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CONTENT

EDITORIAL

- A gleam in the South? 2

LOCAL SPACE

- Theatre, adult education and development:
a workshop at Kumba, Cameroon (Hansel Ndumbe Eyoh) 3

ESPACIO REGIONAL

- Cambios críticos, sociedad emergente y alternativas populares
en América Latina (Luis Lopezllera) 17

GLOBAL SPACE

- Global shifts and their impacts on national policies (J.Pajestka) 27
- Les ONGs comme cheval de Troie (Dominique Temple) 39
- Towards a people-oriented biotechnology (Chakravarthi Raghavan) 53

NEWS FROM THE THIRD SYSTEM

- DAWN: Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era 61
- Femmes sous lois musulmanes 63
- Human Rights Internet 65
- Ngali e Kisal Développement Sahel 67
- India: The Ahmedabad Study Action Group (ASAG) 69
- Belize: Belize Enterprise for Sustained Technology (BEST) 71
- USA: PLENTY 72
- Asia: SAM and APPEN News Feature Service 74
- Pharmaceutical patents: the ARDA statement 75
- From organisation... to organism, a Findhorn Conference 77

- LETTERS 79

- FOOTNOTES 81

- MATERIALS RECEIVED FOR PUBLICATION 95

A GLEAM IN THE SOUTH?

The 'international' media hardly noticed it, and the South as a whole was not informed, but a historical event took place in March. Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania, and Carlos Andrés Pérez, former (and probably future) president of Venezuela, went together to Venezuela, Cuba, Peru, Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. This was the first time ever that an African leader visited Latin America, and did it in company of a leader of such continental stature.

The trip was not of the usual kind. In Peru, for instance, Nyerere and Pérez visited Villa Salvador, an alternative, self-managed 'pueblo joven' of Lima, and called on the leader of the leftist opposition, Alfonso Barrantes, at his home. In Brazil, they met not only with Federal Minister Celso Furtado, but also with Cardinal Arns.

What made the two men join forces were the preparations for a South Commission to be chaired by Nyerere. Both of them have been working on it for several years, but now there seems to be a consensus that it is an idea whose time has come.

When Dossier 60 reaches its readers, the 7th UN Conference on Trade and Development will be meeting in Geneva. You don't need to be a great seer to fear that UNCTAD VII may, at best, achieve nothing of importance. This is the only result the present North-South balance of power and North shortsightedness would permit. There is no longer any dialogue; there is not even preparedness among the governmental and economic powers of the North to hear the Other. As long as it was somewhat on the defensive, this North accepted UNCTAD as a sort of Hyde Park Corner where the South was allowed to voice its concerns, grievances, hopes. Now that the North hard core rules the place, it no longer needs it.

But the problems of development - however defined - will still be with us. And they affect not only the Third World. They are truly global. In the present circumstances, the South is where hope for the planet may come from. This would have nothing new. Those who suffered most from a situation - the colonized peoples, the working class, the young, women, were always in the forefront of the effort to change.

The South Commission may embody this. Its chances in its exercise of self-analysis and strategic prospective lie in its independence from governments and other institutions and in its capacity to draw upon the wide network of policy-oriented research centres now active in the South; to listen (not just to speak) to the unheard voices of the civil society and to citizens; and to initiate the South-South communication process, called for by a situation which the Mwalimu acknowledged, in Montevideo, when meeting with Enrique Iglesias: "The South is aware of the North and the North is aware of the South, but the South is not aware of itself", he said.

May the South Commission be the gleam in the South that our late friend Manuel Pérez Guerrero (whose last draft was that of a memo on the South Commission) was dreaming of and working for, this gleam which will enlighten all of us.

THEATRE, ADULT EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A WORKSHOP AT KUMBA (CAMEROON)

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(Editor's note)

Popular theatre as a conscientization tool has been a recurring theme in the IFDA Dossier for the last five years. It has published, for instance

- Ross Kidd, "Popular theatre, conscientization and struggle", Dossier 30, pp 17-30;
- Ross Kidd, "Popular theatre and popular struggle in Kenya: the story of the Kamiriithu community educational and cultural centre", Dossier 33, pp 17-30;
- "Popular theatre dialogue: statement of the Koitta (Bangladesh) workshop", Dossier 36, pp 74-76;
- Dickson M. Mwansa, "Theatre as a tool for communication, (Zambia)", Dossier 42, pp 23-32;
- Oga S. Abah, "Popular theatre as integration and conscientization" (Nigerian), Dossier 48, pp 3-14;
- "Philippines: Mindanao community theatre network", Dossier 50, pp 88-89.

