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EDITORIAL

- . Chernobyl (Marc Nerfin) 2

PERSONAL SPACE

- . 12 years after, Ivan Illich revisits Medical Nemesis 3

LOCAL SPACE

- . Role of Asian people's organizations, II (N.Said Khan, K.Bhasin) 9

ESPACIO NACIONAL

- . Hacia otro Venezuela? (Luis Raul Matos Azocar) 21

ESPACE REGIONAL/REGIONAL SPACE

- . Afrique: démocratie, développement, unité 35
- . Africa : democracy, development, unity 40
- . Notes de lecture (Ahmed Ben Salah) 46

GLOBAL SPACE

- . The Women's Forum '85 in Nairobi (Nita Barrow) 51
- . The case for a world public sector (Jan Pronk) 55

NEWS FROM THE THIRD SYSTEM

- . For an International Decade for Peace, an Australian proposal 67
- . IOCU Pesticide Handbook documents need for strong FAO code 69
- . Colombia: CRESET 70
- . Peru: Mujer y sociedad 71
- . Palestine: The Al-Quds Open University 72
- . Bangladesh: Tribal Buddhists struggle for life 74
- . Message of solidarity to President Corazon Aquino 75
- . Philippines: PROCESS 77
- . Ten years of TRANET (Bill Ellis) 80
- . Habitat: Sharing experiences 82
- . One Earth: A call to action 84

LETTERS/FOOTNOTES/MATERIALS RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION 85

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CHERNOBYL

by Marc Nerfin

Chernobyl, a name unheard of until the 26 April nuclear blast in Ukraine, has become the code name, in the North, for our nuclear vulnerability, but its meaning cannot be limited to the North. Of the 383 reactors currently in operation, 23 are in the Third World (six each in India and Taiwan, four in South Korea, two each in Argentina and South Africa, one each in Brazil, Pakistan and Yugoslavia). Of the 118 units to be completed by 1990, nine are located in the South (four in South Korea, three in India and one each in Argentina and Brazil). The dangers in the Third World are growing with its share.

Chernobyl offers the world several urgent lessons. First, it is the worst, but only the latest in a series of nuclear accidents. In the US, the most widely known is that of Three Mile Island (1979), but there were many more, from Idaho Falls (1961) to Gore, Oklahoma (last January) through Detroit and Savannah River, South Carolina (1966); Okonee (1972); Palisades (1973); Decatur, Alabama (1975); Erwin, Tennessee (1981); or Ohio and California (1975). The number of accidents has increased every year since 1979, reaching 2,974 cases last year (20% more than in 1984); there were 601 emergency shut downs in 1985. The UK never stopped having problems and accidents with the Windscale/Sellafield plant (300 occurrences in 30 years, including the 1975 fire which destroyed a reactor, as a result of which 39 people died of cancer by 1983, and four alerts in seven weeks this year. There were also accidents in Italy (Trino, 1967), Switzerland (Lucens, 1969), France (Chooz, 1966; St. Laurent, 1969 and 1980), Japan (Tsuruga, 1981) and Argentina (Constituyentes, 1983). In 1984, the French narrowly escaped a major accident at Bugey, near the Swiss border. In Spain eight accidents were reported at Almaraz over the last twelve months. And the Russians themselves had accidents at Obninsk, Kyshtym (1957), Novovoronej (1969), Shevchenko (1974), and certainly others. The Americans are now concerned that 'the Chernobyl plant had enough of the advanced safety features of US reactors to raise questions about the effectiveness of plant designs in the United States'.

All this points out that nuclear energy is unsafe in its present operations. Further, no one can say with any certainty what may happen when existing plants are decommissioned, and no one knows how much it will cost (estimates range from US\$50 million to \$3 billion per reactor. 1/

(continued on page 49)

1/ Cynthia Pollock, *Decommissioning: Nuclear Power's Missing Link* (Washington: Worldwatch Paper N°69, April 1986).

12 YEARS AFTER, IVAN ILLICH REVISITS MEDICAL NEMESIS

A PLEA FOR BODY HISTORY

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Twelve years ago I wrote Medical Nemesis. The book began with the statement, "the medical establishment has become the major threat to health". Hearing this today I would respond, "So what?" Today's major pathogen is, I suspect, the pursuit of a healthy body. And, importantly, this endeavor has a history.

As a public cause, the pursuit first appears with the emergence of the nation state. Here, people came to constitute a resource, a "population". Health became a qualitative norm for armies and then, during the nineteenth century, for workers; later, for mothers. In Prussia as in France the medical police were charged with its enforcement. But the pursuit of health was also understood as a personal right, as the physical realization of the Jeffersonian right to the pursuit of happiness. The valetudinarian's dream of a ripe old age on the job, together with the economy's demand for productive workers and fertile reproducers fused in the idea of health. But, what began as a duty and entitlement has been transmogrified into a pressing need. In 1986, I would place the historical phenomenology of this novel need into the center of research. For many of our contemporaries, the pursuit of health has become consubstantial with the experience of their bodies.

Since I wrote Medical Nemesis, the symbolic character of health care has changed. Americans now pay more money to health professionals than they spend for either food or housing. An instructive paradox appears: medicines, psychology, environments and social arrangements increasingly influence how people think and feel, while the concepts and theories to which the professions appeal are publicly questioned. As a result, expenditures on various and sundry holistic wellness programs have increased faster than medical costs.

Health appears to lie between the lines of every second ad, to be the inspiration of every other media image. Allocations for safety, ecology, law enforcement, education and civil defense are approved if they can be related to inte-

gral health care. Therefore, the relative importance of the medical establishment within the health sector has been reduced. A curious mixture of opinionated but detailed self-care practices joined to a naive enthusiasm for sophisticated biocratic technology make the efforts and personal attention of physicians ever more frustrating. I suspect that the actual contribution of medicine today is a minor factor in the pathogenic pursuit of health.

In Medical Nemesis, I set out to examine the spectrum of effects generated by medical agents. I called these effects "iatrogenic", doing so with a rhetorical purpose. I wanted to call public attention to the research on medical effectiveness carried out during the late fifties and sixties. My conclusion stated the obvious: only a small percentage of all healing, relief of pain, rehabilitation, consolation and prevention was attributable to iatrogenesis. Most of these outcomes occur without or in spite of medical attention. Further, the iatrogenesis of disease is comparable in importance to the iatrogenesis of well-being. What sounded shocking then, has now become commonplace. In his forecast for 1986, the US Secretary of Health estimates that 80 to 100,000 patients will be seriously injured by hospitalization.

But this kind of accidental damage to individuals was marginal to the central argument of my book. I wrote in order to highlight the institutional, social and cultural effects of the medical system. At the center of my analysis stood the iatrogenic reshaping of pain, disease, disability and dying, as these phenomena are experienced by their subject. The cultural constraints of and the symbolic impact on these experiences, insofar as they are mediated by medicine, were my interest. I am not dissatisfied with my text, as far as it goes; but I am distressed that I was blind to a much more profound symbolic iatrogenic effect - the iatrogenesis of the body itself. I overlooked the degree to which, at mid-century, the experience of "Our Bodies and Our selves" had become the result of medical concepts and cares.

I did not recognize that, in addition to the perception of illness, disability, pain and death, the body-percept itself had become iatrogenic. Therefore, my analysis was deficient in two respects: I did not clarify the historical "Gestalt" of that period's body percept or the role of medicine in shaping it. And since I was unaware of the iatrogenic nature of the experienced body, I did not explore its metamorphosis: the emergence of a body-percept congruent with a post-professional high-tech lifestyle. To gain perspective on such a contemporary metamorphosis, Body History became for me an important condition for an examined life in the 80s.

I originally came to Body History through teaching on the Middle Ages. In my courses on the 12th century, I focus on

the emergence of certain ideas, on themes and concepts for which antiquity has no true equivalents, but which in our time are experienced as certainties. One of these we call our "selves". "Some thirty inches from my nose/the frontier of my person goes" writes W.H. Auden in one of his poems. If you are uncertain about this distinction between yourself and all others, you cannot fit into Western society. There is general agreement that this sense of Self emerges with the Crusades and cathedrals, European peasantry and towns. Further, its successive forms and its contrast with the person in other cultures have been well studied.

Little attention has been directed to the fact that the Western Self is experienced as flesh and blood, that the birth of selfhood endowed Europe with a body of experience unlike any other. In collaboration with a colleague studying the early 18th century body, I developed concepts necessary for a historical phenomenology of the body. And I soon met others struggling with the same questions in various periods and settings. As Body History takes shape, we are able to understand how each historical moment is incarnated in an epoch-specific body. We now begin to decipher the body of subjective experience as a unique enfleshment of an age's ethos. Through these studies, I have learned to see the Western body as a progressive embodiment of Self.

Searching for a common element which might help me interpret disparate changes in the transition from a Romanesque to a Gothic worldview, I hit upon the notion of Body History. I needed to explain how the odor of sanctity could disappear between 1110 and 1180, how relics came to heal on sight, the circumstances under which the bodies of the poor souls in Purgatory assumed their shapes. Why did the zoomorphs, which people the inside of Romanesque churches, become gargoyles poised for takeoff on the outside of Gothic cathedrals? How did the Christ figure, with outstretched arms and clothed in royal raiment, become the naked, martyred body hanging on a cross by the year 1200? How to explain St. Bernard, training abbots for a thousand reformed Cistercian monasteries, teaching these men to breast feed their young monks with the pure milk of Christ? And, most important because of the immense social consequences, I began to understand the context in which the idea of a modern sex and marriage was shaped: men and women were endowed with "human" bodies which each "Self" could give to the other, thereby creating kinship ties between their respective families; not by the will of the elders, but by a legal contract between individuals who exchange rights onto their bodies, a new kind of society was coming into being.

I came to see that there was a distinct awareness of the body as the primary locus of experience. This body, specific to one period, but subject to profound transformations, sometimes occurring within relatively short spans of time,

was parallel to, but clearly distant from, the body that was painted, sculpted and described in that historical moment. Then this insight and understanding revealed to me the kind of critique which Medical Nemesis needed. At the core of my argument there I had placed the art of living - the culturally shaped skill and will to live one's age, bearing or enduring and enjoying it. As a philosopher, I was interested in fostering and protecting this art and its traditions in a time of intensive medicalization of daily life. I tried to show that the art of living has both a sunny and a shadowy side; one can speak of an art of enjoyment and an art of suffering. On this point, I was criticized by some who questioned my motives: because I saw "culture" in a subjective way as including the patterned skill and motivation for the "art of suffering", my critics claimed that I was a romantic, a masochist, or a preacher anxious to restrain any expectations of progress. Others applauded my attempt to root the concept of culture in the experienced meaning of personal action.

Body History, however, led me to see what was genuinely deficient in my analysis. Both enjoyment and suffering are abstract concepts. They name opposite forms in which sensations are culturally embodied. Enjoyment speaks about the localization of pleasure as the "body", and suffering about the topology of depression, lassitude, irritation or pain. Until recently, I had looked at the body as a natural fact which stands outside the historian's domain. I had not understood the difference, which can be great, between the experienced body and other less ephemeral objects which the historian must examine for their use and meaning. My wonder at not finding a body like mine in the 12th century led me to recognize the iatrogenic "body" of the sixties as the result of a social construction which belonged to only one generation, albeit in a gender-class, tradition- and place-specific way.

I realize that the medical system cannot engender a body, even if it cares for one from conception to brain death. In every epoch, bodies exist only in context. They form the felt equivalent of an age, insofar as that age can be experienced by a specific group. In most periods, women seem to have different kinds of bodies than men, serfs different from those of lords. The first repairmen of the new windmills which appeared in the 13th century, itinerant mechanics, were shunned by city and country folk alike because of their feel.

Transportation plays as large a part in the sociogenesis of our bodies as medicine does. Bodies which require daily shipment were unthinkable a few generations ago. We say that we "go somewhere" when we drive or fly. Engineering manuals speak of "self-transportation" when we use our feet rather than the elevator. And we feel entitled to high tech crut-

ches, deprived if we must fall back on our feet. I can understand the body of Americans during the period of the Vietnam war as belonging to homo transportandus, and caricature this body as the cancer-frightened consumer of valium. But after some study I see that the terms most apt must directly refer to a transition now taking place: the dissolution of the iatrogenic body into one fitted by and for high tech. Choosing the adjective "iatrogenic", I call attention to the very special relationship between the medical establishment and body perception, a relationship which now dissolves before my eyes. I see something occurring.

Around the middle of this century, the medical establishment reached an unprecedented influence over the social construction of bodies. Designers deferred to medical norms in creating new furniture or automobiles; schools and the media inundated the imagination with medical and/or psychiatric fantasies; the structures of welfare and insurance systems trained everyone for patienthood. We experienced a special moment of history, when one agency, namely medicine, reached toward a monopoly over the social construction of bodily reality. A somewhat comparable situation seems to have occurred around 1220 when the Church influenced the experience of lust: when the polymorphic bodies in the capitals that carry romanic churches became mere gargoyls or marginals in books.

Usually the generation of the felt body cannot be assigned to just one agent. When the plague reached Florence in 1622 to 1623, no "health care system" was mobilized. In a remarkable study, Giulia Calvi describes how the entire city rose to the challenge of the scourge. Barbers and surgeons, together with candlemakers and smelling salts vendors, magistrates and grave diggers, chaplains of special sanctuaries for desperate cases and incense merchants, each had their particular response to the epidemic. The flesh of each Florentine, be he anguished or diseased was reflected in various ways, as if from mirrors, pools of water, polished metal, the eyes of neighbours. No single professional body could catch the diseased flesh in one single mirror. No one agency was endorsed with the power to establish the felt body as such. The mid 20th century bid for such a monopoly on the part of medicine has been unprecedented.

I have come to believe that the medical establishment has lost this claim during the last ten years. Professional power over the definition of reality has reached its apogee and is now in decline. At this moment, a confusing mixture of high tech and herbal wisdom, bioengineering and autonomous exercise operate to create felt reality, including that of the body. Twenty years ago it was common to refer to "the body I have" as "my body". We know that this reference to ownership in ordinary speech is post-Cartesian. It first appears in all European languages with the spread of posses-

sive individualism, a phenomenon well described by C.B. McPherson. But now I frequently meet young people who smile when somebody does not "identify" with his body. They speak of the body they "are", but then, paradoxically, refer to it as "my system".

During the sixties the medical profession was prominent in determining what the body is and how it ought to feel. During the seventies it has begun to share the power to objectify people with other agents. From an enterprise that objectifies people as bodies or psyches a new model has sprung that engenders people who objectify themselves: who conceive of themselves as "producers" of their bodies. It is now but a part of a new epistemological matrix in the process of being formed. It may be one that brings forth people who experience themselves as contributors to a complex computer program and to see themselves as part of its text. Nothing seems to be more important now than the clear distinction between the current trend towards "body building" and the traditional art of embodying culture.

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Another Development in Pharmaceuticals

- The Rational Use of Drugs and WHO *Editorial* 1
Another Development in Pharmaceuticals: An Introduction
Göran Sterky 5
International Regulation of the Supply and Use of Pharmaceuticals
Charles Medawar 15
Drugs—Registration and Marketing Practices in the Third World
K. Jayasena 38
Towards a Healthy Use of Pharmaceuticals *Joan-Ramon Laporte* 48
In Search of Pharmaceutical Health: The Case of Thailand
Claudio Sepúlveda-Alvarez 56
Towards a Healthy Use of Pharmaceuticals: An Indian Perspective
Mira Shiva 69
Drug Production with a Social Conscience: The Experience of GPL
Andrew Chetley 94
Towards a Healthy Pharmaceutical Industry by the Year 2000
M.N.G. Dukes 108
Drug Policy in Nicaragua: Between Need-oriented Activities and
Aggression *Joan-Ramon Laporte and Gianni Tognoni* 121
Another Development in Pharmaceuticals: Summary Conclusions 130

Book Review
Criminal Organizations *Nils Christie* 144

SHARING ONE EARTH

RESPONDING TO THE CHALLENGE OF RURAL POVERTY IN ASIA

ROLE OF PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS (PART II)

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IV. ORGANIZATIONS OF THE RURAL POOR

Although the overall discussion in the Consultation emphasized the need to help empower the rural poor to struggle on their own behalf, there was also an underlying despair that so far such NGOs are failing to do this. This despair came through not only in the presentation but also from the discussions in the workshop focussing on this issue; and while it may have dampened the proceedings somewhat, it helped to raise fundamental questions about the nature and role of organizations of the rural poor.

ORPS - The experiences so far

The experiences of the ORPs so far are that essentially they have also been doing a form of 'charity' work, despite their claims to the contrary, in that they have focussed on the consequences and not the causes of poverty. Their operations thus have at best been salvage or welfare which try to get some gains from the very system that creates the problems. Their solutions are therefore short term and in many cases the very solutions that the governments also attempt. Thus the ORPs end up not only doing the government's job in the immediate sense, but also help perpetuate the system by linking the rural poor into the system itself. The 'target group' approach, generally used by ORPs, often takes the form of economic measures and does not contribute to the empowerment of the rural poor.

On the other hand, rising levels of consciousness of the organized rural poor may contribute to a radical social transformation. By and large there was consensus on the second view, that is, that despite the failures in the past, ORPs could perhaps make some contribution in changing the system IF they were able to change themselves first.

Changing themselves - Some possibilities

Organizations of the rural poor, while they must operate within the issues defined by the people themselves, must also focus on the larger issues. In most cases these are the ownership and control of the natural resources. Also every effort must be made to link up with other NGO's even though this may be difficult given the fact that the strategies and

techniques to organize the poor are so diversified that there is almost no scope to replicate experiences. Still, linking up is essential and not only at the NGO level. Linkages have also to be established with other groups within the countries, the region and the global level including with political parties, trade unions, and other political and professional groups. In fact people's organizations need to be formed in all spaces, and organizations of sympathisers and supporters, not only political and financial, but also because they often have access to resources such as professional and scientific knowledge.

In the collective self analysis, the group discussing organizations of the rural poor felt an inadequacy in their own efforts at achieving much of the above and felt that even among them a sharing and a solidarity was lacking. There was little inter-NGO consultation and no readiness for any broad based consolidation or action. Some, even from within the same countries, were talking to each other for the first time during this Consultation, and yet they felt the need to come together to define a common goal and a common strategy.

V. RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

All NGO work depends on resources, the main perhaps being committed workers and supporters. But the need for funding is often crucial. The issue of financial resource mobilization was therefore discussed as a separate and specific issue by one of the groups in which several of the donor NGOs participated.

On the question of self-reliance

The group started with a discussion on the issue of local NGOs utilizing local and foreign resources and becoming self-reliant. The pattern that emerged from these discussions was that South Asian NGOs often started with outside funding and often from foreign NGO agencies, although there were usually strong attempts to make village level activities self-reliant. Parallel to this was the realization and acceptance that the central costs (co-ordinating and training staff, transport, overheads, etc.) could not easily become self-reliant unless attempts were made within the countries and local NGOs to raise their own funds. Such efforts could involve public fund raising; running commercial operations allied to their enterprises or those unconnected to local NGO expertise. However, given the constraints and problems of local NGOs it was recognized that South Asian NGOs were putting themselves at some risk in doing this because of (a) scarce managerial time; (b) NGO personnel were often not competent business people; and (c) they then often ran the risk of themselves becoming exploiters of the labour they employed. Thus NGOs would still need to rely on funds from foreign donor NGOs.

The dissatisfaction with the relationship between South Asian NGOs and donor NGOs

Despite the need for foreign NGO funds there is a growing dissatisfaction with the present relationship between South Asian and donor NGOs. South Asian NGOs complained that a huge amount of time and effort was lost in the bureaucratic processing of applications; that South Asian

NGOs often had to fit donor NGO structures of time and category; that funding continuity was often upset by political and economic changes in donor countries; that donor NGOs often insisted on self-reliance within time frames that were often unrealistic; and that South Asian NGOs represented the patronising attitude of donor NGOs, while donor NGOs complained of the "beggar" mentality of Asian NGOs.

On the need for a more equal relationship

The group felt that the relationship between recipient and donor NGOs could only function smoothly on the basis of a partnership. This concept was further defined by the South Asian NGOs by them insisting that donor NGOs should prove their commitment to the empowerment of the poor by their own work in development education and campaigns in their own countries; that donor NGOs should be prepared to support the work of conscientizing the poor and to help with the research necessary for this. They should also be prepared to engage in sectoral programmes such as taking an ecological perspective in agricultural and technological work, and most of all to be cognizant of indigenous knowledge and skills.

Other issues relating to recipient and donor NGOs

Essentially the South Asian NGOs were sensitive to the question of dependency on donor NGOs. The two ways suggested as to how this could be minimized are discussed above, that is, self-reliance and the concept of a partnership. This discussion, however, also brought up other issues worth mentioning, some of which have a bearing on the two main issues:

- . On the question of dependency, it was admitted that anything involving money will create a certain amount of dependency. Those for whom this is a problem may be able to explain it away by insisting that it is, in fact, reparation for previous exploitation, or an exchange in payment of the learning and experience acquired by the donor agency;
- . the point was also stressed that South Asian NGOs must always be prepared to do without outside funds, that is, the basic work must go on. It was likely that, if the project was successful, donor agencies, whether wanted or not, would come after successful projects;
- . that the South Asian NGOs have a responsibility to try to reform donor NGOs with onerous or misguided policies. They must be morally strong to refuse funds from organizations whose philosophy and style is unsympathetic to the work that they do. This point is particularly important since few donor NGOs are essentially sympathetic to the long-term interests of the rural poor. The presentation on donor NGOs given earlier in the Consultation made clear that donor NGOs are fairly ineffective in their own countries to challenge the policies of their own governments which, in turn, are responsible for the policies of the governments in South Asia. It was suggested that the solutions to rural poverty would have to have a global approach especially since poverty in the Third World is caused and perpetuated by capitalist ideology and its arms, the transnational corporations, free trade zones; defence spending, etc. For this, global approach, worldwide development education, cross-country campaigns and joint political pressures are essential;

- . for this global approach to be successful and even for a better relationship between recipient and donor NGOs, the donor NGOs suggested that South Asian NGOs should be clear as to whether they want to accept funds from rich country governments. Also they need to be clear as to the methods and ways which can be used to publicize the work of South Asian NGOs for the purposes of raising funds and support for them. There must be agreement in other words on the information used and a clarity on whether South Asian NGOs are prepared to accept the demands for information that a partnership relationship will require.
- . on both sides it was agreed that simplicity and austerity were virtues for both donor and recipient NGOs.

On the question of government funds

The group stated that government money should be used by NGOs because otherwise it is unlikely that the amounts available without this money would reach the poorest of the poor. It was stressed that government money was the people's money, and in any case money borrowed from the government (as in credit schemes) will finally be repaid by the people. While stating this the group realised that there were many problems in using government money, but that these could be overcome. Some of the problems and ways to overcome them were to:

- . make sure that the money offered is for a project in line with the NGO philosophy;
- . try to get maximum flexibility in the face of obstructive accounting procedures;
- . try to get flexibility from an onerous top-down target type approach;
- . use the project cooperating with government as a means to persuade the government that NGO initiatives and ways of working are worth supporting.

VI. THE NEED FOR CONSOLIDATION AND SOLIDARITY AMONG NGOS

Despite the negativism expressed by the working group on past experiences of consolidation and solidarity, the working group on this issue and the Consultation as a whole agreed that consolidation and solidarity were necessary. This is particularly true if the diagnosis of the present situation is that there is an all out war against the poor by the dominant power structure. It is necessary therefore that those who want to challenge this war must prepare themselves for it, despite the setbacks they may have experienced. This means changing and strengthening themselves internally, but it also means linking up at the local, national and international levels.

The past experience

As already mentioned, the past record of NGO efforts to move towards consolidation and strong alliances has not been encouraging, for even when they have been able to work together in emergency situations, such alliances have only been temporary. NGOs have had the tendency to work in isolation, to do their own thing, to set up their little kingdoms

sometimes to the point of actually demarcating areas and people as their own "territory" or "target" group. Furthermore, instead of a coming together, the tendency has also been to split into smaller groups often with the encouragement and support of donor organizations. All this has meant that NGO efforts have remained fragmented and have not added up to becoming any kind of a challenge to the system itself.

The causes of this lack of solidarity has unfortunately often been the result of personality problems and mistrust; of competitiveness for scarce resources; the availability of large amounts of donor funds; the divisive policies of some donor organizations; differences in approach, programme and strategies and, sometimes, although fortunately not often, ideological differences. But it seems that many of these "problems" stem from the fact that NGOs working with the poor have so far been working largely in terms of the delivery of services; in starting income generating activities, etc., and not in terms of a radical movement to attack the root causes of poverty. For such a movement a framework or an ideology is a must, and on this at least (however vaguely it may be defined or expressed at the moment) there seems to be little disagreement among the NGOs working for the empowerment of the rural poor. Focussing on this ideology and strengthening it could well provide the framework for consolidating NGO action. At the same time, it is necessary for progressive NGOs to critically evaluate their own efforts so far, individually and collectively, and to sort out or even shelve what differences they may have had. The in-fighting, the competition with each other, the undermining of each other's efforts, and the present disarray of the NGOs must be curtailed, for it is in these that the weakness of the NGO movement lies and not in its lack of size or importance. Thus introspection and self-analysis, common ideologies and common actions are the keys to the NGO movement and for this several levels of alliance are essential.

Alliances at what levels? Within NGOs

Now that there are an increasing number of NGOs which recognize the need to organize the rural poor as a prerequisite to tilting the balance of power and resources in favour of the poor, it is necessary that such NGOs make a serious attempt to form alliances with those working for the same cause. In some countries in the region some such attempts are being made, but these need to be consciously and carefully intensified.

Alliances are also necessary between NGOs using different "entry points" or those developing an expertise in specific areas like education; health and nutrition; legal aid; credit; environment; research; communication; etc., assuming, of course, that the ultimate aim of these NGOs is also to empower the rural poor.

These special programmes in fact need to be used as a means to improve the resource base of the poor and to politicize them, for in isolation these programmes have a tendency to only end up as delivering services and inputs and thus tend to strengthen the status quo and further weaken the poor. For example if a programme to make credit available to the rural poor does not challenge the existing exploitative relationships, it is not going to benefit the poor in the long run. Such programmes therefore need to work in close collaboration with NGOs who are concen-

trating on organizing the poor. Thus NGOs working in different areas and at different levels need to form alliances with each other assuming, of course, that they are working for a common cause.

The need for alliances with other sectors

The present systems of education, research, media and communications, the judiciary, technology and science, etc., are all controlled by and serve the dominant classes. These forces can only be opposed by a movement which attempts to organize and empower the poor, a movement that links up with and uses these very instruments of oppression. Thus alliances are necessary not only between like-minded NGOs but also between these and progressive journalists, researchers, communication experts, scientists, professionals such as doctors, lawyers, architects, engineers, etc., and again at multiple levels. Participatory and action-oriented research done in close collaboration by activists and researchers is necessary and helps both action and theory. There are already some very encouraging examples of such collaboration in the region, e.g. between feminist researchers and women activists; between researchers and the fish workers movement in India; between scientists and NGOs working on environmental issues; and between doctors, engineers, architects and NGOs. Such collaboration needs to be systematically improved.

Collaboration needs to be improved also between NGOs and groups working on alternative media and communication. With the help of communication experts NGOs need to establish alternative networks of information, develop alternative communication programmes, document NGO efforts in the region and disseminate this information as widely as possible. Since there are few groups in the region in development communication, those that do exist must make their services available to NGOs in the neighbouring countries.

