la réalité dans une synthèse globale et cohérente.

D'un côté, les personnes sensibilisées par les crimes de la guerre et la militarisation, ne relient pas suffisamment cette situation à la nature des régimes politiques existants, ni aux enjeux égémoniques, ni au modèle de développement choisi, ni à l'injustice sociale qui leur est imposée. Ainsi le pacifisme devient, souvent, une aspiration, une utopie, dépourvue du poids idéologique et de capacité de modification de la réalité.

De l'autre côté, les mouvements populaires d'Amérique latine méprisent souvent les efforts pour le désarmement et la paix. Ils les considèrent comme des positions naïves, non mobilisatrices face aux questions centrales et mystificatrices de la réalité. Pour eux, il est dur de comprendre que la paix, la démilitarisation et la défense intelligente d'un peuple sont des composantes indissociables d'une société meilleure.

^{1/} Selon Egbert Jahn, le mouvement pacifiste devra apprendre de la doctrine socialiste la lutte pour le pouvoir et de l'anarchisme le goût aux libertés et arriver à construire un mouvement "civiliste" où les dominés pourront dépasser leurs oppresseurs sans les détruire (Egbert Jahn, "Une perspective historique, le nouveau mouvement de paix" Alternatives Non-Violentes N°43, décembre 1982).

Le mouvement populaire en Amérique latine devra débloquer le monopole idéologique exercé par la bourgeoisie dans un domaine où elle se montre comme l'unique garante de "l'ordre et la paix" et récupérer les idéaux pacifistes au bénéfice de la majorité de la population.

Les expériences et réflexions des pacifistes européens peuvent, dans une certaine mesure, apporter des éléments intéressants à l'élaboration d'alternatives de défense, adaptées aux projets de société souhaités: défense peu coûteuse (socialement acceptable), efficace (basée sur la participation populaire) et compatible avec les libertés (élimination du chantage du coup d'Etat militaire).

Malgré les sérieux efforts du mouvement pacifiste en Europe, on n'a pas pu formuler des alternatives de défense crédibles et viables. Cette critique, cependant, n'épuise pas le problème. En vérité, il y a plusieurs propositions mais pas suffisamment structurées. La question principale est de savoir pourquoi de telles alternatives et propositions de défense semblent peu viables.

Pour arriver à la formulation d'une alternative solide de défense, il faut, sur le plan intellectuel, faire une analyse globale de la société actuelle, définir les objectifs centraux cherchés par la population en matière de défense, déterminer les scénarios possibles qui mettraient en danger la sécurité du pays et établir les réponses adéquates, pour arriver à l'établissement d'un corps institutionnel (militaire) et politique (organisation de l'Etat) qui pourrait exprimer ce nouveau mode de défense. Et dans le plan pratique il faudra voir la force sociale et idéologique nécessaire à la mise sur pied d'une telle proposition.

Si au niveau directement politique l'Europe n'a pas construit des alternatives à la société actuelle, si le mouvement syndical, qui est bien structuré, ne participe pas à un tel effort, le mouvement pacifiste pourra difficilement modifier cette situation. Dans l'état actuel du développement idéologique et politique de l'Europe des progressistes, il n'existe pas une synthèse entre les objectifs politiques et les objectifs du mouvement pacifiste.

La principale difficulté que le mouvement pacifiste devra résoudre, et c'est aussi le cas pour les écologistes, est de gagner en définition politique sans perdre sa base sociale plurielle qui constitue, précisément, son patrimoine essentiel.

L'ÉDUCATION POUR LA PAIX ET LES DROITS DE L'HOMME EN EUROPE ET EN AMÉRIQUE LATINE

Le mouvement pacifiste veut éduquer à la résolution des conflits par une voie qui ne soit ni la guerre, ni la violence. Une telle préoccupation engendre des questions concernant la défense des droits de l'homme.

Les mouvements populaires s'intéressent à l'éducation des droits de l'homme dans la mesure où ces principes sont liés au droit à la rébellion, à l'autodétermination des peuples, à la justice sociale et à la protection des victimes de la répression institutionnelle et structurelle. Et l'éducation à la paix l'intéresse par la promesse d'éliminer les causes de reproduction de l'inégalité et de la violence.

A l'Université de Paix, ce sujet est repris comme une partie de l'effort interculturel entre l'Europe et l'Amérique latine, qui pourrait créer des ponts pour le dialogue entre pacifistes et militants pour le changement.

Une des modalités de diffusion et d'enseignement des idéaux de paix et de droits de l'homme est de créer un dispositif permettant aux journalistes et aux enseignants des deux continents d'échanger des renseignements et des messages, de la documentation et des méthodes didactiques en relation avec cette problématique.

Alfred Kastler, Prix Nobel de physique et ancien Président du Conseil académique à l'Université de Paix, nous a laissé la réflexion suivante: "...la seule issue - si l'humanité doit connaître un lendemain, c'est l'éducation pour la paix; c'est dire avec force aux jeunes que la lutte pour le désarmement et la lutte pour un nouvel ordre économique et culturel international, donnant sa juste place au Tiers Monde, que ces deux luttes sont une. D'ici peu d'années, le problème Est-Ouest passera à l'arrière plan devant le problème Nord-Sud".

Sans doute, la problématique Nord-Sud occupera une place de plus en plus grande dans le scénario international. Il ne faut pas oublier que précisément la tension Est-Ouest se retrouve dans les conflits politiques nationaux et dans les guerres entre états du Sud. De cette façon, la forme dans laquelle sont résolus les conflits dans cette partie du monde, se répercute dans les relations Est-Ouest.

L'abîme économique-social qui sépare les pays riches des pauvres, l'impossibilité des pays latino-américains de diminuer leur dette extérieure amènent les populations et même les gouvernements de différentes idéologies à chercher des solutions économiques et politiques qui sont en contradiction avec l'hégémonie des USA et du monde capitaliste. Telle situation contribue à transférer l'axe central des contradictions internationales entre l'Est et l'Ouest vers l'axe Nord-Sud. Ainsi, la paix mondiale et la justice sociale forment des colonnes d'une même construction.

En Amérique latine comme en Europe, les principes de paix, la doctrine des droits de l'homme, semblent être des formulations nécessaires et positives, mais contrairement à ce qui pourrait être imaginé, ces formulations n'ont pas les mêmes significations partout. On est même arrivé à soutenir que les droits de l'homme sont une doctrine créée de toutes

pièces par la "culture occidentale" 2/. Ceux pour qui la doctrine des droits de l'homme est un espoir de vivre face aux dictatures, pour ceux qui luttent contre les abus du pouvoir politique et les crimes, une telle affirmation est alarmante et peut semer la confusion. Mais elle a la mérite d'insister sur la nécessité de nourrir constamment la doctrine des droits de l'homme et de ne pas relâcher l'effort pour faire respecter la dignité et les libertés humaines.

Une critique qui a plusieurs implications pratiques est celle qui signale que les droits de l'homme sont un code destiné à protéger les droits des individus et des Etats et non les "droits des peuples", étant donné que le peuple n'est pas considéré comme sujet de droit international. La tendance du droit est d'identifier totalement peuple et Etat ou nation et Etat.

D'autre part, les régimes libéraux ont associé les droits humains aux libertés publiques, mais l'ont dissociés de la justice économique et du régime de propriété. L'effort du socialisme a été d'inclure les droits économiques comme partie des libertés et des revendications collectives. Il arrive que même les conquêtes des forces progressistes sur le plan de l'éducation ne signifie pas toujours que la situation idéologique soit pour autant changée. "Les transformations de la liberté de l'enseignement en droit à l'éducation et à l'instruction à consisté à offrir, mais aussi à imposer aux autres catégories sociales les modèles culturels de la bourgeoisie. Non seulement les classes sociales nouvelles demeuraient défavorisées puisqu'elles étaient invitées à concourir sur un terrain qui n'était pas le leur et qu'elles n'avaient pas choisi, mais rien n'a autant contribué à empêcher la formation d'une culture ouvrière et à discréditer les cultures paysannes traditionnelles..." 3/.

Tel constat historique nous met en présence de la nécessité de placer les idéaux de paix et des droits de l'homme dans les contextes appropriés au développement d'une aspiration collective majoritaire qui nous écarte de l'hégématisation culturelle des classes dominantes. La paix à défendre n'est pas "la paix et l'ordre" mais plutôt "la paix et le développement", "la justice et la paix", "désarmer pour développer", "démilitariser pour démocratiser", "justice sociale, libertés et paix", "paix, sécurité et défense populaire". Il s'agit que la lutte pour les droits humains soit favorable à la vie et à la dignité des peuples et non à la simple défense des privilèges économiques, religieux ou politiques.

2/ Raimondo Pannikar, "La notion des droits de l'homme est-elle un concept occidental?" Revue interculturelle, (Janvier-Mars 1984).

3/ François Rigaux, "Réflexions en vue d'un nouvel instrument international relatif au droit des peuples", Colloque international: Droits de solidarité, droits des peuples (Saint Marin, octobre 1982, p.104).

LES BARRIÈRES À L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE LA PAIX ET DES DROITS DE L'HOMME

Une des grandes difficultés de l'enseignement pour la paix et les droits de l'homme en Europe occidentale est le peu de temps consacré aux sciences sociales et en particulier à l'actualité politique nationale et internationale. Il y aurait deux manières centrales de résoudre "techniquement" ce problème:

- . Utiliser la voie de la pression face aux autorités de l'enseignement pour faire accepter dans les programmes officiels l'étude de ces sujets ou d'élargir les programmes existants et de leur consacrer plus d'heures, etc.

- . L'autre voie est d'introduire dans les cours, qui traditionnellement ne s'occupent pas de ces problèmes, des éléments permettant de faire référence à ces questions; ceci implique une mise au point de la méthodologie.

Un professeur de biologie pourrait introduire, à partir du sujet de l'alimentation, la question de la faim et de ses conséquences biologiques pour poser la question de ses origines, ce qui permettrait d'aborder les problèmes du développement et du droit des peuples à se nourrir convenablement.

Mais il peut arriver que le processus contraire se présente à partir d'une situation historique, on peut vider le contenu d'une doctrine et d'une problématique. Un professeur d'histoire peut passer sa vie à apprendre aux enfants une quantité de dates, de dynasties et d'épisodes de guerre, en oubliant les conflits d'intérêts, les mécanismes de la violence, les revendications populaires et les luttes populaires.

La technique de conscientisation, via l'alphabétisation de Paulo Freire, est un excellent exemple, de ce qui peut se faire à partir de moments précis qui mettent en relation l'expérience directe de l'élève avec un problème général et donner ainsi naissance à la découverte des mécanismes des injustices.

Parallèlement aux luttes pour les espaces éducatifs et pour l'introduction des méthodologies de participation et de valeur critique, il est nécessaire de créer un climat culturel favorable aux aspirations de paix, de justice et de libertés, où soit concerné l'ensemble de la population. Le véritable problème de l'éducation de ces principes en Europe occidentale ne se situe pas centralement dans les programmes d'études (où certainement il y a encore beaucoup à faire) mais surtout dans le processus de longue et profonde dépolitisation de la société, lequel met en péril le caractère conscientisateur du sujet.

L'autre risque important est que de tels sujets sont parfois utilisés pour dénoncer les dictatures du Tiers Monde et du

"totalitarisme socialiste", en oubliant ou méconnaissant les discriminations dans son propre pays ou en présentant son pays ou sa région comme porteur de la paix et les autres comme menaces. Ainsi, l'enseignement des droits de l'homme et de la paix peuvent contribuer à légitimer le régime politique existant et à renforcer le conformisme et l'indifférence politique. Dans ce contexte, il n'est pas insolite que le gouvernement Thatcher, favorable aux intérêts des chefs d'entreprise au détriment des travailleurs, mène une guerre d'occupation en Irlande du Nord et une guerre tout court dans l'Atlantique Sud (Malvinas) et proclame son attachement à la paix et aux droits de l'homme.

L'CEA a établi que la doctrine des droits de l'homme est adoptée par les Etats qui en sont membres. Mais combien de ces Etats respectent ces énoncés? Combien ne sont pas l'exemple vif de la radicale négation du respect humain? Combien des Etats préparent des nouvelles offensives policières et militaires contre les gouvernés et peut-être contre le pays voisin?