During last year we received no less than eight new papers, all from Africa. They were listed in the "materials received for publication" section of the Dossier and seven of them are listed again below for ease of reference. We cannot, of course, reproduce them all. We have selected a summary account of a 1984 workshop held in the town of Kumba (Cameroon), written by the coordinator, Hansel Ndumbe Eyoh of the University of Yaoundé, who is also Secretary General of the Union of African Performing Artists. A more detailed description and analysis of the Kumba workshop is available in H. Ndumbe Eyoh et al, Hammocks and Bridges (Yaoundé University, 1985).

- H. Ndumbe Eyoh, Theatre of relevance: an interview with Stephen Chifunyise, March 1985, 11 pp.
- Bole Butake, Kumba workshop on THIRD: Theatre, conscientization and mobilization, the re-education of the community leaders of Kenye (Cameroon), August 1984, 13 pp. (POB 8222, Yaoundé, Cameroon).

(continued on page 16)

Hansel Ndumbe Eyoh

THEATRE, ADULT EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A WORKSHOP AT KUMBA (CAMEROON)

In 1984, theatre people from eight African countries and one from Sweden, met in the town of Kumba (Cameroon) to carry out an experiment in the use of theatre as a method of adult education and development. The Kumba Workshop was not the first of its kind, but followed similar work carried out in Kenya, Nigeria, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

The participants at the workshop included Tar Ahura and Yakubu Nasidi (Nigeria), Sophia Likko (Ghana), Daniel Labonne (Mauritius), Kalinguy Mwambay (Zaire), Penina Mlama (Tanzania), Stephen Chifunyise (Zimbabwe), Debebe Eshetu (Ethiopia), Abubakar Toure (Côte d'Ivoire) and Martha Vestin (Sweden). They were joined by Paul Mbangwana (Head of the Department of English), Bole Butake and Etienne Ze Amvela from the University of Yaoundé, twenty five students of the Community Development Specialization Training School in Kimba and six local liaison persons.

This team of resource and local liaison persons, including the student participants, were assigned to three different villages - Kake, Kurume and Konye.

The workshop lasted two weeks and was organized to initiate theatre people, development cadres and villagers in the use of theatre for conscientization/mobilization; to demonstrate the process with the view to enabling the Cameroonian authorities to assess its potential as a development tool; to contribute to the search for new methodologies in the practice of theatre for development; to hold practical experience in village-based theatre involving villagers in data-analysis, story-improvisation and discussion; and finally to assess the effectiveness of the methodology, both in its immediate feasibility and long term impact.

The methodology adopted for the workshop was largely informed by that used in the ITI/UNESCO African Workshop on Theatre for Development held in Murewa, Zimbabwe, in August 1983, and which was developed by the International Popular Theatre Alliance (IPTA).

What is Theatre For Development (TFD) or Theatre for Integrated Rural Development (ThIRD)? The theatre is used as a method of non-formal adult education in rural and marginalized areas. According to Ross Kidd, the theatre is part of an educational and organizational process used in bringing people together and creating contexts for collective reflection and action. It draws out participation and encourages

expression and analysis. It could be used to overcome people's fears and rationalizations and help in building confidence and a sense of identity. The theatre can stimulate discussions as well as a critical understanding of problems, contradictions and structures underlying everyday reality, clarifying the possibilities and strategies for action, stirring people's emotions and mobilizing for action. The theatre is thus used to develop the consciousness of rural populations, using local media in the form of dance drama, songs, mime, etc.

The popular theatre, says Martin Byram, is "people's theatre speaking to the common man in his language and idiom and dealing with problems of direct relevance to his situation. As a dramatic representation of local problems, it provides a codification of reality which can be used by the participants in analyzing their situation and finally as a collective expression and a communal activity, it creates the context for cooperative rather than individual thinking and action - it creates the possibility for horizontal communication or peer learning, rather than top-bottom, centre-periphery one way communication".

One of the most important features of popular theatre is its representation of local situations and problems through a process of codification, which makes it a powerful tool for education. The participatory nature of the event provides a communal forum for an exchange of ideas, while the question of theatre provides fictional frameworks in which community issues can be approached.

The rehearsal process exploits improvisation and the story which is developed is unscripted. Authorship is communal and the theme topical.

All this makes for an easy approach to the villages, especially because the theatrical event provides firstly for entertainment through which a certain didactic purpose is underscored.