The need for regional and international alliances

In addition to having alliances and solidarity among like-minded forces within each country, there is a need also for alliances in the regional and international spaces. Regional alliances in South Asia are particularly important because the governments of these countries often use the threat of border clashes and inter-regional wars to justify vast defence expenditures which not only divert vast funds from development, but also divert the attention of the people from the real issues of poverty and injustice to false feelings of patriotism. Alliances between progressive forces in the region could expose such moves.

In addition, countries in the region share a common history and have similar socio, economic, cultural and political structures. They also share a common terrain and natural resources such as the environment, the mountains and rivers, etc. Thus any change in one affects the others, particularly changes in the environment. For instance, if forests are destroyed in one country, the effect will be felt by the neighbouring country as well. The progressive forces in the region must therefore often fight their struggles in concert with each other. They must share their knowledge and their expertise and have a common cause against what are common forces working against them.

Similarly, because the policies and operations of the industrial countries have a direct bearing on the developments in the South Asian region, it is necessary to have linkages and solidarity with NGOs and other progressive forces in the North. Some examples exist of such collaboration on issues like food aid to Bangladesh; the role of drug transnationals in Bangladesh; baby food; operations of transnationals encouraging indiscriminate use of pesticides and fertilizers, etc. In such cases the initiative for identifying issues and starting international campaigns around them should come from NGOs in South Asia who should then invite NGOs from the North to support the issues by lobbying and campaigning for them in their own countries. Support from donor NGOs cannot be only in the form of financial assistance, they must also focus on the policies that help perpetuate the poverty in South Asia, policies that are invariably instigated and supported by their own governments and their own people.

Specific recommendations on possibilities of consolidation and solidarity were given by the group working on this issue. These are given in section VIII which deals specifically with the recommendations of the Consultation.

VII. FIVE MAJOR ISSUES

Throughout the discussions there were several issues that continuously came up. Five of these were of such importance that it is perhaps necessary to highlight them by presenting them separately even though they may have been discussed previously in this report.

Ownership and control of natural resources

Repeatedly the participants brought up the fact that NGOs have so far only worked towards "helping" the poor to marginally take advantage of some of the opportunities available to them. They have not focussed attention on basic changes in society. For the rural poor the most basic of these is the ownership and control of natural resources. In other words, long-term solutions like the issue of land, resource and asset reform is a prerequisite to alleviating rural poverty and NGOs must therefore help organize and empower the poor to demand these.

In general there was agreement that, given the present nature of development, the poor do not have a future in South Asia unless the very process of the development is reversed. The result of the present process of development has damaged the resource base of the poor and by simply linking them into the system, NGOs are making them dependent on the very system that exploits them. The system itself therefore needs to be changed, and the participants generally agreed that, as a group, they recognized the right of the poor to the primary resource base; that they recognized the need for NGOs to work to help the poor re-acquire the ownership by both men and women of the primary resource base; that they recognized the need to work to diminish the erosion of this resource base and they agreed that NGOs must work for essential changes in the power structure; i.e. that NGOs must work for social transformation and not merely to keep the poor at marginal levels of existence.

The issue of women

The situation of poor rural women received particular attention not, as it was argued in the presentation on women, because women's issues are separate, but because the experiences of women are different and their methods of dealing with these are different. Women are often the first to get marginalized by development and they are usually the last for whom alternative occupations/employment are generated. In many cases women have suffered more than men as a result of development policies. The introduction of agricultural machinery, changes in cropping patterns and the destruction of the environment has had the effect of increasing the work load of those women still involved in the production process or they have entirely removed women from the process itself. In both cases, the impact on women has been negative. This is particularly true of changes in the cropping patterns and the use of green revolution technology AND especially in the case of environmental destruction.

Few government policies and schemes recognize this or cater to women as possible "beneficiaries" and sadly most NGOs also have a male bias, especially when issues like the ownership and access of land and other resources are concerned. And yet women can be more open to collective or group action because of their need to collectively protect themselves and also due to their binding role within the family structure. Several examples exist of women "saving" themselves and their communities from development, as when women resisted a lime stone quarry in Almôda, or when they resisted resettlement in Assam, or in the Chipko Movement where women played a major role in preventing deforestation.

The women's movement itself provides many an insight into how people can collaborate and struggle collectively on issues. Whether these experiences are used or not for the NGO movement, NGOs must continuously keep in focus the experiences, needs, demands and aspirations of women without, however, attempting to take over or submerge the women's movement itself. The role of women in alternative development is crucial because without the women there can be no alternative, just as without them there can be no development, but women must themselves decide what this role will be.

The environment issue

The issue of environmental destruction and the role that this plays in increasing the levels of poverty received particular attention by the group. For the rural poor the environment is literally the entity on which they exist, but since it is also the entity on which all development depends, it has been increasingly depleted by the dominant classes for their own purposes. This depletion and destruction in actuality has meant deforestation; floods and landslides; soil erosion; fuel, fodder and food shortages, and the resettlement of whole communities, all of which have negatively affected the poor (especially the women) and compounded the poverty situation.

The group therefore agreed that all development must consider the question of environmental destruction and NGOs must therefore always look at the long-term effects of development policies. Environmental protection

in itself, however, is not the issue. The concern must be for how the environment is used and for whom, and these decisions must be made by those dependent on the environment, i.e. in most cases, the rural poor.

Possibilities of another development and NGO strategy

As already discussed, the group agreed that there is a direct relationship between poverty and the present nature of development. An alternative therefore was needed. At the same time it was agreed that the NGOs had not yet defined for themselves what this alternative could be or what they should be working towards. One of the groups therefore prepared a tentative and somewhat futuristic idea to be used as a point of departure on future collaborative discussions on this issue.

Given the critique of development and the discussions in plenary, the group working on this issue suggested in general that the poor must have ownership of the primary productive resources (land, water, forests, etc.). In other words the poor must meet their basic needs but these needs must be defined and provided by the poor themselves. This ownership must also be on an individual basis, that is that women must also be owners. Models for this do exist in pockets and these could be replicated. Also indigenous institutions, many of which are still alive, can be used for this alternative development. The basic assumption behind this alternative is that people, in this case the poor, can function on their own and that essentially human beings can change. NGOs can play a role in the transition stage by helping to facilitate this change, but they cannot and must not allow themselves to become the "alternative" power structure.

Specificities of another development

More specifically the group suggested that agrarian reform was an essential pre-requisite for this alternative, but that it need not be uniform. In fact for it to be really people-based, it would need to be diversified and related to the specific needs of different communities and based on the eco systems; in other words, the approach must be holistic. Agrarian reform was defined as not only land reform, but also included reforms in the access and control of water, irrigation, pastures, forests, etc. Similarly, the technological choice on such 'agricultural development' must be based on the needs of the people and in accordance with the eco-system.

A question raised at this point was whether such a system could produce the surplus food needed for the urban sectors and also, given the existing levels of cash requirements, whether the rural poor could do without cash. In reply to this it was argued that the alternative did not envisage a cashless society. Surpluses would be produced to feed the urban sector and to generate cash but that, unlike the present system, this surplus would be produced and determined by the poor. In other words, the producers of food must be fed first, the rest would feed the urban sector but no food would be produced for export. Development based on the eco system would also curtail rampant urbanization, on the one hand because this type of development has tremendous employment potential in agriculture, but also because it could lead to the rebirth of

cottage industry which would give further opportunities for employment in the rural areas.

Similarly, industrial development would be geared to local needs and to the needs of the majority and not to the elite or to the world capitalist system. This is not to suggest that there would be no further development of industry, only that the commodities produced would cater to the needs of a larger number of people. An example of this was that although steel would continue to be produced, it would be used say for bicycles rather than for cars or other luxury and wasteful items.

Such a society, however, would not be "simplistic" and nor was it an attempt to revert to some idealistic past. On the contrary such a system would require very advanced levels of science and technology. In fact, the knowledge component is the most important component for this alternative, except that the concept of knowledge itself will need to be changed. It will have to be "advanced" and highly sophisticated and yet must be based on indigenous knowledge and easily understood and handled by all those to whom it will relate. In other words, "advanced" knowledge will have to reach out and work with indigenous knowledge, creating a new concept of "knowledge" that is not exclusive or elitist.

Such a decentralized society would be held together by a state that is not an owner, a producer or a provider. The state would merely co-ordinate or link up the different sectors, provide communication and infrastructural facilities, and conduct the research and experiments, etc., needed by the people. This type of state would not govern the people, but could arbitrate if necessary should conflicts and tensions within regions arise. It would not therefore need to retain an army for local control because "control" would then be in the hands of the people themselves and this in itself would release considerable funds for the development of an alternative based on the eco-system.

NGO strategy

In order to move towards this alternative the group suggested that NGOs should keep in mind and work towards the following:

- . NGOs should not cause regional imbalances either by going into areas where work is already being done, or by concentrating too many resources in one area;
- . NGO plans, programmes and strategies must be taken up not just on the needs of the poor, but BY the people themselves;
- . programmes should not only be relief/concern/actions, but that the models/experiments must have a larger influence and must influence policy. Advocacy by NGOs is essential because a few "good" NGOs cannot change the system unless they change other forces in the process;
- . NGOs must concentrate on the question of ecology, especially since no other groups (trade unions, political parties, peasant unions, etc.,) are so far giving importance to this question;
- . the role of NGOs lies not only in experimenting and creating models of alternative development, but also in action and resistance. At the

same time, their role must be to provide information, to communicate issues, to change public opinion, to build up support and, as said earlier, to influence policy;

- lastly, and most importantly, NGO demands must be clear. Those working with the rural poor must therefore pressure for the ownership and control of the primary productive resources by the rural poor/community (including women). Where ownership is not possible, such as in the cases of the sea or rivers, the demand for access and control by the poor is a must.

The importance of a regional focus: Sharing One Earth

Regardless of the political divisions, the sub-continent of South Asia is unique in its historical, cultural and geographical oneness. It is in fact so interconnected and so interlinked that it is almost inconceivable that change can occur in one country without that change affecting the countries in the region. This is true at the political level, but even more valid when we consider ecological or environmental changes. Thus, if another development is to be based on the eco-system, this development will have to occur at the sub-continental level. As such progressive forces in all the South Asian countries must come together the basis of this togetherness is the eco-system itself. The people of the subcontinent share one earth, an earth that must be inherited by the poor of all the countries regardless of the political boundaries.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

Developing links and solidarity in different spaces and between different sectors has to be carefully planned and is a slow process. It has to start with getting to know each other better through visits to each other's areas, participation of field workers in joint training programmes, participation in workshops, etc. Such inter-action is most crucial at the community level between the workers of different NGOs, for it is only through such interaction that a meaningful understanding about each other's work and enough trust to work together, can emerge. Gradually alliances can be made on specific issues. As the working relationship between NGOs improves they can move towards taking up joint programmes. The process of developing solidarity must be slow and carefully planned because in the past NGOs have tried to forge solidarity in a hurry. This has led to setbacks in the movement and to a cynicism about consolidation and solidarity.

The group working on the issue of consolidation and solidarity among NGOs suggested that instead of making general recommendations on this issue, the Consultation should decide to identify issues around which the participating NGOs should try to work together. It was suggested that because of the consensus which had emerged on the close relationship of poverty and the destruction of the environment, the NGOs should start a campaign to challenge the rapid and continuous erosion of the primary and productive resource base of the poor (land, water, forests) and to struggle to restore the ownership and control of these resources by the poor.

After some discussion, the suggestion made by the group was accepted by the plenary. It was further suggested within the framework of this broad

issue, that NGOs could identify narrower and short-term issues according to the local and immediate situation to start joint campaigns. On issues which have regional and international implications, solidarity campaigns at these levels could also be started. Either competent national NGOs or existing regional NGOs, like ACFOD, could be asked to coordinate these campaigns.

The following could be the main components of a campaign on such issues:

- . participatory and action-oriented research to gather information and to develop a critique of the negative developments taking place;
- . dissemination of this information and the NGO perspective to initiate debates and mobilise public opinion;
- . action programmes at different levels to raise the consciousness of the people and to help them get organised to challenge harmful policies and programmes;
- . action to experiment with programmes and strategies for development. For example if depletion of forest resources is an issue, then community forestry programmes could be initiated by NGOs. These alternatives have, however, to be carefully planned and constantly monitored to ensure that they are empowering the poor and not getting them co-opted into the existing system.

The Consultation also suggested that the following programmes be taken up or continued at the South Asian level:

- . sharing of information and audio-visual materials on major development issues and people's organizations and movements in the region;
- . organization of regional training programmes in development communication. It was decided that FFHC/AD, in collaboration with CENDIT, will initiate action on these two points immediately;
- . continuation of regional training programmes and exchange visits being organized by FFHC/AD and ACFOD;
- . identification of common actions by similar groups/NGOs in the different countries.

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HACIA OTRO VENEZUELA?

Por Luis Raul Matos Azocar
Diputado al Congreso Nacional
Caracas, Venezuela

A continuación reproducimos una versión muy condensada de un trabajo elaborado por Luis Raul Matos. El autor fue Ministro de Planeación de 1984 a 1985. Es miembro del Consejo del IFDA.

HACIA OTRO VENEZUELA?

Resumen: En este artículo, extracto de un trabajo tres veces más largo, el autor muestra que el Venezuela se encuentra en una encrucijada. El tiempo de la facilidad permitido por la renta petrolera está caduco. La crisis que es multidimensional va mucho más lejos que sus dimensiones financieras y económicas: es también social, cultural, política, con una gravedad aún mas importante que la abundancia financiera no había resuelto en nada. El 7° Plan había sugerido una salida, de la cual el autor esboza el rumbo, pero un Venezuela diferente no se obtendrá sin luchas populares acompañadas de una revisión de la función de los partidos y de un fortalecimiento de la autonomía de los trabajadores, tendiente no hacia una nueva hegemonía pero hacia un mejor equilibrio de los poderes reflejando las portaciones de cada grupo social a la sociedad.

TOWARDS ANOTHER VENEZUELA?

Abstract: In this paper, condensed from an analysis three times as long, the author shows that Venezuela is at the crossroads. The times of laxism permitted by the oil rent is over. The multidimensional crisis goes much beyond its financial or even economic dimensions. It is also social, cultural, political, and is all the more serious in that even financial affluence has not solved anything. The 7th Plan offered a way out, which is briefly outlined, but another Venezuela will not be possible without people's struggles accompanied by a revision of the role of the political parties and a strengthening of the workers' autonomy aiming not at a new hegemony but at a better balance of power reflecting the contribution of each social group to society.

VERS UN AUTRE VENEZUELA?

Resumé: Dans cet article, condensé d'un travail trois fois plus long, l'auteur montre que le Venezuela se trouve à la croisée des chemins. Le temps de la facilité permise par la rente pétrolière est révolu. La crise est multidimensionnelle, allant bien au-delà de ses dimensions financières et même économiques: elle est aussi sociale, culturelle, politique, et elle est d'autant plus grave que l'abondance financière même n'avait rien résolu. Le 7e Plan avait suggéré une issue, dont l'auteur esquisse la direction, mais un autre Venezuela ne se fera pas sans luttes populaires accompagnées d'une révision du rôle des partis et d'un renforcement de l'autonomie des travailleurs, tendant non à une nouvelle hégémonie, mais à un meilleur équilibre des pouvoirs reflétant les apports de chaque groupe social à la société.

Luis Raul Matos Azocar

HACIA OTRO VENEZUELA?

VENEZUELA: UN PAIS EN PUNTO DE INFLEXION

Venezuela se encuentra hoy en una encrucijada. En un punto donde es posible cambiar de rumbo o seguir avanzando a pasos acelerados, movidos por las fuerzas tradicionales hacia un túnel todavía más oscuro que el actual. A esa encrucijada hemos llegado no por azar sino como resultado de los aciertos y de los errores del pasado, pero fundamentalmente como resultado de un proceso de modernización acelerada a la cual se considera bondadosa en si misma y capaz de superar las distorsiones heredadas. El proceso se impulsó sin evaluar sus efectos sobre la estructura política y las restricciones que imponía a los necesarios cambios futuros.

Una economía y una sociedad, acostumbradas a actuar bajo el estímulo embriagador y deslumbrante de unos ingresos petroleros siempre en ascenso, de súbito asisten una mañana a la caída del precio del crudo y en su asombro revelan su ausencia de estrategia de futuro y una escasa capacidad de respuesta para contener los inmediatos y negativos efectos de aquel fenómeno.

No faltaron quienes alertaron al país sobre la pesadilla de su futuro inmediato, más sus voces fueron descalificadas sin ser oídas. Los sectores dirigentes de la sociedad, políticos y empresariales, no tenían tiempo, víctimas del ensueño petrolero, para imaginar obstáculos en su concepción lineal del progreso; el futuro no había porqué concebirlo como un objetivo a conquistar de forma planificada, racional y pacientemente, con costos y beneficios, puesto que ello era un destino perfectamente preconcebido legado por le maná de la abundancia petrolera (...)

Estamos asistiendo desde hace varios años a un proceso de transformación de nuestra sociedad; lentamente nos vamos convirtiendo en otro país, distinto al de todas las décadas anteriores. Los signos externos de ese cambio han sido englobados bajo el término de la crisis, un proceso que va más allá de lo económico, con todo el impacto de la caída de los ingresos petroleros, la deuda externa y la recesión económica; su presencia se deja sentir también en las esferas políticas y socio-cultural, sin embargo, sus expresiones son aquí menos evidentes toda vez que no tocan nuestra cotidianidad con la misma fuerza que en lo económico, lo que también explica la menor adherencia y propuestas de cambio en dichas áreas, y si ataques feroces desde las estructuras de poder a aquellos pocos que osan plantear el problema.

En síntesis a la transición de la sociedad de abundancia relativa (la de Venezuela la rentista) a la Venezuela de la

escasez (escasez de divisas, de oportunidades de trabajo, de recursos fiscales). A la transformación que está ocurriendo en la lucha y preservación del poder (capital + conocimiento + información) es lo que hemos llamado un punto de inflexión histórica. Un punto donde lo viejo y lo nuevo pugnan por la dominación del uno sobre el otro (...)

1. Las manifestaciones de la inflexión:

Para el pensamiento conservador y dominante en nuestra sociedad la crisis que vive Venezuela se reduce en mucho y en lo fundamental a lo económico, ella es sinónimo de deuda externa, recesión económica, tasas de interés, P.T.B., etc. Lo social y lo político vienen por añadidura. Sin reactivación económica no hay empleo; primero hay que crecer para luego redistribuir los beneficios; los sectores populares deben aceptar la reducción del "gasto corriente" para favorecer el incremento del "gasto de inversión", generador de empleo y bienestar social, etc.

Nuestra objeción a este tipo de razonamiento no busca restarle importancia a los factores económicos, sino jerarquización en su justa medida de los otros planos de la realidad social, política y cultural donde también se expresa la crisis. Se trata de un esfuerzo por superar las visiones parciales y sesgadas por intereses particulares, e intentar comprender la realidad en todas sus dimensiones dado que la crisis actual no es una simple manifestación coyuntural de estancamiento económico similar a lo ocurrido en 1960 cuando los actores políticos recién se iniciaban y gozaban de un gran prestigio en la colectividad. La legitimidad política permitió exigir el sacrificio necesario para echar a andar la producción interna. La actual crisis es más compleja y no admite recetas simplistas. Ella es la expresión de causas diversas que en su interacción en el conjunto social se retroalimentan las unas con las otras. De allí que para evitar la visión parcial ya criticada hablemos del carácter multidimensional de la Crisis. Sin embargo, por razones de claridad expositiva, debemos presentar cada dimensión por separado.

2. El carácter multidimensional de la crisis

En un estudio de la Organización de Estados Americanos 1/, se plantea refiriéndose a América Latina, que

A pesar de que el progreso económico alcanzado a través de tres décadas de esfuerzo se reflejó en niveles medios de ingresos y de consumo más alto para todos los grupos sociales, no se logró modificar las condiciones básicas que determinan el bienestar social. Pese a los progresos en los campos de la salud, educación, etc., la

1/ Los efectos sociales de la crisis financiera de América y el Caribe, VIII Reunión de Ministros de Trabajo, San José, Costa Rica.

realidad es que subsistieron las desigualdades excesivas en la distribución de la riqueza y del ingreso, se progresó apenas en forma leve y marginal en la lucha contra el desempleo y sub-empleo, se permitió la existencia de niveles de pobreza exageradamente altos y generalizados, persistió la tendencia hacia la depresión de los salarios, se perdió gradualmente el control de la inflación y se ofreció estímulo insuficiente a la producción agrícola, en especial de alimentos.

El mismo estudio señala que ese proceso económico y modernizador latinoamericano era vulnerable "no sólo a los desequilibrios sociales ya anotados, sino a ciertas deficiencias estructurales de carácter puramente económico". Así cuando en 1973 se cierra el largo período de crecimiento económico iniciado en 1945 en el mundo industrializado, y aumentaron la inflación, el desempleo y el proteccionismo, precisamente en una época de aumento en el precio del petróleo, la vulnerabilidad de las economías latinoamericanas con respecto a las economías de las áreas industrializadas y las políticas de sus gobiernos se hizo muy evidente, debiéndose recurrir al endeudamiento externo como alternativa para mantener el ritmo de crecimiento. De esa manera América Latina, que tuvo un saldo total desembolsado de la deuda externa de US\$41.500 millones en 1973, vio incrementarse dicho saldo a 229.000 millones en 1980. Cuando a esto se le suma los efectos por el incremento de las tasas de interés, etc, se produce el estallido de la crisis de la deuda externa que acusan hoy en día los países de la región convertidos ahora en "exportadores netos de capital".

Sin ocultar los dramáticos efectos y consecuencias que tiene la deuda externa para nuestros países, el estudio comentó evita asociar la crisis de la región con el problema de la deuda externa; esta crisis no hace sino poner de manifiesto la existencia soterrada de una crisis más profunda y convertirse luego en el elemento más relevante de ésta, más no el único; de manera tal que sería una vana ilusión creer que con el pago o acuerdos de refinanciamiento de la deuda externa se está en vía definitiva de la solución de la crisis.

Este análisis realizado para el conjunto de América Latina es válido también - en unos aspectos más, en otros menos - para el caso venezolano. Si durante las tres décadas de relativa prosperidad económica no tuvo lugar el cumplimiento del supuesto según el cual el mejoramiento del nivel de vida de la población es una consecuencia del crecimiento económico, que se podrá esperar, entonces, ahora cuando en medio de una situación de estancamiento económico y de deuda externa la generación de recursos para el servicio de ésta es a expensas del nivel de vida de la población.

Es evidente que una solución más realista de la crisis tiene que pasearse inevitablemente por los factores de poder político, económico y social presentes en la sociedad (...)

2.1. Los componentes económicos de la crisis

Para nadie es un secreto la importancia que tienen para nuestra economía y para nuestra sociedad los ingresos provenientes del petróleo; en ese sentido hay que señalar que la tendencia a la baja de los precios petroleros que se observa en el mercado internacional desde mediados de 1980, no parece haber tocado fin y las proyecciones de futuro no son nada halagadoras (...)

Si a esto le añadimos el componente de la deuda externa cuyo monto es del orden de los US\$ 35.000 millones de dólares, y las condiciones muy singulares en las cuales el Estado ha acordado su pago lo cual supone elevadísimos porcentajes del total de nuestros ingresos en divisas por concepto de exportaciones, nos encontramos con dos poderosos elementos de naturaleza externa, es decir, cuyo control escapa de nuestras manos, que pueden contribuir a ahondar la crisis y obscurecen más las vías de solución.

En el plano interno, la suerte no es de lo mejor (...): se caracteriza por la permanencia de un prolongado estancamiento de la actividad productiva y la poca efectividad de las medidas de política económica implementadas para alcanzar la reactivación.

En la medida que la reactivación económica no se concretiza, las oportunidades de empleo serán cada vez más escasas, dado el factor acumulativo y la tasa de crecimiento de la población, tal como se expresa en las tasas del desempleo, que crecieron de 6.2 % en 1971 a 14 % en 1985 (1er sem.). Estas cifras, se refieren únicamente al llamado desempleo abierto y excluyen al llamado subempleo o trabajadores por cuenta propia, cuyas cifras absolutas se ubican, según análisis de la Comisión Económica de la CTV, en 1.5 millones.

Por su parte, el salario real del trabajador urbano ha caído de 17.041 bolívares (Bs) en 1978 a 12.787 Bs en 1984. (20 bolívares = 1US\$, Mayo 1986).

Es evidente la prolongada y sostenida caída del ingreso real, es decir, de la capacidad efectiva de compra del trabajador venezolano que equivalía a 75% del salario real del año 1978.

El ingreso nacional, la capacidad de compra de la economía que se distribuye entre asalariados y capitalistas, tiene un componente muy particular que tiene que ver con la renta petrolera cuya distribución mas que un acto económico lo es político, dado la captación estatal de la misma. De manera que si se cruza la variación de los ingresos petroleros y la de los salarios reales, ello nos provee de una idea ilustrativa de cómo se distribuyó aquella renta. En los momentos de incremento del ingreso petrolero (15.4% entre 1968 y 1978),

apenas un tercio (4.2%) de ello se reflejó en incremento del salario real pero, cuando los ingresos petroleros cayeron (-5.4% entre 1978 y 1984) en igual proporción lo hizo el salario real (-5.1%) 1/. Una distribución del ingreso entre salarios y beneficios, pone en evidencia la disminución a la importancia del ingreso salarial en el ingreso total.

Si esta división se hace por estratos en función de nivel de riquezas, las disparidades se hacen mucho mas evidentes. Ese deterioro de los salarios reales va tener el efecto de restringir la demanda, en un mercado ya de por si estrecho(...)

Finalmente, el índice de precio al consumidor se elevó a una tasa del 12.5% en 1984, frente a un 6.3% en 1983 y según el presidente del BCV debería ser de 12% en 1985. En términos promedio el impacto mayor fue provocado por Alimentos, Bebidas y Tabaco cuyo aumento fue de 17.2% (...)

Estas cifras e indicadores son apenas la punta del iceberg. Los problemas de la economía que debemos enfrentar de inmediato, sin abandonar otros aspectos importantes para el mediano y largo plazo, son: (a) estrechez del mercado nacional, (b) falta de democracia económica, (c) ausencia de prioridad en los sectores a desarrollar, (d) alta vulnerabilidad (tecnológica y financiera) frente al exterior, (e) exagerada dependencia del petróleo, (f) falta de integración de la infraestructura de producción, (g) orientación de la producción hacia el consumo de minorías.

2.2 Los componentes políticos de la crisis

Ya hemos senalado que la crisis es multidimensional, no obstante su componente político no es claramente percibido por diversas causas que pueden ver englobadas en la "Cultura política" y en el "Sistema político" venezolano, cuya estructura de poder conformada comienza a verse sacudida en sus bases.

Estos componentes políticos pueden ser esquematizados de la manera siguiente:

- . El desarrollo político del país marcha desfasado con el ritmo de modernización logrado por la economía. Y por tanto perdió el control del proceso global, control que no parece fácil de recuperar sin fricciones significativas;
- . en cuanto los gobiernos, en conducción del Estado, dejaron de pensar en términos estratégicos para actuar en el día a día, se perdió el sentido de dirección del país. Lo económico ha pasado a ser un fin en si mismo puesto que sólo interesaba la cifra del PTB y no sus impactos en términos sociales y de acumulación de poder. Aceptamos el rumbo sin preguntarnos hacia donde vamos (...)

1/ Alberto Martínez H., La evolución del salario real en Venezuela.