L'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine a proclamé la Charte Africaine des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples. Combien de ces Etats permettent à leur population de vivre dans le respect de tels principes? N'est-ce pas un contre-sens que la Commission des Droits de l'Homme des Nations Unies doit considérer les gouvernements qui violent de tels droits comme les représentants des populations?

En dépit de ces contradictions, tout un effort en matière d'éducation pour la paix et les droits humains a été réalisé en Europe occidentale par l'UNESCO, par le Conseil de l'Europe, par le Parlement européen. Et à ceci il faut ajouter une série d'initiatives de la base et mises sur pied par des centaines d'associations. En tout cas, enseigner les droits de l'homme et la paix implique tout un travail de démystification, de redéfinition idéologique, de précisions historiques et de recherche de la réalité immédiate, locale et nationale, à partir desquelles il est permis et souhaitable de juger les autres réalités.

DÉBLOQUER L'INFORMATION À PARTIR DE LA BASE SOCIALE

Un des problèmes à résoudre dans l'éducation des principes qui nous occupent est de permettre que la réalité construite par les acteurs du changement social, puisse être véhiculée pour faire sortir l'information de la marginalité culturelle. Il faut s'efforcer de trouver l'information produite par la base sociale, c'est-à-dire par les activités des pacifistes, des dirigeants des quartiers, des syndicalistes, des animateurs culturels, des dirigeants religieux et politiques de base. Les journalistes, professeurs, responsables politiques, pourraient trouver une nouvelle source d'information et de référence qui pourrait débloquer une information pré-conditionnée et contaminée par l'influence de l'idéologie dominante et par le processus de dépolitisation.

Etant donné l'actuelle situation idéologique en Europe comme en Amérique latine, l'effort doit porter sur la revitalisation de la culture qui provient des agents du changement, pour la faire vivre profondément dans la conscience collective. Une institutionnalisation de tels principes, sans cet effort global, n'apportera autre chose qu'un mauvais catéchisme.

L'éducation pour la paix fait partie de la lutte pour une information qui rende compte des réalités autres que celles qui sont véhiculées par les mass média et qui prendrait comme protagonistes les porteurs des changements et utiliserait des sources de références variées et en tout cas autres que celles qui émanent des personnes liées au pouvoir.

Il faudra créer un véritable réseau, à plusieurs niveaux, pour faire transiter l'information rendant possible le dialogue entre les acteurs porteurs des projets populaires et démocratiques en Amérique latine et en Europe.

UNE SOLIDARITÉ ENTRE PACIFISTES ET MOUVEMENTS POPULAIRES DE LIBÉRATION EST-ELLE POSSIBLE?

Les organisations qui en Europe occidentale s'occupent des luttes de libération en Amérique latine, sont des petits groupements, appelés généralement Comités de solidarité. Ils agissent avec très peu de ressources.

En Amérique latine, les organisations qui s'occupent de la paix sont aussi très modestes et liées aux institutions religieuses, ce qui limite leur action, mais quand elles se rapprochent des mouvements populaires elles arrivent à contribuer au développement de ces luttes. Le résultat est qu'on connaît très mal la cause pacifiste européenne et en Europe il se passe la même chose avec les luttes de libération. Un élargissement des bases sociales et idéologiques d'appui est nécessaire aux deux mouvements et sera la nouvelle étape qui devra franchir la solidarité internationale.

Pour concrétiser une telle approche de solidarité il faut construire une stratégie d'information et d'éducation, où les expressions les plus diverses d'Europe et d'Amérique latine puissent trouver un poste de participation. On pourra passer ainsi d'une solidarité de "bonnes oeuvres" ou d'intérêts humanitaires" à une autre, politique et pluraliste.

Si les mouvements populaires de libération arrivent à inclure dans leurs programmes les idéaux de paix et à offrir des alternatives de défense populaire viable, ils vont trouver, en Europe, des nouveaux appuis importants. De même, une plus grande clarté sur le type de société cherchée par les pacifistes européens, contribuera à trouver en Amérique latine des alliés non négligeables qui vont s'ajouter à la longue lutte pour le désarmement, contre les missiles et la militarisation des sociétés.

ASIA: CENDHRRA, OR PARTNERSHIP IN ACTION

Cendhrra - the Centre for the Development of Human Resources in rural Asia - reviews in its September 84 Newsletter its "principles of partnership". Here are some excerpts from the review:

WHAT KEY IDEAS BROUGHT ABOUT THE FORMATION OF CENDHRRA AND THE NETWORK?

Towards the end of the First UN Development Decade (1960's) development circles everywhere began to realize the serious human costs entailed by the one-sided emphasis on economic and technological development. Increased economic production and the technological revolution did not bring about a better life for peoples as the decade had promised. On the contrary, there was extensive human misery, dehumanization and oppression, and widespread ecological deterioration as never before experienced. In this setting, an Asian regional-level workshop was held on human resource development (DHRRW, Bangkok, 1974), where it was re-stressed that the focus of all development should be the human person. And the key to the development of peoples lay in the participation of people in decisions that affect their own lives, their growth-in-community; and this meant having access to resources, or the equitable distribution of the world's goods. Moreover, if the goal is humanism in development, then we must draw from the richness of all cultures and religions (thus, the need for a common search for that configuration which points to the real Asian identity). The path to real development, therefore, cannot be dictated upon, for it is unilinear, not uniform for all.

Following the workshop there was a common desire among participants to sustain their experience of solidarity and continue communications, and with this, the DHRRRA FAMILY of development partners was born. A secretariate called CENDHRRA was established and located in Manila to help build that Asian solidarity. Workshops on Integral Rural Development (CIRDs) were held in different countries to help establish the national linkages. With the subsequent increase in exchanges of information and informal communication among partners, the network thus grew and expanded.

CENDHRRA's growth underwent three distinct phases:

- 1976-78: Building up the Asian-level linkages
- 1979-81: Strengthening of the national DHRRRA groupings
- 1982-84: Strengthening of the whole network through an Asian-level integrated information system

In short, some of CENDHRRA's fundamental principles are: 1) that full human development is not attained through mere abundance of material goods; 2) that regional and international solidarity is necessary for mobilizing resources towards human development; and 3) that participatory decision-making with local people is more effective than centralized technocratic planning.

THE PRESENT WORKING CONSENSUS AMONG DHRRA PARTNERS

The following ideas constitute the working basis, for unity among CENDHRRA partners. These consensus points concretize the fundamental principles mentioned above and help define CENDHRRA's tasks.

1. To uphold the primacy of persons in development. To promote development that is people-oriented and people-based.
2. To work for the enhancement of human freedom founded on integrity and responsibility - a human process of growth where people free themselves from poverty, from social, economic and political manipulation by those who control society's resources.
3. To promote open and authentic dialogue among people and groups based on the principle of Sutchá (trust); to reconstruct human transactions and communities on the principle of participation for all.
4. To work for formation of "living structures", meaning, of groups and institutions that are capable of responding to people's real needs. (Here it was noted that the CENDHRRA Secretariate and the DHRRA Secretariates are *essentially catalyzing* bodies. As such, they are not to become themselves "institutionalized". "Institutionalization" of a DHRRA occurs when it becomes exclusive to certain types of groups/individuals to the exclusion of others; or when it starts to emphasize rules instead of objectives; or when its tasks become ends in themselves and no longer respond to people's real needs. Through their catalyzing activities these DHRRA's are to bring about the revitalization of institutions, and a reform of structures. It was further noted that each DHRRA develops in its own unique form and style, depending on specific prevailing conditions and needs in its host country.).
5. To give priority to development activities, programs, projects that directly benefit the poorest groups and marginalized those bypassed by organizations and institutions both within and outside the countries.
6. To work towards a relationship of true partnership with donor groups.
7. To sustain basic unity and increase solidarity among DHRRA groups and partners, through constant and open communication either through the Secretariate, or directly with other partners in the network.

WHAT COMBINATION OF CHARACTERISTICS DISTINGUISH THE DHRRA NETWORK FROM OTHER GROUPS AND NETWORKS?

1. It is Asian. (It strives to express Asian realities, concepts and experiences).
2. It is secular, non-Church. (It is essentially humanist, drawing from various cultural and religious values).
3. It is not a political body. (It respects political autonomy of persons and transcends political differences; it promotes open dialogue).
4. The structure is informal; bureaucracy is non-existent.

5. It is open to those who wish to join in partnership.
6. Emphasis is on partnership, not membership. It is a network of individuals and small groups which remain autonomous in themselves.
7. It is participatory and democratic; it is against domination of any one group.
8. It is people-oriented and people-based, especially among the poor.
9. It promotes "living structures", or organizations rooted in people and responsive to their needs.
10. Its approach is personal and long-termed.
11. It reaches decisions by consensus.

One of CENDHRRRA's unique characteristics is that partners deal more on the level of person-to-person relationships. On this matter, an issue was raised: Instead of relating on a purely personal basis, should CENDHRRRA not try to elevate this bond to the level of common issues and goals to which partners can address and commit themselves? That CENDHRRRA does not link up institutions as such may have disadvantages, like slowing down its work or limiting its resources base, but on the other hand, the person-to-person linkage is an important means for catalytic action in any institution in which this person is found.

ON THE ROLE OF CENDHRRRA SECRETARIATE

It must first be clarified that the CENDHRRRA Secretariate was never conceived to be an "umbrella" or superstructure coordinating the DHRRRA national or country committees. Its functions, in fact, could be assumed by any one of the country DHRRAs, and phased out. But the Secretariate serves as service arm. The CENDHRRRA Secretariate has been likened to the "hub" of a wheel, servicing the different DHRRAs, bringing about their unity and solidarity (as was its mandate when it was established). The DHRRAs, as the "spokes", connect to the Center, and their communication system holds the "rim". Together, this CENDHRRRA Wheel - in one piece - moves in a certain direction of human development.

The Secretariate has two main priority functions: (1) to service the DHRRAs and their local partners, and (2) to help set up an Asian integrated information system. These two tasks are interrelated, and mutually supportive and dependent. Information from the DHRRAs and their partners could be fed into and analyzed within the information system, and this information could in turn provide the data needs of the various DHRRAs and other groups as well. All the other routing tasks, such as publications, arranging for workshops, seminars, funding, linkage work, documentation, come as a consequence of the two above functions.

There are two other tasks on the network level, or joint action programmes, that blend the two above functions. The first is that of the Special Project, wherein the different country DHRRAs select a particular project (e.g. cooperatives, rice banks) as the subject of a special study. Progress of such project would be monitored and documented by the Secretariate and respective country DHRRRA, to pave the way for an evaluation/analysis of the development process related to this project. These special projects could then serve as practical models for others along the same line.

The second is a Study of Key Development issues, e.g. aid policies, multinational policies affecting rural development and integral human development at people's level, North-South dialogue, etc., which could form the basis for future consensus on these issues among the DHRRA's. Also, Country Profiles, or studies of the situation and development issues at country level would help local groups to situate their efforts and identify priorities for their development efforts.

CENDHRRRA'S SERVICES TO THE DHRRA'S AND OTHER GROUPS

The services offered by the CENDHRRRA Secretariate to its partners (and other groups) can be summed up as follows:

1. Linkages
2. Information system
3. Consultations and Referrals
4. Workshops and Training
5. Research and Evaluation
6. Publications

STANDING TASKS OF THE CENDHRRRA SECRETARIATE

The standing tasks of the Secretariate are:

1. To document the projects and activities, and areas of involvement of Asian NGOs, particularly of DHRRA network partners.
2. To undertake Special Project studies.
3. To prepare initial discussion papers and implementing guidelines for the Studies on Key Development Issues. Some of the topics identified are:
 - . Aid policies of the North
 - . North-South dialogue
 - . Agro-industrialization and its effects on the rural poor
 - . Integral self-reliance
 - . Country profile studies
4. Lastly, the Secretariate must set up its information system, and to be included here are:
 - . guidelines for information gathering, to identify the types of grassroots information that are needed,
 - . to find ways to encourage the flow of more grassroots information, to motivate more feedback from the grassroots,
 - . to find ways to disseminate information more effectively.