Originally conceived as a follow-up to the Murewa workshop, Kumba was designed to resolve a few of the problems encountered in Zimbabwe.

The workshop was to concentrate on the process rather than the product and was to be seen largely in the context of initiation, with the resulting performance as the actualization of the people's needs rather than an imposition brought in from without. It was also emphasized that resource persons see themselves as catalysts and not as teachers. Their role was animatory. The people's art forms were to form the basis of the work with the implication that as much as possible, resource persons would have to integrate themselves

fully within the communities in which they were assigned. This was achieved by having the workshop participants and resource persons actually live in the villages where they participated in all the local activities. This helped them to gain a deeper understanding of the reality of rural existence rather than the superficial knowledge often gathered through cursory visits to the villages. The fact of living in the villages facilitated information gathering. The workshop participants adapted themselves to the work schedules of the villagers and actually joined them in their daily chores which helped to build a working rapport, as well as generate confidence. While such integration is to be desired, it needs to be handled with care and nothing should be forced. In the Kumba workshop, the contradiction which emerged was while the participants were seeking integration with the villagers, relations were not often easy amongst themselves, much to the consternation of the group leaders who often laid emphasis on the need for group solidarity.

The Kumba workshop posed a few pertinent questions: How can theatre for development be sustained as an ongoing process? What mechanisms can be put into place to sustain the work? Can follow-up be effectively organized? Can workshops of the kind organized in Murewa and Kumba effectively take place without all sorts of support mechanisms from the state and international sponsors, and does the existence of such support mechanisms not compromise the liberating quality of the work, thus rendering the process domesticating? Can popular theatre be apolitical? Can initiators of popular theatre processes within certain Third World societies afford the luxury of confronting the status quo or will considerations of their personal survival dictate their approach? Does a people's development not necessarily involve their ability to articulate the contradictions existing within their societies, and will such articulation not lead to conflict? In case of conflict, who is the looser? May this not result in greater marginalization of the rural populations? The choice is often difficult to make but preferably, there is an argument for a strategy that follows a certain hierarchy of needs, and if the work is to be sustained, the need for such a strategy becomes even more pressing. The popular theatre worker is confronted with a labyrinth of problems through which s/he has to negotiate. The choice is often personal, involving neither compromise of the sort that negates the spirit of the process nor agitation of the kind that will jeopardize the whole process itself.

The Kumba workshop was the first of its kind to be organized in Cameroon, and this called for a lot of tact, especially because the letter from the Presidency of the Republic authorizing the workshop clearly warned against the development of themes of a political nature. But the resource persons were not thrown by this. Extensive discussions were held about the full implications of such admonishment and

appropriate strategies were designed to negotiate through this, as well as through all other ideological disagreements that were manifest amongst the group. Another interesting factor was that even amongst the resource persons, discussions on theory were discouraged as they could either be too high-brow or because they detracted from the purpose of the workshop itself. Resource persons were acquainted with Boal and Freire, they had read enough of Ross Kidd and Martin Byram, but were all cautious not to make meetings dwindle into taking irreconcilable positions.

At the end of the two weeks, it was generally agreed that the workshop had been a success. Besides the student participants who saw it as a synopsis of their whole programme, many of the resource persons saw the workshop as a positive extension of methodologies in popular theatre. But all the comments were not as flattering. Tar Ahura was worried that the workshop did not concentrate on liberating the people and had virtually resulting in "modernising poverty".

Theatre for development or popular theatre involves cultural action for change, yet it is the cultural factor which is often neglected in development planning, especially because its impact cannot be quantified. The resistance often met by development cadres in the pursuit of their centre-periphery-generated development programmes is a clear illustration of the constant need to use methods of communication which bridge the gap between planners and people and which call for a participatory approach in project-design. Change-agents must recognize the absolute need for dialogue between them and the rural people with whom they work. In the workshop, such communication was generated through the theatre, resulting in a process of conscientization and mobilization for action. Because the work involved the local population the results were self-generated and not imposed on them.

Methodology

The methodology adopted for the workshop was as follows: introduction to popular theatre; methods of information gathering; methods of data analysis; data-collection in field; analysis; story improvisation; performance design; rehearsals and analysis; performance; discussion; evaluation; follow-up.

During the actual work there were a number of modifications to the methodology depending on the circumstances encountered. The Kake group, for instance, met with a group of farmers who joined the process with alacrity and virtually took over by the end of workshop. The Konye group, on the other hand, met a conglomeration of three villages, virtually hostile to each other, and decided that the situation demanded that they work on their own improvisation based on the information gathered and the resulting analysis. The Kurume

group met a village which was almost self-conceited because of its achievements and needed to introduce methods of information gathering which would challenge the perceptions of the villagers.