- en la medida que el proceso político venezolano aparece fuertemente controlado por los partidos políticos controlados a su vez por una dirigencia que rechaza el debate y la necesaria presentación de cuentas periódicas a las bases que legitiman su acción, los venezolanos buscaran nuevas formas de asociarse para defender sus intereses. Esto explica la fuerza del movimiento de vecinos en algunas ciudades.

Estos elementos han estado presente durante largos años en la dinámica de la sociedad venezolana, y su resonancia de alguna manera había sido acallada por ese mecanismo de contención de conflictos y de legitimación política del cual dispuso el Estado durante un largo período, a saber: su capacidad de gasto fiscal generada por la renta petrolera. Hoy esa capacidad está menguada y será insuficiente para contener las diversas presiones; en ese contexto del análisis, había que ubicar la propuesta de Reforma del Estado, la lucha del sector empresarial por unas libertades económicas que de repente emanan como la gran salvación contra el estancamiento económico, etc., como vías alternas a la vieja práctica.

De modo que en la medida en que se limiten los recursos financieros disponibles internamente y se agrave la situación social de las mayorías populares, escenario éste visualizado como el más probable en el corto plazo, será lógico esperar una agudización de la pugna por la repartición de recursos escasos. También será muy probable ver a las organizaciones que expresan los intereses populares como la Confederación de Trabajadores venezolanos (CTV), por ej., obligadas a luchar no sólo por mayores beneficios económicos y sociales, a plantear la reforma del Estado en aras de su eficiencia técnico-administrativa, sino también a luchar por modificar la actual relación de poder entre las fuerzas sociales para incidir en la toma de decisiones y en la distribución de los recursos.

A nuestro juicio ocurrirán algunos cambios fundamentales en el plano político, que además de la modernización acelerada exigirán nuevas formas de quehacer político:

- la escasez hará cada vez más difícil el logro de decisiones consensuales satisfactorias para todos.
- Los dirigidos exigirán nuevas y más eficaces formas de control sobre los dirigentes;
- El sector político, por la complejidad de la sociedad moderna se vera obligado a compartir cuotas de poder con otros grupos de la sociedad. El autoritarismo arbitrario sera cada vez menos posible.

2.3. Los componentes sociales de la crisis

De alguna manera ya hemos tocado los aspectos sociales de la crisis al hablar de los aspectos económicos, tal es el caso cuando se alude a los ingresos, desempleo, subempleo, etc.

Sin embargo, existen otros indicadores que merecen una revisión detallada.

Según el XI Censo de Población y Vivienda de 1981, la población ha crecido de 5 millones en 1950 a 17 millones en 1984, y la población urbana de 54% a 84%. Esa población aparece muy desigualmente distribuida en el territorio nacional puesto que sólo los estados Aragua, Carabobo, Miranda y Distrito Federal concentraban en 1981 el 46% de la población urbana y el 38% del total nacional.

Según el II Inventario Nacional de Barrios elaborado por FUNDACOMUN se evidencia un agravamiento de la marginalidad durante los últimos cinco años. Los barrios se incrementaron en un 99% al pasar entre 1978 y 1985. de 1.561 a 3.100 barrios que agrupan a 6.700.000 habitantes, aproximadamente el 45% de la población total.

Por su parte en el Distrito Federal, de una población de 2.100.000 habitantes, el 61% viven en condiciones de marginalidad en cerca de 300.000 ranchos. Del total de las familias encuestadas, el 47% indica recibir ingresos inferiores a 3.000 bolívares mensual. Esta pobreza crítica expresa, además de la situación de la vivienda, la escasez de empleos, bajas remuneraciones debido al subempleo, fallas o escasez parcial o total de los servicios públicos básicos, además de una gran potencialidad para el conflicto social (...)

No es menos la dramática situación que revela el Estudio nacional de crecimiento y desarrollos humanos de la República de Venezuela, más conocido como PROYECTO VENEZUELA, una de las más serias, rigurosas y calificadas investigaciones que se hayan realizado en el país. Este estudio parte de unas hipótesis que hasta ahora soportan el rigor de la experimentación científica, según las cuales el crecimiento y desarrollo del venezolano no están condicionados por factor genético alguno sino por factores de orden económico y culturales, entre los cuales la alimentación tiene la mayor jerarquía.

Al hacer una división por estratos sociales del total de 2.725.056 familias que determina el XI CENSO se obtienen los siguientes resultados:

ESTRATO SOCIAL	DISTRIBUCION %	NO.FAMILIAS
Estrato I (Clase Alta Alta)	1.02	27 795
Estrato II (Alta Media)	4.46	121 560
Estrato III (Media)	14.10	384 233
Estrato IV (Media Baja)	42.37	1 154 608
Estrato V (Baja Baja)	38.05	1 036 881

En los tres primeros estratos viven 418.786 niños menores de 5 años, en cambio en los estratos IV y V se totalizan 1.805.935 niños. De allí que el Estudio señale, refiriéndose a estos últimos, que

esta inmensa masa de niños tiene una imperiosa necesidad de atención en el orden de la nutrición, de la prevención y asistencia de las enfermedades. Son estos los niños subalimentados, hacinados en su mayoría en viviendas inadecuadas desde todo punto de vista, los mismos que frecuentan las consultas y las salas de nuestros hospitales con un alto costo en fracaso y dinero.

El horizonte no aparece nada halagador no sólo para esta inmensa cantidad de infantes sino para el país como conjunto, toda vez que su construcción en el siglo por venir estaría en mano de hombres subcapacitados física y mentalmente. Se estima que en una población de 28 millones de habitantes que tendremos en el año 2000, 6 millones de niños presentarían graves problemas de desnutrición (...)

Finalmente digamos que los esfuerzos por comprender el sentido y expresiones de la crisis tienen su valor tanto desde el punto de vista del conocimiento social, como desde el punto de vista moral puesto que los jóvenes y niños de este país tienen el derecho de saber cómo, quienes y en nombre de qué comprometieron su futuro para que este le significare grandes sacrificios y pérdidas de oportunidades. Mas la reflexión no puede quedarse allí y lamentarse de las posibilidades no aprovechadas, sino que debe avanzar y extraer sus lecciones para dejar en claro que, si en medio de la gran abundancia los sectores que controlan el poder político y económico sólo son capaces de llevarnos de sótano en sótano, no se podría esperar de ellos una suerte mejor en una coyuntura de escasez por lo cual será necesario, entonces, tratar de provocar cambios en aquellas estructuras de poder y en las formas de conducción de la sociedad.

Como mínimo los trabajadores tendrán que motivarse, si no hacia la construcción de un sistema distinto al actual capitalismo voraz, si hacia la creación de un sistema donde no se limiten sus fuerzas políticas y creativas.

DONDE ESTAMOS Y COMO LLEGAMOS AQUÍ?

Las manifestaciones visibles de la crisis nos permiten una idea general de dónde estamos. No obstante, se precisa de algo más y es el cómo llegamos aquí. Qué conjunto de instancias y relaciones políticas, así como cuales fallas técnico-organizativas sirvieron de soporte para llegar al actual estado de crisis y cuales modificaciones, cambios y reformas, estarían planteadas para encontrar una salida que evada los errores de ayer?.

Una respuesta consistente a estas complejas interrogantes supone necesariamente la comprensión de aspectos tales como:

- . la modernización como proyecto político dominante;
- . el tipo de Estado que tenemos. Sus límites y posibilidades;
- . el proceso político de estabilización del Sistema democrático de gobierno;
- . el sistema político vigente y su régimen electoral;
- . las características del sistema económico y dualidad Capitalismo de Estado/Capitalismo Liberal;
- . la relación entre política económica y social.

Empero, una reflexión de esta naturaleza y complejidad desborda el objetivo del presente trabajo. Cabe señalar que estos distintos aspectos han sido investigados por diversas individualidades e instituciones pero de forma sectorial, lo que dificulta luego la síntesis que aporte una perspectiva global del problema. Intentaremos hacer una primera aproximación, para llamar la atención sobre los temas de fondo que afectan el futuro.

Frente a la compleja red que se va tejiendo en el plano económico entre Estado y economía privada y dado el papel que los partidos (o sus cúpulas) desempeñan en el seno del Estado, la estrategia era clara para quienes querían una mayor proporción de la renta petrolera: penetrar y neutralizar a los partidos políticos con posibilidades de poder real. Imponer luego la ideología de lo económico por encima de lo social fue tarea fácil sobretodo si la articulación entre ambas ofrece problemas técnicos.

Mientras que los partidos políticos, de derecha, centro e izquierda, permanecían imperturbables con sus viejas teorías, planteamientos ideológicos y modelos organizativos, como diciéndose ellos mismos que lo que acontecía en la sociedad no tenía porqué afectar sus vidas internas, otras fuerzas de la sociedad no desaprovechaban la ocasión para ampliar la preparación y capacitación técnica necesaria para enfrentar una nueva realidad cada vez más compleja. El sector empresarial amplía sus centros de formación y estudios; las Fuerzas Armadas incrementan su profesionalización y desarrollo tecnológico; la Iglesia se reúne y revisa su doctrina social. Los partidos de izquierda radical centran su polémica en el tema de la revolución vs la reforma y AD y COPEI se van desideologizando, guiados por un pragmatismo cada vez más centralizador del poder.

En lo psico-cultural, los valores individuales ganaron peso con relación a los sociales de forma que la colectividad se replegó hacia la lucha personal. Hay dos razones de peso bastante evidentes: la lucha por la repartición de la renta petrolera a través de las relaciones clientelares con el

Estado lleva a la necesidad de llegar primero; la ideología del facilismo y el consumismo encuentra fecundo campo de cultivo y recibe el poderoso refuerzo de los medios de comunicación de masas (...)

Con todo lo negativo del caso, esa coyuntura sirvió para demostrar que la crisis de la sociedad venezolana supone una solución que va más allá de lo financiero, puesto que si ése fuese el único problema que confrontásemos la crisis se hubiese podido resolver luego de 1980, cuando el boom petrolero casi duplica los términos del intercambio con un incremento de las exportaciones en términos reales del 16.9% anual durante el trienio 1979-1981.

De allí que sea un argumento no convincente asociar la crisis con la caída del ingreso petrolero, dado que este último ocurre en 1982 y en ese año aquella ha mostrado buena parte de su cuerpo.

Teniendo muy en cuenta todo ese pasado reciente, en la síntesis que recogía el VII Plan y que se denominó situación inicial se tenían aspectos como los siguientes:

- . un sistema de toma de decisiones a los más altos niveles arcaico e ineficaz que dificulta el control del proceso de recuperación;
- . una excesiva dependencia de la explotación petrolera en medio de un escenario geopolítico de la OPEP distinto al de los años 70;
- . un sistema financiero, público y privado, ineficiente por lo que no es capaz de canalizar el ahorro hacia la inversión productiva;
- . una fuerza laboral desmotivada debido a sus bajos salarios y ninguna participación en la gestión del proceso productivo;
- . un patrón de consumo que consagra la abundancia y el despilfarro para una minoría y la austeridad forzosa para un 80% de la población;
- . agravamiento de la marginalidad social y desmejoramiento en la calidad de los servicios públicos;
- . un sistema de propiedad polarizado entre la propiedad estatal y privada que cierra las vías a formas democráticas y participativas de producción;
- . marcado desbalance del poder político, concentrado en pocas manos y con grandes sectores de la población sin representación en el seno del Estado;
- . ausencia de un proyecto estratégico de mediano y largo plazo que defina decisiones concretas que demanden y utilicen la creatividad de los venezolanos, conjugando nuestra potencialidad de recursos físicos y humanos en la solución de los problemas, para avanzar hacia nuevos horizontes de progreso y bienestar;
- . Ausencia de una estrategia para avanzar en el desarrollo político del país más allá de la estabilidad de la democracia, por la vía

del consenso de la inercia y falta de rumbo ahora cuando el consenso es más difícil debido a la acumulación de graves problemas sociales y a escasez relativa de recursos para atenderlas.

Por el carácter estructural de la crisis y por la multidimensionalidad de sus efectos, la Estrategia General no debía, ni debe ser sectorial sino global. Así en el VII Plan se planteaba:

Un pacto político para profundizar la democracia y desconcentrar el poder político y abrir compuertas a las nuevas fuerzas que surgían en la sociedad. Aprovechar el debilitamiento de los grupos económicos para crear una estructura económica más democrática. Atacar el problema de la producción y la productividad y realizar las reformas fiscales que facilitarían la asignación de recursos directos a los grupos sociales más débiles (Estratos IV y V) para garantizarles un ingreso mínimo de subsistencia (...)

MARCO PARA UNA ACCIÓN ESTRATÉGICA

De la síntesis presentada se desprenden tres conclusiones fundamentales:

1) La lucha futura de los trabajadores se dará en tres planos altamente interconectados. El plano internacional con la tendencia hacia mayores ingerencias en las definiciones de nuestras acciones económicas y políticas frente al futuro. Así tendremos al FMI interviniendo en la política económica de la coyuntura que es donde se echan las bases para el curso de acción futura y al Banco Mundial tratando de definir el mediano y el largo plazo. La respuesta de los trabajadores tiene que ser en consecuencia mejorando la cantidad y calidad de la participación en los foros internacionales, demostrando, con apoyo científico-técnico, que si existen alternativas a las recetas que pretenden cargar sobre sus hombros la superación de la crisis.

Un segundo plano de la lucha será el nacional donde el énfasis debe ser no sólo el cambiar las actuales políticas que agudizan el estancamiento, sino el enfoque global que pretende señalar que la economía es cómo un avión monomotor que sólo funciona a través de los márgenes de beneficio que determina el mercado a favor de los propietarios de los medios de producción. Los trabajadores deben luchar por hacerle entender - a través de la confrontación y de la negociación o de una combinación de ambas - a los adoradores del mercado que en una empresa y en una economía el factor más importante es el factor humano y que con trabajadores desmotivados, desnutridos y explotados no se captan en la economía moderna mercados externos que exigen tasas permanentes de mejoras de la productividad.

Pero la esencia de la búsqueda en el plano nacional es cambiar el balance de poder. Para ello es necesario entender la

nueva forma de lucha que imponen los tiempos modernos para revisar los mecanismos a través de los cuales luchan los trabajadores y quienes deben ser sus aliados.

Debemos formularnos las siguientes preguntas: Han avanzado los trabajadores en su búsqueda, no de un poder hegemónico, sino de un balance en armonía con su aporte real en la sociedad y con su número, a través de los llamados movimientos revolucionarios ? Han avanzado a la velocidad de cambio que se requiere a través de sus alianzas de clase en los partidos social demócratas ? Cuales son las experiencias históricas que niegan o afirman esta realidad?

La respuesta a la primera pregunta es un no casi rotundo y la respuesta a la segunda es un si condicionado (...)

La pregunta que también debemos formularnos hoy en día es: si no ameritan los partidos policlasistas en general una revisión ? No amerita una revisión su relación con la clase trabajadora ? Las mentes conservadoras piensan que no. Para ellas no existe ninguna relación entre la abundante riqueza que hemos manejado y la profunda injusticia social que se ha incrustado en el seno de nuestra sociedad. Otros pensamos que si que es necesario un reajuste e inclusive la reconstrucción de tales relaciones si los trabajadores quieren, ya no sobrevivir, sino avanzar aceleradamente en obtener mejores niveles de vida y mas igualdad social en Venezuela (...)

Los trabajadores deben, en consecuencia, tener una acción más autónoma frente a las dirigencias partidistas socialdemócratas cuando estas den signos de debilidad y al mismo tiempo avanzar en la creación de patrimonios propios, modernización de sus sistemas de toma de decisiones, educación de sus cuadros para tener una visión no especializada sino de conjunto sobre una sociedad más compleja.

Desarrollar sus propios proyectos estratégicos y exigirles a sus aliados acciones (no discursos) consecuentes con sus postulados básicos. El Manifiesto de Caracas, aprobado en el IX Congreso de los Trabajadores debe servir de marco para realizar evaluaciones periódicas de la gestión de gobierno y de la conducta de los dirigentes afines a la clase trabajadora en el seno del Congreso, de las Asambleas Legislativas y de los Concejos Municipales.

En el tercer plano (el de la empresa), los trabajadores deben avanzar en la búsqueda de la Democracia económica (cogestión, fondos de productividad compartida). La democracia debe ser el factor fundamental en la mejora de la productividad en las empresas y no el autoritarismo explotador y arbitrario (...)

2) Estas acciones de los trabajadores deben enmarcarse dentro de una visión estratégica que tenga como propósito no

sólo incrementar las actividades económicas sino a disminuir sus debilidades frente a los vaivenes de la economía internacional y los sectores internos de poder político y económico.

La expansión planificada de la demanda, bien sea impulsando el caballo del gasto público o el consumo privado, (aumento de salarios), acompañado de un subsidio directo para completar la capacidad adquisitiva de los grupos de menores ingresos (...)

La escasez de ingresos que caracterizará los años venideros obliga a pensar en la necesidad de establecer prioridades y entre ellas la fundamental es reorientar la economía hacia la satisfacción de las necesidades básicas de la población. En una economía altamente importadora esto no podrá lograrse sin un control estricto de cambio y la reorientación del consumo del 20% de la población.

Estas acciones no se limitarán a actuar dentro del marco del gigantismo estatal y la voracidad de la mayoría de las empresas sino se plantea verdaderos proyectos a democratizar el capital y a crear mecanismos reales y automáticos de distribución del ingreso con miras a que el sacrificio de hoy sea compensado en el futuro.

3) Finalmente los trabajadores deben pensar en la posibilidad de crear un Consejo Social para vigilar los efectos sociales de la política económica.

En Venezuela la política económica y la política social se manejan en forma desarticulada sin que la segunda tenga una fuerza política de peso real que la respalde. Ahorrar 24 mil millones de bolívares e incrementar las reservas internacionales en 2 mil millones a costa del desempleo de un millón de venezolanos es una clara demostración de una política económica sin sensibilidad social, algo así como operar del corazón sin anestesia.

Los trabajadores venezolanos han descartado los ismos pero quedarse pasivamente aceptando sin cuestionamiento las restricciones de un capitalismo salvaje, sin tener como norte la sociedad igualitaria, es negarse el derecho a un futuro distinto.

IFDA DOSSIER	-	SUSCRIPCIONES
Norte:	48 francos suizos o 30 dólares US	
Sur:	24 francos suizos o 15 dólares US	

QUELLE VOIE POUR L'AFRIQUE?

A l'invitation de l'IFDA, un groupe de responsables africains s'est réuni à fin avril près de Nyon pour définir la nature de la crise qui frappe leur continent, en déterminer les causes et, surtout, envisager une alternative. Ils ont adopté la Déclaration sur l'Afrique que l'on lira ci-dessous. Voyant dans les femmes et les hommes d'Afrique eux-mêmes les artisans de son redressement, le groupe a lancé un triple appel à une démocratie authentique fondée sur le strict respect des droits de l'homme; à un autre projet de développement; et à l'unité des peuples du continent. Le séminaire a été présidé par Joseph Ki-Zerbo, membre du Conseil de l'IFDA et Ahmed Ben Salah, membre de son Comité directeur. La liste des signataires suit le texte anglais.

WHICH WAY AFRICA?

Responding to an invitation from IFDA, a group of African leaders met at the end of April near Nyon with a view to defining the nature of the crisis which is striking their continent, analysing its causes and, above all, formulating an alternative. The group adopted a Declaration on Africa, the English text of which follows the French (see page 40 below). Seeing in the people of Africa themselves the protagonists of its recovery, they call for a genuine democracy based on the strict respect of human rights; a new project of development; and unity within the continent. The seminar was chaired by Joseph Ki-Zerbo, member of the IFDA Council and Ahmed Ben Salah, member of its Steering Committee.

POUR LA DEMOCRATIE, POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT, POUR L'UNITE

DECLARATION SUR L'AFRIQUE

Un sursaut s'impose pour engager et réussir le redressement de la situation réellement dramatique de notre continent.

Pour l'immense majorité des Africains, hommes et femmes, jeunes et vieux, paysans, intellectuels, travailleurs des usines, des mines et des plantations, pour les chômeurs, les émigrés, les réfugiés, l'avenir paraît sombre.

L'Afrique est aujourd'hui prise dans une conjonction de crises dans tous les secteurs de la vie économique, politique, sociale et culturelle.

Les économies dépérissent, la production agricole par habitant décline, notamment la production vivrière. Les industries, quand elles existent, produisent bien en-dessous de leur capacité alors que sévit la pénurie des biens et services les plus élémentaires. Les réseaux de communication et de transport sont souvent vétustes ou démantelés. Les infrastructures sociales, culturelles et scientifiques sont menacées de paralysie. Résultat du mal développement, les forêts tropicales et les éco-

systèmes de montagne, comme les vastes zones semi-arides du continent, exposées à des sécheresses récurrentes, ont été dégradés et certains même perdus pour les générations futures.

Les causes de cette situation se trouvent bien sûr dans les lourds effets de la traite et de l'exploitation coloniale durant lesquelles les fondements de la vie matérielle et socio-culturelle des Africains ont été détruits ou gravement endommagés. Mais les causes résident aussi dans la soumission de l'Afrique à une division internationale du travail génératrice de régression et de sous-développement.

Aujourd'hui se sont bien évanouis et les élans euphoriques et les espoirs qui ont marqué les premières années de l'Indépendance. Aujourd'hui les pouvoirs des Etats post-coloniaux se caractérisent par l'absence presque générale de relations démocratiques avec la société civile. Trop de régimes se sont installés dans des pratiques d'autocratie, voire de dictature parfois monstrueuse.

Dans bien des cas, les exactions des pouvoirs africains ont été renforcées par des protections ou des encouragements de puissances étrangères; renforcées aussi par des pressions politiques et économiques des forces néo-colonialistes ou impérialistes. Ces forces n'ont pas renoncé à traiter l'Afrique indépendante en zone d'influence, à s'assurer l'accès à ses ressources naturelles, à y contrôler des positions stratégiques. Elles interviennent, directement ou par allié ou satellite interposé, dans la vie politique de l'Afrique, se profilant derrière certains coups d'Etat, alimentant ou soutenant des politiques de déstabilisation, notamment en Afrique australe.

Un lourd processus accable ainsi l'Afrique, aggravé par la crise économique mondiale et par la famine comme par des calamités naturelles qui lui donnent un caractère catastrophique et fatal, un caractère global aussi, systémique et dialectique. Tout se tient. Les causes des maux économiques eux-mêmes de l'Afrique, et les remèdes qu'ils appellent, ne relèvent pas d'une analyse et d'une thérapeutique exclusivement économiques. Ce ne serait qu'un alibi servant à fuir ou à occulter la réalité

C'est pourquoi nous affirmons que la stratégie du redressement et du salut de notre continent doit se déployer dans trois domaines fondamentaux et qui sont interdépendants: la démocratie, le développement, l'unité.

I. POUR LA DEMOCRATIE

La lutte des peuples africains pour l'indépendance voulait abolir le système colonial par la mise en place de structures démocratiques assurant leur libération, leur épanouissement, leur pleine participation aux responsabilités de la vie nationale.

Or, après l'indépendance, dans la plupart des Etats africains, les objectifs des luttes de libération ont été détournés, les rêves et les ambitions populaires trahis. La démocratie est restée confinée dans les déclarations des leaders, dans les formules mimétiques de constitutions rarement respectées.

La démocratie demeure absente de la vie quotidienne. Les libertés élémentaires sont souvent bafouées: arrestations arbitraires, incarcérations, tortures, liquidations ont fait taire bien des opposants réels ou supposés dont le seul crime était parfois d'avoir rappelé aux dirigeants leurs serments lors de l'accession au pouvoir ou pendant la lutte pour la liberté. Toute opinion différente est considérée comme subversive.

Pendant ce temps sévissent les luttes de clans et de factions, d'où les coups d'Etat qui se succèdent, ponctués d'assassinats et d'exécutions dont les victimes sont le plus souvent innocentes, ponctués aussi de flots de réfugiés africains devenus si massifs qu'ils sont devenus véritable fléau, une des hontes de notre continent.

Face à cette situation intolérable, nous devons intensifier nos luttes pour la démocratie, pour son instauration et pour son approfondissement. La démocratie seule peut assurer la sécurité, la stabilité et l'épanouissement des sociétés et des citoyens. Elle seule peut assurer un développement global et juste, une unité riche des diversités africaines. Elle est le meilleur fondement de notre indépendance. Nous adjurons les gouvernements africains d'observer rigoureusement les six impératifs suivants:

- . le respect scrupuleux des droits humains fondamentaux;
- . la garantie du droit des gens à choisir leur gouvernement librement dans le cadre d'un Etat de droit pratiquant effectivement la séparation des pouvoirs législatif, judiciaire, exécutif;
- . la garantie du droit des gens à participer pleinement aux décisions relatives à la vie de la société et du pays;
- . la garantie d'une information complète et constante des citoyens sur leurs droits et leurs devoirs, comme la garantie du droit d'informer et d'être informé;
- . la garantie de la liberté d'expression, d'association ainsi que du respect de l'autonomie des organisations de la société civile;
- . la garantie des droits des réfugiés et émigrés en Afrique et hors de l'Afrique ainsi que du soutien constant qu'on doit leur apporter.

Nous adjurons les gouvernements de signer, de ratifier et d'appliquer scrupuleusement la Charte africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples.

Nos luttes doivent s'appuyer sur des relations démocratiques et égalitaires entre femmes et hommes, entre les différents groupes sociaux comme à l'intérieur de ces groupes eux-mêmes, instaurant ainsi le civisme dans la pratique quotidienne.

II. POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT

Le développement de l'Afrique doit être un processus continu de construction ou de reconstruction des économies, des sociétés et des cultures en vue de satisfaire les besoins matériels et immatériels des Africains.

Il s'agit pour nous d'élaborer un projet nouveau de développement qui soit endogène, autonome, respectueux de l'environnement, et se fonde sur de profondes transformations structurelles. Ce projet requiert la maîtrise culturelle des concepts fondamentaux et des outils du développement, la pleine participation de tous les intéressés à tous les stades de son déroulement, ainsi que la reconnaissance du poids démographique, du rôle essentiel, des besoins et des droits spécifiques des femmes dans tous les domaines.

Le développement de l'Afrique exige que soient comblés dans les meilleurs délais les déficits alimentaires par la croissance substantielle, soutenue et égalitaire de la production agricole qui seule peut permettre l'élévation du niveau de vie du plus grand nombre et la croissance stable des marchés intérieurs. Cette croissance requiert les restructurations foncières indispensables et la participation active des communautés de base.

L'industrialisation en Afrique, structurellement défailante à l'heure actuelle, doit être mise au service du développement agricole. Elle doit mobiliser les ressources naturelles du continent. Sa localisation doit favoriser en premier lieu les régions rurales, et ses productions contribuer à l'accroissement de la productivité agricole.

Le développement repose sur la créativité et implique des systèmes d'éducation et de formation qui la stimulent; la mise en valeur du potentiel de connaissances scientifiques et techniques des producteurs et singulièrement des femmes; l'utilisation appropriée des techniques de pointe; et l'appropriation des techniques par les intéressés.

Le développement de l'Afrique ne peut résulter, dans les circonstances présentes, d'une intégration plus étroite à l'économie mondiale, d'autant plus que les nouvelles tendances de celle-ci contribuent à dévaluer de plus en plus les ressources humaines et naturelles de notre continent, et, de ce fait, à le marginaliser. Au contraire, nos pays doivent chercher sur place et entre eux-mêmes les voies et moyens d'une coopération pour leur développement.