(From CENDHRRRA Network Newsletter N°38, September 1984 - POB 458, Greenhills, San Juan, Metro Manila, Philippines).

ARGENTINA : INICIATIVA PLANETARIA PARA EL MUNDO QUE ELEGIMOS

Por Miguel Grinberg
C.C. Central 1332
Buenos Aires 1000
Argentina

En enero de 1981 tuvo comienzo la Iniciativa, en una secuela de creación de contactos en todo el mundo, cuya multiplicación progresiva hizo posible del 17 al 21 de junio de 1983 en Toronto (Canadá) la realización del Primer Congreso Planetario, que al culminar emitió una Declaración sobre el Mundo que Elegimos. Todo ello fue resultado de la acción de individuos y de organizaciones no gubernamentales que decidieron tomar el futuro (y el presente) en propias manos. Para ellos, para sus hijos y para la enorme multitud de seres humanos que no sienten válidas las proclamas de los grupos, bandos y partidos de esta época crucial para la humanidad.

En enero de 1982 publicamos bajo el título UNA FAMILIA, el Documento Inicial de la Iniciativa. Que ofrecemos a todos aquellos que nunca escucharon antes esta proposición. Dentro de poco tendremos disponible el boletín NEXITUD con la traducción del texto de la Declaración de Toronto. Y encaramos un cúmulo de actividades para el venidero ciclo de la Iniciativa (que se detalla mas alla).

La dinámica de la Redificación Dialogal de la Iniciativa Planetaria permite los más variados proyectos orientados hacia la comunidad, donde la participación individual es fundamental. No se trata de acciones manipuladas desde "AFUERA" sino que todo depende de la voluntad de los participantes. No hay jerarquías ni puja por el manejo de las decisiones. Es democracia participativa en el sentido cabal del término. (Hay un documento sobre redificación disponible para los interesados.)

Los grupos de la Iniciativa se organizan en la base, en torno del "tema" que se considere prioritario por consenso de los participantes. Que suele ser una problemática que les concierne personalmente. Su paso siguiente es la intervención de la comunidad: vecinos, estudiantes, etc. Pronto tendremos disponible el Manual de Organización de la Iniciativa, para su distribución.

Son muchas las Redes que actualmente confluyen en la Iniciativa, en muy variada medida. Una de ellas es la Red Planetaria de Pensamiento Positivo, iniciada en Canadá por Jean Hudon. Premueve una BOMBA DE PAZ, que comenzó a "estallar" en la Argentina en junio de 1984. Somos conscientes del contenido aparentemente contradictorio del término "bomba", pero cuando se interioricen verán que no es así. En la detonada en septiembre de 1984 hubo cantidad de grupos en todo el país, y se ha hecho extensiva a jóvenes de los países limítrofes.

Otras dos facetas del trabajo en marcha se relacionan con la tarea ecologista y la Educación para el Desarme. En estos dos rubros se trabajó intensamente durante un cuatrimestre en las actividades de la Multiversidad de Buenos Aires, y confiamos que pronto habrá disponible material impreso al respecto. Dado que a fin de octubre reaparecerá la

revista MUTANTIA, con periodicidad mensual, allí se dará mucha cobertura a estos tópicos.

Tuvimos un par de años atrás una Red de Amigos que procuramos reflotar ahora. Y será con la intervención de Uds. que puede crecer esta Iniciativa entre nosotros, ya que mucha gente desea convertir su existencia cotidiana en un genuino compromiso con la vida. Esto no es excluyente de otras actividades que deseen realizar. No significa entregar el alma a una causa ciega. Es simplemente optar por la fraternidad.

GRUPOS DE AFINIDAD TEMATICA

Uno de los rasgos centrales de la Iniciativa es la formación de grupos "en la base", sin liderazgos, apuntados a encarar un tema determinado - sea un problema de la comunidad o una propuesta de trabajo solidario - a fin de demostrar cómo es posible crear opciones para el cambio individual y social, en una creciente confluencia internacional.

CICLO 1984/86

Tomando como referencia lo debatido en el Congreso de Toronto, la Iniciativa prevé la realización futura en todo el globo de Congresos descentralizados. Procuramos reactivar el trabajo iniciado en la Argentina en 1982, ajustando los intercambios informativos con grupos de la Iniciativa actuantes en Chile, Brasil, Bolivia y donde vayan constituyéndose a medida que pasa el tiempo.

Conviene aclarar que esta labor es netamente no-gubernamental. Es encarada por ciudadanos independientes sin banderías de corte ideológico o confesional. El boletín NEXITUD y la revista MUTANTIA actuarán como vehículo informativo en nuestro área de influencia. El Manual de Organización es un ABC de la organización comunitaria.

Los rubros que vamos a estimular con miras a la formación de grupos de afinidad se refieren a los siguientes temas:

- 1) Medio ambiente. Problemática ecologista. (Formativo e informativo)
- 2) 1985: Año internacional de la juventud (declarado por las Naciones Unidas)
- 3) Campana mundial de desarme - Bomba de paz- Education fraternizadora
- 4) Promundo 99 (Red de grupos de conciencia ecológica, ligado al punto 1)
- 5) Multiversidad de Buenos Aires
- 6) RE/AL (Red de Enlace Dialogal): proyecto apuntado a la estimulación de lazos de hermandad entre Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Brasil, Paraguay, Perú, Bolivia (por Razones de frontera) y el resto del Continente, atentos a que se avencinan operativos de "festejo" de la Conquista de América en 1992 (500 años) y a la certeza de que no tenemos nada que celebrar al respecto.

PROGRAMACION Y DESENVOLVIMIENTO

La dinámica de una RED elimina la necesidad de un Comité Centralizador de las actividades. Los grupos o núcleos de afinidad se constituyen ahí donde varias voluntades individuales se mancomunan para llevar adelante la tarea. Hacen un inventario del problema, estudian las soluciones (a

veces requiriendo el asesoramiento de expertos) y luego elaboran un plan de acción que comprometa a la mayor cantidad posible de miembros de la comunidad, empezando por la propia familia. Son muchas las REDES ya evolucionando o en gestación en la Argentina y en el resto del planeta. Una de las más eficaces es la Red "Verde Esperanza" de Huertas Infantiles. Las malas costumbres tradicionales de convertir todo cónclave en una puja por el poder simbólico o en una maratón deliberativa es absolutamente impracticable en la RED. Porque lo único viable es el compromiso personal con los iguales, sin ansias de espectacularidad, para poder poner en práctica los potenciales constructivos de cada cual. La RED es una herramienta de CONFLUENCIA.

Esperamos que la recepción de estas informaciones no seas un ejercicio pasivo de "coleccionismo" de papeles exóticos. Está en juego el futuro del planeta y de todos nosotros. Venimos intoxicados de propuestas que no funcionan porque meramente se cinen a la intención de organizar las actitudes de los demás. La RED es el arte de organizarse a sí mismo en comunión con los que hacen lo mismo. Sin perder tiempo y energía en confrontaciones egocéntricas. (agradeceremos nos envíen el franqueo postal).

ESPANA : IEPALA

(Villalar 3, Madrid 1, Espana)

IEPALA, Instituto de Estudios Políticos para América Latina y Africa, fue creado en 1965, bajo la forma legal de una Asociación Civil, con la doble intención de :

- trabajar en el análisis político de los países dominados; difundir dichos análisis y crear una conciencia de solidaridad con las prácticas de esos pueblos.
- conseguir que este trabajo repercutiese dentro de los grupos sociales y políticos de Espana, con el fin de incrementar su nivel de conciencia, organización y compromiso eficaz.

Al poco tiempo tuvimos -seis anos- la mayoría del equipo que actualmente componemos IEPALA, nos dedicamos a trabajar temas sobre el llamado Tercer Mundo en distintas organizaciones del único espacio en el que se podía llevar a cabo una cierta actividad social, desde donde fuimos creando una amplia red de contactos y relaciones en América Latina, Africa, Mundo arabe, y el Nortatlántico, con personas, grupos, centros y organizaciones implicadas, de una forma u otra, en el proceso de transformación de sus países.

En el año 1975, pudimos con toda la masa informativa, documental y de relaciones, volver a revitalizar el marco legal del Instituto, preparándonos para el tiempo nuevo.

A comienzos de 1976 relanzamos el Instituto en su segunda etapa, con unos lineamientos definidos por:

- . el análisis y estudio militante de los procesos emergentes en América Latina, África, Medio Oriente, y algunos pueblos de Asia;
- . la posición de independencia ideológica y política frente a bloques, internacionales, países y partidos;
- . el apoyo efectivo a los procesos de liberación y reconstrucción, protagonizados por los pueblos y sus organizaciones.

Desde esa perspectiva, y gracias al trabajo acumulado en los años anteriores y al conjunto de relaciones establecidas, iniciamos cinco grandes frentes de actividades:

- . el de investigación y análisis;
- . el de formación, estudio y discusión política;
- . el de relaciones exteriores y solidaridad;
- . el de información y publicaciones;
- . el de cooperación internacional.

El soporte de todas las actividades es triple :

- . Un centro de Documentación y Biblioteca, que recibe gran número de publicaciones periódicas y multitud de información y documentos coyunturales. (estamos dando los pasos para la creación de un Banco de Datos);
- . Un equipo permanente de plena dedicación y otro mucho más amplio de colaboradores a tiempo parcial, con la infraestructura necesaria;
- . Un reducido fondo de financiación integrado por las cuotas libres de los amigos y socios, el resultado de la venta de las publicaciones y las matrículas de los participantes en los cursos de formación.

Una vez al año elaboramos y publicamos, el Programa actualizado de Actividades, en el que se recogen alguna de las líneas de trabajo público más significativas.

Los criterios de acción son marcados por la Asamblea General de Socios y aplicados por la Junta de Gobierno.

Sin excluir ningún país o problema de América Latina, África y Arabia, el tiempo político exige hoy que las áreas prioritarias de trabajo sean América Central, Asia occidental, el Cuerno de África, el Maghreb y África Austral.

Nuestras acciones siempre tratan de responder a las demandas concretas que los distintos Gobiernos, movimientos de liberación, frentes de lucha u organizaciones populares nos van haciendo, conscientes de nuestras posibilidades y como Instituto de Estudios independiente y militante, con su correspondiente imagen en amplios sectores.

VIVRE AUTREMENT - CONSOMMATEURS EN AFRIQUE

Tel est le titre d'un tout nouveau magazine trimestriel publié à Dakar, Sénégal, par ENDA. Au sommaire du premier numéro, "Les détergents: une menace grave pour la santé", "Technologies à faire soi-même: les puisards pour se débarrasser des eaux sales", "La consommation des médicaments en Afrique", "La vie par le menu: manger (mieux) pour vivre (autrement)", et l'éditorial-programme de la rédactrice, Diara Senghor, dont nous reproduisons ci-dessous de larges extraits qui disent l'ambition, et le programme, de Vivre autrement 1/.

(...) Sans doute les ressources dont disposent les individus, les familles - les Etats eux-mêmes - sont-elles souvent très limitées. Mais les uns et les autres, savent-ils et veulent-ils, les gérer afin d'en tirer le meilleur parti, les exploiter pour en tirer - tout bonnement - parti?

Si nous survivons avec peine - plus ou moins -, si nous vivotons au jour le jour, n'est-ce pas, pour une part, parce que nous le voulons bien? Ou que tout au moins, nous l'acceptons? Un "grand boubou" richement brodé, des bijoux plutôt que des "bols" bien garnis. Une radio, voire une télévision - achetées à crédit - plutôt qu'un puisard ou des... latrines dans la maison? Tant pis si les traites sont trop lourdes et compromettent le paiement du loyer.

Bien des choix de consommation sont caractérisés par l'insouciance du lendemain, aussi, et conduisent à la recherche permanente d'expédients à la petite semaine et au recours systématique à un parasitisme institutionnel. Nombre de ces choix sont dictés par le souci du prestige et l'obsession de paraître. Paraître ce qu'on n'est pas. Paraître autre. Des choix où les préoccupations, ostentatoires et... théâtrales, prennent le pas sur la satisfaction de besoins vitaux.