What these adjustments proved was the fact that while keeping within a certain frame of reference and pursuing particular objectives, the methods of achieving these in the field are likely to differ from place to place and would necessarily be dictated by the prevailing environmental circumstances and social outlook of the people.

Introduction to TFD

The workshop opened with an introduction to theatre for development by Stephen Chifuniyse and Tar Ahura. This included a brief history of the development of the methodology, including experiments in Swaziland, Botswana, Zambia, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe and the impact of the work there. This was followed by an introduction to the methods of information gathering, which included:

- a) the flooding method, whereby a whole group would flood a village, meeting the villagers wherever they were and holding informal discussions with them;
- b) the homestead technique, which involved living in with a family and trying to pick up as much information as possible through discussion and observation;
- c) the interviewing method, through which formal interviews would be held with designated people in the villages;
- d) the performance method, which involved improvisations through which both participants and villagers would obtain a deeper understanding of issues, with the improvisations changing as such understanding grew deeper and deeper;
- e) the official eye technique, which simply meant obtaining information from official sources;
- f) the hierarchical method whereby the participants talked with the village chief and councillors.

In the actual work it turned out that all these methods were used in varying permutations. Spending a total of six days in the field divided into two period of three days each, the workshop participants experimented with various methods of information gathering, meeting the village councils, talking to the villagers at their various work places and sharing their preoccupations. The days were often long since the participants had to adjust to the routine of the villages.

The Kake group experimented successfully with the improvisation method of information gathering, creating tiered pre-

sentations through which they gained collective understanding of the contradictions within the society. The Konye group, after preliminary information gathering and analysis, narrowed down their work to the village counsellors since they identified the division amongst these people as the principal inhibiting factor to their collective action.

In Kurume, the chief turned out to be a haughty spokesman of the achievements of his community and the participants decided to challenge the local myths by meeting the people in small informal groups and talking to them.

One thing that emerged was the need for tact because many villagers have come to be rather reticent in responding to questions from researchers who continue to use them as guinea-pigs for their experiments. A proper rapport must be built and it is often preferable to begin by asking general questions with occasional leads before going on to penetrating ones.

Analysis

The period of data-collection was often linked with analysis. Some groups were constrained to carry out initial analysis on their own, before doing so with the villagers, while others had the collaboration of the community from the start.

Story improvisation

Of the three groups, two decided to work on fully developed improvisations after an analysis of the data. The Konye group chose disunity as its principal theme, and this after extensive discussions within the group and with some villagers. The motto was United we stand, Divided we fall.

The story-line developed involved three sons who had inherited farms from their father. According to the late man's will, the eldest son had shared the land amongst the three of them, giving a patch of land nearest the river to the youngest son. Because of flooding, most of his land was being eroded. He then seeks the advice of an engineer who counsels him to build a kind of break-water. The youngest son puts money aside and buys the materials necessary for the construction, but the vehicle transporting them is not allowed to go across the other farms, and a violent quarrel ensues amongst the brothers. Unable to resolve the problem within the family, the younger brother takes the matter before the village council. At this point in the play, the villagers are brought in as members of the village council and are asked to resolve the problem.

In retrospect, the choice for the group was not easy. The psychological tensions discovered in the village were of

such magnitude that the participants were scared about the outcome of their choice, but the risk turned out to be worth taking, for the villagers understood the allegory very well and have since come to work together, establishing a village-development committee and launching contributions towards the construction of a bridge and the installation of piped water.

The Kurume group had a more complicated story-line for its improvisation. This involved a newly married illiterate couple who live in perpetual tension because of traditional attitudes which do not encourage dialogue. The man, who is a farmer, turns out to be a squanderer and a drunkard, spending endless hours in the village beer-store where he offers drinks to whoever is willing to share his munificence, while his pregnant wife wallows in self-pity at home. She suffers a bout of malaria but her husband insists that these are symptoms of first birth and brings in a charlatan village medicine man who prescribes a foul-tasting concoction and accuses the woman of having broken a number of traditional taboos, including eating proscribed food. Fortunately for her, a friend of hers who is a nurse at the village health centre visits her, diagnoses her illness as malaria and advises her to visit the health centre. Here she is given a lengthy prescription, but the drugs are not available. She looks for her husband in vain and is forced to borrow money from a neighbour to go to town to obtain the drugs. She returns to meet an irate husband who had called a party for his friends. During the party, the neighbour who lent the money comes in to ask for reimbursement, but the husband is adamant that he is not going to pay and accuses the neighbour of having an affair with his wife. A fight ensues which is only brought to an end with the arrival of a childhood friend of the young man who has spent a long time in the city and who conjures up wonderful pictures of the dainty life there. He manages to implant his ideas into the minds of a number of young men and suggests that they steal money from their parents to pay their way to the cities. This they do, but they are caught and brought before the village council. This provides the opportunity for a critique of the traditional power structures within the village. Parents do not give money to their sons; women have no voice and many other structures exist depriving both women and children from participating fully in the life of the village. The matter is brought before the village council, as in the case of the Konye improvisation, the audience becomes the jury and has to debate the issues raised. The discussion which followed lasted late into the night, since the performance was put on in the evening.