La rigueur dans la gestion des ressources financières et monétaires est indispensable au développement et à la démocratie en Afrique et suppose la participation populaire dans la décision. L'incurie et la corruption doivent être combattues. En raison des contraintes démographiques, qu'elle peut alléger, l'Afrique doit veiller à une mobilisation, une affectation et une utilisation judicieuses de ses ressources dans son économie, son administration et tous les secteurs de l'activité sociale.

Notre avenir serait lourdement hypothéqué par le remboursement intégral de la dette qui priverait l'Afrique des ressources nécessaires à son développement cependant que les politiques d'ajustement afférentes risquent de déstabiliser durablement les systèmes productifs et sociaux africains. Ces politiques constituent une nouvelle forme de subordination aux impératifs extérieurs. C'est pourquoi des mesures urgentes s'imposent pour alléger substantiellement le fardeau de la dette et le faire supporter par ceux qui en ont légalement ou illégalement tiré profit, en particulier ceux des responsables qui ont accumulé des fortunes

colossales, les hommes d'affaires et les banques qui se sont déjà largement payées par les variations des taux d'intérêt et du dollar.

La coopération internationale, et non l'endettement, peut contribuer au développement lorsque elle contribue au financement de ce dernier au lieu de se substituer à des ressources locales non mobilisées ou gaspillées.

III. POUR L'UNITÉ

L'unité africaine est un impératif historique au service de la démocratie et du développement.

Depuis des millénaires, les bases de cette unité sont inscrites dans les langues et les cultures que nous devons développer et enrichir.

Aujourd'hui, la priorité demeure d'achever la libération du continent. C'est dans une lutte unitaire que l'Afrique peut réussir, aux côtés des combattants, la libération de l'Afrique du Sud et de la Namibie. Dans l'unité, l'Afrique peut concrétiser sa solidarité matérielle, morale et diplomatique avec les luttes de libération en Afrique australe et condamner les soutiens anglo-américains et autres au pouvoir de Pretoria et à ses complices locaux en Angola et au Mozambique. Dans l'unité, l'Afrique peut et doit déjouer et rejeter tous les projets et toutes les machinations néo-colonialistes et impérialistes.

L'unité est un impératif historique, un processus, une pratique. La validité et la vigueur de l'idéal panafricain sont plus vivants que jamais dans les consciences populaires.

L'unité constitue en soi une innovation qualitative qui instaure l'espace africain comme une nouvelle frontière à conquérir. Elle nous libérera enfin des pesanteurs et hypothèques désastreuses du partage opéré par la Conférence de Berlin de 1884/85. Au cœur du projet unitaire se trouve la volonté de forger les conditions objectives d'un développement indépendant, auto-centré, auto-entretenu au bénéfice de l'ensemble des peuples africains.

Face à la crise à laquelle notre continent est confronté, face aux coûts gigantesques du progrès scientifique et technique, face aux transnationales qui, elles, ont déjà réalisé une unité africaine à la mesure de leurs intérêts et de leurs profits, face à ces défis, l'unité s'impose plus fortement que jamais. C'est pourquoi les dirigeants africains doivent mettre fin à l'énorme gaspillage de ressources qui résulte de l'émiettement actuel.

Il faut engager et renforcer le processus unitaire en intensifiant la coopération régionale et sous-régionale authentique, aux plans scientifique et technique en promouvant notamment les centres de recherche, aux plans agricole, industriel et commercial, à celui des programmes communautaires de mise en valeur comme au plan culturel.

Il est temps pour les Africains de renoncer à la stratégie de la main toujours tendue pour recevoir. Il y va de la dignité du continent et de sa vitalité.

Il est temps aussi que l'OUA elle-même commence à se restructurer afin de donner un contenu populaire à l'unité africaine en s'ouvrant aux organisations panafricaines ou inter-africaines de femmes, de paysans, de travailleurs, de jeunes, d'intellectuels, de scientifiques, d'artistes.

Ainsi la communauté internationale finira par comprendre que seule une Afrique saine et robuste peut contribuer au progrès général de l'humanité.

Ainsi se bâtira la force de l'Afrique qui lui permettra de rénover et consolider son non-alignement au service d'un ordre international juste, au service de la paix.

L'unité, la démocratie, le développement constituent les trois piliers du progrès africain, la trilogie porteuse de dynamisme et d'espoir.

Pour ces fondements de notre avenir, un sursaut s'impose dans notre volonté de changer radicalement les structures et les comportements, non plus seulement pour survivre, mais pour vivre pleinement.

Mai 1986

FOR DEMOCRACY, FOR DEVELOPMENT, FOR UNITY

DECLARATION ON AFRICA

An awakening is imperative to start and successfully bring about the recovery which the dramatic situation facing our continent urgently requires.

For the vast majority of Africans, men and women, young and old, farmers, intellectuals, factory workers, mine and plantation workers, the unemployed, emigrants, and refugees, the future looks grim indeed.

Africa today is caught up in a convergence of crises in all sectors of economic, political, social and cultural life.

Its economies are in a shambles, and per capita agricultural production, particularly food crops, is declining. Industries, where they exist at all, are producing at well below capacity, at a time when there are severe shortages of the most basic goods and services. Communications and transportation networks have been disrupted or dismantled. The entire social, cultural and scientific infrastructures are threatened with paralysis. One of the consequences of maldevelopment is that the tropical forests and mountain ecosystems, as well as the continent's vast semi-arid areas which are subject to recurrent droughts, have been damaged; some have even been lost for future generations.

The causes of this situation are of course to be found in the heavy effects of the slave-trade and of colonial exploitation, during which the foundations of Africans' material and socio-cultural life were either destroyed or seriously damaged. But the causes also lie in Africa's subjection to an international division of labour that generates regression and under-development.

The euphoria and optimism that marked the first years of Independence have vanished. Today the governments of the post-colonial states in Africa are characterized by an almost total lack of democratic relations with the civil society. Too many governments have fallen prey to autocratic and sometimes monstrously dictatorial practices.

In many cases, the exactions of African regimes have been exacerbated by protection and encouragement from foreign powers; they have also been aggravated by political and economic pressures exerted by neo-colonialist or imperialist forces. These forces keep considering independent Africa as a zone of influence, maintaining their access to its natural resources and controlling strategic positions there. They intervene in Africa's political life, either directly or through allies or satellite governments acting as proxies, they are behind some of the coups d'etat, and promote or support destabilization policies, particularly in southern Africa.

Thus a heavy burden is weighing Africa down. This burden is made heavier still by the world economic crisis and by famine and natural disasters which lend it a catastrophic, fatal character, a character that is also global, systemic and dialectical. Everything is interrelated. The causes of Africa's economic problems themselves and the solutions they require cannot be pinpointed by purely economic analysis and therapy. This would be but an alibi for evading or obscuring the reality.

We therefore affirm that the strategy needed for the recovery and salvation of our continent must be deployed in three fundamental, interdependent areas: democracy, development and unity.

I. FOR DEMOCRACY

The African people fought for independence for the purpose of abolishing the colonial system by establishing democratic institutions which would ensure their liberation, development and full participation in the responsibilities of national life.

After independence, in the majority of African states, the objectives of the liberation struggles have been misappropriated and the people's dreams and ambitions betrayed. Democracy has remained confined to leaders' declarations, and to the imitative drawing up of constitutions that are rarely respected.

Democracy is still absent from everyday life. Elementary freedoms are often flouted: arbitrary arrests, imprisonments, torture and murders have silenced many genuine or supposed political opponents, whose only crime was often to have reminded leaders of the oaths they swore on taking office or during the fight for freedom. Any dissenting opinion is regarded as subversive.

At the same time factional and ethnic conflicts are rife, giving rise to a succession of coups d'etat, punctuated with assassinations and executions of often innocent victims, and further punctuated with exoduses of African refugees now so massive that they have become a genuine scourge, a source of shame for our continent.

Faced with this intolerable situation we must intensify our struggle to establish and strengthen democracy. Democracy alone may provide security, stability and development for societies and citizens alike. It alone may make possible a global and equitable development, a unity rich with African diversity. It is the best foundation for our independence.

We hereby urge African governments to strictly observe the following six basic requirements:

- . the scrupulous respect of fundamental human rights;
- . the guarantee of people's right to choose their government freely within the framework of a state based on the rule of law and practising a genuine separation between the legislative, judicial and executive powers;
- . the guarantee of people's right to participate fully in the decisions concerning the life of their country and society;
- . the guarantee of full and constant information to citizens about their rights and duties, and the guarantee of the right to inform and to be informed;
- . the guarantee of the freedom of expression, freedom of association and respect for the autonomy of people organizations;
- . the guarantee of the rights of refugees and emigrants both in Africa and outside Africa as well as the provision of the constant support they need.

We further urge governments to sign, ratify and scrupulously enforce the African Charter of Human and People's Rights.

Our struggles must be based on democratic and egalitarian relations between women and men, between and within the different social groups, thereby creating a sense of citizenship in everyday life.

II. FOR DEVELOPMENT

The development of Africa must be a constant process of constructing or reconstructing economies, societies and cultures, in order to satisfy Africans' material and non-material needs.

We must devise a new development project, one which should be endogenous, self-reliant, ecologically sustainable and based on far-reaching structural transformations. Such a project calls for cultural mastery of the fundamental concepts and tools of development; full participation of

all concerned in all the stages of its implementation, and recognition of the importance of the demographic weight, essential role and specific needs and rights of women in all domains.

The development of Africa calls for reversing, in the shortest possible time, the food deficits that have grown disastrously, by increasing food production substantially and in a sustainable and egalitarian manner. This alone may raise the living standards of the majority of the population and promote the stable growth of domestic markets. Indispensable prerequisites for this growth are land reform programmes and the active participation of communities at the grass-roots level.

The industrialization of Africa, which at present exhibits many structural deficiencies, must serve agricultural development. It must mobilize the continent's natural resources. The siting of industries must primarily favour the rural areas, and industrial production should contribute to increasing agricultural productivity.

Development is based on creativity and implies educational and training systems that stimulate this creativity and make use of the scientific and technical potential of the producers, particularly of women; appropriate use of high technologies; and the appropriation of the technologies by the people concerned.

The development of Africa cannot, under existing conditions, result from closer integration into the world economy, particularly since the new trends of the latter contribute to progressively devaluing our continent's human and natural resources, and thus in marginalizing it. On the contrary, our countries must seek ways and means of implementing development cooperation within Africa.

Rigorous management of financial and monetary resources is indispensable for development and democracy in Africa and presupposes the participation of the people in the decisionmaking process. Negligence and corruption must be fought. Demographic constraints - which can be eased - are such that Africa should ensure judicious mobilization, allocation and utilization of its resources in its economy, administration and all areas of social activity.

Full repayment of our countries' debts would seriously mortgage our future and deprive Africa of the resources it needs to develop, while the adjustment policies involved might well destabilize the African production and social systems in the long term. These policies are a new form of subordination to external requirements. Urgent measures must therefore be taken to substantially ease the debt burden and to ensure that it is borne by those who have, legally or illegally, profited from it, particularly leaders who have amassed colossal fortunes, businessmen, and the banks which have already earned more than enough from variations in interest rates and the value of the dollar.

International cooperation and not indebtedness can contribute to development when it is mobilized to finance the latter, not to take the place of local resources that have not been mobilized or have been squandered.

III. FOR UNITY

African unity is a historical requirement at the service of democracy and development.

For many thousands of years the bases of this unity have been inscribed in the languages and cultures which we must develop and enrich.

Today priority should still be given to completing the liberation of the continent. A united struggle can enable Africa to achieve, alongside the combatants, the liberation of South Africa and Namibia. In unity, Africa can make concrete its material, moral and diplomatic solidarity with the liberation struggles in southern Africa and condemn the support given by Britain and the United States - and other countries - to the Pretoria government and its local accomplices in Angola and Mozambique. In unity, Africa can and must thwart and reject all neo-colonialist and imperialist schemes and machinations.

Unity is a historical requirement, a process and a practice. The validity and vigour of the Panafrican ideal are more alive than ever in the people's conscience.

Unity in itself is a qualitative innovation which makes Africa's space a new frontier to be conquered. It will at long last free us from the disastrous legacy of the division effected at the Berlin Conference of 1884/85. At the heart of the project of unity lies the determination to forge the objective conditions for independent, self-centred and self-reliant development for the benefit of all the peoples of Africa.

Faced with the crisis that is gripping our continent, with the enormous cost of scientific and technological progress, with the transnational companies that have already achieved a form of unity to match their interests and profits, faced with these challenges, unity is more essential than ever. That is why African leaders must put an end to the enormous wastage of resources which results from the present fragmentation.

The process of achieving unity must be initiated and strengthened by intensifying authentic regional and sub-regional cooperation, in science and technology by promoting, in particular, research centres; in agriculture; in industry; in trade as well as in culture, thus enhancing our continent's collective self-reliance.

It is high time Africans abandoned the strategy of the outstretched hand. What is at stake is the dignity and vitality of our continent.

It is also time the OAU itself began to restructure, so as to give its popular content to African unity by opening itself to Panafrican or inter-African associations of women, farmers, workers, young people, intellectuals, scientists or artists.

In this way the international community will ultimately realize that only a healthy, strong Africa can contribute to the general progress of humanity.

In this way Africa will build up the strength that will enable it to renew and consolidate its non-alignment to promote peace and a just international order.

Unity, democracy and development constitute the three pillars of African progress, the three pillars on which our dynamism and hopes are founded. To create these foundations for our future, an awakening is imperative in our determination to radically transform the structures and patterns of behaviour, no longer just to survive, but to live fully.

May 1986

Ama Ata Aidoo (Ms), Ghana, Writer, Former Provisional National Defence Council Secretary (Minister) for Education; Samir Amin, Egypte, Directeur du projet de l'Université des Nations Unies sur l'Avenir de l'Afrique; Ahmed Ben Salah, Tunisie, Secrétaire général du Mouvement d'Unité populaire et ancien Secrétaire Général de l'Union générale du travail de Tunisie, ancien Ministre du développement; Walter Bgoya, Tanzania, Managing Director, Tanzania Publishing House; Abdellatif Benachhou, Algérie, Economiste, Professeur d'Université, Secrétaire Général de l'Association des Economistes du Tiers Monde; Chen C. Chimutengwende, Zimbabwe, Member of Parliament, Secretary General, Southern Africa Mass Communication Association; Alpha-Abdoulaye Diallo, Guinée, Juriste, ancien Ministre (Affaires Etrangères; Jeunesse, Sports & Culture populaire); Emmanuel Hansen Ghana, Former Secretary to the Provisional National Defence Council; Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Burkina Faso, Historien, Vice-Président du Conseil international de la philosophie et des sciences humaines, membre du Conseil de l'Université des Nations Unies; Pascal Lissouba, Congo, Généticien, Professeur d'Université, ancien Ministre et ancien Premier Ministre, Directeur à l'UNESCO; Archibald Mafeje, South Africa, Professor at the American University in Cairo; Thandika Mkandawire, Malawi, Deputy Executive Secretary, Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA); Dani Wadada Nabudere, Uganda, Former Minister of Culture and Community Development; President, African Association of Political Science, Vice-President, International Political Science Association; Sally N'Dongo, Sénégal, Président de l'Union générale des travailleurs sénégalais en France; Assane Seck, Sénégal, Ancien Ministre, Député à l'Assemblée nationale; Haile Lul Tebicke, Ethiopia, Former Commissioner, National Science and Technology Commission, Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering; Rokiatou Tall (Mme), Mali, Secrétaire exécutive, Service international d'appui à la formation et aux technologies en Afrique de l'Ouest/Sahel (AFOTEC).

Ahmed Ben Salah a lu pour vous

DE L'UNITE ARABE, ESSAI D'INTERPRETATION CRITIQUE

par Fawzi Mellah

(Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985), 228pp.

L'Unité arabe, au moins depuis l'ère ottomane, s'est affirmée comme nostalgie et comme horizon; comme argument et comme projet. Rêve catalyseur - au deuxième rang après l'attachement vivace aux valeurs de l'Islam - durant les luttes anticoloniales, il devient, après les indépendances, la tentation et parfois l'arme de tel ou tel leader dominant assez naturellement la scène arabe ou... voulant la dominer. Toujours tentation partielle, à poussées sporadiques, disparates, d'un ordre arabe rénové, unitaire: celui d'une nation arabe de "l'Océan au Golfe". Par définition attentatoire aux ordres établis dans plus de vingt états ou quasi-états, à autant de raisons d'Etat... avec plus ou moins de "délices" comme dirait Jean Ziegler.

De toute évidence, le sujet n'est pas commode; dans le contexte arabe actuel on peut dire qu'il peut être explosif... selon le traitement. Fawzi Mellah a essayé, il faut le souligner, avec courage de conduire le lecteur à l'intérieur même de ce levain qui n'a pas levé; pas encore. Fawzi Meilah nous y conduit à travers une belle composition de son essai; belle parce que simple et claire signifiant, si besoin est, un effort réussi de maîtrise du sujet en même temps qu'un réel talent pédagogique.

Deux parties: la première consacrée aux fondements du concept de l'Unité arabe et à son évolution; la deuxième à l'impact de ce concept sur les relations inter-arabes. L'essai s'achève sur un scénario coïncé entre problèmes et conditions de réalisation.

Le concept de l'Unité arabe est expliqué, justifié: l'histoire, la langue, l'espace, les données politiques; il est confronté aux expériences unitaires, aux obstacles à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de l'espace arabe. Il est bien sûr recherché dans la littérature des mouvements politiques, en tous cas des "grands" courants connus, "classiques"... Un effort de l'auteur qui ne manque pas d'intensité. Toutefois, la densité du résultat ne semble être à la mesure de cet effort que par les questions et les réactions que le texte soulève ou provoque; bien sûr cela aussi est pédagogie. Prenons les choses ainsi et essayons brièvement de questionner et de réagir... au moins sur un point.

En nous situant seulement dans le contexte arabe, n'est-il pas vrai que par delà les explications et les analyses de l'auteur quant aux tribulations du concept de l'Unité arabe et aux échecs de toutes les expériences unitaires, un facteur demeure en général absent de l'analyse? N'est-il pas clair que, finalement, l'essai condamne bien sommairement tous les efforts qui ont tendu à réaliser les étapes, quelques étapes vers l'unité par la transformation et la préparation des structures socio-économiques au niveau local, au niveau régional? Et que dans cette condamnation quasi générale malgré quelques nuances, un facteur demeure absent de l'analyse?

N'est-il pas enfin évident que dans l'analyse des efforts conceptuels, fort intéressants, du Conseil économique et social de la Ligue des Etats Arabes, un facteur demeure absent de l'analyse?

Le même facteur, une donnée variable et constante sur de nombreuses décennies, un élément fondamental des échecs de tous les efforts au niveau local, au niveau régional, au niveau national, le même facteur: le pouvoir; sa nature, ses modes d'exercice, ses phantasmes, ses soumissions à tout sauf aux volontés, aux aspirations, proclamées ou chuchotées des peuples.

Fawzi Mellah, avec, semble-t-il, beaucoup de sérénité, d'"objectivité", de pudeur, s'est persuadé que parler plutôt d'états, en parler dans tous les sens suffira à combler l'absence d'un examen attentif et rigoureux du facteur pouvoir politique, de ses impacts, de ses impasses. Est-ce le sujet? Bien sûr que oui si on veut éclairer essentiellement la situation étrange du monde arabe au niveau des évolutions locales, régionales ou nationales, c'est-à-dire au niveau de la vie, de l'évolution et de la réalisation du concept et de la volonté d'unité.

Et pourtant Fawzi, à un moment donné, semblait être quasiment obligé de s'attaquer au problème quand il a évoqué la situation passablement nouvelle créée par les orientations socialistes en Egypte, en Algérie, en Tunisie; situation qui a tourné court comme a tourné court le raisonnement de l'auteur dans une phrase très étrange: "la tendance - hélas - persiste et s'approfondit. Le concept unitaire arabe n'a guère acquis plus de substance avec les réformes étatistes arabes, que ceux-ci soient d'inspiration libérale ou socialiste." (page 185).

Tout simplement! Et cela après avoir écrit: "Nous observons seulement que, dès le début des années soixante et d'une façon quasiment coordonnée (1961 pour l'Egypte, 1964 pour la Tunisie, 1964 pour l'Algérie, etc) l/ se généralisent dans l'ensemble arabe des modèles de développement et d'organisation socio-économiques faisant de l'Etat le principal agent" (...) Il est vrai que, suite à ces expériences, l'ensemble arabe est devenu uni en un certain sens. En effet, la prise en charge par l'Etat des secteurs économiques importants a contribué à uniformiser les sociétés arabes. On y observe maintenant des méthodes identiques de planification, de gestion et d'utilisation des ressources; on y rencontre les mêmes types sociaux."

Mais l'auteur glisse aussitôt vers l'explication... sans réplique, "intégration au marché mondial", alors que nous pouvons nous demander pourquoi ce résultat? Cela aurait pu être une étape; cela pouvait être la "rançon" que les militants socialistes devaient accepter de payer durant cette étape d'un profond changement, en attendant de consolider l'essentiel, c'est-à-dire les capacités matérielles et les structures nouvelles pour franchir d'autres étapes dans la voie de l'autonomie et de l'intégration du plus grand espace possible! N'oublions pas, par exemple, le

1/ Il aurait été plus conforme à la réalité d'écrire: 1961 Tunisie, 1965 pour l'Egypte et l'Algérie.

degré d'avancement d'actions concrètes dans cette voie menées au niveau du Maghreb et même en direction de l'Egypte.

Dans tous les cas, les efforts des socialistes étaient sous la surveillance du pouvoir politique réel au niveau local ou au niveau de la région ce pouvoir qu'on a intérêt à analyser dans sa nature, ses modes d'exercice, ses phantasmes, ses impacts sur l'évolution des peuples arabes sur leurs aspirations. L'analyser sans les ménagements vraiment superflus ou trompeurs de "l'objectivité", de la "pudeur" ou de telle ou telle idéologie. L'analyser dans ses exercices et ses effets à l'intérieur de chaque état; aussi on comprendra que dans chacune des sociétés arabes des verrous nouveaux, des obstacles temporaires ou non, sont édifiés pour retarder ou bloquer la libération des peuples, la libération de leurs aspirations à la dignité, à la justice afin que l'unité arabe ne soit pas, ne soit jamais celle de la soumission, de l'humiliation, de l'injustice.

Sera-t-elle jamais, cette unité, sera-t-elle jamais sans une véritable révolution, celle qui assurera aux peuples organisés de s'assurer l'orientation et le contrôle du pouvoir politique au service des aspirations à la liberté, à la justice, à la gestion intègre, à l'unité, à la force de contribuer au rééquilibrage du monde, à la paix? N'est-ce pas là "le défi que les peuples arabes ont à relever et qui est encore tout entier dressé devant eux" (Préface de Samir Amin).

LA VERITE DU MINISTRE,

DIX ANS DANS LES GEOLES DE SEKOU TOURE

par Alpha-Abdoulaye Diallo

(Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1985) 262pp.

Un cauchemar. Même un militant en exil après trois ans de "confinement solitaire" dans une geôle d'un confrère de Sékou Touré, même un militant quelque peu philosophe n'en est pas sorti sans traumatisme.

La vérité du ministre, ce n'est pas la vérité de l'ancien ministre qui est l'auteur de ce livre, c'est la vérité du ministre de la torture; du ministre d'un président africain comme il y en a eu, comme il y en a. Une génération d'hommes diaboliques comme seule la plus sage et la plus innocente des mères peut enfanter comme pour payer la rançon de sa ténacité et incomparable sagesse.

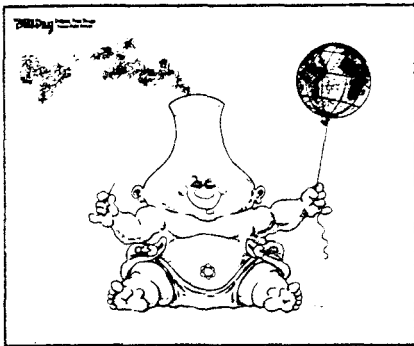
Un cauchemar. Dans un pays de culture d'art, de musique, de danse, de savoir, la Guinée africaine qui n'est jamais absente de l'attachante sensibilité d'Abdoulaye, de sa dramatique volonté d'humour, de sa religion vigilante. Ainsi a-t-il supporté la torture, la faim, la soif, les humiliations. Ainsi il a supporté de raconter les souffrances de ses compagnons: Diallo Telli et bien d'autres Africains de Guinée, de si grande valeur.

Quand je lisais le livre d'Abdoulaye, je ne faisais pas que lire le livre; d'autres pays africains surgissaient entre les paragraphes; d'autres

régimes, d'autres "chefs inspirés", mesquins, complexés et diaboliques; d'autres phases de la vie des Africains après les indépendances, d'autres morts africains sur terre africaine ou à l'étranger sous les balles de chefs d'Etat providentiels devenus une providence de destruction, pour que l'Afrique devienne le continent de la faim, de la mendicité, du mensonge, des bilans manipulés, des 99.99% pour des présidents à vie...

Aujourd'hui, demain, quelle voie pour l'Afrique? Quelle voie pour les peuples africains? Quelle voie pour se libérer définitivement de pouvoir qui organisent les cauchemars? Elle est là, la voie; vivante, lucide, dans les aspirations des peuples et des jeunesses à la vie, à la justice, à la liberté, au travail, pour la culture, le développement juste, pour la paix.

Ahmed Ben Salah



(continued from page 2)

The risk is so obvious that the US nuclear industry is reported to be 'on its death bed', having received no contract for the last eight years. Its Swiss counterpart is not much better off. In Europe there were only nine new orders in 1985, and none in either the UK or Western Germany since 1981. In 1983, Spain adopted a moratorium on new plants and 'paralysed' five existing ones. As a result of Chernobyl, The Netherlands have now halted the expansion of nuclear power; the City Council of Trino, in Northern Italy, has ordered the suspension of work on a new nuclear site; the Yugoslavs have abandoned plans for a second reactor at Prevlaka near Zagreb; Finland has postponed the decision on whether to build a fifth reactor; Sweden, which had already decided to phase out all nuclear reactors by 2010, may shut down some of them before that deadline.

Second, nuclear clouds ignore national borders. The Chernobyl cloud has affected the whole of Europe, and the EEC banned (two weeks after the

accident) all imports of fresh food and milk products from locations within a 1,000 km radius of Chernobyl. Full human health implications are still unknown, but economic damage has been estimated at US\$50 million in Poland, \$150 million in Italy, \$460 million in West Germany.

Third, the nature of the nuclear energy leads governments to violate, more than in other cases, the people's right to be informed. The Kremlin has been rightly condemned for failing to inform immediately its people and other European countries. In France, where the nuclear lobby is strong and the ecological movement weak, the government waited for two weeks before making public that radiation was sometimes 400 times higher than normal. The French press itself, before accusing the government of lying, was silent for one week. But Washington does not have a better record. In 1954, when it exploded its first deliverable hydrogen bomb on the atoll of Bikini in the Pacific, producing an unexpectedly high level of radiation, which still affect many people, it took ten days to acknowledge the fact. And this was only after a US marine wrote to a newspaper. In contrast, one may mention that in Italy, three weeks after Chernobyl, the newspapers still report daily on the level of contamination of foodstuffs.