Préférence est volontiers donnée aux produits importés sur les produits locaux, aux produits manufacturés sur les produits artisanaux. Coûte que coûte et ça coûte souvent plus cher. Vaille que vaille, et ça ne vaut pas toujours mieux. Bien des choix de consommation sont guidés par la tentation d'imiter. De faire comme les autres.

Le technocrate d'Abidjan veut se nourrir, s'habiller, se loger comme son "homologue" de Paris. L'ouvrier ou le chômeur de Bamako, comme son compatriote "patron" ou "politicien". Et le paysan du Ferlo, au moins les jours de fête et de réception, comme son cousin, docker ou planton à Dakar.

Les choix sont faits par chacun d'entre nous divertissent des sommes importantes d'utilisations plus productives, ou socialement plus urgentes et plus utiles. Les importations de blé et de riz ne cessent de croître (elles ont quadruplé en 6 ans dans certains pays comme le Niger).

1/ Abonnement: Afrique et Tiers Monde: 2 500 F CFA; Europe 100 F Français; Amérique du Nord 25 US\$. Abonnement de soutien: le double. Mandats et chèques à l'ordre de ENDA -TM, BP 3370, Dakar, Sénégal)

Moins de blé pour le pain, moins de fortifiants et autres remontants pharmaceutiques, c'est peut-être plus de routes et de rues, d'écoles et de dispensaires. C'est peut-être remédier à la carence des services publics dont tout un chacun se plaint. En consommant moins de blé pour la seule confection d'un pain, le pamblé - où le mil entrait pour 30% dans la fabrication - c'est, selon certains chiffres, près de 1 milliard de F.CFA qui auraient pu être épargnés au Sénégal. Ce qui représente le 1/5 du budget consacré à la Santé! Les consommateurs l'ont boudé...

L'impéritie de l'Etat, que nous invoquons si volontiers pour expliquer la carence des services publics, n'est-elle pas le paravent et l'alibi de notre propre incurie? L'Etat, dont on attend tout, l'Etat-providence, n'est-il pas le bouc émissaire de nos propres incohérences?

Innocent et disculpé, l'Etat? Assurément pas.

Si nous nous régalaons de riz et d'huile de soja (que nous ne produisons pas) plutôt que de mil et d'huile de palme - c'est que les uns (locaux) sont introuvables ou plus chers que les autres (importés). Les choix des gouvernements en matière de politique agricole (modes d'organisation, de commercialisation, de distribution de la production) et de politique alimentaire (fixation des prix à la production et à la consommation, etc...) rétrécissent notablement le choix des consommateurs. Individuelles ou politiques, les décisions allient le culte de l'apparence pour accentuer la pénurie et aggraver la dépendance. Avec les mêmes conséquences. Les appels pressants à l'aide extérieure répondent au parasitisme érigé comme règle à l'intérieur. L'endettement auprès des "grandes puissances" ou du FMI réplique à celui du père de famille auprès du "bana-bana" ou du commerçant dioula du coin.

Alors, s'essouffler à poursuivre, en boitant, et sans jamais les rattraper, des modèles de consommation mal adaptés tant à nos moyens qu'à nos besoins. S'épuiser en vain dans la malconsommation? Se consumer, ou "consommer" différemment?

Entre la résignation silencieuse et l'imitation envieuse, des solutions sont possibles: à la cherté et à la rareté des produits et à l'insuffisance ou à la médiocrité des services.

Lesquelles? Inventer lorsqu'on imite. Imiter lorsqu'on mime, copie et parodie. Inventer?

Inventer, c'est mettre au vent, à l'air, à jour ce qui était dans les terroirs ou enterré, enfoui. Réfugié au fond de quelques mémoires ou de certains terroirs. Mais inconnu des cantons voisins, ou des générations plus jeunes. Par exemple, garder du poisson, de la viande, des légumes des mois durant sans congélateur...ou utiliser des herbes aussi curatives que les drogues chimiques.

Mettre au jour, mais aussi mettre à jour. Car il ne s'agit pas de retourner systématiquement aux produits et aux techniques du passé. Ce n'est ni possible ni même souhaitable, financièrement, économiquement ou socialement. (Piler du mil au dernier étage d'un immeuble?)

Alors il faut innover! Dans quelques villages ou dans quelques laboratoires, certaines techniques sont améliorées, perfectionnées, mises au

point, avec science et ingéniosité. Pour conserver, préparer, transformer des aliments ou des médicaments; pour construire des logements avec des matériaux locaux ou meilleur marché; pour assainir son environnement, etc.

Ces techniques, ces produits sont souvent ignorés. Il faut les faire connaître. C'est ce que se propose Vivre autrement. Assurer l'information des consommateurs. Informer? C'est-à-dire éclairer des choix, permettre de choisir en toute connaissance. De causes...et de conséquences.

Imiter? Les services, publics ou privés, sont inaccessibles? C'est souvent, avouons-le, parce que nous laissons faire. On baisse les bras. D'autres retroussent leurs manches et prennent les choses en main. Artisans, groupes de jeunes ou de femmes, parents d'élèves, trouvent des solutions pour vivre mieux. Créer des emplois. Assurer la garde ou le transport des enfants. Ouvrir une pharmacie, voire une école. Organiser des échanges directs entre consommateurs du quartier et producteurs de la campagne.

Les consommateurs prennent les choses en main, mais aussi les producteurs des services publics. Des fonctionnaires, des agents de développement, certains infirmiers et éducateurs mettent la main à la pâte. Ils tâchent d'utiliser des ressources dont leur formation ne les disposait pas à se servir.

De telles initiatives remédient, modestement, avec les moyens du bord, aux défaillances de l'Etat. Elles assurent, parfois à sa place, les services qu'il a pour rôle de délivrer. Elles se substituent parfois avantageusement à des services privés trop coûteux. Elles contraignent parfois les pouvoirs publics à jouer leur rôle.

Des exemples qui restent souvent méconnus. Pourtant, ce sont des exemples qui peuvent changer la vie. Des exemples à imiter par tous ceux qui ont envie que ça change. Et ça peut changer, non seulement dans le village ou le quartier, mais aussi dans le pays. Ces exemples-là, il faut aussi les faire connaître. C'est encore ce que se propose Vivre autrement. S'en faire l'écho, en être le porte-voix pour qu'ils essaient et fassent école. Etre un carrefour d'idées et d'informations. Et favoriser ainsi l'éducation réciproque et la formation mutuelle et continue de ceux qui veulent faire quelque chose.

Eduquer? Donner les moyens pratiques de réaliser des choix plus lucides. Mais avec un journal? Dans des pays où 10% de la population, parfois moins, sait lire...? Il faut alors aussi que les lecteurs de Vivre autrement soient des relais, des multiplicateurs de l'information qu'ils produisent.

Consommateur accablé et résigné, acteur d'une comédie dont il sort le plus souvent, et à des degrés divers, perdant, chacun peut devenir, en effet, producteur. Un producteur d'idées, d'informations et d'actions nouvelles, qui orientent et infléchissent les choix des pouvoirs publics. Des choix différents - moins coûteux et plus équitables - qui permettent aux populations, dans leur majorité, de vivre mieux, parce qu'elles vivront autrement.

Diana Senghor

THE NETHERLANDS: TOOL

Numerous people in the Third World find themselves in a very difficult economic and social predicament. Appropriate technology (AT) can, in many cases, contribute to solving their problems. By offering knowledge and technology appropriate to the local circumstances, TOOL wishes to help improve the position of the less fortunate in society. TOOL is a Dutch foundation linking eleven (non-profit) groups which together involve about 400 volunteers based in universities, technical colleges and consulting engineering firms.

TOOL receives more than 600 technical enquiries each year. Here is a general outline of the areas in which TOOL can assist with technical advice: chemical technology, irrigation and drainage, low-cost transport, cultivation of crops, fossil energy, plant diseases, biogas, cattle rearing, solar energy, forestry, wind energy, fisheries, water power, food processing, drinking water supply, small-scale industry, waste water treatment, building and construction, agricultural equipment, civil engineering, soil science, mechanical engineering, erosion control, electrical engineering, primary health care.

If you have a technical enquiry, you should give as much information as possible on the circumstances and the possibilities in your particular case and area, so that we can try to provide information suited to the local situation. Please send us a short description of your project and the organisation you work for, as well as your name and address.

Finally, a full report on what has already been attempted, and the results of those experiments is indispensable to the volunteers in formulating advice. Technical enquiries are generally handled free of charge to the requestor, but since TOOL has to meet its administrative expenses from grants and donations, please indicate - with your request - if you have any links with private or official groups in The Netherlands or elsewhere. We may invite these groups to participate in these expenses. Send your enquiry to TOOL, Amsterdam, it will pass it on to the group with the most relevant expertise. The group will contact you in due course.

Publications: in the last 10 years, and drawing upon their own experience in responding to recurring specific requests, TOOL volunteers have compiled a number of practical manuals, construction plans and drawings. Publications have been produced on, for example, the use of bamboo as a building material, on rabbit raising and the preparation of soap. In addition to our own publications, TOOL also sells some 200 books and brochures from AT and development organisations within The Netherlands and abroad. Our full publications list will be sent, free, on request.

"Vraagbaak": TOOL publishes a quarterly magazine "Vraagbaak" in cooperation with the Belgian AT organisation ATOL. Each "Vraagbaak" contains 70 pages of practical agricultural and technical information, written for and by development workers. The English and French editions were launched in 1984. Annual subscriptions are available for 20 Dutch guilders (US\$7), please remember to specify which edition you want.

(TOOL, Mauritskade 61a, 1032 AD Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

ICDA AND ISIS: WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT - FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

Forty-five women from twenty-eight countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Caribbean, North America, Europe and the Pacific agreed as one that a feminist perspective must be integrated into development policies and programmes based upon the experiences and actions of grass-roots women's groups and organizations in the past decade. These concrete experiences have brought forth a new context for planning, implementation and evaluation of development projects.

In the workshop Women in Development - From Theory to Practice, organized by ISIS International, Women's Information and Communication Service and ICDA, International Coalition for Development Action in Rome, Italy, last December, these women from all continents questioned the applicability of the conventional development concepts, policies and projects on behalf of women. Our experiences tell different stories. We identified alternative strategies based on the participation and consultation of women. These strategies include:

- . developing new mechanisms to ensure greater representation and participation of grass-roots women's organizations and groups, especially at the policy-making level;
- . strengthening networking and communication among women to facilitate the sharing of experiences and ideas and guaranteeing women's access to information.

The participants emphasized the importance of practice and decided to prepare a resource kit on concrete women's development actions, or women's groups and other NGOs. This kit is a testimony of women's initiatives towards self-empowerment. Some participants call this a Women's Kit that Grows because new actions will be added as they arise.

As for the Forum to be held in Nairobi, Kenya in July before the United Nations Conference of Women, the participants of the ISIS International-ICDA workshop are organizing a series of activities on the themes of Development, Solidarity and Empowerment. These activities will present the practical experiences of women worldwide in drama, games, audiovisual presentations, non-stop exhibitions and panel discussions.

The participants divided themselves into six work groups on: women's involvement in project identification, planning, monitoring and evaluation; increasing the number and status of women working in development associations; making women in development a central concern of development education and action groups; making development central to the women's movement; improving communication and coordination between women involved in development projects and programmes; and ensuring that training programmes stress the central role of women.

Participants ranging from grass-roots activists to staff of international development agencies and "NGOs", agreed that cooperation for development must be based on solidarity rather than charity, and that it is essential to view all development issues as women's issues.

(Further information: ISIS International, Via Santa Maria dell'Anima 30, 00186 Rome, Italy or ICDA, 22 Rue des Bollandistes, B-1040 Brussels).

After Nuclear War . . .

The Cold and the Dark of Nuclear Winter

We thought we knew

We thought we knew about nuclear war. The bombs. The pulse of light, the blast, heat and radiation. The fallout. The devastation and death.

We knew about Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Major scientific studies had reported what the effects of nuclear war would be on people, cities and countries. From everything we had seen, read and been told, we thought we understood the terrible consequences of nuclear war.

And then, late in 1983, new findings were released which made most previous assumptions about nuclear war—appalling as they were—seem optimistic.