After the first discussion carried out during the intermission, the play continues with the main plot. The young couple continues to have problems. The wife takes an overdose of quinine because neither she nor her husband can read

the prescription. This results in a miscarriage. The incident leads the audience to discuss the problems of illiteracy and the demise of the village adult education programme.

The determination of the participants to probe deeper into this community paid off. From a community that had expressed such pride and conceit in its achievements, the group was to discover that there were more fundamental problems. Witchcraft, or a predominant belief in it, had, for instance, resulted in a massive exodus of the young men from the village. This, coupled with traditional methods of distribution of wealth and sharing of power, had come to deprive the community of vital labour. The consequence was that agricultural production was dropping and young men who inherited farms from their parents were either beginning to sell or lease them and take up the easier life in the cities. Women had become atrophied because of the same traditional structures which proscribed them to certain roles and denied them any substantial participation in the life of the village other than as procreators and labour. It was discovered that the existence of symbols of modernisation - the village school, a village cooperative, health centre, piped water, etc., were not matched by an accompanying change of attitudes. Traditional structures were permanently maintained even where the cultural structures supporting them had been eroded, the predominant belief in witchcraft by a church-going people.

The performance was therefore structured to reflect these contradictions and to highlight them, making them more perceptible. The rather heated debates that ensued even long after the performance is an indication of how the fictionalized situation in the play was used to clarify many of the issues and to bring them in to sharper focus.

The impact was almost immediate. It is said that just after the participants had left the village, money for produce bought before was paid out to the farmers and every father made sure he gave money to his sons because they had all come to realise through the dramatisation that these children also needed money. Youths and women have now been incorporated into the village council. The village health centre is now visited more often. The village is much cleaner than it had been prior to the workshop. The village chief is no longer the omniscient leader that he used to be. Issues are now discussed openly. Taboos have begun to disappear.

Many of the issues which had been discovered in Kurume also existed in Kake. The Kake group met with an enthusiastic following, particularly because the ground had been well prepared by the local liaison person who had already received formal training in animation techniques and extension work. He is a plantation owner and his workers, with whom he has developed a rather interesting rapport, became the nu-

cleus for the workshop. The Kake group used the stop/start improvisatory method with each improvisation, clarifying the situation as the group went along. In one of the improvisations, a farmer struggles to get his produce from his farm to the village cooperative. Here, the produce is graded and evaluated, but he cannot receive his money because he does not possess an identity card. He is directed to the police station in town where one can be issued to him. At the police station, he is confronted with the venality of law-enforcement officers who seek to extort money from him for a document which is free. A discussion followed the improvisation. Why do the police think they can extort money from the farmer? Because he is ignorant. Why is he ignorant? Why has he not been to school? Because he considers school belittling and would therefore not take advantage of the adult education programmes existing in the village. After the discussion, the improvisation was carried further, challenging the perceptions of the villagers. Throughout, however, the participants were careful not to impose themselves on the community. The participation of the villagers was often so engaging that on occasion, they virtually took over.

The high-point of the improvisations in Kake involved a conflict with the Parent-Teacher Association which is supposed to be the governing body of the village primary school. During the process of data-collection, it was discovered that the headmaster was being accused of high-handed management which had caused the PTA to withdraw its material and financial support to the school. The conflict had seemingly been provoked because monies contributed to the School Development fund were not being accounted for and there was growing suspicion that the headmaster had embezzled it.

This suspicion was reinforced because the headmaster had persistently refused to submit himself to any control. Neither could the village chief, who was also chairman of the PTA, be persuaded to take any action against the headmaster and he was seen as colluding with him. It had also been discovered that the village chief was not actually resident in the village and as such did not have control over much that went on there.