Fourth, as usual, people are ahead of governments. Demonstrations have taken place against nuclear power all over Europe, in Athens, in Brittany, in Lucerne, in Munich, in Rome, at the French-German border, in Yugoslavia, and even in Poland. In Western Germany, 60% of the people are against new plants (and 54% want existing plants to be phased out), as are two thirds of the Finns, three quarters of the Americans, four fifths of the Italians. In the UK, according to the industry itself, only 40% of the British still want nuclear energy, and 70% of the Dutch are opposed to it. In 1978, the majority of Austrians voted against the starting of an already built \$500 million reactor at Zwentendorf. The Danish Parliament requested, early in May, that the Swedish plant at Barsebäck (40km from Copenhagen) be closed down.

Fifth, the Third World, a usual dumping ground for dangerous products, from drugs to pesticides, banned in the North, is now more threatened than ever. The crisis in the nuclear industry in the North will make it look for new markets in the South. Since governments are no better in the South than in the North, nuclear Bhopals will necessarily follow.

Finally, whatever its huge costs in human terms (100,000 persons in the USSR will have to be subjected to medical checks for the rest of their lives), Chernobyl is not Hiroshima, but they cannot be disassociated. Chernobyl is also a dramatic reminder of the nuclear apocalypse's permanent threat.

The lessons from Chernobyl are clear. The Faustian bargain of nuclear energy has been lost. It is high time to stop building nuclear plants, to decommission existing ones and to speed up research to avoid the risks for future generations - and to ban nuclear weapons. This is the price to pay to enable life to continue on this planet. It is an urgent task for people's movements to force governments to act in this direction, and to hold them accountable if they do not.

THE WOMEN'S FORUM '85 IN NAIROBI

AN ASSESSMENT

by Nita Barrow
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The most significant event of 1985, as far as the worldwide people's movement is concerned, was the Women's Forum '85 which met in Nairobi, Kenya, on the occasion of the United Nations Conference (see Dossier 50, p.25 et seq). The Planning Committee of the Forum has now published a 105 page report. It describes the organizing process and gives a bird's eye view of the rich and manifold happenings at Nairobi with words, pictures and even statistics. It also includes many addresses and will thus help further networking, an art which made Nairobi possible. The report opens with the Convenor's reflections which are reproduced below. Dame Nita Barrow, the Convenor, is one of the seven co-presidents of the World Council of Churches, president of the International Council for Adult Education and a member of the IFDA Council.

REFLECTIONS ON FORUM '85 BY THE CONVENOR

Quite likely my view of Forum '85 was more circumscribed than that of thousands of other women since I did not have the liberty to take advantage of all the offerings on the Great Court, Filmforum, Maendeleo's live Exhibits, Tech and Tools, the hundreds of panel discussions... even to taste too deeply of the all-pervasive cultural program. However, since Nairobi I have been able to review, read, listen to the opinions and evaluations of scores of other women and reflect upon the impressions which have been given to us.

My special vantage point was both psychological and physical. As Convenor, I was trying to straddle the needs and desires of more than the over 13,000 registered participants and the wishes and circumscriptions of the host government. In addition my office in Nairobi had a window with a wide view on the Great Court... a panorama of unending interest. I could sometimes even see a "bush fire" about to start. Part of the learning process was when to try to stop it and when to leave it to consume itself without igniting anybody or anything else around. It was part of the excitement, the palpable feeling that could be sensed even through the plate glass window.

With this panoramic view still fresh in my mind's eye, and with the comments, criticisms and questions of others still fresh in my memory, it seems a good moment to record a few reflections. Within the first two days the people who came in to see me brought me the very strong feeling of excitement. Subsequently, my occasional forays into the Peace Tent showed me that all the kinds of people we had hoped would use it were there using it; the one or two sallies into classrooms to try to crawl over people to see and hear what was happening confirmed for me that the excitement was increasing day by day.

I believe there was involvement of all people there, in intense unstructured meetings as well as in well-prepared workshops which not only contributed to people's ongoing interest, but also satisfied the really serious-minded.

Every photograph we have from Nairobi shows women of all kinds talking to each other in whatever groups they were; exchanging ideas and information; learning from each other; learning not fully appreciated until in sober moments afterwards, they have reflected on what they saw, heard and did.

The excellent preparations made by many groups gave a solidarity to some of the experiences which otherwise could not have been achieved. The participation and large involvement of Kenyan rural women and "grassroots" representation from other countries gave an unexpected dimension to the encounter. Their presence was like a touchstone for the international women's movement.

What individual women learned, of course, varies. It is fairly simple to point out some of the most common lessons from Nairobi. First and foremost, women learned more about the concerns of women around the world and in so doing many women lost some of the naïveté and the complacency that allowed them to accept the status quo in their own countries. Sharing the experiences of other women stimulated them to think about things that needed doing in their own communities. To use an example very close to home (my own home)... it was interesting to me to find that Caribbean women were ready to argue there with others who knew nothing about it, why the Caribbean wants to be a zone of peace. And since I have been back in Barbados, women have said to me that although they had read about the zone of peace in the newspapers, it was only when they got to Nairobi and realised how pervasive war was, and what it did to the lives of other women around the world that they understood much more the people here who have been talking about crises in the Caribbean.

In brief, we learned that there were universalities... that women of all kinds found the ability to speak authoritatively about the issues really affecting them. No one else could

know what it meant to be a domestic worker in Trinidad or a tin miner's wife in Bolivia. When an aborigine woman displayed her art she was displaying the art of her people not something borrowed from somebody else. Each woman could speak as an "expert" on the issues relating to her life. Women from different worlds could speak to each other as equals, none better than the other as equals, none better than the other, none more learned nor more wise than the other. For a while in Nairobi, the differences that separate Third World women from Western women were put aside as women considered the universalities.

Much has been said about the fact that this consciousness raising had taken place during the last ten years, that women had networked and that now we had come to the stage where we are willing to express ourselves. There was no doubt that women were "expressing themselves", but much of it suggested that they realised that they had not achieved anything like the success expected by the end of the Decade. In fact, one surprising aspect of the end of the Decade was the great number of women who had never heard of the Decade. It's still amazing to me how many women say they didn't even know what the meeting was all about. They were still thinking of it only as a government conference. So, obviously, in spite of the vast numbers of women who were in Nairobi, and others whose lives those thousands will touch, there are many women in the world to whom the findings of the Decade for Women will apply, who will have never heard about it, and who will not be able to use its findings; this despite unprecedented media coverage of the Decade for Women event. Moreover, volumes will be written about Forum '85. Organisers of workshops and other activities have already begun to circulate their own reports and more general studies; reports and analyses will continue to appear. How can we help to make it possible for women to take this information, apply it to their situation and use it to their advantage?

Within those organisations which have been the initiators and sponsors of the advancement of women in the international arena, how can we encourage the involvement of a group of new, perhaps younger women to carry forward some of the concerns and strategies developed at Forum '85? How can we ensure the involvement of women from the South to bring their voices to the NGO community? Third World women must accept this responsibility now, so that the next round won't find them absent once more from the planning stages. How can we make sure that the NGO community will recognize that existing strategies have worked only up to a point, and that the time has come for newer, bolder endeavours?

It is easy to feel distant after a time from some of the things that were exciting at the end of July... things we will tend to lose sight of as we divide the world into the racial, political, ethnic or national groupings we are ac-

customed to. In Nairobi we saw groups willing to take new initiatives. What will be the focal point? Obviously, if Forum '85 is to have long-term value after the tumult and the excitement have worn off, strong, concerted collective action is going to be necessary.

What has been the impact of the Decade for Women on the United Nations itself? As the world body celebrates its 40th anniversary, we ask ourselves if the NGOs who are helping the organisation to celebrate, have begun to think seriously about the future of their relationship with the United Nations. Or are they happy with the status quo, complacent about their role, excited yes, those who were in Nairobi, but on the whole are they considering how they can make their voices heard in that concourse of nations so that women and women's affairs can be taken seriously?

And at the national level, in our own regions, how can the one or two women assigned to the "women's desks" have support as they go about sensitizing the largely male Ministries of Labour, Employment, Education, etc., to needs of women? What effect can Nairobi, the Forum and the World Conference have on needed changes in law, economics and even tradition? Can we expect that Nairobi has strengthened individual and group action and therefore its cumulative effect?

The answers lie with the thousands of women out there, the women who truly believe that the end of the Decade is the real beginning.

NOTE TO OUR READERS IN SWITZERLAND

The practice of including a 'bulletin de versement' in each issue is yielding positive results and we thank those who have already used it. For practical reasons, however, it is impossible to be selective in enclosing the 'green bulletin' and we apologize to those who have already contributed for its continuing inclusion.

NOTE A NOS LECTEURS EN SUISSE

Le fait d'inclure un bulletin de versement dans chaque livraison du Dossier a donné des résultats positifs et nous remercions ceux d'entre vous qui l'ont utilisé. Cependant, pour des raisons pratiques, il nous est impossible de procéder à cette adjonction d'une manière sélective; aussi, nous nous excusons auprès de ceux qui, ayant déjà contribué, trouvent régulièrement un 'bulletin vert' dans leur Dossier.

THE CASE FOR A WORLD PUBLIC SECTOR

by Jan Pronk
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Original: English

PLAIDOYER POUR UN SECTEUR PUBLIC MONDIAL

Résumé: Prenant position contre la vogue actuelle du 'retour du marché', l'auteur présente une série d'arguments économiques en faveur d'un rôle accru des gouvernements, à partir de processus démocratiques, dans les affaires nationales - au Nord comme au Sud - et internationales. Il examine d'abord l'évolution du système économique international depuis Bretton Woods et après son effondrement jusqu'à la crise et à l'instauration de fait, par une puissante minorité politique et économique, d'un nouvel ordre économique international qui ne ressemble en rien à celui demandé dans les années 70 par le Tiers Monde. Nous sommes cependant aujourd'hui à un triple tournant, économique, politique et idéologique, mais la reprise ne se fait pas dans l'intérêt général, le dialogue international se limite aux fora contrôlés par le Nord, et l'idéologie dominante du retour aux mécanismes du marché ignore la majorité des êtres humains. La combinaison de trois transitions (démographique, écologique et énergétique); la perspective d'une croissance réduite et organiquement différente et un dualisme croissant à l'intérieur de chaque société comme dans l'espace mondial constituent trois défis à la survie du plus grand nombre. La réponse envisagée repose sur quatre compromis, entre le secteur public et le secteur privé; entre le travail et le capital; entre l'égalité et la croissance; et entre l'efficacité gestionnaire et la démocratie politique. Si le choix, comme le veut l'auteur, doit se faire au bénéfice de l'ensemble des habitants du globe, le marché ne suffit pas; les politiques actuelles doivent être abandonnées; le secteur public doit jouer un rôle plus important dans l'économie mondiale.

ALEGATO EN FAVOR DE UN SECTOR PÚBLICO MUNDIAL

Resumen: Tomando posición contra la boga actual de "vuelta al mercado", el autor presenta una serie de argumentos económicos en favor de un aumento en la función de los gobiernos, a partir de procesos democráticos, en los asuntos nacionales - en el Norte como en el Sur - e internacionales. En primer lugar examina la evolución del sistema económico internacional desde Bretton Woods y después de su hundimiento hasta la crisis y la instauración de hecho, por una poderosa minoría política y económica, de un nuevo orden económico internacional que no se parece en nada al pedido en los años 70 por el Tercer Mundo. Sin embargo, hoy día estamos frente a un triple viraje decisivo, económico, político e ideológico, pero la recuperación no se hace para el interés general, el diálogo internacional se limita a los foros controlados por el Norte, y la ideología dominante de la vuelta a los mecanismos del mercado ignora a la

(sigue en la página 66)

Jan Fronk

THE CASE FOR A WORLD PUBLIC SECTOR*

My intention is to devote this key-note address to the role of the public sector in both industrialized and Third World countries, and, last but not least, also to the international economic process. Nowadays political arguments in favour of a greater role for the market mechanism are loudly voiced. Against these, I will put forward economic arguments for greater involvement of governments, on the basis of democratic processes, in both North and South and in the international economy.

Change in the Bretton Woods system

In the 1940s, those countries which participated in the building of a new international order at the Bretton Woods conference, did so on the basis of a consensus that the market mechanism should be restored in all countries and in the international economy. Trade should be open and free, and the same should apply to international capital and monetary flows.

The Bretton Woods system, established in the 40s, has been labelled by some as a system of international democratic capitalism. In the following years, new insights as well as new economic developments led to a number of changes. Thus, in the 50s, political decolonization had an economic follow-up in the form of technical assistance and financial aid to Third World countries. You may interpret this as the introduction of an element of the social welfare state - redistribution of income - in the international economy. In the 60s, Third World countries demanded not only aid but also stabilization of prices at a fair level, access to markets, and a greater share in world production and employment. This claim got some response and you may say that an element of international economic democracy was added to the original system. Compared with the original Bretton Woods system, this meant progress, provided that it would equally benefit all countries.

However, in the 70s, the Bretton Woods system broke down, due to the lack of economic and monetary discipline in both the USA and Western Europe. The breaking-point was the unilateral US decision to suspend the free and mutual exchange between gold and the dollar, the pillar of the monetary system. In addition to the monetary crisis, a huge increase in

* The following is a somewhat abridged version of an address to the 23rd World Congress of Public Services International, Caracas, Venezuela, 25.11.85. The author, a former Minister of Development Cooperation, served for five years as UNCTAD Deputy Secretary General. He is a member of the IFDA Council.

oil prices took place which shocked the world economy. This led to many international negotiations on the basis of an awareness that the old system did not work any more and that we had to find a new one.

Third World countries felt as though they had acquired increased economic power. A kind of international labour union strategy was introduced into the international economic dialogue. The demands of the Third World went far. Rewarding their call for a New International Economic Order would have changed the original system drastically. The call as well as the strategy can be interpreted as an effort to replace the international democratic capitalist system - as amended - by an international social democracy. However, it did not work out because the strength of the South turned out to be much less than envisaged. Instead the world slid into an international economic crisis which had more or less the same characteristics as that of the 30s: massive unemployment, zero production growth, even negative growth in international trade, inadequate investments, increasing poverty and inequality.

Parallel to this, there was political stalemate in negotiations. Everybody kept explaining their original position, but there was no bargaining, no negotiation, no move in positions, no progress towards either a consensus or a majority decision. Outside the framework of multilateral discussions, however, the majority - rich and powerful governments as well as transnational corporations and banks - did decide. Their decisions changed the picture drastically: the world economy became an integrated whole boosted by the third technological revolution.

The turning point of the 1980s

Now we seem to be at a turning point - economically, politically and ideologically.

Economically, the worst of the crisis seems to be over; economic recovery is spreading. Growth figures are climbing, international trade expanding, a new spirit of entrepreneurship manifesting itself. Is it a turning point for all? I am afraid it is not. The economic recovery, which started in the US, spread to Japan, to most Western Europe countries and to many in Asia, but it is not likely to become world-wide. So it has not led to an increase in prices of the major commodities exported by the South. For the first time since the 1930s, an economic recovery is not paralleled by an increase, but by a decrease in commodity prices. Many commodity prices are presently at their lowest level since the 1930s. Moreover, Third World countries are increasingly meeting protectionism. Tariffs have decreased somewhat but non-tariff barriers are rising and Third World countries are the greatest victims.

In addition to this, debts are mounting for many countries - for all countries here in Latin America and also in all Sub-Saharan countries -

and interest rates are still very high. Countries earning some foreign exchange - less and less because of falling commodity prices and rising trade barriers - have to use an increasing part of their income to service their debts.

Politically, this is also a turning point. For five years the international economic dialogue had been stalemated. Now we are moving again, but only in those organizations which still can be controlled by the very countries which established the system in the 1940s. In the International Monetary Fund, there is talk again of growth for the South, but under very harsh conditions concerning their domestic, economic and social policies. In GATT, there is a move towards a new round of trade negotiations, but on condition that Third World countries themselves open up their markets for the products of industrialised countries. This means access for the West to markets in the South rather than the other way round. Although Third World countries are the main victims of protectionism in the 1980s, they have to open up their markets for new products in new sectors - service sectors, high technology - which industrialised countries consider their best chance to enter a new era. Movement there is - willingness to do business - but on the terms of the richer and more powerful countries without a real perspective for poorer countries.

Ideologically, this is also a turning point. We see a new conventional wisdom emerging, mounting to slogans such as "Return to the market mechanism", "Stimulate privatisation", "Denationalise and deregulate", "Cut public expenditure", "Markets - labour markets, capital markets - should be more flexible", and, last but not least, "In order to establish all this, we need to have more income inequality". That seems to be the basis on which governments and elites are doing business, moving forward without aiming at progress for all, relying on recovery without a perspective for the majority of the people.

The limitations of the market mechanism

How is it possible that the market mechanism is all of a sudden receiving in so many circles such applause? It is strange because until very recently we did have more or less a consensus that the market mechanism would only work for the well-being of all if a number of very specific conditions were met.

(In the following section, the author examines seven such conditions which, he shows, are currently not met, a situation which is "illogical, not effective and contrary to the very aim of those pleading for efficient allocation and, last but not least, is unjust". These seven conditions are: equal access to information; avoidance of monopolistic or oligopolistic situations; rough parity in economic levels; full use of all production factors; a reasonable degree of income equality or through income redistribution, either nationally or internationally; absence of effects on others than the partners (eg. ecological damage); and no undue influence of non-economic factors (eg. militarization of the economy).

THREE CHALLENGES

So far I have discussed the present. Let me now turn to the future. I would like to highlight three very specific and concrete challenges which we have to meet together; governments, enterprises, labour unions and other social movements alike. The first challenge is the following:

A clutter of transitions

There are now close to five billion people in the world. Population growth is still very high. Within about fifty years, the world population will be more than ten billion. During this period, a specific effort is needed. People will have to be fed; they will have to get jobs. Nine out of each ten new jobs to be created for the additional six billion people will have to be found not in the North but in the South. These people have to get a proper place in the world's economy. We cannot expect a place for them if we rely on the market mechanism alone. We will have to invest to speed up food production, satisfaction of other basic needs and production of the tools necessary to work.

In addition to this demographic transition, we will have to meet an environmental and an energy transition. The transition from production negatively affecting the natural environment to new production policies and technologies safeguarding the environment also requires investments and changes in priorities, in the pattern of production and consumption. The same is true for the transition from traditional energy, which is depletable, towards renewable energy sources.

These three transitions together demand fundamental changes in the structures of priorities, with respect to production and consumption, in technology, in investment. This cannot be expected from stronger reliance on the market mechanism. On the contrary, the challenge can only be met by correcting and steering market processes. Otherwise, these transitions will not take place for the benefit of the whole of the world's population.

A few years ago, the OECD forecast that in 2000 more people than at present would be living below the decent level, would be undernourished and unemployed. This forecast was based on the most optimistic assumptions which have since proven to be wrong. We got an economic crisis, followed by a recovery in only part of the world and structural changes in world production favouring non-essentials. That trend has to be reversed. That is the first major challenge to be met by governments and the private sector alike. It will not be met by simply relying on the market mechanism.

The challenge of lower growth

In addition to the challenge implied by the clutter of transitions, there is a second challenge resulting from the fact that after the crisis of the 70s and the recovery of the 80s there will be no return to the growth rates of the 60s. The OECD countries will not be able to return to the high growth rates of 6-7% annually. The maximum attainable growth

rates will amount to 2-3%. Assuming an annual demographic growth of 1%, increase in welfare will be very minimal (say 1.5%), quite different from the past.

Further, in the 60s and the 70s, Third World countries could rely on the North as the engine for world economic growth. They could export to the North's expanding markets, and these could afford to give assistance to the South. However, in the years ahead, due to the lower growth perspective, the North will not be the engine of world economic growth.

In addition, growth in the North will be different in its composition. Changes in consumer tastes and demands mean that people in the North will spend their income more on domestic services and on high technology products than on products to be sold by the South, such as primary commodities. In addition, transnational corporations, which in the 60s went to Asia and Latin America in order to benefit from lower labour costs, are now returning to the US and Western Europe because technological development is making capital relatively cheap.

That means that the South will be faced not only with low growth in the North but also with the lower import content of this and with redeployment away from the South to the North.

The Third World will have to answer this second major challenge by integrating its markets, by relying much more on South-South economic cooperation, by shifting production towards needs of its own people rather than for exports. Because foreign exchange earned by exporting to the North is decreasing, the South will have to decrease imports. This too requires important changes in production, investment, consumption and trading patterns, which will not be brought about by the market itself.

A dualistic world economy

There is a third challenge: the increasingly dualistic character of our economies. The major problems in international trade and in international finance, such as protectionism and the debt crisis, are daily headlines of newspapers. Recently they have also been put on the intergovernmental agenda. However, the way in which governments are trying to cope with these problems does not benefit all population strata in all countries. The crisis of the early 80s and the way in which we tried to mould recovery seem to be creating a new problem.

In all countries there are population strata which are on the right side of the gap. In all countries there are population strata on the wrong side. In all countries there are people who have work, and people without access to employment. In my country, the Netherlands, we have recovery; we export a lot; we know that we will have a balance of payments surplus for twenty years onwards. We are now growing again, a 1-2% recovery is there. We can rely on it.

But our unemployment is not decreasing. At the moment it is 17%. If we add people who benefit from social security system intended for those unable to work (but who would in any case have been unable to find employment), we can say that about 20 to 22% of the people are on the wrong side in the economy: no work, no perspective. That figure is one which we see in many countries of the North; in some countries it is even higher. There is a study in the US showing that at the moment one to four and, in some cities, one to three children are under-nourished, sometimes even hungry. The figure of people on the wrong side of the gap in the US is even higher than in most Western European countries.

In other countries, there are people without access to capital, without access to technology. There are people in Africa without access to land, because land is deteriorating or, in Latin America, because land is being expropriated. In Asia, there are people without access to credits to build up a firm to work on their lands. There are many people without access to food or to clean drinking water.

In all countries the economic crisis is being met by cuts in public expenditure, which means that many people are having less access to public services and public utilities such as health or education or to an annual income allowing them to exert demand on the market. There are people with more, and people with less access to land, capital, jobs, income, public utilities, credits and technology. In my country 20%, in the US about 30%, in many countries in Latin America about 40-45%, in Africa 80% of the people have no access to such resources. In India, with significant economic growth and high technological progress, about 40% are really benefiting, 20% are no worse or better off, whilst 40% are becoming worse off.

There is a gap not only between countries; there is a gap also within countries. A gap between those with and those without access to the market, to income and rights entitling them to satisfaction of their basic needs, to tools and services enabling them to increase their productivity.

These gaps between and within countries are linked to each other due to the emergence of what I call a global market. If you start a firm in Western Europe, you can export very easily to all of Europe and to North America, also increasingly to Asia, Latin America and Africa, anywhere. This also applies the other way around. There is a technological revolution in communications. Consumer tastes around the world are becoming more or less uniform. Transnational corporations steer supply as well as demand unhampered by national borders. Transnational banks facilitate finance and investment likewise. There are no compartments. There is a global market.

There is no crisis in demand or in the sales possibilities. The limits of the global market facilitated by technological processes in communication and by the emergence of transnational corporations have not yet been reached. This means that it is not yet considered to be economically necessary to expand the market by giving purchasing power to lower income strata, as was necessary after the industrial revolution in the 19th century (...)

On the contrary, we presently see greater reliance on higher profits, technological progress, cost reduction (including labour costs) and on the need for greater flexibility of markets. That explains the ideological turning point mentioned earlier, the emphasis on supply side economics rather than on demand management, income policies and social welfare. We see growing institutionalized structural dualism in all countries as well as in the world economy as a whole: a rapidly widening global market offering growth perspectives to those with access, parallel to an increasingly depressed economy, still compartmentalized, with only one perspective for those caught in it: deterioration of living standards.

In the past, after the industrial revolution, in many countries people suffered from sharp income inequality. However, they had a perspective: it was possible for them to engage in a political and social struggle for more income equality and there were economic conditions which would make the elite inclined to give in in its own interest. Many people could say: "We are not well off but we are better off than our parents and we know that our children will be better off than we are".

There was dynamism in the economy which made people participate in fighting spirit in an economic process. However, if people know "We are not well off, even worse off than our parents, and there is no chance that our children will be better off than we are", then they will opt out. They will not fight anymore, at least not within the system, perhaps only against the system. They opt out and the system will crumble.

Opting out can take many forms: it can take the form of violent resistance, but it can also take the form of just parting, leaving the formal (national or world) economy and trying to build something new for themselves. Countries may refuse to pay their debts. People may establish a shadow economy. Or worse, groups of people may lose any confidence whatsoever in the future, resort to apathy rather than participation, and societies may lose their cultural dynamism because their ethical foundations have been wrecked. This again may lead to violence.

Sooner or later people opting out will resort to violence. South Africa is a case in point. There the upper-class has been confident in the future: "Everything will be all right"

("Alles sal reg kom" in the Afrikaaner terminology) but not for everybody, not for the people who have been marginalized, i.e. the majority. That can lead to violent resistance or, in anticipation of this, to violent repression. In such a situation violence cannot be stopped and, due to the very emergency of the global market, will not stop at the border. It will affect other countries in Africa and will have economic consequences anywhere in the world, thus also affecting the North. Apartheid is a racist form of structural dualism. But there is impoverishing structural dualism anywhere and the resulting conflicts will not easily be contained.

FOUR COMPROMISES

So we are facing three major challenges. The bunching of transitions - demographic, ecological and that of energy - requires a stronger reliance on democratic priority setting and on public investments, in order to steer and correct market forces to guarantee food, work and even survival, not for some but for all. The North, due to a structural decrease in economic growth, will no longer be able to function as the engine for world economic growth; in the South governments will have to redirect economic policies and choose a more inward-looking and self-reliant development model. The mounting institutionalised dualism in the world economy is the third and major threat requiring fundamental changes in national and international policies, in the South as well as in the North, to enable not just a minority but an increasing majority of the world population to participate in the system in order to forego too big inequalities which enganger human survival and the sustainability of the economic, social and political system itself.

These three major challenges are not faced at the moment. On the contrary, the conditionality which is being imposed by the IMF, the international banks and Western governments on Third World countries is having the effect of driving people out of the market rather than offering access. It is affecting the very basis of economic growth and long-term equilibria in these countries and also has consequences for the North: the South will import less and less from the North, which will have negative consequences for employment. The same applies to policies with regard to international debt (...)

Both in the South and in the North, as well as internationally, policies will have to be reversed. One cannot expect to meet the three major challenges by relying on the market mechanism. Nor will continuation of the present trends in policy-making contribute to solutions. We will have to rely more on the public sector, on coordinated public policies with a long-term orientation, on planning, on corrections of the market mechanism. Of course, this does not mean that the market mechanism should be substituted by sheer planning and

public policy-making. We have learned that imposition of planning leads to new rigidities and to the emergence of a bureaucratic class depriving society of its dynamism.

However, the other way - relying too much on the market mechanism - will exclude more and more people from the system, dampening the dynamism in an economy, thus reducing its capacity to adjust, to change and even threatening its longer-term continuity and its very existence. The answer has to be found in new compromises to implement the conditions under which the market can be considered to function optimally, to meet the longer term challenges to the economy as well as to society as a whole.

Four new compromises are called for: between the public sector and the private sector; between labour and capital; between equality and growth; and also between managerial efficiency and political democracy. Present tendencies point to extremes rather than to compromises or optima. The stronger one relies on the private sector the greater will be the emphasis on growth rather than on equality, the more will be invested in capital rather than in labour, the greater will be the risks that political democracy will be sacrificed in order to counter resistance and protests from those who suffer from injustice and inequality, and who are being threatened by capital.

New compromises are necessary, not only within societies but also in the international economy. Industrial societies will have to define their optima with the help of a truly democratic process of decision-making, guaranteeing adequate voting power in the state for those presently without adequate purchasing power on the market. The same applies internationally to the poor and the weaker countries.