The new threat of Nuclear Winter

The findings suggest that nuclear war, even if it occurred in summer, could trigger a catastrophic nuclear winter, transforming the Earth into a darkened, frozen planet. The very survival of many life forms, including the human species, could be endangered.

All during the nuclear age, we have been totally ignorant of what may be one of the most significant consequences of nuclear war. Although there are still many uncertainties, the new findings change much of what we thought we understood about nuclear war. For example, it is now apparent that because of the deadly effects of the cold and the dark, a nuclear first strike of sufficient magnitude to trigger the nuclear winter could prove suicidal for the aggressor nation, even without retaliation.

How did we come to know?

In 1980, articles were commissioned by the Editor of *Ambio*, the environmental journal of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, for a special issue on the human and ecological consequences of nuclear war. Published in June 1982, the issue included an article by Dr. Paul J. Crutzen and Dr. John W. Birks which presented calculations on the extent to which the immense quantities of smoke and soot from forests and cities set ablaze in a nuclear war could block sunlight from the Earth's surface. No one had examined these effects in detail before.

Earlier, Dr. Carl Sagan and other observers studying Mars learned that heavy dust storms block sunlight and cool the surface of that planet.

The Martian observations and the Crutzen-Birks paper led scientists R.P. Turco, O.B. Toon, T.P. Ackerman, J.B. Pollack, and Carl Sagan, now known as the TTAPS group from their initials, to conduct a study on the atmospheric effects of soot and dust from a variety of nuclear war scenarios, using computer simulations. Under the auspices of the Conference on the World After Nuclear War, scientific meetings involving some 80 scientists from seven countries were held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 22-26, 1983. There was agreement on the basic premises of TTAPS. Biologists then reached a consensus on the effects of nuclear winter on life on Earth. A paper based on the TTAPS study and a companion paper developed by a group of biologists headed by Dr. Paul R. Ehrlich were published in the December 23, 1983 issue of *Science* (pp. 1283-1300).

The atmospheric findings

The study showed that sooty smoke from burning cities, industrial sites and forests, and dust lofted into the atmosphere by nuclear ground bursts might, in certain circumstances, drastically reduce the amount of sunlight reaching the Earth. Computer models were used to examine a wide variety of nuclear war scenarios, ranging from 100 to 10,000 megatons (one megaton has roughly the explosive power of one million tons of TNT). World nuclear arsenals comprise about 15,000 megatons. The findings indicate that a 5,000 megaton nuclear war (assuming 10,000 explosions and 20 percent of the megatonnage used on industrial and urban targets) could result in:

- dark clouds of soot and dust spreading and coalescing to cover the Northern Hemisphere within a week or two and then probably moving down over the Southern Hemisphere;
- all but a small percentage of sunlight blocked by the dark soot and dust;
- average land temperatures in the Northern Hemisphere plummeting to -15°C to -25°C (5°F to -13°F) within a week or two.

The cold and the dark, extended over weeks or months, could cause mass deaths and extinctions. Similar climatic effects could result from a wide variety of nuclear exchanges. The use of a small fraction of world arsenals could trigger a nuclear winter if major urban centers were hit.

The Conference

These findings were first made public at the Conference on the World After Nuclear War held in Washington, D.C. (October 31 - November 1, 1983), attended by about 600 people. Dr. Carl Sagan and Dr. Paul Ehrlich were the principal speakers. A satellite television link between scientists at the USSR Academy of Sciences and scientists at the Conference in Washington provided independent Soviet confirmation of the findings.

An Earth darkened, frozen

The studies indicate that the extended darkness and sub-freezing temperatures could have the following consequences: • photosynthesis drastically reduced and food production in the Northern Hemisphere virtually eliminated; • bodies of fresh water frozen; • coastal areas lashed by extremely violent storms; • toxic gases, produced by fires, poisoning the air; • radiation levels in the mid-north latitudes double those previously indicated.

Survivors in the Northern Hemisphere could be left facing extreme cold, hunger, toxic pollutants, water shortages, and weakness from radiation, their societies collapsed around them. Following upon the already disastrous immediate effects of nuclear war which could kill or seriously injure about half the human population, nuclear winter could threaten the survival of the remainder. Following the dissipation of the cloud cover, the returning sunlight could pose a new threat to life, for nuclear war could severely deplete the ozone in the atmosphere that shields the Earth from damaging ultraviolet radiation.

The extinction of a large fraction of the Earth's animals, plants and microorganisms seems inevitable. The scientists concluded that even the extinction of the human species could not be excluded.

Major studies underway

Traditionally, the validity of scientific results is checked experimentally. This is clearly impossible in the case of the nuclear winter findings, yet there are uncertainties that need to be resolved through further study.

The findings are being subjected to continuing intense and detailed review at a number of research institutions around the world. The U.S. National Academy of Sciences is conducting a major study, and the issue is being addressed internationally by the Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment (SCOPE) of the International Council of Scientific Unions, drawing upon scientists from more than 12 countries, including the U.S., Canada, the USSR, France, the UK, Australia, India, Japan and Hungary.

Hope for positive action

As alarming as the findings are, by their very nature they bring hope that when people and their governments understand the full implications of nuclear war, they will act positively to preserve peace... and thereby life on this planet.

Throughout the nuclear age, arms policy decisions have been made without knowledge of the potential climatic and biological effects of nuclear war. With the release of the scientific findings and taking into full consideration the uncertainties involved, a new global issue of great urgency has emerged, an issue with the potential to bring all peoples and nations together in positive action to reduce the risk of nuclear catastrophe.

You can help

The first step must be the worldwide dissemination of the scientific findings. You can help. You, your organization, your government, can help to ensure that the Earth never experiences the cold and the dark of nuclear winter. Write to the Center on the Consequences of Nuclear War for video, film and printed information materials. The Center, established as a follow-up to the Conference on the World After Nuclear War, actively co-operates with other organizations and the media in informing the public and decision-makers about the long-term climatic and biological effects of nuclear war.

**Center on the Consequences of
Nuclear War**
1350 New York Ave., NW, Third Floor
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 393-1448

SOUTH-SOUTH AND SOUTH-NORTH COOPERATION IN SCIENCE

This will be the topic of a Conference convened by the Third World Academy of Sciences to take place in Trieste (Italy) from 5 to 10 July. Discussions will bear on science as part of culture; modalities of South-South cooperation through academies, including the role of the Third World Academy and that of the academies and research councils in the various regions of the Third World; modalities of North-South cooperation; role of international networks in building up science in the South; role of international organizations and science foundations in that effort. There will also be lectures on frontier research in various fields, working groups on agricultural, biological, medical, physical and mathematical sciences, panel discussions and workshops on science teaching and scientific equipments and instrumentations. The Conference will be opened by the Secretary General of the United Nations and Prof Abdus Salam, chancellor of the Third World Academy of Sciences.

(Further information from M.H.A. Hassan, Executive Secretary, the Third World Academy of Sciences, POB 586, Miramare, Trieste, Italy).

LES CAHIERS DE LA FONDATION LELIO BASSO POUR LES DROITS ET LA LIBERATION DES PEUPLES

La Fondation Lelio Basso a entrepris, dès la fin de l'an dernier, la publication de trois cahiers monographiques annuels. Ces cahiers visent à promouvoir un échange parmi les nombreuses idéologies existantes chez les protagonistes politiques et sociaux des luttes et des mouvements des peuples, dans le cadre des rapports inégaux entre le centre et la périphérie. Le premier matériel publié a été collecté pendant les journées d'étude de décembre 1983 sur les nouveaux sujets de ces luttes.

Cahier 1. Lutttes de libération: nouveaux acteurs et nouveaux objectifs?
Iran et Philippines

Cahier 2. Lutttes de libération: nouveaux acteurs et nouveaux objectifs?
Brésil et Amérique centrale

Cahier 3. Lutttes de libération: nouveaux acteurs et nouveaux objectifs?
Erythrée et Guinée Bissau

Les thèmes prévus pour 1985 sont les suivants: a) culture politique et politique de masse en Amérique Latine des années 30 à nos jours; b) la question sahraouie: un problème historique et politique; c) la situation en Afrique australe après les accords de Nkomati.

Les langues des cahiers sont le français, l'anglais, l'italien, le portugais et l'espagnol. Les textes seront publiés dans la langue originale, traduits dans l'une des autres langues et résumés dans les autres.

L'abonnement annuel coûte 12.000 livres pour l'Italie et 7 dollars US pour toutes les autres destinations, frais de port par avion exclus. Si plus de trois numéros paraissent au cours d'une même année, le prix de chaque numéro supplémentaire sera de 5.000 livres ou 3 dollars.

(Via della Dogana Vecchia 5, 00186 Rome, Italie)

**The Society for International Development (SID)
Announces its**

18th World Conference, Rome 1-4 July 1985

World Development: Risks and Opportunities

- Why?**
- * Pictures of hunger in Ethiopia are fresh in the mind- they are the same as those from the Sahel in 1981, Bangladesh in 1971, Biafra in 1969... Money has rained on jungles and deserts for 30 years; in the end only poverty grows. Why?
 - * Affluence in the North has not guaranteed happiness, peace or stability to anyone. Too much comfort is hiding the fundamental problem: is the "Welfare State" obsolete?
 - * People's organisations are claiming their right to resources and power. It is time not to leave development to government and market place alone. How can the space for non-governmental action be enlarged?

The Conference will address these and many other questions relating to Development, Peace and Security which face a world in trouble, identifying causes, debates and intuitions in the pluralistic and conflicting reality which defines this planet. Participants from diverse backgrounds, grassroot workers to people in power, specialists to activists, will create a forum geared to a committed search for development alternatives.

- Who?**
- Cardinal Arns, Robert Mugabe, Marie-Angélique Savané, Richard Falk, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Sartaj Aziz, Frances Stewart (among others) will talk about such topics as access to land, right to cultural difference, the Sahel, or the current problematic of international cooperation.

Erhard Eppler, Inga Thorsson, Michael Cooley, Rajni Kothari, Filipe Herrera (among others) will contribute on such topics as poverty of affluence, the erosion of employment, reconversion of the arm's industries, or militarization and human rights.

Oriando Fals Borda, Petra Kelly, Marc Nerfin, Don Mills, Eleonora Masini, Ela Bhatt (among others) will speak about such topics as social movements in the North, participatory action research, grassroots experiments in various continents or visions of desirable societies.

- How?**
- In 3 plenary sessions and 50 panels in which presentations and contributions from all participants are welcome; many informal meetings; open sessions; Barbara Ward lecture; a book fair etc.

For a full preliminary programme of the Conference and more information please contact SID International Secretariat - Palazzo Civiltà del Lavoro, 00144 Rome; Telex: 612339 GBG I.

FROM THE PHILIPPINES:

KARL GASPAR IS FREE

I just received IFDA Dossier 45. Thank you very much for continuing to send it to me. The little paper continues to be a source of very interesting information. Thank you especially for including me in the News section. I am pleased to see my poem printed (editor's note: cf. IFDA Dossier 45, p.80). Today I got released from prison after the Supreme Court ordered it. So I'm finally out. Last January 31, I was acquitted, but actual release required another decision. The solidarity network has been very supportive. Thank you once again for everything.

Karl Gaspar, Davao City, 9 February 1985.

FROM A THIRD WORLD RESIDENT IN CANADA:

The IFDA Dossier is worth more than we could ever pay for. It is informative, helpful and appropriate.

I am involved in helping churches and other organizations helping Third World people at the village level. We are all volunteers, so please accept my apology for not being able to make a financial contribution at this time. I am also from a Third World country. IFDA Dossier is great. It is bringing change to our world. Keep it up. Keep it coming, we cannot live without it.

F.E. Lawrence, Toronto.

FROM ZAMBIA:

We are a very happy and contented recipient of your IFDA Dossier. It keeps the Rural Development Studies Bureau's team of Researchers informed and in "attendance" for its academic contribution on a world-scale forum-take, for instance, Girvan's Adjustment via austerity: Is there an alternative? in N°45.

E.C.W. Shula, Lusaka.

FROM PAKISTAN:

I happened to read IFDA Dossier 45. I was previously unaware of the publication. I found some articles particularly interesting, e.g. Notes on participatory technology development by J. Galvez Tan and Adjustment via austerity: Is there an alternative? by N.P. Girvan. I would appreciate very much if you could place me on the regular mailing list of the Dossier, sending me a copy of every issue.