The participants had talked to parents, to the pupils and teachers of the school, as well as to the headmaster and the village chief. They had gathered information from the various protagonists. There was no communication between them and that gap had to be bridged. The participants announced throughout the village that they were finally to leave the following day, but that before they left, they would like to share a final experience with the villagers.

The gathering was large. The participants began the improvisation, taking on the roles of the headmaster, parents, pupils, the village chief, etc. At one point, the headmaster

suddenly emerged from the crowd and took over the role from the participant who had been impersonating him and explained what the actual situation was. Other villagers joined in to replace the other characters and the fictional-cum-realistic situation built up. The village chief arrived just in time to hear one of the villagers/characters accuse him of collusion with the headmaster. He was so shocked about this that he jumped in and explained that he had never thought that his people could think him so mean. There was no collusion between himself and the headmaster. The principle he defended was that the headmaster was employed by the Presbyterian Mission that owned the school and could therefore not be subjected to the censure of the villagers.

The outcome of this improvisation was a sudden discovery that much of the misunderstanding that existed in the village was the result of an absence of dialogue, and not because there had been any fraudulent action by anyone. The headmaster even presented bank statements in the name of the school which proved that he had actually deposited all the money collected for the school.

Evaluation

Remarks made at the very end of the workshop, either by the villagers, the student participants, the resource persons or the school administration were very positive. The chief councillor of Kurume, a septagenarian, said that it had been worthwhile for him to have gone through the experience before he died because never before had he been offered such an opportunity for detailed self-analysis or provided with so much meaningful entertainment.

The processes adopted by the three groups worked out well and were consequent on the circumstances met and the time available. Problems were identified, analyzed, codified into dramatic sketches, presented before the audiences made up of members of the community, discussed and action generated. The Kake group had the active participation of members of the community; the Konye group prepared their improvisation and then presented it to the community, while the Kurume group included some villagers in the cast. This indicated that the process, although well structured, ought to be pursued with flexibility. Actual methods of information gathering may differ from one situation to the other or may be carried out in any combination. The essence is that the communities be drawn into the process and made to participate fully in it. People should not be treated as objects. The advantage of participatory drama is that it stimulates analytic and emotional response, and its dynamic nature has to be made use of to the fullest. By providing a mirror for critical self-analysis as well as a stimulus for discussion and action, the theatre becomes a didactic tool.

To achieve villager participation, which is one way towards ensuring villager control over the process, it is necessary that the work be carried out as an ongoing process, with emphasis on the process rather than the product. While folk media should provide the take-off point for the work, the methodology needs to be introduced in phases to avoid frustration on the part of both participants and the village communities. In workshops which combine initiation and research, as was the case in Murewa and Kumba, care should be taken to create sufficient balance in the objectives. Initiation will certainly have to take precedence over research objectives and resource persons will need to remind themselves constantly of the need to formulate their methodology carefully. Student participants need to be trained in the methodology, but this training is received on the job and resource persons need to be aware of the fact that their enthusiasm and know-how may not be easily matched by that of the participants. It is also necessary that ideology and theory be kept to the barest minimum, though articulated when the need occurs.

Workshop participants must be sure that they leave behind the local structures which could continue to work, although this would require constant backstopping and support. It is also necessary that facilitators be made aware of the socio-political repercussions of participatory education. They would have to ascertain that they have perfect control over the process. In the villages, participants need to generate enough interest in the process itself and discourage the tendency to wait for the final performance.

As was the case in Kurume, participants should be careful in dealing with resistance. Many village communities become sensitive to being used as case studies. Subtlety and tact must be exercised. Assumptions should be discouraged and prejudices avoided. Everything that is done should come out of empirical findings. Class attitudes should be avoided as much as possible and participants should be open-minded. In the villages, there is need for identification with the communities. It is essential that participants join the villagers in their occupations and use every opportunity to collect as much information as possible. Formal interviews with tape-recorders or note-books need to be limited. Villagers tend to be more relaxed if they are not being recorded. It is necessary to brief student participants and village communities well in advance otherwise expectations can be unnecessarily high.

Often enough in this kind of work, the contradictions manifest themselves first within the resource persons themselves. Having sympathy for workers and peasants, the resource person often finds him/herself faced with a situation in which his/her status cannot be ignored, but this should not be an impediment to the process. Rather, it should be

turned to advantage, especially as workers and peasants are likely to appreciate the fact that one more privileged shows concern for them.