The new compromises required in the international economic system are linked to each other. Let me give an example: a new compromise between growth and equality requires a measure of international income redistribution, transferring more capital to the South not only concessional, in the form of aid, but also less concessional by enabling and supporting banks to make available more private commercial loans to Third World countries.

This in turn requires another new compromise: some form of inter-governmental control of transnational banks, a compromise between the private and the public sector in international finance. However this should go hand in hand with a new compromise between private and public sectors in international trade. Since the establishment of the Bretton Woods and the GATT systems, international finance has become much more privatized than was originally intended, while international trade has become too much subjected to governmental protectionist interference.

We cannot revert to the situation of free trade of the 40s, but the present situation whereby governments opt for completely unilaterally managed trade, shifting their problems of economic disequilibrium at home onto the shoulder of weaker countries is perverse. We need a new consensus, some degree of managed international trade on the basis of multilaterally agreed principles. These should not only apply to international trade proper but also to investment and production policies underlying international trade.

However, this in turn requires a new compromise between managerial efficiency and democracy in international economic policy-making. New rules with regard to international policies on money, finance, production, investment and trade are necessary, together with new criteria concerning domestic economic policies which affect other countries. Such new rules and criteria should not be elaborated by a few powerful countries imposing them on others. This might seem an efficient way to deal with global interdependence, but it surely is not an equitable way. However, a real implementation of such rules and criteria requires cooperation and thus consensus on their establishment. This will not only be reached by giving Third World countries access to decision-making on international economic policy, on an equal footing with the richer countries. This requires changes in power structures and decision-making procedures within international organizations, both in the framework of the Bretton Woods system and in the United Nations system itself. New structures should also reflect the necessity of a new compromise between governments and the private sectors on the international economy. For example, the tripartite model of ILO could be applied in other organizations as well.

The call for an international economic order, which was so loud in the 70s, has faded away. It was followed by a period of paralysis which is now over, but has been replaced by a "no-nonsense" tendency of doing business on the basis of traditional power relations. Perhaps the concept of the New International Economic Order never had a good substantive content, so that the original power of the concept did not hold. Although the concept was never translated into new policies, the claim itself was however justified. The old order has eroded. It led to greater inequality in the world, to greater inefficiency and to waste in economic resources. We needed something new. We still need something which really is global, world wide. We still need something which has the characteristics of order rather than disorder, which is systematically based upon notions of interdependence between countries, between sectors, between policies, between people, interdependence also in time. Perhaps we should not call it a new international economic order.

Let us call it a system which enables us to meet the three main challenges. If we do not meet them there will be a fu-

ture, but not for all, only for some. Those who will be able to benefit from technological change, from recovery, from the workings of the market mechanism, will become fewer and fewer in number. They may have to defend themselves against those who do not have a real perspective of adequate access to the market. This - as indicated above - may result in conflicts, violence, repression, and may endanger the continuity of the system itself. Instead, we have to resort to cooperation on the basis of longer-term visions and inspired by an enlightened conceptualisation of one's own interest. The interest of others should be part and parcel of the interest of those belonging to elites who have access to power and can make the market function for their own benefit, at least in the short run.

This is not merely an appeal for different ethics. Nor is it an appeal for more wisdom. The natural tendency in favour of short sightedness, selfishness and exploitation of power surpluses will not be substituted by longer-term visions, enlightenment and cooperation with the help of pleas for a change in mind only. This new choice has to be institutionalized publicly through a democratic process.

The four new compromises, contrary to the present conventional wisdom, imply greater reliance on social criteria, on public choice, on governmental control. This direction has to be taken, despite the awareness of an in-built tendency towards inefficiency, because of one overriding aim: taking care of those who tend to be excluded by the system. Provided that the conditions mentioned above are fulfilled, the market can function very well, clearing imbalances, fostering progress, smoothing transitions, sometimes as equally well as a public process, sometimes even better. However, one thing it cannot do: functioning for the benefit of those people, population groups or countries who are outside of the market, not acquiring access to it, perhaps even losing access. This is the overriding reason for claiming a greater role for the public sector in the present world economy.

(viene de la pagina 53)

mayoridad de los seres humanos. La combinación de tres transiciones (demográfica, ecológica y energética), la perspectiva de un crecimiento reducido y orgánicamente diferente y un dualismo creciente en el interior de cada sociedad como en el espacio mundial constituyen tres desafíos a la supervivencia de la mayoría. La respuesta considerada se fundamenta en cuatro compromisos: entre el sector público y el sector privado; entre el trabajo y el capital; entre la igualdad y el crecimiento; y entre la eficacia gestora y la democracia política. Si la elección, como lo quiere el autor, debe hacerse en favor de todos los habitantes del globo, el mercado no es suficiente, las políticas actuales deben ser abandonadas, el sector público debe desempeñar un papel más importante en la economía mundial.

FOR AN INTERNATIONAL DECADE FOR PEACE

AN AUSTRALIAN PROPOSAL

This proposal was discussed at the International Conference on Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies (Fiji, January). It was also discussed further at the International Peace Research Association Conference (Sussex, England, April).

The recommendation is based on the experience of the recently concluded International Women's Decade. It is proposed that the UN should proclaim 1988-1998 as an International Decade for Peace, that it should initiate the convening of three major world conferences at the beginning, middle and end of that period, and that each of these should be preceded by regional preparatory conferences.

Documents drawn up for the first of these conferences - by a working group appointed at the year's meeting of the UN General Assembly - would delineate the tasks of the global community in relation to peacemaking.

The working group would presumably consider a wide range of proposals, both newly devised ones and others produced by various international commissions over the past 15 years, e.g. the Club of Rome's Reshaping the International Order and the Palme Commission's Common Security. It would select from these a smaller number suitable for adoption as tasks to be completed within a five-year or ten-year period.

Each of the conferences would be a point at which governments are pushed to compete with each other as regards their commitment to world peace, not only to arms control, disarmament and demilitarization but also to the building of international security and global cooperation.

Each conference would be paralleled, as were the Mexico City, Copenhagen and Nairobi conferences of the International Women's Decade, by a much larger forum or tribune conference at which representatives of a wide range of groups of the civil society thrash out positions in relation to the agenda of the conference of governmental delegates.

A principal purpose of the Decade would be to generate forward thinking in relation to peace issues. It would involve large numbers of people throughout the world in discussion of particular reform proposals, presumably including some highly imaginative ones, and in the monitoring of progress towards the achievement of particular five-year and ten-year targets.

A second main purpose relates to creating conditions for citizen's associations to press governments into long-term thinking. In the words of John E. Fobes' address to a recent Club of Rome conference:

*"National governments, unconstrained by growing domestic problems and by short-term thinking...need ideas and leadership from the extra-governmental communities. These communities - civic, professional, scientific, religious, academic, artistic - ...should not only help governments, but push and pull them into action for changes at the global level"**

In addition a Decade for Peace would stimulate research bodies in many countries to develop indicators of progress (and regress) in relation to the many aspects of political, social and cultural change necessary for the building up of a just and secure peace.

Finally, a Decade for Peace would facilitate the restructuring and revitalization of the United Nations system. It would contribute to the fashioning of a "people's United Nations" by promoting the idea that the struggle for peace, like that for justice for women, requires forward-looking strategies developed on the basis of wide participation.

What is needed now is a government or group of governments which will move to place the Decade for Peace proposal on the agenda of this year's General Assembly. Australia is in an excellent position to take an initiative in this area.

*John E. Fokes, *"The Future of the United Nations System"* IFDA Dossier N°51.

(Herb Feith, Department of Politics, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria 3168, Australia).

(continued from page 103)

. Felix A. Ryan, Trade Training: Some New Thinking (8 West Mada St., Srinagar Colony, Saidpet, Madras 600 015, India) 17pp.

GLOBAL SPACE

. Sebastian D. Bevasia, The New Frontier from a Non-Western Perspective (Winterswijkse Straasse 16, 4290 Bochoit, FRG) 14pp.

. Richard Falk, Finding Light: If Politics Recaptures Hope (Centre of International Studies, Princeton University, Corwin Hall, Princeton, NJ 08544, USA) 22pp.

. Andre Gunder Frank, Taxation Without Representation and Security (ISMOG, University of Amsterdam, Jodenbreestraat 23, Amsterdam, The Netherlands) 5pp.

. Ward Morehouse, A Proposal for Citizens Financing of the United Nations (Council on International and Public Affairs, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York NY 10017, USA) 2pp.

. Surinder Suri, Science, Ethics and World Peace (3817 Sector 31-D, Chandigarh 160 031, India) 5pp.

IOCU PESTICIDE HANDBOOK DOCUMENTS NEED FOR STRONG FAO CODE

In a global effort to bring about compliance with the recently approved International Code of Conduct on the Distribution and Use of Pesticides and to encourage safe pest control practices, the International Organization of Consumers Unions (IOCU) just launched the completely revised Pesticide Handbook: Profiles for Action.

"The Code recently approved by the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization is an important step towards stopping the 2 million poisonings attributed to pesticides each year," commented Anwar Fazal, Director of IOCU's Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific. IOCU is a founding participant in the Pesticide Action Network (PAN) International.

Half of all pesticide poisonings and three-quarters of all fatalities are believed to occur in the Third World, though Third World countries account for just one-fifth of the world's pesticide use. Inadequate labelling of pesticides, lack of proper training or safety equipment, chronic malnutrition and lack of medical care are some of the factors intensifying hazards of pesticides to Third World users.

"Curbing pesticide abuse will take more than just approving a Code," observed Fazal. "The Pesticide Handbook provides the tools needed to strengthen government regulations and to urge corporations to act responsibly in their marketing of dangerous pesticides."

He added that the handbook, released on the Organization's 26th anniversary, "reflects IOCU's continuing commitment to provide citizens groups, especially in the Third World, with the resources needed for local and global campaigns challenging the powerful vested interests involved in marketing hazardous products."

The Switzerland-based International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers terms the handbook "a valuable instrument". Not Man Apart, published by Friends of the Earth (USA), describes it as "a marvellous compendium of information for activists and others concerned about pesticide use and abuse here and abroad... Absolutely essential for anyone worried about pesticides."

Designed to provide easy access to the data most sought after by concerned groups and individuals, The Pesticide Handbook is divided into six sections: (1) data sheets on 44 of the most problematic pesticides in global trade, including trade names; (2) pesticide hazards and symptoms of pesticide poisoning; (3) an overview of the global pesticide problems, with three case studies from Third World countries; (4) description of the Pesticide Action Network (PAN); (5) complete text of the FAO Code of Conduct; and (6) a comprehensive bibliography.

The Pesticide Handbook: Profiles for Action is available from the IOCU Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, PO Box 1045, 10830 Penang, Malaysia at US\$25 (US\$12 for non-profit public interest groups).

COLOMBIA: CRESET

The CRESET (Centro regional de estudios del Tercer Mundo - Regional Centre for Third World Studies) is a non-profit organization devoted to the study of the economic, social and political problems of development in Third World countries within the framework of current international relations: major political and economic crises and increasingly one-sided interdependence.

Among its objectives are:

- . through its research work, to promote a greater knowledge of Third World countries and formulate a Latin American view of this world;
- . actively participate in the formulation of a foreign policy (regional and national) that is consonant with this view and that would enable Colombia to play an international role reflecting its geographical size, population, resources and institutions;
- . contribute to devising long-term policies designed to solve the problems of underdevelopment from a Third World perspective;
- . expand and deepen economic, political and cultural links among Third World countries in order to enhance their unity and increase their bargaining power in the restructuring action of the international order in such a way as to facilitate the full development of nations and world peace;
- . identify joint strategies to be applied in the negotiations conducted in world forums (International Monetary Fund, World Bank, GATT, UNCTAD, etc.) as well as in dealing with transnational corporations. Train officials from the public and private sector in negotiating skills;

The CRESET programs focus on two major areas: socio-economic and political studies.

The socio-economic area includes: foreign trade, technology, international finance, sectoral studies (agriculture, industry, energy), information system, law of the sea and the use of underwater resources. These studies will seek to formulate policies that promote economic relations between Third World countries through the development of new types of cooperation and integration; such policies would be sub-regional and interregional in nature so as to lessen economic dependence on international markets and create the necessary climate for national development sustained from within the countries themselves.

The political studies area deals with the political aspects of international relations, especially the relations between countries when the economic interdependence factor is present. The main subjects to be explored are: the nature of contemporary international conflicts; the crisis in international organizations; the problems related to the arms race and peace and disarmament efforts; and diplomatic-strategic history.

(Contact: Alicia Puyana, Director, CRESET, POB 17413, Bogota, Colombia).

PERU: MUJER Y SOCIEDAD

Somos un colectivo de mujeres interesadas en contribuir en el movimiento social. Inicialmente nuestra actividad central fué la publicación de una revista alternativa de la mujer. Su primer número apareció en 1980. La dinámica en la que estamos inmersas y las demandas de las mujeres con quienes nos vinculamos, ha permitido que el proyecto se amplie a otros programas de comunicación, investigación aplicada y promoción.

Nos proponemos:

- . impulsar la conciencia reflexiva y crítica acerca de la actual condición económica, política, social y cultural de la mujer;
- . investigar y sistematizar las múltiples experiencias en la historia, en la vida productiva, en la cotidianidad, en las organizaciones gremiales y campesinas y su presencia en los movimientos sociales de cambio;
- . ampliar y fortalecer un espacio de comunicación alternativa a través de diversos programas y publicaciones, entre ellas, la revista Mujer y Sociedad;
- . contribuir, apoyar y solidarizarnos con las propuestas y alternativas que las mujeres vienen gestando en la búsqueda de una sociedad sin opresión y explotación de ningún tipo.

A través de jornadas; talleres; seminarios; programas de autoeducación y promoción; investigaciones; programas a través de los medios masivos de comunicación; publicaciones.

Nuestra Metodología:

Esta orientada a desarrollar la: horizontalidad en nuestras relaciones sociales y personales; dinámica participatoria en un constante aprendizaje mutuo; la creatividad colectiva e individual a partir del trabajo en pequeños grupos.

Con Mujeres:

Jóvenes y trabajadoras, asalariadas o no asalariadas, de los barrios urbano-populares; jóvenes y trabajadoras, asalariadas o no asalariadas de las zonas rurales.

Estamos preparando:

En investigación:

- . Mujer y violencia
- . Las Indias en la revolución tupacamarista de 1781
- . La protesta cotidiana de las mujeres de barriadas

En comunicación:

- . Audiovisual "La Mujer en la historia"
"Qué es la democracia?"
"La Mujer en la lucha por las 8 horas"

(Av. Nicolás de Piérola 677, 503 Lima 1, Perú).

PALESTINE: THE AL-QUDS OPEN UNIVERSITY

Only one-third of the Palestinian high-school graduates will find places, between now and 1995, in existing universities and similar institutions. The proportion will drop to one-fifth between 1995 and 2000. These findings of a study undertaken at the request of the Chairman of the Palestinian National Fund and financed by UNESCO and the Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development, led to the decision, in 1985, to commission Dr. Walid Kamhawi to establish the al-Quds Open University (QOU), as its first president.

The magnitude of the problem called for unconventional measures including distance teaching which also recommended itself for the following reasons:

- . The dispersion of the Palestinian people and the conditions under which most of them live, the constraints which affect their mobility from one country to another, make full-time study in a residential university in a field of their choice, extremely difficult for thousands of young men and women.
- . The freedom of the student to proceed at his or her pace while working - thus combining a career of studying and of work.
- . Reduction in the costs of higher education: in distance teaching the more students, the lower the costs per student.
- . Flexibility in admission.

Major objectives of QOU

- . to provide the opportunity for the largest number of Palestinian, Jordanian and Arab young men and women to obtain higher education and training. 60,000 are expected to enrol in the second phase of the development of QOU; more than half of them are expected to carry a full load of studying. More than 40,000 of these will be Palestinians and Jordanians. These numbers are likely to be multiplied once the Arabsat (the Arab telestar) is employed by QOU;
- . QOU will design a variety of programmes to train men and women highly skilled in the fields of modern technology;
- . to enhance the employment of modern technology in the Arab society. One of the three major fields of study at QOU will be the teaching of sciences and technology. This, plus the heavy use of technology in teaching (such as the use of the computer, video and sound cassettes, training kits, and the use of radio and television broadcasting) will be a productive contribution to a real technological revolution in the Arab society.
- . to contribute to the democratization of higher education in the Arab society; QOU, through the system of distance teaching, will make higher learning and training accessible to the less fortunate.
- . to provide general education and training to the community at large. This through the provision of life-long education and training to everyone willing to improve his or her education, irrespective of age, academic achievement or economic means.

. to improve the quality of higher education. This through the inter-disciplinary and multi-media approach in the design and production of educational programmes and materials. QOU will try to establish its study centres inside the campuses of existing residential universities and colleges in the region.

. to reduce the volume of the brain-drain from the region. Large numbers of those who fail to find places in the existing residential universities and colleges seek higher education abroad. Many of them do not return after graduation. QOU will be able to absorb most of these students.

. to contribute to the welfare and development of the Arab communities under occupation.

. to contribute to the homogeneity of education and to the unification of the scientific and technological language in Arab higher education.

Organization of QOU

The objectives of QOU will be served by the following organizational structure:

- . A central management which will undertake the design and production of educational and training programmes, the delivery of educational materials, the design of tests and examinations and the granting of degrees and diplomas;
- . regional centres to coordinate the work between HQ and the sub-regional and local centres;
- . sub-regional study centres where students will have easy access to tutors, laboratories, workshops, libraries, etc.
- . local study units will be established in cities, towns, villages and refugee camps in order to maximize interaction between students and tutors and among students themselves.

The QOU will be made up of three major groups of colleges: (1) physical sciences and technology; (2) social sciences and management; and (3) humanities and education.

(Further information from: Dr. Walid Kamhawi, Al-Quds Open University, PO Box 950408, Amman, Jordan).

IFDA DOSSIER	-	SUBSCRIPTION FEE
North:	48 Swiss francs	or 30 US dollars
South:	24 Swiss francs	or 15 US dollars

BANGLADESH: TRIBAL BUDDHISTS STRUGGLE FOR LIFE

Nearly five years ago, a Buddhist monk from the Chittagong Hill Tracts brought word to Buddhist Peace Fellowship (BPF) of his people's heavy suffering - a suffering unknown to any of us at that time and still unknown, probably, to most of us. The situation of these tribal Buddhists has worsened over the intervening years, and it seems time to ask ourselves again what we can do to help. The Hill Tracts, in Southeastern Bangladesh, are the historic refuge of 12 tribes that are ethnically, culturally and religiously different from the Bengali Muslim majority. Their lands, once regarded as marginal, have become attractive due to the nation's intense population pressures, and the tribal people - scorned as inferior - are being driven off in favour of Bengalis brought from other parts of Bangladesh.

In a report published last year, Survival International criticized the Bangladesh government for waging "a campaign of violence that in the past decade and a half has reached genocidal proportions." The report summarized the situation thus:

"...tens of thousands of innocent tribal men, women and children have been murdered; 12 to 15 thousand tribal people have been detained without trial, tortured, and some of them killed; thousands of tribal women have been kidnapped, raped and many of them forcibly converted to Islam; tens of thousands of tribal farmers have been herded into concentration camps and their farmlands distributed among the outsider Muslim Bengali settlers; about 85% of the tribal houses have been burned; Buddhist temples have been desecrated and destroyed; Buddhist monks have been detained without trial, tortured and some of them slaughtered... In 1947, the tribal population and the Muslim Bengalis formed 88% and less than 2% of the total population of the CHT respectively. By 1982, the Muslim Bengali population accounted for more than 50%..."

A recent letter from the Hill Tracts concludes "The government's declaration is: "Either become Muslims or go away to other countries".

After BPF was alerted to the crisis in the Hill Tracts, a board member made a secret visit to the area and witnessed the plight of the tribal people firsthand. BPF began at that point a modest effort to bring this situation to the attention of relevant government agencies, human rights groups, and organizations such as the Asian Development Bank, which funnels most aid to Bangladesh. At least two important human rights groups, the Anti-Slavery Society and Survival International, have now adopted oppression of the Hill tribes as a central concern. With the help of the Anti-Slavery Society, the Rajguru (Buddhist teacher of the king) of the Hill Tracts' largest tribe flew to Geneva last August to bring the issue before the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations. The World Council of Indigenous Peoples has also taken an interest, and BPF is now helping them gather information on which to act.

(For further information: The Anti-Slavery Society's booklet The Chittagong Hill Tracts: Militarization, oppression and the hill tribes available for \$5 from Third World Publications, 151 Stratford Road, Birmingham B11 1RD, UK.)

Buddhist Peace Fellowship Newsletter, Vol.7, N°2, 1985

BALI CONFERENCE ON ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT
PERSPECTIVES IN ASIA SENDS

MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO PRESIDENT CORAZON AQUINO
AND THE FILIPINO PEOPLE

We the participants of the Conference on Alternative Development Perspectives, sponsored by the Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives (ARENA), together with the United Nations University and the Southeast Asian Forum for Development Alternatives, meeting in Bali from 11 to 15 March 1986 salute and congratulate you and the Filipino people on your assumption into office as President of the Philippines through the extraordinary events of the February revolution. The world stood in awe and admiration at an incredible demonstration of people's power.

We rejoice at the end of a dictatorship which had exploited and repressed the Filipino people for fourteen years. We hail the new beginning of democracy in the Philippines.

But even as we celebrate with you and the Filipino people, we are aware of the tremendous task that lies ahead. In a real sense, the revolution is just beginning. We are aware of the structural problems which the dictatorship had dealt the Filipino people, namely:

- . the exacerbation of the uneven distribution of wealth where 70% of the country's resources is controlled by 1% of the population. This is reflected most glaringly in the problem of tenancy in the countryside and the soaring unemployment in the urban centers;
- . the escalation of external debt to \$30 billion as a result of crony capitalism and the flagrantly luxurious life-style of the dictatorship;
- . the mental and physical wounds that militarization and repression had inflicted on thousands of ordinary Filipinos, including you and your family. In this connection, we commend you for restoring the writ of habeas corpus, which is the basic undergirding of any democratic society. We admire your moral courage in freeing all political prisoners. We recognize this as the necessary first step towards the healing and reconciliation within Philippine society. We appreciate your decision to take initiatives at the political level with regard to the Moro Liberation Movement and the Communist Movement.

In our deliberations in search for Alternative models of development relevant to Third World countries, we have concluded that certain basic elements are necessary pre-conditions to authentic development. These are the following:

- . That only a genuine democratic government can provide the context for alternative visions. For this reason, the return of democracy in the Philippines is very encouraging to us - we hope that under your leadership it will be safeguarded and nurtured.

- . That a thorough going land reform program is of utmost importance in order to address the structural bottlenecks in the countryside, as well as to secure the foundation for successful industrialisation.
- . That a deliberate and concerted effort must be made to eradicate the menace of Third World indebtedness. We affirm your statement on this subject for, by raising your voice, you have joined the increasing ranks of Third World leaders who are concerned with this crucial issue.
- . Finally, that reduction in military troops and expenditures must be made if Third World societies are to be re-oriented toward productive activities and to be provided with such crucial social services as adequate education and public health.

We know that liberating Philippine society from the deep problems that beset it will not be accomplished in the coming few months nor in the next several years. But we are confident that a giant step was taken by the Filipinos last February. We at this conference on Alternative Development Perspectives express our solidarity with you and the Philippine people at this new beginning of democracy in the Philippines.

List of participants

Mohiuddin Ahamed, Bangladesh; Harsh Sethi, India; Sandeep Pendse, India; Hisashi Nakamura, Japan; Murai Yoshinori, Japan; Maitet Diokno, Philippines; Sam Yul Lee, S. Korea; Bhikku W. Ariyadeva, Sri Lanka; Rafael Espiritu, Philippines; Susantha Goonatillake, Sri Lanka; Sunil Ratnapriya, Sri Lanka; Mohd Nasir Hashim, Malaysia; Syed Husin Ali, Malaysia; P. Ramasamy, Malaysia; Martin Khor, Malaysia; Kanoksak Kaewthep, Thailand; Warin Wonghanchao, Thailand; Surichai Wun'Gaeo, Thailand; Abdus Sabur, Thailand; Arif Budiman, Indonesia; Dawam Rahardjo, Indonesia; Adi Sasono, Indonesia; Kartjono, Indonesia; Jose Aseniero, Philippines; Randy David, Philippines; Marc Nerfin, IFDA; Ibrahim Saad-El Din Abdalla, Egypt; Bernard Founou Tchuingolia, Cameroun; Michael Fremerey, West Germany; Ponna Wigneraja, Sri Lanka; Sinforoso Atienza, Philippines; Evelyn Hong, Malaysia; Lawrence Surendra, India; Fachery Ali, Indonesia; Rob Van Drimmelen, Netherlands; Salua Nour, Egypt; John Garbutt, Australia; Rustam Ibrahim, Indonesia; Silan Kadirgamar, Sri Lanka; Pushpa Somaiah, India; Manfred Ziemek, West Germany; Orapan Nabanchang, Thailand; Greg Rooney, United Kingdom; Richard Holloway, United Kingdom.

(Further information from ARENA, A4 2/F Hung Hom Bay Centre, 104-108 Baker Street, Hung Hom, Kowloon, Hong Kong).

PHILIPPINES: PROCESS (PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH,
ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNITIES, AND EDUCATION
TOWARDS STRUGGLE FOR SELF-RELIANCE)

History: Our birth was itself a slow and painful process of realizing that real liberation of the poor can occur only when it is achieved with, not for, them; and that a genuinely participatory approach cannot fully develop within a bureaucratic environment. With this realization, we decided to cease being part of a government project and organized ourselves into a non-governmental organization called PROCESS. We committed ourselves to a process of development which is founded upon the effective participation of the poor at all stages: from investigation of village realities to collective actions aimed at bringing about a just and humane society.

We were formally organized on 6 October 1982. We started our work with five impoverished communities in Antique. Today we are working with 29 communities in Antique, Bohol and Batangas. Soon we shall also be working in Romblon and Palawan.

Philosophy of development: Our central belief is that development towards real liberation requires more than just projects. It is a process involving political, economic and cultural structures spanning time and space. And it can be realized only through struggle by, with, and for the poor.

We emphasize that development is a process because too often it has been distorted by the beneficiaries of underdevelopment - the local and global elites - into stop-gap projects meant to pacify rather than liberate the victims of underdevelopment. Social structures span time because unjust structures today are rooted in the structures of centuries past, and a just tomorrow can be attained only through the struggles and sacrifices of yesterday and today. Social structures span space because injustice in the village is a reflection and an integral part of injustice in the nation and the world.

We firmly believe that development towards liberation will be by, with, and for the poor, or it will not be at all. We also believe that only through liberated consciousness, full participation and organized action will the poor attain countervailing power that is stronger than the forces raised against them. We do not seek to make the communities we work with dependent on us. We seek instead to help them become truly self-reliant. We view ourselves as mere facilitators of a participatory process of development towards liberation.

Goal: To work with the poor in the building of communities - village, national and global - wherein: all members have equal opportunities for their fullest self-realization; participation, cooperation, organized action and liberating education are persistently affirmed; work becomes the deepest expression of the individual's and community's being, not alienation; production aims at meeting people's needs and is not a means of exploitation; nature's bounties are justly shared and responsibly used to ensure our children's future.