Dr. Nasim Baber, Islamabad.

(Publisher's note: Like 315 other Third World scientists, Dr. Nasim Baber now receives regularly the IFDA Dossier as a result of a collective subscription taken in their name by the International Centre of Theoretical Physics and the Third World Academy of Sciences, both directed by Prof. Abdus Salam, 1979 Nobel Prize winner in physics.)

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

LOCAL SPACE

. Tahar Haddad, Les pensées et autres écrits (Oran: CRIDSSH, 1984) 158pp. Traduit de l'arabe par Nourredine Sraïeb, qui a aussi écrit une très substantielle introduction, "Tahar Haddad, l'homme et l'oeuvre". Pas assez connu hors du Maghreb, Tahar Haddad représente pourtant bien l'effervescence créatrice de la Tunisie. Profondément enraciné dans sa culture arabo-musulmane et artisan du changement intellectuel et l'un des fondateurs, avec M'Hamed Ali, en 1924, du mouvement syndical tunisien, il demeure peut-être d'abord l'un des premiers féministes tunisiens (son ouvrage Notre femme, la législation islamique et la société a été traduit en français et publié par la Maison tunisienne de l'édition en 1978). Mais Sghaier dit bien que Haddad a pu être "l'intellectuel de la tentative de synthèse, parce que la modernisation qu'il tente de concevoir, et qu'il initie dans ses multiples pratiques, n'est pas une modernisation pour les élites, n'est pas une modernisation marginalisatrice, mais une modernisation intégratrice de l'ensemble de la société tunisienne, une modernisation fondée sur l'émancipation du plus grand nombre, des travailleurs et des femmes en particulier". (87 rue Larbi Ben M'hidi, Oran, Algérie).

. Mostefa Boutefnouchet, La culture en Algérie, Mythes et réalités (Al Djazair: SNED, 1982) 170pp.

. Wadi Bouzar, La culture en question (Al Djazair: ENAL, 1984) 188pp.

. Pekka Kuusi, This World of Man (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985) 283pp. The survival of the human species depends upon an accurate understanding of the problems facing us. Such an understanding cannot be based upon narrow projections of present trends. In this volume, the Finnish statesman and scientist, Pekka Kuusi, initiates a new form of analysis based instead upon the process of cultural evolution and the basic factors that have directed and constrained the historical development of mankind. The study moves forward from the early gathering and hunting cultures, through agrarian culture, and into the modern scientific-technological culture. The message is that man must now seize the opportunity to direct cultural evolution in order to secure the future of the species. The synthesis of biological and humanistic sciences, verified in the historical analysis, is applied to current questions concerning development, resulting in recommendations for a policy of survival.

. Geoffrey Vickers, Human systems are different (Hilversum: Harper & Row, 1983) 188pp. This book, the author's last, rests on the belief that human systems have become very difficult for human beings to maintain, and explores the minimal changes necessary to achieve a stable political and social order. The threats which the world faces today, are, the

author argues, all threats to the maintenance of systemic relations; the minimal changes necessary to avoid crisis in the natural and social environment, must derive from a greater understanding of the systemic nature of human history and the cultural roots of human standards. The conditions for survival are cultural rather than technological; they require from societies, groups and individuals the ability to reset their appreciative systems, their standards of what to expect, what to attempt, and what to put up with, to an extent which people have not previously achieved or needed.

. Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak, Green Politics - the global promise (New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1984) 244pp. A new movement, the Greens, in their call for a new world order, are challenging the basic assumptions of both the left and the right. Calling themselves an antiparty party, the Greens have introduced a program based on ecological wisdom, social responsibility, grassroots democracy, sexual equality and non-violence at all levels. Green politics calls for a sound, sustainable economic system that is decentralized, equitable and compromised of flexible institutions, one in which people have significant control over their lives. Green Politics, gives an account of the rise of the Green parties in Europe (particularly the most powerful one in West Germany) and a comprehensive critique of the accomplishments of the movement to date. Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak also offer concrete proposals and structures for a U.S. Green movement, and present Green responses to various key political issues being debated here today. Cautioning against making the errors they identified in their study of the European Greens, the authors discuss the problems that a Green movement would face here. Spretnak and Capra agree with the ideas and values of the Greens, but are critical of many of their specific proposals, approaches and internal dynamics.

. Ingmar Grandstedt, L'impasse industrielle (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980) 249pp. Cette crise n'est pas comme les autres. Et son issue non plus. Pour l'entrevoir, il faut aller au-delà des querelles politiques sclérosées et des certitudes faciles sur la facture pétrolière, le "redéploiement industriel" et les transnationales. L'auteur soutient ici que nous sommes piégés par nos outils de production, qu'aucune économie n'est viable avec les outils démesurés que l'ère industrielle a répandus. Il montre comment le recours à des technologies de puissance pour produire jusqu'aux choses les plus simples de la vie finit par créer à travers régions et nations des interdépendances tellement compliquées et rigides que l'ensemble devient fragile et s'effondre. C'est pourquoi la crise actuelle exige une option radicale: faire face à un autre mode de production, fondé sur l'autonomie des personnes, inventer de nouveaux outils, petits et souples, disséminés dans les quartiers, les communes et chez les gens, rendre les économies moins compliquées et viables, découvrir une liberté nouvelle, réelle et quotidienne.

. Jon Wynne-Tyson, The Civilised Alternative, A Pattern for Protest (London: Centaur Press Ltd, 1972) 224pp. If we do not learn how to deflect the course of our violent, acquisitive society, we shall destroy not only our surroundings but ourselves. Merely to "drop out" is a negative gesture. We must be prepared to contribute towards a better pattern - a civilised alternative (Fontwell, Sussex and 11-14 Stanhope, Mews West, London, SW 7, England).

. Mario Padrón Castillo, Cooperación al desarrollo y movimiento popular: las asociaciones privadas de desarrollo (Lima: DESCO, 1982) 257pp. Las Asociaciones Privadas de Desarrollo, conocidas en el mundo de habla hispana como Centros de Promoción, existen desde hace tres décadas llevando a cabo proyectos de desarrollo en países del Tercer Mundo. Su número e importancia varían de acuerdo a las características de cada contexto nacional en el que actúan, pero es innegable su creciente presencia en los últimos años, así como un papel activo en la búsqueda de estrategias de desarrollo que privilegian los intereses de los sectores populares. En este estudio se analizan sus características y forma de actuación (Av. Salaverry 1945, Lima, Peru).

. Tony Gibson, People power, Community and work groups in action (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1979), paperback, 288pp, fl.25. Even in-experienced people can be powerful when they act together. People Power is about such groups who, dissatisfied with the way bureaucrats and managers are running their lives, have done something about it. It is also a guide for individuals and groups who may be planning to take action in a local space. It outlines the strategies of groups who have made their mark in housing, education and neighbourhood improvement. The most successful of these groups set out not to destroy existing structure, but to combine the knowledge of their members, with the skills of the professionals.

. Rebeka Njau and Gideon Mulaki, Kenya women heroes and their mystical power (Nairobi: Risk Publications, 1984) 151pp.

. David Sweetman, Women Leaders in African History (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1984) 100pp.

. Achola Pala, Thelma Awori and Abigail Krystal (eds), The Participation of Women in Kenya Society (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1983) 235pp.

. Anne Hope and Sally Timmel, Training for Transformation, A handbook for community workers (Mambo Press, POB 779, Gweru, Zimbabwe).

. CEAAL, Bibliografía: Investigación Participativa (Consejo de Educación de Adultos de América Latina, octubre 1984) 20pp. (Casilla 6257, Correo 22, Santiago, Chile).

. SID, Quelle animation rurale pour les années 80? - Le rôle des ONG (Rome: Société pour le développement, 1984) 123pp (Palazzo della Civiltà del Lavoro, 00144 Rome, Italie).

. Anna Christensen, Wage Labour as Social Order and Ideology, and Ludvig Rasmussen, The Forties Generation, two essays from the Futures Study "Shifts in Values within Swedish Society" (The Secretariat for Future Studies, POB 6710, 113 85 Stockholm, Sweden).

. P. Alston and K. Tomasevski (eds), The right to Food (Utrecht: SIM, December 1984) 228pp. The right to food brings human rights perspectives to issues of agricultural production, land tenure, food aid and rural development. The usual focus on civil and political rights is shifted towards economic, social and cultural rights, in particular on the right to food as a fundamental right. The analyses in the book concentrate on

the necessity of discerning the social cost of economic or monetary regulations, especially in asserting that the human toll of man-made hunger is a violation of fundamental human rights. The 10th anniversary of the Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition is an occasion to draw attention to its unfulfilled promises. The book offers suggestions for moving from rhetoric to specifying the obligations emanating from the human right to food for the relevant actors, primarily states. To bring food issues into the human rights framework means to assert the accountability of decision-makers for the effects of their policies on human rights. The book develops the normative framework of the human right to food, from its origins and contents, to state responsibility and to supervision and monitoring (Nieuwegein 94, 3512 LX Utrecht, Netherlands).

. ESCAP/UNIDO, Improvement of Slums and Squatter Settlements (Bangkok, 1984) 68pp. This publication contains an analysis of slum and squatter upgrading programmes in Asia, with particular emphasis on infrastructure development components, based on case studies of seven cities, Bangkok, Bombay, Bandung, Dhaka, Karachi, Colombo and Port Moresby (Rajadamnern Avenue, Bangkok 10200, Thailand).

. Sedley Sweeney, The Challenge of Smallholding (Oxford University Press, January 1985) 222pp. What is it really like to run a smallholding in the modern agricultural world? Sedley Sweeney draws on his own 30-year personal experience as a farmer to dispel the romantic mist surrounding the subject and put the mud back on your wellingtons. After a controversial introduction, in which he discusses the economic, social and ecological implications of current agricultural practices, Sedley Sweeney deals with some of the basic questions: Why run a smallholding? How do you start? And how do you keep going? An examination of the different types of land and enterprise is followed by chapters on the care of the soil; crops; livestock; how to organize a dairy; vegetables, fruit and flowers; and machinery. The last chapter confronts the inevitable financial problems and gives advice on how to make ends meet.

. IUED, Bien gérer les médicaments (Genève: Institut universitaire d'études du développement) 610pp. Cette publication est une adaptation et une traduction de Managing Drug Supply, qui a été publié par Management Sciences for Health (Boston) avec la collaboration de l'OMS, au terme de plus de dix ans d'expériences et d'observations dans le monde entier. Une version espagnole est aussi disponible: El Suministro de Medicamentos (24, rue Rothschild, 1211 Genève 21, Suisse).

. William U. Chandler, Energy Productivity: Key to Environmental Protection and Economic Progress, (Worldwatch Institute, 1776 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036, USA) 62pp.

. J.G. Lambooy (ed), New Spatial Dynamics and Economic Crisis, including "The Regional Ecology of Technological Change", pp.63-76 (Institute of Economic Geography, University of Amsterdam, Jodenbreestraat 23, Kamer 3335, 1011 NH Amsterdam, Netherlands 1984).

. Nicolas Jéquier et Gérard Blanc, Répertoire des centres de technologie appropriée (Paris: OCDE, 1984) 395pp. Deuxième volume du Répertoire des Centres de Technologie Appropriée, dont le premier est paru en 1979. On y trouvera la description d'une liste supplémentaire de 316 or-

ganismes, situés dans 90 pays différents, qui n'avaient pas été inclus dans le premier volume ou qui n'existaient pas encore au moment de sa publication. Ces deux volumes, dont le premier répertoriait 277 organismes, couvrent une proportion importante des organismes de TA qui opèrent actuellement à travers le monde.

NATIONAL SPACE

. Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux, Rebuilding America (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984) 319pp. Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux, co-directors of the National Center for Economic Alternatives, have conceived an original and convincing approach to solving the major basic problems of the American economy. Rebuilding America presents a dual vision of the principles on which a new political consensus could be grounded: strategic planning for national economic stability, combined with an emphasis on radical decentralization and local development. In the tradition of Galbraith's The Affluent Society, this book looks at the hidden costs of private control and suggests new ways of planning publicly and democratically. Echoing Schumacher's Small is Beautiful, it asks how communities and individuals can maintain control over their own economic destinies and proposes specific solutions for returning power to them. They offer specific plans for evolving democratic forms of planning and explore the relationship between personal and political change.