A pertinent question posed after the Kumba workshop was: Having conscientized and mobilized the people, what next? Another was: Is it only the rural people who are in need of conscientization? What structures do you leave behind for the people to be able to continue the work on their own? Does dependence on various support mechanisms, including funding from the state or from foreign donors not compromise the very nature of participatory education? Rather than liberating the people, is this kind of work not being increasingly used to domesticate them and does this not result in the modernisation of poverty?

First, it can only be hoped that being qualitative, the positive results of such a workshop will manifest themselves in terms of a change of attitude over a period of time. In the Kumba situation, this occurred even faster than had been anticipated. The people in the three villages have been provided with structures through which they could justly validate their experiences, raise issues, discuss them, seek collective solutions and generate action. But to achieve these, full participation needs to be encouraged.

Overview

Ross Kidd has tried to establish a typology of popular theatre methods. He asserts that

as a means of expression which has traditionally been used to educate the young, unify community and articulate the commonly felt concerns and aspirations of the people, popular theatre builds on an educational approach and means of communication which is already familiar to and accepted by the community. It is their spontaneous means of education and grassroots communication. 1/

He goes on to add that there is a wide spectrum of disparate activity operating under the label "popular theatre" ranging from message-oriented programmes on one end to grassroots processes of popular education and organizing on the other. He identifies five strands including:

- a) struggles for national independence;
- b) mass education and rural extension;
- c) community or participatory development;
- d) conscientization or popular education;
- e) popular education and organizing.

1/ Ross Kidd, "Popular Theatre and Nonformal Education in the Third World: Five Stands of Experience", International Review of Education (XXX, 1984) pp.265-288.

The Kumba workshop could be situated within the last three, although there is hardly any clear division between them. As he concludes, "popular theatre has a dual edged potential" in the sense that it can be technocratic, message-oriented "domestication theatre" (in populist guise) on the one hand and, on the other, it can be used as a process of consciousness raising, organization-building and struggle.

The Kumba workshop was a personal initiative of the project leader in collaboration with the Union of African Performing Artists (founded in Zimbabwe in 1985) and the Department of English of the University of Yaoundé. While the project benefited from material and financial support from the university authorities as well as from international agencies, one of the most positive aspects was that there was no official supervision to inhibit the pursuit of the methodology.

The Kumba workshop helped to conscientize people, to mobilize them for action, to join others in bringing about change in their lives by providing themselves with basic necessities. The next step is yet to come. Whether this is desirable or not will depend on the communities themselves and neither can nor should be in any way imposed upon them. They should be allowed to be the architects of their own destiny.

(continued from page 3)

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CAMBIOS CRITICOS, SOCIEDAD EMERGENTE Y ALTERNATIVAS POPULARES

UN TALLER LATINOAMERICANO DE REDES EN MEXICO

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En América Latina, los movimientos populares de promoción social han ido adquiriendo cada vez mayor importancia como protagonistas multiples y minusculos de un camino alternativo a los trillados modelos de desarrollo impulsados a niveles macro por los estados centralizadores y/o por las grandes corporaciones transnacionales.

Durante tres o cuatro decadas de desarrollo, con resultados mas bien frustrantes, se experimentaron viejas tensiones entre modelos de libre mercado o de planeación tecnoburocrática, o de combinaciones político-económicas, donde la participación social con formas orgánicas autosuficientes resultó casi inexistente. Estos modelos con altos costos humanos, no han logrado sino la heteronomía de la sociedad, su inconsciencia, su debilidad, su dependencia, en tanto que se ha fomentado el derroche consumista en las clases acomodadas cuya contrapartida en las clases mayoritarias es la violencia, como miseria, como respuesta o como represión.

Experiencias revolucionarias o reformistas no han logrado mucho en favor de las mayorías latinoamericanas. Los caminos para efectuar cambios estructurales y obtener logros sociales considerables y sostenidos han resultado bloqueados por intereses dominantes, que al interior de los países fueron fincados en la explotación y la acumulación. Al exterior de los países, los bloqueos se producen con el desarrollo de las empresas que pugnan por mundializar la economía, gracias al uso en su exclusivo provecho de las tecnologías de punta, los medios avanzados de comunicación y por si faltara, los armamentismos a niveles siderales.

Los dilemas Norte-Sur y Este-Oeste son expresión de un mundo de dinosaurios - estados y corporaciones - cuyas instituciones para el desarrollo y cuyas ideologías sobre el uso y legitimación del poder, resultan obsoletas y hasta nocivas. En los inevitables enfrentamientos que en esos callejones se generan, los pueblos no encuentran caminos alternativos en la solución de las necesidades básicas de sus humanidades.