How we work - *Go to the people*
Live among the people
Learn from the people
Plan with the people
Work with the people
Start with what the people know
Build on what the people have
Teach by showing
Learn by doing
Not a showcase but a pattern
Not odds and ends but a system
Not piecemeal but integrated approach
Not to conform but to transform
Not relief but release

In our work we do our best to actualize these principles initially articulated by a Chinese community organizer in the 1920s. Our work embodies the approach of Participatory Action Research (PAR) towards the concrete liberation of the poor from all forms of poverty and injustice. Two things constitute the essence of PAR: praxis, or the unity of theory and practice; and full participation of the poor in the struggle to understand and overcome historical and structural oppression.

We constantly strive to work as a team rooted in the concrete realities of impoverished communities. To be one, we plan, act, and live with the poor. Most of us are Community Facilitators living in the very communities we work with, while the rest provide support services. We differ in our professional backgrounds: political science, social, work, agriculture, law, engineering, philosophy, accounting. This diversity makes us more flexible, dynamic, complementary and integrative in meeting people's needs. What we do try to keep in common are the humility and courage to learn from the poor and be one with them in their struggle; the capacity to speak the poor's spoken and unspoken languages; our understanding of, and commitment to, the liberation of the poor.

We serve the communities by facilitating their efforts at organizing and conscientizing themselves; and by providing support services which are never preemptive of their own growth. To concretize their struggle for total liberation, the communities have identified and developed programs which respond to their needs. The various programs share three things: first, they are founded on valued promotive of people's participation and social justice; second, they require strong people's organizations to succeed; and third, they are mainly controlled by the communities themselves, with us acting as catalysts and facilitators.

The programs which are at various stages of implementation in the 29 communities - consisting mainly of migrant workers, subsistence fishermen, marginal lowland and upland farmers and sugar tenants - are the following:

Conscientization and values formation programme - The cornerstone of all the programs: from it springs the will and courage to unite and struggle. Through critical and collective reflection on their situation from historical and structural perspectives, the poor realize their rights, responsibilities and capabilities as creators of a humanizing present and future.

Folk catalyst formation program - It is the most direct concretization of our belief that development should primarily be by the poor. Using its own criteria, the community identifies potential catalysts among its members who will eventually assume the roles presently played by our Community Facilitators. Those chosen are then trained to become skilled facilitators, researchers and educators through a series of workshops and actual field work.

Economic self-reliance program - Collective fishponds, and piggeries, collective purchasing of inputs and marketing of products, collective borrowing and repaying - these are just some projects of this program which aims at concretely developing an alternative production system based on mutual respect, not exploitation; needs, not profit; self-reliant development with maximum use of indigenous resources, not neo-colonial dependence; cooperation, not competition; pooling of resources, not privatization; sharing of learning and material benefits, not monopolization.

Appropriate technology program - Its goal is to create, develop and adapt technology responsive to the needs of, and controlled by, the poor - not transnational corporations (TNCs). Such technology would be affordable and promotive of self-reliant development, as well as capable of ensuring a livable and productive environment for future generations. Current projects range from organic fertilizing to improvement of fishing and farming implements.

Community-based health program - This program emphasizes preventive health care and works at making health affordable by transforming medicine from a mystifying science of specialists and TNC-manufactured, expensive, harmful drugs, into something within the expertise of poor Filipinos using indigenous and inexpensive resources.

Legal resources development program - A strategy for developing the capacity of the poor to use law to assert and secure their rights and entitlements; to reflect critically and act to reduce the gap they experience between law and social justice. Through para-legal training workshops, the community develops its legal self-reliance. The program also seeks to reorient lawyers, legal educators, judges and lawmakers towards a concrete commitment to the poor.

Women's rights program - The aspiration of this program is the abolition of male-oriented social values and structures by educating women (and even men!) on women's rights and issues, along with deliberate and concrete efforts to increase local women's participation in development.

Community communications program - "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come", Victor Hugo once wrote. This program works at making mass and group media serve the poor in their struggle to make Liberation an Idea whose time has come. Present projects include community newsletters, community theater, and community media skills development.

Networking program - Liberation requires the participation of all. Thus this program of forging strong working ties with organizations and individuals who share our Goal.

(PROCESS, 2713 Maria Aurora Street, Makati, Metro Manila, Philippines).

TEN YEARS OF TRANET

by Bill Ellis

TRANET (Transnational Network for Appropriate/Alternative Technologies), like IFDA, is ten years old. To salute our brothers on this occasion we reproduce below the editorial of their founder and artisan, Bill Ellis, in the N°40 of TRANET.

Ten years ago the United Nations held one of its mammoth meetings in Vancouver, Canada, the UN Conference on Human Settlements. Associated with the UN Conference, non-governmental agencies with input from Margaret Mead, Buckminster Fuller, E.F. Schumacher, Barbara Ward, Sister Theresa and other alternative thinkers, held their parallel Habitat Forum. Describing that meeting for the Washington Post, Nicholas von Hoffman wrote:

"There was lots of hair and there was lots of blue jeans and protests. But there was also a great deal more. There was global pluralism of causes and concerns...and continuous unrestricted debate. If the official delegates downtown, with their army-chauffered cars, had their briefcases full of documents prepared for their foreign ministers, the citizen representatives in blue jeans had the expertise. They included scientists from the world's most prominent universities, planners and architects who had designed whole new cities, citizen leaders from Asia, Africa and Latin America who, in contrast to most bureaucrats and politicians downtown, had spent their lives with the problems under discussion...(it) is not to say that the confab at Jericho Beach will set the world on fire, but it made some sparks that illuminated a few important matters, the most important being that the people are not the problem; they are the answer."

It was the people meeting at Habitat that became TRANET. The two weeks there, mornings, afternoons and evenings late into each night, saw reconverted hangars swarming with grass-roots people from all parts of the world exchanging techniques and technologies on how to grow food, build houses, get water, provide learning opportunities, get rid of wastes, live in harmony, become locally self-reliant without the aid of governments. The energy of the meetings was too intense to die. As the days dwindled, participants knew that the global peoples' movement was an idea whose time had come. TRANET was initiated to be one of the transnational people's networks to help that grass-roots movement grow.

Over the 10 years since Habitat, the people's grass-roots movements have grown, and withered, and died, and been born in a constant and continuing palliation of the excesses of modern culture. TRANET has been part of this biologically alive network of networks absorbing and being absorbed by ideas and actions of social transformation, sometimes swept beyond the bounds of reason or credulity, sometimes rejecting as faddish foolishness ideas which later seemed but fundamental axioms.

This has been 10 years of "appropriate" changes. Health foods are now available in every supermarket; healthy living has become a hallmark of

even the American yuppies; world hunger is now a widespread concern of nearly every human being; solar heaters are accepted elements of architecture; bicycle paths weave through the suburbs of most major cities; rivers in many industrial countries again support game fish; human rights are now on every political agenda; the plight of seals and whales now makes headline news. Never before have there been so many backyard gardens. Political leaders from Reagan to Qadafi are promising to reduce the influence of big government on human lives. The list of successes could go on, but so could the list of failures, of lost faith, of forgotten hopes. The political swing to the right, the increasing power of transnational corporations, the mounting problem of toxic waste dumps, the increasing nuclear arsenal, the continuing erosion of the world's topsoils, climatic changes due to carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, the rise of fundamentalisms, and the damage to lakes and forests by acid rain are just a few of the indicators of the naivete of the youth of the 60s and the human potential and social transformational movements of the 70s. They thought that goodwill or good works would quickly change the direction of culture moving, for a couple of centuries, towards self-annihilation.

The first TRANET decade ends in some ways as it began with people lost in a quagmire of confusion. Marilyn Ferguson's The Aquarian Conspiracy, Fritjof Capra's Turning Point, Bob Theobald's At the Crossroads, John Naisbitt's Megatrends, Erik Dammann's Revolt in the Affluent Society, Hazel Henderson's Politics of the Solar Age, James Robertson's The Sane Alternative, Mark Satin's New Age Politics, and Kirkpatrick Sale's Human Scale, have taken their places beside the writings of Theodore Roszak, E.F. Schumacher, Buckminster Fuller, and others who write of the coming of an era of justice, equity, peace and global brotherhood. But there is still no certainty. In fact, there is a growing feeling that although "the movement" is growing it is also cutting itself off from the mainstream. Michael Marien writes of "The Sandbox Syndrome"; Bob Cory speaks of "The Peace Ghetto"; Ivan Illich and Erik Dammann independently suggest that appropriate technologists, feminists, consumer advocates, the human potential movement, and environmentalists alike have settled for technological fixes and become merely apologists for "the system".

It seems then that the decade ahead is as threatening and as challenging as the decade past. Somehow we have to find the bounds of our movements. We have to draw lines and use language which does not alienate the mainstream. We have to think in terms of the possible. We have to match writings with actions. We have to add hard-core left-brain analysis to our right-brain visions. TRANET is a transnational network of, by and for the people and organizations which are changing the world by changing their own lifestyles. We at the TRANET switchboard look to you members around the world for the ideas and activities that can lead us on toward a sustainable humane and ecological (SHE) future. More than ever "if the people lead the leaders will follow".

(TRANET, Box 567, Rangeley, ME 04970, USA).

HABITAT: SHARING EXPERIENCES

The Habitat International Council's (HIC) project is designed to enable NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) and CBOs (Community-Based Organizations) around the world to share their achievements and methods at the increasing number of events now being planned for IYSH (the United Nations International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, 1987). These, together with the films and publications also being planned by producers and publishers interested in the HIC project materials, offer a global showcase for raising awareness of the quality and quantity of home and neighbourhood building by NGOs and CBOs and of how much more could be done with government support. Raising public consciousness of the untapped potential of self-managed local housing action by low and very low-income people will increase the growing pressures on governments to support housing by the masses instead of supplying costly mass-housing to much smaller numbers, few of which are those in the greatest need.

The cases being documented have been selected to show ways and means by which the tasks, common to all projects and programmes, can be carried out by people and local organizations: self-organization, generating and obtaining credit, acquiring land and tenancy rights, participatory planning and design, the development and use of local materials and skills, the use of local enterprises and self-help for construction and for the management and maintenance of home and neighbourhood improvements.

The cases are not presented for carbon-copy replication or for "cloning" by central agencies; this habit reinforces interests vested in mass-housing. It also obscures the far greater transferability and adaptability of separable methods and options for particular tasks from which an infinite variety of locally appropriate projects and programmes can be assembled by the people and local organizations directly concerned. The project will provide a greatly enlarged "tool box" of options for preparing projects that suit the particular local situation or for training.

Progress from December 1983 to February 1986 - The project is being carried out in two stages: first, a preliminary survey and summary profiling over 300 cases in 75 countries, carried out during 1984 by AHAS in collaboration with GRET (Groupe de Recherche et d'Echanges Technologiques, Paris). The second stage, following the selection of 30 cases by the project Steering Group is the indepth documentation of the cases by local research teams.

Local researchers in 14 Third World countries are currently at work documenting 18 cases, two other groups are about to start and five more (in Chile, India, Turkey and Zaire) can do so as soon as additional funds are committed. The Coordinator and members of the Steering Group have had on-site consultations with 7 local research teams during the past two months; plans for regional and international IYSH events at which the cases will be presented are now being prepared with these HIC members' assistance in parallel with proposals for documentary TV films and other publications.

The products - In order to ensure the complementarity of situations successfully confronted by the cases and a balanced presentation of methods

and options in a wide range of contexts, the preparation of the materials is being carried out in two stages: the first provides a profile of the case history, identifying the most significant or instructive aspects. This preliminary material is for circulation among the local teams in order to stimulate exchanges as early as possible and to assist the planning of publications and documentary films.

The second stage will include an article in a narrative style, telling the story of the project to highlight aspects of special interest; an audio-visual, profiling the case and explaining the key aspects and issues; an indexed mini-library, supporting materials providing sufficient information to allow the adaptation of successful methods to other contexts. On the basis of the above, funded and prepared by Rainer Ernst and Ludwig Thürmer, Co-Directors of Habitat Forum Berlin '87: a set of 26 wallsheets, including 15 on the documented cases, 9 on a range of urban contexts and processes, together with an introductory and a reference sheet. English, French, German and Spanish editions will be available.

IYSH events - All of these materials will be available for IYSH activities in June 1987 and some beforehand. The Coordinator and members of the Steering Group are cooperating in the planning of two major international events, so far:

Habitat Forum Berlin, 1-9 June 1987: a two-part conference, co-sponsored by the city government of Berlin (West) and the German Development Foundation. Part I, 1-6 June, will consist of workshops for discussion and exchange of experience between those working at the grassroots and those with government agencies; Part II, 8-9 June, will be presentations to and discussions with politicians and executives of national and international agencies, and the press. The Forum Conferences will be held in the Reichstag, attended by a maximum of 280 persons by invitation.

IYSH Summer School, 10 June - 18 July 1987: a three-part course for senior students and practitioners is being planned. The first three orientation days will take place immediately after HFB, using the same facilities in the Reichstag building. From 14 June to 5 July, the participants will divide into groups of 10-20, each of which will join a different European institution for one of a series of specialized short-courses of 10 working days each (the rest of the time will be free for travel and other activities of the students' own choice).

All participants will reconvene in Brighton, UK, one week before the UIA Congress in order to discuss their specialized studies and to prepare for the final activity: the preparation of neighbourhood-scale "Could Be" scenarios in which proposals for development are worked out, based on the methods and options derived from the Berlin Forum and developed during the short-courses. This activity will form part of the UIA XVI Congress, organized by the Royal Institute of British Architects to be held in Brighton, UK, 12-18 July 1987.

(For further information please write to the Coordinator, stating your interest: John F.C. Turner, AHAS, POB 397, London E8 1AA, UK).

ONE EARTH: A CALL TO ACTION

11-18 OCTOBER 1986

Throughout the world today, a common understanding is developing among many people that our planet itself is a living being. Called Gaia by some after the Greek Goddess of the Earth, this being is composed of and sustained by the interlocking eco-systems of nature and the consciousness of all living things. This perspective provides a spiritual basis for a new, holistic relationship with all of nature, and is a point of synthesis between many diverse fields of human endeavour and study. This Gathering will bring together individuals and groups who have been inspired by this new vision of the Earth in their own lives, to share their experiences and responses, and to sound a united note in building a positive future together.

The need for this is now greater than ever as the harmonious well-being of our planet, our society and ourselves comes under increasing threat. It is now apparent that the environmental problems we face, the threat of nuclear war, and the fear and alienation that exist between people, all transcend national boundaries and defy conventional, piecemeal attempts at solution. This situation calls for a new approach, from a larger, holistic perspective. Gaia herself, and many of her constituent parts, are calling out for help, for healing, and are invoking a global response; one which necessitates the active participation of us all, and which is guided by our highest, shared aspirations.

In fact, many of the solutions to the challenges we face are already known, but have not been implemented. What has been lacking is the personal commitment and, in a larger context, the collective vision and will to act on the knowledge which we have. How do we foster this sense of empowerment in ourselves? How do we balance our understanding of the Earth as a living being, with the commitment to acting as conscious parts of Gaia? How do we integrate our individual responses to the call of the Earth into collective action which is a synthesis of our unique expressions of spirit?

This Gathering is being convened to address these issues, and to facilitate each of us responding to this call to action. It will be a participatory, experiential event in which we can each share our spiritual connection with the planet and celebrate a unity of purpose which transcends the diversity of our lives. If you feel ready to take another step in your life, to work to create a positive future for humanity, and for Gaia, we invite you to join us at this time.

We look forward to welcoming you. Do not hesitate to write to us if you wish any further details on the Gathering: Conference Secretariat - One Earth: A Call to Action - Cluny Hill College, Forres IV36 ORD, Scotland.

FROM PAKISTAN:

We have been receiving the IFDA Dossier regularly and find it extremely impressive, thought-provoking and useful in every respect. The articles generally are of a very high standard. We would particularly like to congratulate you on covering in a brilliant manner the subjects pertaining to the Third World.

M. Sadiq Malik, Executive President, Rural Development Foundation of Pakistan, Islamabad

DE MEXICO

Esta es por la urgencia de agradecerles su revista que hemos recibido en el transcurso del 85. De mucho nos ha servido para entender desde acá los acontecimientos que a todos nos atanen como son una mejor convivencia entre los seres humanos y una integración con el Universo.

Carmen Verguesa Parra, Colima

FROM VIET NAM

The Jute Machinery Manufacturing Programme has in reality a wider scope of activity than just producing machinery. It is in fact an interdisciplinary endeavour to build up the jute industry as a self-reliant development project. Hence we are much interested in development studies in general and particularly in problems of transfer of technology, ecodevelopment, etc. We happen to get a copy of IFDA Dossier, the content of which is of great interest to our work. We would therefore be grateful to receive a copy of the Dossier, if possible, from 1980 on, as well as other documents relevant to development issues. On our part, we shall try to communicate our experience.

Dan Quan Duc, Chương trình Nghiên cứu và Sản xuất Thiết bị Dệt, Hồ Chí Minh City

FROM HOLLAND

I want to thank you for having sent me the Dossier so punctually every other month for more than two years. I find it extremely valuable to all those who are concerned with the development of the Third World and the complexity of the problématique implied. I would therefore appreciate it if you would keep sending me the Dossier. To that effect I will shortly forward you a "mandat de poste international" in the amount of Sw.Fr.48.

Harold Suivas, Bilthoven

FROM CORNELL UNIVERSITY, USA

This is to inform you of the gratitude of our faculty and graduate students for the IFDA Dossier which we have been receiving on a regular basis. Our students are mostly from Asia, Africa and Latin America and our faculty is primarily involved in research, teaching and extension

activities related to Third World development. We find the IFDA Dossier a useful document and trust that you will keep us on your mailing list.

J. Lin Compton, Ithaca

FROM INDIA

I recently had an opportunity to go through IFDA Dossier 44, and I feel it is really an excellent document. I find it extremely useful. I am unable to find proper words to express my gratitude. I wish therefore to ask for your kindness to include my address in your mailing list to receive IFDA Dossier regularly.

Arockiaswamy, Coimbatore

FROM BRAZIL

We've been wanting to write you for a long time to express our thanks for having included us in IFDA Dossier's mailing list. It has brought us the most valuable information and has been of significant help in the work we carry on. We specially congratulate you for your article on the UN 40th anniversary and for the transcription of Ambassador Lewis' speech (Dossier 49). We 3rd worlders do sure need people like you.

Magda Renner, Porto Alegre

FROM NIGERIA

I am sorry to be disturbing you. I am privileged to be on your mailing list since the third system project was launched. I had been receiving the Dossier very regularly until 1981 when I left England. Dossier 16 was the last to reach me. I am abysmally frustrated. I am deprived of an essential reading. I am imprisoned and ignored as the Dossier always has alternative ideas which can replace darkness with light, despair with hope. In short, no other reading satisfies my conscious, reasoning and psyche as does the IFDA Dossier. I need your help and soonest please. Thank you. I shall be most grateful if you can airmail to my new address all current and back issues starting from N°17 please.

E.S. Lema, Kaduna

ON IFDA'S BIRTHDAY

We congratulate The International Foundation for Development Alternatives for so steadfastly and successfully spreading the idea and articulating the practicalities of "another development". See IFDA Dossier 50 of Nov/Dec 1985 for a brief account - also for West German ex-Federal Government Minister Erhard Eppler on maldevelopment in industrial countries, and Jimo Omo-Fadaka on peace and development and the need to "move beyond conceiving peace as negation of war and towards peace as a new paradigm of life itself".

Turning Point Newsletter, The Old Bakehouse, Cholsey, Oxon OX10 9NU, UK

CORRIGENDUM

A letter from Malawi (Dossier 53) was erroneously attributed to Z.D. Kadzamira. The real author was David Kerr. Our apologies to both.

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

. The E.F. Schumacher Society is publishing its annual EFS lectures. Among them:

- . Charlene Spretnak, Green Politics: The Spiritual Dimension, 40pp.
- . Frances Moore Lappe, Towards a Politics of Hope: Lessons From a Hungry World, 32pp.
- . Kirkpatrick Sale, Mother of All: An Introduction to Bioregionalism, 37pp.
(Box 76, RD Great Barrington, MA 01230, USA).

. Among the recent DPU Gender and Planning Working Papers:

- . Caroline O.N. Moser, Residential Level Struggle and Consciousness: The Experiences of Poor Women in Guayaquil, Ecuador, 36pp.
- . Sylvia Chant, Family Composition and Housing Consolidation: The Case of Queretaro, Mexico, 28pp.
- . Marina Fernando, Women's Participation in the Housing Process: The Case of Kirillapone, Sri Lanka, 25pp.
- . Irene Vance, Women's Participation in Self-Help Housing: The San Judas Barrio Project, Managua, Nicaragua, 37pp.
- . Caroline O.N. Moser, Housing Policy and Women: Towards a Gender Aware Approach, 37pp.

(Development Planning Unit, Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning, 9 Endsleigh Gardens, London WCLH 0ED, UK).

. Sundari Ravindran, Health Implications of Sex Discrimination in Childhood (Geneva: World Health Organization & United Nations Children's Fund, 1986) 35pp.

. A. Imam, R. Pittin and H. Omole (eds), Women and the Family (1985) 273pp. (Women in Nigeria, POB 253, Samaru Zaria, Nigeria).

. Patricia Bifani, 'Women and Development in Africa' in Journal of Eastern African Research and Development (Volume 15, 1985) 267pp. (Gideon S. Were Press, POB 10622, Nairobi, Kenya).

. M. Angélica Meza (comp.), La otra mitad de Chile (Santiago: CESOC) 323pp. Las mujeres toman la palabra. Luego de un prolongado silencio, surgen grupos de mujeres organizadas que cuestionan los valores de la familia y la sociedad de corte patriarcal y luchan por la liberación femenina. Un movimiento de dimensiones universales se hace presente tam-

bién en Chile, asumiendo características propias y entrocándose con experiencias históricas anteriores. El feminismo es polémico. Pide democracia en la sociedad y en la casa. Une lo público y lo privado, la política y la sexualidad. (La Bolsa 64, Oficina 121, Santiago, Chile).

. Daniel Camacho y Rafael Menjivar, Movimientos populares en Centroamérica (San José: EDUCA, 1985) 520pp. Los trabajos que se incluyen en este libro muestran, de modo particular, las diferentes expresiones de la sociedad civil centroamericana en el período comprendido entre 1970 y 1983. Las tensiones, muchas veces violentas, entre los movimientos populares y la sociedad política indican un alto grado de polarización y de conflicto. El enfoque de hechos y circunstancias del proceso histórico revelan que los sujetos sociales de la conflictiva realidad de Centroamérica se mueven y articulan en una misma dirección frente al Estado. (Apartado 64, Ciudad Universitaria Rodrigo Facio, Costa Rica).

. Manuel Berrera, Helia Henriquez, Teresita Selamé, introduction d'Alain Touraine, Syndicats et Etat dans le Chili contemporain (Genève: UNRISD, Rapport N°84.1, 1985) 166pp.

. NSZZ Solidarnosc, Poland in 1985 (Brussels, 1986) 71pp. On 31 August 1985 - the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Gdansk Agreement and the emergence of NSZZ "Solidarnosc" - a 500-page Report entitled "Poland: Five Years After August" was released by Lech Walesa, the Union's President. The Report presents an assessment of the overall situation in Poland and proffers some prospects for the future. It also proposes general suggestions for measures that both the authorities of Poland and the Union's leadership should undertake. This booklet is an edited compilation of extensive excerpts from the Report. A condensed version of the Union's main Program is included to provide an orientational background. (9 av.de la Joyeuse Entrée, 1040 Brussels, Belgium).

. Jenny Pearce, Promised Land: Peasant Rebellion in Chalatenango El Salvador (London: LAB, 1986) 324pp. This book traces how, despite 50 years of systematic and brutal repression, the peasants began to organize themselves. In the face of growing landlessness and misery, they formed a union in the 1970s to fight for cheaper credit, lower rents and better wages on the plantations. Together with other labour organizations, they created one of the best organized and most combative popular movements ever seen in Latin America. When the deepening political crisis led to civil war this provided the foundation for the guerilla army and the civilian administration of the area controlled by it. Here the peasants were able to elect councils, to run health and education programmes and to organize production - for the first time to realize the potential of their lives. Promised Land provides the background to understanding current events and where solutions may lie for the people of El Salvador. (1 Amwell Street, London EC1R 1UL, UK).

. Kenneth Hermele, Contemporary Land Struggles on the Limpopo: A Case Study of Chokwe, Mozambique 1950-1985 (AKUT, 1986) 26pp. (University of Uppsala, St. Olofsgatan 11 B, 753 21 Uppsala, Sweden).

. P. Boiral, J-F. Lanteri et J-P. Olivier de Sardan, Paysans, experts et chercheurs en Afrique noire (Paris: Editions Karthala, 1985) 224pp.

Plusieurs catégories d'acteurs sont à l'oeuvre dans l'entreprise du développement rural en Afrique noire: les paysans eux-mêmes, les représentants de l'Etat, les experts étrangers et, enfin, les chercheurs en sciences sociales (ethnologues, linguistes, sociologues...) dont les enquêtes et les publications analysent et révèlent les enjeux en cours. Dans cet univers aux acteurs multiples, que peuvent bien avoir à dire les chercheurs en sciences sociales de l'ORSTOM, du CNRS ou de l'Université? Filière arachide au Sénégal, riziculture irriguée en Côte d'Ivoire, café et cacao au Togo... A partir d'études de cas, cet ouvrage rend compte des nouvelles directions de l'anthropologie et de la sociologie du développement. (22-24, bd Arago, 75013 Paris, France).

. Octavio Getino, Perú: CECODESA, una experiencia de comunicación rural (1985) 56pp. (CIMCA, Apartado 5828, La Paz, Bolivia).

. René Berger, "L'art et ses nouvelles interfaces" dans OPUS International (N°100, 1986) pp.9-15 (4 rue de Nevers, 75006 Paris, France).

. Lani S. Stephenson (ed), Schistosomiasis and Malnutrition (Cornell University, N°16, 1986) 192pp. (Division of Nutritional Sciences, Savage Hall, Ithaca, New York 14853-6301, USA).

. The Architect as Enabler of User House Planning and Design (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1985). Choosing "enabling" as the theme for the 1984 Competition for Students of Architecture was for its sponsors, the International Union of Architects and UNESCO, a way of conveying to the schools of architecture the idea of architects servicing a collective client, i.e. groups of prospective users who will be responsible for the design and construction of their own dwellings. The large number of entries, sent from all geographical areas, demonstrated the schools' growing interest in participatory and community architecture and showed the variety of interpretations that can be given to the "enabling" task. "Enabling", and the conception of housing it implies, provides answers to the housing needs of the world's majority. This special issue of AW - Architektur + Wettbewerbe (104pp, illustrations, DM32) will hopefully contribute to make the building professions and institutional decision makers aware of the importance and scope of participatory enabling architecture (Postfach 808, 7000 Stuttgart 1, FRG).

. Edward Maltby, Waterlogged Wealth (London: Earthscan, 1986) 200pp. Man's traditional response to swamps, marshes and bogs has been to drain them. But wetlands are not wastelands. Coastal marshes are among the world's most productive ecosystems. They make many commercial fisheries possible and protect coasts from floods and storm surges. Wetlands are pollution filters, water reservoirs. They are among the last wild places on earth, offering homes to endangered plants, birds and animals. Waterlogged Wealth examines the value of swamps and marshes, as well as the threats against them. In doing so it takes the reader to some of the world's most bizarre landscapes: the "inland delta" of the Niger River in drought-stricken Mali; the wildlife-rich Okavango swamps in Botswana; the waterlogged Sunderban forests of India and Bangladesh, where tigers eat fish and crabs. Civilisation began around wetlands; today's civilisation has good reason to leave them wet and wild. (3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD, UK).