. Werner Olle, The development of employment in multinational enterprises in the Federal Republic of Germany - Results of a new survey (1974-1982), (Geneva: ILO, 1985) 68pp.

. GERMES, Les politiques de l'environnement face à la crise (Paris, 1984) 353pp. Conçues en période de croissance, les politiques de l'environnement sont aujourd'hui confrontées aux contraintes de la crise... L'Etat et les autres acteurs doivent renouveler leurs projets, leurs analyses, leurs moyens. L'économie peut sans doute moins qu'avant pour l'environnement: et si l'environnement pouvait plus pour l'économie et pour la société? N'est-il pas synonyme d'un autre développement, mieux adapté?

La crise du mouvement écologiste et la crise de l'Etat-providence remettent en question les approches et les modes de gestion de l'environnement qui furent ceux des deux décennies passées. La décentralisation et une démocratisation des décisions permettront-elles l'émergence d'une nouvelle dynamique et de solutions alternatives? Plus de cinq cents acteurs de tous horizons (chercheurs, militants associatifs et syndicaux, agents de l'Etat et des collectivités locales, élus, entreprises) ont tenté de répondre à ces questions, à l'occasion du colloque "Les politiques de l'Environnement face à la crise". Ce cahier, premier tome des actes du colloque, présente une synthèse de leurs travaux (23, rue Froidevaux, 75014 Paris, France).

. Peter Peek, Agrarian reform and poverty alleviation: The recent experience in Nicaragua (Geneva: ILO, October 1984) 37pp.

. Juan Carlos Bossio, "El Cobre, La Reestructuración Industrial y las Nuevas Tecnologías: El Caso Peruano, Desarrollo y Cooperación (N°1, 1985), pp.11-14 (Postfach 300 380, 5300 Bonn, RFA).

. EFAI, Pérou: "Disparitions" et assassinats politiques, 60pp. (Editions francophones d'Amnesty International, 18 rue Théodore-Deck, 75015 Paris, France).

. Dessalegn Rahmato, Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1984) 105pp. Ethiopia's agrarian reform can be considered as a thorough and radical one. It accomplished its purpose, namely the elimination of landlordism, quite speedily - a remarkable achievement considering that at the time the reform was promulgated the new government had not yet firmly established its presence in the countryside. Its impact on the fabric of rural society is far more profound than any of the reforms carried out since the overthrow of absolute monarchy. The essay considers the process of land distribution and the land system that has evolved as a result. It includes a brief look at the agrarian structure under the old regime; a summary of the content of the reform legislation; a discussion of the process of land distribution and its outcome, and the evolution of peasant associations. (POB 2126, 750 02 Uppsala, Sweden).

. Medea Benjamin, Joseph Collins and Michael Scott, No Free Lunch - Food & Revolution in Cuba Today (San Francisco: Food First/Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1984) 250pp. This investigation of food, hunger and everyday life in Cuba is the first comprehensive account available to Western readers since the revolution in 1959. Based on scholarly research, firsthand observations and hundreds of interviews, No Free Lunch goes beyond polemics to reveal the real lessons - both successes and shortcomings - to be gained from Cuba's efforts to eliminate hunger and establish an equitable food system. (1885 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, USA).

. K. Krishna Moorthy, Engineering Change - India's Iron & Steel (Madras: Technology Books) 400pp. (472, 28th Cross Street, Indiranagar, Madras 600 020, India).

. Yahia Benslimane, Nous, Marocains - Permanences et espérances d'un pays en développement (Paris: Publisud) 264pp. (15 rue des Cinq Diamants, 75013 Paris, France).

THIRD WORLD SPACE

. Luis Echeverría, Le sud comme point cardinal (Paris: Publisud, 1984) 148pp. Dans ce livre-entretien, un homme se livre en retraçant un itinéraire qui l'a mené à la Présidence de la République du Mexique. Quelques années ont passé depuis qu'Echeverría a quitté la magistrature suprême. Il a eu le temps de réfléchir à son action passée et, à un autre poste d'observation, de continuer à se préoccuper de la marche du monde. Ce livre est, pour lui, l'occasion de faire un bilan sans concession, n'éludant pas les questions gênantes. Mais il est également l'occasion de formuler quelques propositions pour l'avenir aussi bien pour ce qui concerne son pays que pour la "stratégie tiers-mondiste" qu'il a toujours défendue et, enfin, pour les questions brûlantes qui se posent dans un monde en crise. Ces propositions ne manquent pas, parfois, d'originalité. Sur la question du désarmement par exemple, on trouvera des propositions qui susciteront, sans nul doute, le débat. Grâce à la confiance qui s'est instaurée entre l'interviewé et son interviewer, cet

échange apportera un supplément d'information à tous ceux que le combat des hommes et des femmes du Sud pour le développement de leurs pays et pour des rapports plus justes et plus équilibrés entre les nations, ne laissent pas indifférents. Luis Echeverría est membre du Conseil de la FIPAD.

. Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, "Deuda Externa y Alternativas de Desarrollo en América Latina", pp.111-130 y Alejandro Foxley, "Formas de la Política Después del Autoritarismo", pp.203-210, Estudios CIEPLAN N°15 (Casilla 16496, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile).

. Edem Kodjo, ...Et demain l'Afrique (Paris: Editions Stock, 1985) 366pp. 38 millions d'Africains sont menacés de famine. Pourtant il existe en Afrique 500 millions d'hectares de terres arables susceptibles d'être mises en valeur. Ce continent recèle des ressources fabuleuses: trésors du sous-sol, ressources en gaz naturel, mais il abrite en même temps le plus grand nombre de pays les moins avancés. L'Afrique est pleine de paradoxes: faut-il désespérer de son sort? Secrétaire général de l'O.U.A. (1978-1983), l'auteur explique avec clarté les raisons qu'il y a de croire au destin de l'Afrique. Il propose un réaménagement hardi de l'espace politique d'un continent morcelé, une stratégie de développement où l'éducation, la recherche scientifique, s'harmoniseraient avec l'identité des peuples du continent. Enfin, une prise de conscience par les Africains de leur place et de leur rôle dans le monde. Un long chemin reste à faire mais une nouvelle approche de l'unité africaine s'impose. La volonté politique précède la réalisation des grandes oeuvres économiques et sociales.

. Timothy M. Shaw and Olajide Aluko (eds), The Political Economy of African Foreign Policy (Aldershot: Gower Publishing Co.,Ltd., 1984) 397pp. The perpetuation of dependence and under-development is causing African leaders to rethink their development strategies and scholars to redesign their analytical perspectives. This collection adopts a novel political economy approach to the comparative study of African foreign and development policy. It seeks to explain and identify alternative strategies as Africa moves towards a difficult mid-term future. The contributors - all experts on their respective countries - compare the historical inheritance, national structures and external linkages of 13 African states. This comprehensive set of comparative studies, incorporating a critical mode of analysis will benefit students and scholars of Africa, decision-makers, politicians and bureaucrats, international organisations and those concerned with the issues of development, dependence, comparative analysis and political economy.

. Susantha Goonatilake, Aborted Discovery, Science and Creativity in the Third World (London: Zed Press). In this thought-provoking formulation of the social and historical nature of science, the author shows how modern Western science, despite its original borrowings from Arab and other non-Western societies, overwhelmed the rich intellectual and scientific traditions of various non-European civilisations and has today established an unparalleled hegemony. Dr. Goonatilake - himself an engineer turned political economist - argues that this historical process of displacement was closely related to the growth of European imperialism and colonialism. Today Western science has pre-empted any scientific formulations outside its own parameters, resulting in an imitative rather than creative science in the Third World. The consequences of

these countries having to rely on a scientific tradition alien to their history and intellectual initiatives, are incalculable, and a clear factor in the present-day syndrome of underdevelopment. Dr. Goonatillake argues that these societies must reclaim the rational scientific elements of their own independent intellectual heritages, and break with the existing imitative patterns of research and development.

. Hazel Johnson and Henry Bernstein (eds), Third World Lives of Struggle (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1982) For the Third World Studies course at the Open University. 271pp.

. M.R. Bhagavan, Technological Transformation of Developing Countries, (Stockholm: SAREC, 1984) 71pp. (105 25 Stockholm, Sweden).

GLOBAL SPACE

. Max Liniger-Goumaz, ONU et dictatures (Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 1984) 285pp. La Charte des Nations Unies et la Déclaration universelle des Droits de l'Homme ont suscité initialement de grand espoirs en vue de l'élimination des injustices sociales, politiques et économiques, et de la préservation de la paix. Aujourd'hui, un découragement général s'est installé. L'opposition entre grandes puissances a entraîné une quasi paralysie de l'ONU. A l'échelle planétaire, de nouveaux rapports féodaux ont surgi qui permettent à des dictatures diverses d'écraser les populations sous l'aile protectrice des puissances de l'Ouest et de l'Est. Les uns et les autres ne parlent droits de l'homme que du bout des lèvres, quand cela les arrange. De nombreux exemples concrets sont donnés dans ces pages. Les droits de l'homme sont l'essence même du principe démocratique. Pour que croulent les potentats, il importe que les pays démocratiques redonnent un sens au principe d'équité et le traduisent en actes. Seul le respect par les Etats de leur signature sous les Chartes, Déclaration universelle, Pactes peut conduire à un Nouvel Ordre Moral International. La crise idéologique qui affecte la planète ne cessera que lorsque l'ONU sera dotée des instruments permettant d'inciter les Etats à honorer leurs engagements. Cela ne sera possible que si l'Organisation internationale est dirigée par des hommes courageux, au service de l'humanité et non des gouvernements ou des grands intérêts économiques.

. Charles Humana (ed), Guide mondial des droits de l'homme (Paris: Editions Buchet/Castel, 1984) 335pp. The Sunday Times écrit: Voici un guide qui nous donne pour la première fois, de façon systématique et pays par pays, la classification des moyens utilisés par chaque gouvernement pour répondre aux aspirations des citoyens. Mme Thatcher, quand elle mène campagne contre les Russes, ferait bien d'épingler sur son mur les cartes de ce guide, cela pour les coeurs et esprits de l'humanité (18 rue de Condé, 75006 Paris, France).

. D.C. Jayasuriya, A. Griffiths and R. Rigoni, Judgement Reserved - Breast-Feeding, Bottle-Feeding and the International Code (Nedimala: Sri devi Printing Works, Nov 1984) 114pp. (27, Pepiliyana Road, Nedimala, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka).

. Frères des Hommes, Une seule terre, un seul désert?; Au commencement est la forêt; Le végétal condamné; La Terre en deuil du bois; Les

hommes oubliés; Le Sud: Un foisonnement d'initiatives; Face au système; L'aide internationale, (Frères des Hommes, 9 rue de Savoie, 75006 Paris, France).

. FAO, Sharing Experience for Progress (Rome: FAO, 1984) 31pp.

. Michael Moffitt, The World's Money - International Banking from Bretton Woods to the Brink of Insolvency (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1983) 284pp. The Bretton Woods Conference laid the foundation for the postwar economic order. This is the story of the gradual disintegration of that order. Michael Moffitt presents an account of international finance that reveals how the global banking system - the very backbone of the world economy, is now on the verge of collapse. Based on extensive interviews with the most powerful bankers, political and economic leaders, and foreign currency traders, The World's Money shows how the giant global banks have fed inflation, speculated against currencies, including the US dollar, and made huge loans to shaky governments - like those in Poland, Mexico and Brazil - that now threaten to default. Stricken with competitive anarchy and unprecedented indebtedness, the banks have now brought the world to the brink of a financial catastrophe unlike any it has seen since the Great Depression.

. Nagasada Miyawaki (ed.), Problems of Advanced Economies (Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1984) 319pp. Against critical global situations, the 3rd Symposium on this topic, whose papers constitute the substance of this book, did not want only to apply "medical treatment" to the traumatic and most violently shaken political, economic and social world, but also to develop a basic research agenda based on the viewpoint of cultural frictions between the Occidental and the Oriental cultures by going deep into the real substance of religion, creed, ethics, moral and culture, all of which constitute the very root of the cultural friction, and thus to grasp a clue to the building of a "new order for international societies" and to the re-emergence of "societies full of vitality".