. Wolf Scoot and N.T. Mathew, Monitoring Change in Kerala: The First Five Years (Vol.111 in the series A Development Monitoring Service at the Local Level) 150pp. (Geneva: UNRISD, 1985).

. Günter Wallraff, Tête de turc (Paris: Editions de la Découverte, 1986) 309pp. Pour démasquer les imposteurs, il faut parfois se masquer. Wallraff, journaliste allemand, s'est transformé en travailleur turc immigré pendant deux ans. Son reportage au coeur des ténèbres est accablant pour l'Allemagne - mais la France et les autres pays importateurs de main d'oeuvre quasi esclave ne sont pas meilleurs. Et au moins les Allemands ont-ils découvert un aspect de leur réalité: deux millions d'exemplaires ont été vendus en quatre mois. (1, place Paul-Painlevé, Paris V, France).

NATIONAL SPACE

. Luis Enrique Délano, Balmaceda - Historias de la Historia (CESOC, 1985) 160pp. (La Bolsa 64, Oficina, 121 Santiago, Chile).

. Anita Fresno de Leighton, Recuerdos - Afectos que Agradecemos Hechos que Perdonamos (CESOC, 1985) 177pp.

. Ernesto Edwards et alia, Ahorro, inversión y desarrollo nacional (Santiago: Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo, 1986) 283pp. En el Chile de 1985, el desempleo efectivo sigue alcanzando a más de un quinto de la fuerza de trabajo, los salarios reales fueron un 20% inferiores a los de 1982, un tercio de los chilenos permaneció en la indigencia y el consumo por habitante resultó apenas superior al de hace un cuarto de siglo. La recuperación de una democracia estable para Chile exige, en primer término, impulsar una efectiva reactivación de corto plazo, que libere las energías contenidas de la economía y posibilite un crecimiento del ingreso y, subsecuentemente, de la tasa de ahorro interno. Ella constituirá la principal fuente de financiamiento de un crecimiento más dinámico de la inversión que sostenga una política de desarrollo de mediano y largo plazo basada en la expansión de los sectores productivos básicos. (Nueva de Lyon 128, Santiago, Chile).

. Solon Barraclough, Une analyse préliminaire du système alimentaire du Nicaragua (Genève: UNRISD, 1985) 138pp. (Palais des Nations, 1211 Genève 10, Suisse).

. Mandhyala B.G. Tilak, Analysis of Costs of Education in India (New Delhi: NIEPA Occasional Paper N°10, 1985) 57pp. (17B Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110 016, India).

. International Emergency Committee, Emergency - Sri Lanka (London: International Alert, 1986) 43pp. Judith Hart writes in her preface: Events during the past few years have brought Sri Lanka to the centre of international concern. It is a tragedy that a country which has made such progress since independence in its economic and social development - with its tremendous achievements in literacy and health - should now be so deeply torn by strife. It is even more tragic that it has become a country where human rights are no longer respected. Given the well-documented and authoritative evidence on this, the best friends of Sri Lanka cannot be other than deeply concerned and anxious for its future. If answers are to be found to the political and ethnic conflict in Sri

Lanka, there must be an understanding of its history. The Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka publishes this account as a contribution to the analysis of the crisis. (24 Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1LS, UK).

. Nagai Michio and Miguel Urrutia (eds), Meiji Ishin: Restoration and Revolution (Tokyo: UNU, 1985) 228pp. This work brings together divergent ideas on the Meiji Restoration, which is viewed variously as a national cultural revolution and as the replacement of a feudal regime by one of capitalist imperialism. One view put strongly is that the success of the Meiji cultural revolution was rooted in the evolution of education in Japan. In its economic and technological aspects, the Restoration encouraged the tradition of absorption of foreign technology and educational innovation. (Toho Seimei Building, 1-15-1 Shibuya, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo 150, Japan).

. Dominique Olivia et Michel Rod, Les rôles des Universités palestiniennes en territoires occupés (Cisjordanie et Gaza) (Genève: IUED, 1986) 123pp. Les auteurs ont séjourné dans les territoires occupés, ils ont visité les cinq universités palestiniennes, ils ont récolté des informations, les ont "recoupées" avec leurs propres sources, ils ont mené des entretiens... Bref, ils ont côtoyé le "vécu" des gens. Ils ont fait ce que des chercheurs devaient faire sur le terrain dans les limites du temps qui leur était imparti. La qualité des informations contenues dans ce travail en témoigne. (24 rue Rothschild, 1211 Genève 21, Suisse).

. Alfred F. Andersen, Liberating the Early American Dream - A way to transcend the Capitalist/Communist dilemma nonviolently (California: Tom Paine Institute, 1985) 272pp. "A challengingly significant account of how we might readjust the relations between state and society in pursuit of a more humane world order. The author's emphasis on political economy and constitutional reform are particularly welcome and original contributions. I recommend all those true realists committed to finding a constructive path to the future to read and reflect upon Andersen's imaginative proposals" writes Richard Falk. (1155 South Dora Street, Ukiah, CA 95482, USA). Soft cover, \$12.50.

. Jussi Rauminen (ed), Natural Resources Exploitation and Problems of Staples-Based Industrialization in Finland and Canada (Helsinki: FENNIA 163:2, 1985) 497pp.

. Amartya Sen, Resources, Values and Development (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984) 547pp. This companion volume to "Choice, Welfare and Measurement" focuses on some fundamental problems of economic development. Amartya Sen's innovative contributions have had a profound influence on development economics. This selection of his essays includes recognized classics, such as 'Peasants and Dualism', alongside new work presenting fresh ideas and analysis. The first set of essays explores the basic features of resource allocation in 'non-wage' systems, such as peasant agriculture, dual economies, and cooperative allocation. The discussion then turns to investment planning including saving rates, discounting and project appraisal. The next group of essays deals with shadow pricing and employment policy, paying particular attention to political and social constraints as well as economic and technological ones. The author goes on to investigate some important issues in welfare economics and their relevance to development policy and international

ethics. He analyses the use of conventions and norms in the perception of deprivation and poverty, and in social behaviour involving divisions within the family and sex bias in general. The last four essays present an original view of the relationship between goods and well-being. They examine the welfare basis of real income comparisons, the social roots of hunger, and the nature of economic development. A substantial Introduction brings out the interconnections between the various themes and comments on the recent literature relevant to these challenging essays. (108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX1 1JF, UK).

. John P. Lewis & Valeriana Kallab (eds), Development Strategies Reconsidered (Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1986) 190pp. With, among others, chapters by Irma Adelman "A poverty-focused approach to development policy"; Jagdish N. Bhagwati "Rethinking trade strategy"; Leopoldo Solís and Aurelio Montemayor "A Mexican view of the choice between outward and inward orientation"; and Atul Kohli "Democracy and development" (1717 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington DC 20036, USA).

. Vandana Shiva & J. Bandyopadhyay, "Environmental Conflicts and Public Interest Service" (Bombay: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol XXI, N°2, 1986).

. Donald McGranahan, Eduardo Pizarro & Claude Richard, Measurement and Analysis of Socio-Economic Development - An enquiry into international indicators of development and quantitative interrelations of social and economic components of development (Geneva: UNRISD, 1985) 504pp.

REGIONAL SPACE

. W.A. Ndongko (ed), Economic Cooperation and Integration in Africa (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1985) 344pp. Economic cooperation among African countries remains one of the major items on the agenda for the development of Africa and the sovereignty of its people. This book is a product of some of CODESRIA's activities in this field. It consists of papers presented at a conference convened in Kinshasa, Zaire. The book starts with a discussion of general problems of economic cooperation and integration. This is then followed by an examination of the impact of external forces on regional economic integration. The third part takes up some concrete examples of attempts at regional economic cooperation. In the final section, the editor takes a critical look at the future of economic cooperation in Africa. (BP 3304, Dakar, Senegal).

. Guy Martin, "The Franc Zone, underdevelopment and dependency in Francophone Africa" in Third World Quarterly (London, Third World Foundation, 1986) pp.205-235 (New Zealand House, 80 Haymarket, London SW1Y 4TS, UK).

. Carlos Zuzunaga Flórez, Las sociedades estancadas (Lima: Centro Peruano de Investigación Aplicada, 1985) 144pp.

. RAWOO, Food Security in Developing Countries - Research Needs and Conditions (The Hague: Advisory Council for Scientific Research in Development Problems, 1986) 36pp. (PO Box 90734, 2509 LS The Hague, NL).

. Pitou van Dijck & Harmen Verbruggen (eds), Export-Oriented Industrialization and Employment: Policies and Responses with special reference to ASEAN countries (Manila: Council for Asian Manpower Studies, 1984) 197pp.

GLOBAL SPACE

. Jan Mårtensson (ed), Subregional Conference for the World Disarmament Campaign (United Nations, 1985) 175pp. If you go beyond this dreadfully boring title, you may find very rich materials and insights provided by Miljan Komatina, Muchkund Dubey, Martin Huslid, Liviu Bota, among others. (Disarmament Affairs, Rm 3161F, New York NY 10017, USA).

. IAEWP, Varieties of Peace Education (Bangkok: The International Association of Educators for World Peace, 1983) 118pp. Proceedings of The European Convention, Heshbjerg Peace Research College, Denmark, August 1983, "Why Not Pentagon for Peace?" (9 Soi Kingchinda, Patipat St., Bangkok 10400, Thailand).

. Keith D. Suter, Nuclear Free Zones: Some Basic Questions (Austrian Nuclear Free Zones Secretariat, 1985) 26pp. (Town Hall, Sydney, NSW 2000, Australia).

. Lester R. Brown et al, State of the World 1986 (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1986) 263pp. This book reveals economic and ecological threats to security that military forces are ill equipped to confront. The report is the third in an annual series from Worldwatch assessing worldwide progress toward achieving a sustainable society. A natural outgrowth of the Institute's ongoing research, the book is published in response to a growing demand for policy-oriented interdisciplinary analysis. The 1986 report emphasizes the economic, social and political consequences of ecological deterioration; proposes a resource-based development agenda for Africa; highlights innovations in water use and electricity policy; and calls for strategies to banish tobacco and enhance child survival. A few points:

- . Of the 122 billion cubic meters pumped from the US groundwater supply each year, 26 billion - one-fifth - are nonrenewable.
 - . Higher energy prices have caused a virtual revolution in the development of energy-efficient technologies.
 - . Much of the nuclear decommissioning bill may fall due in a single decade - from 2000 to 2010.
 - . Almost one-fifth of all US deaths can be traced to cigarette smoke.
 - . Global military expenditures in 1985 of \$940 billion exceeded the income of the poorest half of humanity.
- (500 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10110, USA).

. UNEP, Radiation: Doses, Effects, Risks (United Nations Environment Programme, POB 30552, Nairobi, Kenya) 64pp.

. Ward Morehouse and M. Arun Subramaniam, The Bhopal Tragedy: What Really Happened and What it Means for American Workers and Communities at Risk (New York: The Bhopal Action Resource Center, 1986) 190pp. First book-length account of the Bhopal tragedy and its implications for Ame-

rica's workers exposed to similar risks. Addresses the key question of who was responsible for this catastrophic accident. Probes the health and environmental impact of the disaster which killed at least 5,000 people and injured more than 200,000. Presents an entirely different view of true justice for the poor victims, with a detailed calculation of \$4.1 billion in compensation for economic losses alone. Explores the meaning of Bhopal for US workers and communities exposed to comparable industrial hazards. (Suite 9A, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA) 204pp. Price: \$15.50. Discount prices available for citizens' groups. Income from the sale of The Bhopal Tragedy, after meeting publication costs, will be used to seek justice for the Bhopal victims and to support efforts of communities and workers in both India and the United States exposed to high-risk technologies to assert their rights to know and to act in protecting themselves and their environment.

. Peter Thatcher, "Space Technology and Resource Management" in Journal of International Affairs (Vol.39, N°1, 1985) pp.151-166 (Box 4, International Affairs Bldg, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027, USA).

. Tamás Szentes, Theories of World Capitalist Economy (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985) 408pp. What is the nature of the world economy and what are its laws of motion? Does it constitute an organic whole or is it a juxtaposition of independent national economies, perhaps the aggregate of their independent "external" economic relations? Can the high level of production of a few countries and the underdevelopment of many others be attributed to and explained by domestic (national) conditions or rather by the external (international) factors? What are the determinants of the world crisis? What does unequal international exchange mean? What is the real meaning of the principle of the so-called comparative advantage and costs, and has it been realized in practice at all? Has foreign trade and the participation in the international division of labour a negative effect on development? Such and similar questions are discussed or raised by those internationally well-known scholars (such as Prebisch, Myrdal, Furtado, Singer, Emmanuel, Amin, Wallerstein and so on) whose theoretical views are critically examined by the author. In the final chapter, Szentes draws his own conclusions from the critical survey of the old, conventional and the new, reformist or radical theories of the world economy. (POB 24, 1363 Budapest, Hungary).

. Herb Addo, Imperialism: The Permanent Stage of Capitalism (Tokyo: United Nations University, 1986) 182pp. The author presents the view that imperialism has been an essential attribute of capitalism since its beginning in the late 15th century, whose form only has changed with the development of world capitalism, and that Third World societies contribute to the persistence of imperialism. The liberal, radical and marxist conceptions of imperialism are critically analysed, showing the Eurocentric nature of their basic assumptions. (Toho Seimei Building, 15-1 Shibuya 2-chome, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo 150, Japan). Price US\$15.00

. Karl Wohlmuth, Structural Adjustment in the World Economy and East-West-South Economic Cooperation. Report on the Second International Seminar sponsored by the University of Bremen at the Inter-University Centre of post-graduate studies, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, February-March 1985. 29pp.

. Dirk Hansohm und Karl Wohlmuth, Transnationale Konzerne der Dritten Welt und der Entwicklungsprozess unterentwickelter Länder (1985) 38pp. (Universität Bremen, Postfach 33 04 40, 2800 Bremen 33, FRG).

. Karl-Heinz Domdey, Weltwirtschaft und Weltwirtschaftslehre (1984) 366pp. (Universitäts-Bibliothek, Humboldt Universität, Tauchstelle, Clara-Zetkin-Strasse 27, 108 Berlin).

. United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations, Activities of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia and the Responsibilities of Home Countries with Respect to their Operations in this Area (New York, 1986, UN Sales N°E.85.II.A.16) 59pp.

. United Nations, National Legislation and Regulations Relating to Transnational Corporations (New York, UN Sales N°E.85.II.A.14) 241pp.

. Gunilla Andrae and Björn Beckman, The Wheat Trap (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1985) 180pp. In recent years Nigeria has been importing one and a half million tons of wheat annually, most of it comes from the USA. Bread has become 'the cheapest staple food of our people' according to one former Head of State. This book examines the economic and political logic behind the 'wheat trap': how Third World countries become dependent on imported food with devastating consequences for local production. The authors highlight the role of foreign agribusiness, wheat traders, millers and machinery salesman in this process. The flour mills serve as bridgeheads. A mass of small indigenous entrepreneurs - the bakers - with their mud-ovens and 'appropriate' technology ensure penetration at the grassroots level. State institutions and an emerging domestic bourgeoisie provide the vital links between the world market and the village. (57 Caledonian Road, London N1 9BU, UK).

. Clive Y. Thomas, Sugar: Threat or Challenge? An assessment of the impact of technological developments in the high-fructose corn syrup and sucrochemicals industries (1985) 140pp. (IDRC, Box 8500, Ottawa, Canada K1G 3H9).

. David Millwood and Helena Gezelius, Good Aid, a study of quality in small projects (Stockholm: SIDA, 1985) 246pp. What is good aid? What makes it good? are the central questions of this book, with examples from projects in Nepal, Tunisia and Kenya. (105 25 Stockholm, Sweden).

. Philippe Marchesin, Bibliographie sur l'aide alimentaire d'urgence et son impact sur la production alimentaire locale dans les pays affectés (UNDRO, 1985) 25pp. (Palais des Nations, 1211 Genève 10, Suisse).

. United Nations, Development Education: The State of the Art (1986) 169pp. (NGLS, Palais des Nations, 1211 Genève 10, Switzerland).

. Breda Pavlic et Cees J. Hamelink, Le nouvel ordre économique: économie et communication (Paris: UNESCO, 1985, N°98) 86pp.

PERIODICALS

- . Alternatives Wallonnes (N°39, 1986): "Caterpillar-Mondragon: quand une multinationale et une coopérative entrent en relations d'affaires" (Avenue Général Michel 1 B, 6000 Charleroi, Belgique).
- . Appropriate Technology (Vol.12, N°4, 1986): "The Importance of Rural Workshops in Development" by Robert Spencer (IT Publications Ltd., 9 King St., London WC2E 8HW, UK).
- . Asia Labour Monitor (Vol.2, N°5/6, 1986): "Women Workers in the NICs" (444 Nathan Rd., 8-B, Kowloon, Hongkong).
- . A.T. (Vol.4, N°1, 1985): "IRRI Seeds: Threat to Nations Security" (ACES Found., N°12 11th Ave., Murphy, Cubao, Quezon City, Philippines).
- . Asian Exchange (Vol.IV, N°2 & 3, 1986): "Peace Movement in Japan" (Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives, A4, 2/F G-Block, Hung Hom Bay Centre, 104-108 Baker Street, Hung Hom, Kowloon, Hong Kong).
- . Béto (N°2, 1986): "Dialogue Nord-Sud - Problèmes des travailleurs émigrés" (Bilker Allee 226, 4000 Düsseldorf 1, FRG).
- . Le Bibliotin du CeDiDeLP (N°5, 1986): "Vers des sociétés pluriculturelles" (14, rue de Nanteuil, 75015 Paris, France).
- . La Cacerola (N°6, 1986): "Atrapados sin salida?" (Casilla 179-C, Quito, Ecuador).
- . Centreport (N°23, December 1985-February 1986): "The world of Intentional Communities" by Simon Horrocks (POB 35, Albany, Auckland, New Zealand).
- . Chamiza (N°12, 1986): "...Y ahora la educación popular" (CEDEC, Casilla 906-A, Quito, Ecuador).
- . Changing Villages (Vol.7, N°6, 1985): "The Puri Nightsoil Biogas Plant: A Sociological Evaluation through A Case Study" by Krishna Mahapatra (CORT, E-350, Nirman Vihar, New Delhi 110 092, India).
- . Comercio Exterior (Vol.35, N°10, 1985): "Cuál es el camino del desarrollo?" por Amartya Sen y "La ONUDI y el desarrollo industrial" por Jorge Eduardo Navarrete (Cerrada de Malintzin 28, Colonia del Carmen, Coyoacán, 05100 México DF, México).
- . Consumer Currents (N°85, 1986): "The world through the eye of the consumer". Consumer Currents brings together news items of relevance to groups and individuals who serve the consumer interest particularly in the Third World where information is expensive and access limited. This news digest also attempts to open avenues for greater information flow and foster links between groups. (CIDOC/IOCU, POB 1045, 10830 Penang, Malaysia).
- . The CTC Reporter. Covers the deliberations of the United Nations Commission on Transnational Corporations; progress in the negotiations

of the United Nations Code of Conduct on Transnational Corporations; information on other regulatory instruments and general research relating to TNCs within and outside the United Nations system; research, information and technical cooperation activities of the Centre and its counterparts in the regional economic commissions and other affiliated bodies of the United Nations system; activities relating to TNCs in other governmental and non-governmental organizations. Issued semi-annually, plus special supplement (Annual Report of the Commission). English, French and Spanish editions. Subscription \$20.00 (DC2-853, New York, NY 10017, USA).

. Défis Afghans (N°7, 1986): "Vu de Suède - voyage à l'intérieur d'un comité européen de soutien à l'Afghanistan", par B. Delpuech (BIA, 24 rue de Chaligny, 75012 Paris, France).

. Development Communication Report (DCR). A special issue devoted to the new technology of Interactive Radio for Instruction is available on request to readers of the IFDA Dossier. DCR is a quarterly newsletter that focuses on applications of communication technologies for social and economic development worldwide. Issue 49 examines the recent applications and findings in education-related communication projects in a number of Third World countries. They show that significant and sustained improvements can be anticipated by applying this methodology to complex subject areas for primary curricula. This 16-page state-of-the-art report is available at no cost from DCR, Clearinghouse on Development Communication, 1255 23rd Str., NW, Washington DC 20037, USA).

. Development Policy Review (Vol.4, N°1, 1986): "The Ethics of foreign Aid" by Roger C. Riddell and "Arab Economic Aid" by R.S. Porter (ODI, Regent's College, Inner Circle, London NW1 4NS, UK).

. Dossiers Faim Développement (N°144, 1986): "Economie des armes: exporter ou reconvertir?" (4 rue Jean Lantier, 75001 Paris, France).

. EADI Bulletin (N°2.85): "International Trade in Services" (Postbox 90153, 5000 LE Tilburg, The Netherlands).

. Ecodelopment News/Nouvelles de l'Ecodéveloppement (N°35, 1985): Dossier on "Local Development"/Dossier "Développement local" (54, bd Raspail, 75270 Paris Cedex 06, France).

. The Ecologist (Vol.16, N°1, 1986): "The Rape of Gaia: Why Europe's Trees are Dying" (Worthyvale Manor Farm, Camelford, Cornwall PL32 9TT, UK).

. Economic Review (Vol.11, N°10, 1986): Special Report "Women and Development" (People's Bank, Research Dep. Head Office, Sir Chittampalam A. Gardiner Mawatha, Colombo 2, Sri Lanka).

. European Centre for Work and Society NEWS (N°9, 1986): "The role of Trade Unions in the Coming Decade" (POB 3073, 6202 NB Maastricht, NL).

. Famille & développement (N°41, 1986): "Cap-Vert: Victoire sur le paludisme" par Djib Diédhiou (BP 3907, Lomé, Togo).

- . FEP Newsletter (Issue 18/19): "Women in Production" (POB 20906, Gaborone, Botswana).
- . Fonda (N°37, 1986): "Les associations d'immigrés et la vie locale" (18, rue de Varenne, 75007 Paris, France).
- . Food-Energy Nexus Newsletter (Vol.2, N°2, 1985): "Food and Energy Production: Allies or Rivals?" by Ignacy Sachs (FINEP, Av. Rio Branco 124, Rio de Janeiro 20042, Brazil).
- . Genève-Afrique (Vol.XXIII, N°2, 1985): "Guinée Equatoriale et zone franc - Réflexions sur un système monétaire et une récupération" par Max Liniger-Goumaz et "Sur la triologie de Tchicaya U Tam'si: une fresque de la colonisation au Congo" par Laurent Monnier (24 rue Rothschild, 1211 Genève 21, Suisse).
- . Hai News (N°27, 1986): "An irrational drug policy" by Mira Shiva (IOCU, POB 1045, Penang, Malaysia).
- . Health for the Millions (Vol.XII, 1985): "Health is a winner" (VHAI, C-14 Community Centre, SDA, New Delhi 110 016, India).
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et mouvement féministe en RFA (Nicole Gabriel), sur une "culture de paix" à définir (Lilli Horvat), enfin un compte-rendu détaillé du Forum de Nairobi (juillet 1985). Dans l'ensemble il s'agit d'un regard neuf des féministes françaises et italiennes sur les grands mythes et pratiques de violence du "world military order" à l'égard des femmes et sur la place des femmes des pays du centre et de la périphérie au sein de ce système (N.Q.F, hiver 1985, N°11-12, prix 80 francs, distribué par Alternatives-Diffusion, 36 rue des Boursonnais, 75001 Paris, France).

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N.B. Listing a paper below does not imply that it will be published. Decisions in this respect are based on the need for a certain balance between themes, actors, regions and languages. The editors regret that time makes it impossible to engage in direct correspondence with authors about papers. Papers may be obtained directly from the author.

LOCAL SPACE

. Wilson Herdoíza, Investigación y participación en la comuna campesina de el Juncal-Chalguayacu (RIIP, Calle Seniergues 193 y Solano, Quito, Ecuador) 17pp.

. María Jesús Vara, Nota sobre el Instituto Intercultural para la Autogestión y la Acción Comunal (INAUCO) (Universidad Autonomía de Madrid, Paseo Ermita del Santo 22, 28011 Madrid, Espana) 4pp.

. Kinanga Masala et Muambu Ifulu Kia Butandu, Tradition et développement en Afrique: quelques considérations (Institut Supérieur de Développement Rural, BP 8251, Kinshasa I, Zaïre) 6pp.

. Muambu Ifulu Kia Butandu et Tsudi Wa Kibuti Mambu-Lo, Les jumeaux dans certaines sociétés traditionnelles de l'Afrique noire: Rites, pratiques, croyances et développement (ISDR/MBEO, BP 8251, Kinshasa I, Zaïre) 13pp.

. Ashis Nandy, Cultural Frames for Social Intervention: A Credo (Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, 29 Rajpur Road, Delhi 110 054, India) 23pp.

. K.P. Padmanabhan, Poverty Trap - Disillusionment over Disimprovement (College of Agricultural Banking, Reserve Bank of India, Ganeshkhind Road, Pune 411 016, India) 21pp.

. FOMCA, Report on FOMCA's Legal Profession and Legal Profession Act Forum, 10th January 1986 (12B, Uda Flats, Jalan Pantai Baru, 59200 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia) 7pp.

NATIONAL SPACE

. Yildiz Sertel, La mondialisation de l'économie, l'état-nation et la recherche d'une stratégie alternative (c/o Samir Amin, UNITAR, BP 3501, Dakar, Sénégal) 23pp.

REGIONAL SPACE

. Raelina Andriambololona, Développement solidaire - Transfert de la science et de la technologie - Exemples de coopération internationale Sud-Sud (LPNPA, Université de Madagascar, BP 4279, Antananarivo, Madagascar) 17pp.

(continued on page 68)

MARIE-ANGÉLIQUE SAVANÉ:

LE FÉMINISME PROPOSE UNE AUTRE VISION DE LA CONDITION HUMAINE

Les femmes ont-elles une vision alternative à offrir au monde? Nous les femmes, nous luttons parce que nous sommes contre le fait que les hommes utilisent le pouvoir pour opprimer. Nous avons vécu l'oppression pendant des millénaires et nous n'en voulons plus. Je crois qu'il s'agit là d'un message nouveau, un message anti-pouvoir. Et dans les visions du futur, les femmes apporteront beaucoup; elles n'ont jamais eu le pouvoir; elles ont toujours été opprimées. Et parce qu'elles connaissent les méfaits du pouvoir elles ne veulent plus du pouvoir qui opprime les autres, mais d'une forme d'organisation sociale qui soit collective, participative et qui permette de voir les vrais problèmes et de les résoudre.

Je crois qu'à Nairobi on est arrivé à un consensus. Le féminisme est alors considéré à la fois comme une arme, pour lutter contre le sous-développement et pour un autre développement avec les femmes, car le féminisme secrète une vision d'une société alternative sans inégalités de race, de classe et de sexe. Il s'agira alors de lutter, et contre le sous-développement dans le Tiers Monde et contre le mal-développement dans les pays occidentaux pour de nouvelles relations internationales, pour des transformations au niveau national, pour de nouveaux rapports entre les hommes et les femmes. Ainsi défini, le féminisme propose une autre vision de la condition humaine. Nairobi a donc constitué un espace d'expression nouvelle et non un lieu d'affrontement entre deux mondes.

(Entrevue avec Simon Kiba, Amina N°179, 1er février 1986).

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