. Peter Wallensteen, Johan Galtung & Carlos Portales (eds), with papers by Johan Galtung and Carlos Portales, Global Militarization (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984) 260pp. Repression, armed conflicts, intrastate wars, the international arms trade, military regimes, and increasing worldwide military expenditures are all indications of one particularly significant development in world politics: global militarization. In this volume, an international group of scholars describe, explain, and evaluate the roots of this development and suggest ways out of the increasing spiral of militarization. The authors first explore the historical, sociological, organizational, and political origins of the many-faceted phenomenon of global militarization, placing particular emphasis on the role of the state. Then, in a series of case studies, they investigate the militarization of internal politics in Third World countries and analyze, in contrast, theoretically plausible and empirically attempted alternatives to an otherwise gloomy future. In an evocative chapter Johan Galtung outlines possible trends for the present decade.

. Peter Wallensteen, Universalism vs. Particularism: On the Limits of Major Power Order, 15pp. (University of Uppsala, Dept of Peace and Conflict Research, Box 278, 751 05 Uppsala, Sweden).

. Bhupendra Jasani (ed), Space Weapons - The Arms Control Dilemma (Stockholm: SIPRI, 1984) 255pp. Billions of dollars are to be devoted to research on ways to render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete". Popular candidates for the task are a space-based laser or one based on land using space mirrors. The obvious question is, of course, will they work adequately? But there are other important issues. What is the link between nuclear war-fighting doctrines and these and other advances in space technologies? Renewed interest in defensive systems could give a boost to the development of weapons for destroying satellites in orbit. Would an enthusiastic programme in defensive space weaponry merely buy an offensive capability at the expense of existing treaties? Does the dream of perfect defence make the gamble worthwhile? These and other problems are all part of the arms control dilemma taken up by a panel of international experts at a SIPRI symposium in September 1983. Their papers, which are published in this book, tackle mainly the problems posed by developments in ballistic missile defence (BMD) and anti-satellite (ASAT) systems. The book includes an overview by Bhupendra Jasani, which takes into account the most recent developments (Bergshamra, 171 73 Solna, Stockholm, Sweden).

. Young Seek Choue, World Peace through Pax United Nations (Seoul: Kyung Hee University Press, August 1984) 137pp.

. Stanley Foundation, Strategy for Peace 1984, US Foreign Policy Conference Report, 64pp., including "The United States and UNESCO", pp.47-58 (420, East Third Street, Muscatine, Iowa 52761, USA).

. UNIDIR, Establishment of an International Disarmament Fund for Development (Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, November 1984).

PERIODICALS

. The second issue of Women in Action, the supplement to the Isis International Women's Journal (No 2, December 1984), brings news and information from the women's movement, particularly from the Third World. It is shown how women are mobilizing and organizing (in Philip-pines), forming new groups (in Africa), establishing a new women and health network (in Latin America), setting up a feminist publishing house (in India) etc. A large section on women's Decade is included (Via Santa Maria dell'Anima 30, 00186 Rome, Italy; or Casilla 2067, Correo Central, Santiago, Chile).

. In "Tribal is beautiful: cultural awakening in Chotanagapur" by Michael v.d. Bogaert, s.j., the author discusses tribal unrest in the Indian state of Bihar in the broader perspective of the awakening of indigenous people in the world. To find out the positive message that tribal people are trying to convey to modern society, one has to look beyond the media-reported negative aspects of tribal protests. Social change (Vol.14, No2, June 1984). (Sangha Rachana, 53 Lodi Estate, New Delhi 110003, India).

. A wide range of articles concerned with citizens' rights in Utusan Konsumer: on dangerous ingredients in the instant noodles and hazardous drugs for pregnant women, on beach erosion, on how the process of moder-

nization is destroying the livelihood and way of life of minority groups in many Third World countries, on hazards the workers who spray pesticides face, and many others (Consumers' Association of Penang, 87 Cantonment Road, Penang, Malaysia).

. In Prisma: The Indonesian indicator (N°30/83) D. Utomo recalls "perhaps the most successful protest movement of the nineteenth century" - the strike by some 10 000 sugar factory and plantation workers over wages and conditions of work. That strike took place in Yogyakarta in 1882 and lasted for about three months. The following issue of Prisma (31/1984) is devoted to cultural dimensions of development process (LP 3 ES, POB 493 JKT, Slipa, Jakarta-Barat, Indonesia).

. "Our fight is to eliminate apartheid" declares Phirashaw Camay, General Secretary, Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), while describing recent developments in the struggle of black labour - in an interview granted to Free Labour world (N°1, 1985). (ICFTU, rue Montagne aux Herbes Potagères 37, 1000 Brussels, Belgium).

. The latest issue of Asian Action (N°49, Jan-Feb 1985), the Newsletter of the Asian Cultural Forum on Development, is devoted to problems of Asian youth (POB 2930, Bangkok, Thailand).

. An interview with Thomas Hammarberg of Amnesty International about the human rights abuse in the world in Refugees (N°14, 1985). (UNHCR, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland, Subscription is free).

. The three principles for socially approved civil servants' performance: (a) a clear distinction between political and administrative functions, (b) personal accountability of officials and constructive accountability of the political executive and (c) effective anti-corruption - are discussed by J. Lall in his article "Service accountability - how?" in Mainstream (Vol.XXIII, N°22, 1985). (F-24 Bhagat Singh Market, New Delhi-1, India).

. Eight years ago in Jobra village, Bangladesh, a bank was set up to help realise the creative assets of the poor. The idea proved right and since then over 40 000 people, mostly landless and many of them women, have directly benefited from loans from the Grameen (Green) Bank. The whole story is described by J. Madeley in "Giving credit where it's due". Also: "People's participation in popular radio: Peru and Bolivia". Both in Ideas and Action, N°6, 1984 (Freedom from Hunger Campaign/Action for Development, FAO, 00100 Rome, Italy).

. Cooperazione (A selection from issues 42/43 of the journal of the Italian Department of Development Cooperation): "Technology for the South New Timing and Implementation" by Mario Raffaelli (CP 30101, 00100 Rome 47, Italy).

. Two subsequent special issues of Changing Villages - Rural News and Views (Vol.6, N°s 5, 6, Sept/Oct, Nov/Dec 1984) are devoted to Biomass energy assessment and improved cookstoves (chulhas), respectively. Based on Indian experience, very practical, down-to-earth, deeply researched, this may interest many others (Consortium on Rural Technology (CORT), A-89, Madhuvan, New Delhi-110092, India).

. Boletín de medio ambiente y urbanización (Nº7-8, Septiembre 1984): "Aspectos del crecimiento de Montevideo y sus repercusiones ambientales" por M. Montanez Rodrigues, D. Panario y M.C. Queijo y "Estrategias sociales en torno a la tierra y transformación ambiental de Santiago" por G. Geisse y F. Sabatini.

. Share International, a spiritual monthly brings in its March issue (Vol.4, Nº3) several articles on economy-related questions - on Africa crisis, on necessity to reorganize aid strategies and a critical essay by M. Manley on the IMF - based on the experience of Caribbean countries (POB 41877, 1009 DB Amsterdam, Holland).

. In Development and Peace (Vol.5, Nº2, 1984) L. Lang writes about "East-South Economic Interaction in Third World Markets". The article, based mostly on UN statistics, provides readers with analyses of the trade relations in the past decade between CMEA grouping and countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia (1531 Budapest, POB 36, Hungary).

. In Afkar Inquiry (vol.2, Nº2, 1985): "Islam and the challenge of ecology", where Parvez Manzoor examines the religious attitude of the environment and argues that Islamic ethics has a positive role in the search for viable environmental solutions; "Women on the march" by Iqbal Asaria on the women's world banking (55 Banner St. London EC1Y 8PX, UK).

. Computers in Asia, Hong-Kong industrialization and science planning in China are discussed, among other topics, in the quarterly Asian Exchange (Vol.III, Nºs 2, 3, 1984/85). (ARENA, A4, 2/F, G-Block, Hung Hom Bay Centre, 104-108 Baker Street, Nung Hom, Kowloon, Hong Kong).

. Future (11-12/1984), while focusing - as the Asian UNICEF publication - on development perspectives of children, contains also such articles as "Social sciences, tools of transformation" by Soedjatmoko; "Democracy, development, communication" by C. Roberge; "Women, work and Wages" by N. Bhatt and presentation by Gro Harlem Brundtland of the goals set for the newly established World Commission on Environment and Development. A supplement on elementary education in India is included (UNICEF House, 73 Lodi Estate, New Delhi 110003, India).

. A chronology of Indira Ghandi's life and many-sided assessment of her role and legacy, in Seminar (Nº304, December 1984). In the following issue (Nº305, January 1985): "Moving out of 1984" by Rajni Kothari and Shiv Vivanathan, and "Growing insurgency" by Giri Deshinghar (Malhotra Building, Janpath, New Delhi-1, India).

. The Arab Alternative Future Dossier (Nº14, 1984): "Systèmes de communication et démocratie" par l'équipe algérienne de recherche sur la démocratie, "On the Future of the Islamic Revival Movement" by Mohammed Ahmed Khalafalla (Third World Forum, POB 43, Orman, Cairo, Egypt).

. Quehacer (Nº33, febrero 1985): "UNESCO: Historia secreta del retiro Norteamericano" por Carlos Ortega (Av.Salaverry 1945, Lima 14, Perú).

. In Development and Cooperation (Nº1, Jan/Feb.1985): "Lomé III: More of the Same" by Yojana Sharma; "Third World Multinationals: New Actors in the International Economy" by Khushi M. Khan (German Foundation for International Development (DSE), Postfach 300 380, 5300 Bonn 3, FRG).

LOCAL SPACE

. Michael M. Cernea, Putting People First - The Position of Sociological Knowledge in Planned Rural Development (The World Bank, 1818 H Street N.W., Washington DC 20433, USA), 16pp.

. Stephen Chan, Employment Strategies for Young Women - Towards a Focus of Effort (Department of Political & Administrative Studies, University of Zambia, Lusaka) 10pp.

. P.N. Rastogi, Development of the Rural Poor - The Missing Factor (Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, India) 27pp.

. Hector D. Soliman, Career Paths in Alternative Law - Towards a More Just and Humane Society (Center for People's Law, 433 Boni Serrano St., Murphy, Quezon City, Philippines), 7pp.

. Irene Tinker & Monique Cohen, Street Foods as Income and Food for the Poor (Equity Policy Center, 2001 S Street N.W., Suite 420, Washington DC 20009, USA), 12pp.

NATIONAL SPACE

. Eugénie Rokhaya Aw, Quinze jours dans les maquis érythréens (CETA, Boîte postale 2268, Lomé, Togo), 4pp.

. Gabriella Paolucci, An Analysis of Present Day Discussion in Italy about the Crisis of the Classical Paradigms of Social Transformation (Institute of Social Studies, University of Florence, Italy), 8pp.

THIRD WORLD SPACE

. Mustafa Tahan, How to Cure the Famine in Africa (IIFSO, PO Box 8631, Salmiya, Kuwait), 12pp.

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POPE JOHN PAUL II:

THE POOR SOUTH WILL JUDGE THE RICH NORTH

Addressing a gathering of some 150,000 assembled in Edmonton during his visit to Canada last September, Pope John Paul II said that "development is the new name for peace".

He focused his sermon on Christ's words in the Gospel of Saint Matthew: "As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me".

He said that Christ was speaking of what today is known as the North-South confrontation: "The South becoming always poorer and the North becoming always richer". Just as Christ will judge men, he said "the poor South will judge the rich North".

The South "will judge those people who take these goods away from them, amassing to themselves the imperialistic monopoly of economic and political supremacy at the expense of others".

The Pope said that the North-South contrast represented a greater threat to peace than the nuclear standoff between the superpowers. He called it "the whole threat of injustice, the threat coming from the rigid structures of those systems ... which do not open themselves so as to permit themselves to go out toward man".

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