Están muy presentes en la conciencia latinoamericana los traumas de la Malvinas o de Granada, el fracaso de Can-Cún o la neutralización del Grupo Contadora.

En América Latina se da, viniendo por el Sur (Perú, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Brasil), un revivir de la democracias parlamentarias como sucedáneas de dictaduras militares desastrosas, que en su momento fueron implantadas ferreamente ante impulsos populares, reformistas o revolucionarios, que pugnaban por transformar estructuras socioeconómicas. Estas nuevas democracias heredan sin embargo un fardo de graves situaciones y obligaciones, inflación, devaluación, deuda internacional, producción orientada a la agro-exportación, enclaves industrializadores con gran dependencia del exterior, población con escasas alternativas económicas y aun con modelos clásicos de política partidaria, que no permiten por hoy ser optimistas.

En América Central, el drama de Nicaragua, como protagonista principal en esa región, a la luz de todo el mundo, enseña las virtudes y fragilidades de una revolución nacional con procesos populares cercados y agredidos por los Estados Unidos, en irrespeto práctico a esfuerzos distensionadores del Grupo Contadora o a dictámenes del Tribunal de La Haya. En el Caribe, Cuba continua bloqueada, en tanto que en Haití, un nuevo régimen, que desde arriba es respuesta a verdaderas movilizaciones populares por sacudirse una feroz dictadura, hace pensar en formas más inteligentes de retoma del control y menos brutales que las empleadas para retomar Granada.

En México, la fosilización de un régimen perpetuado desde la Revolución de 1910-20, retóricamente popular en los últimos cuarenta y seis años, ha producido la mayor crisis nacional de este siglo, con la petrolización de su economía, una inmensa deuda impagable en los términos que la crearon, una corrupción estructural y una población políticamente esceptica. A cambio, se alimenta desde el Norte una reacción saudadora y democratizante pero en términos neoliberales, protagonizada por clases medias y empresariales, junto con la Iglesia. En países andinos, Colombia y Perú, sus democracias parlamentarias se ejercitan sin resolver problemas de insurgencia arraigada en sectores amplios o característicos de sus poblaciones; los pretendidos diálogos, como tampoco en El Salvador, aun no logran reducir la violencia, sorda o en estallido constante, que parece ya una maldición para los pueblos de Latinoamérica. Es la violencia y el llamado desarrollo, un binomio inseparable?

En el contexto de subcontinente en crisis, en consonancia con una crisis mundial que afecta principalmente a los pueblos del Tercer Mundo, va surgiendo la convicción de que es necesario superar los modelos obsoletos y costosos en términos humanos y económicos, que han sido impuestos sobre una mayoría de los pueblos por dominaciones y procesos externos.

Esta convicción se da también en la constatación de que no basta la reacción directa e inmediata contra los sectores dominantes y explotadores, sino que se precisan sabias estrategias, procesos inteligentes y eficaces, que apliquen nuevas reglas del juego, inéditas e irreprimibles, que resulten efectiva y sustancialmente a favor de los despojados y marginados.

En base a la práctica de organizaciones civiles, educativas, promotoras, implementadoras, que se han gestado en forma relativamente autónoma a los poderes dominantes y en estrecha conexión con los sectores populares, es que se ha suscitado una serie de encuentros nacionales e internacionales, formales o informales, en vistas a procurar un mutuo aprendizaje en las estrategias propias de la organizaciones de base y de apoyo, para un mejor logro en su autonomía, auto-gestión y autosuficiencia.

Es en este contexto que se celebró el Taller Latinoamericano de redes "cambios críticos, sociedad emergente y alternativas populares", en México, abril de 1986.

Cambios críticos, porque la crisis es producto de serios reajustes a niveles macro, mundiales y porque sufriendo los efectos, Latinoamérica empieza a movilizarse a partir de distintos componentes de la sociedad en búsqueda de soluciones. Los marcos de referencia se descomponen, las ortodoxias se revisan, las tácticas convencionales y las estrategias de izquierdas y derechas se entrecruzan, en tanto que sectores ultra-conservadores insisten en prevalecer a cualquier costo con sus fórmulas desgastadas. Se hacen cada vez más evidentes los desfases entre corporaciones transnacionales y empresas industriales atrasadas, entre formas partidarias, burocráticas y estatistas, y sectores orgánicos de la sociedad. Los cambios están en la orden del día y quien se aferra a las formas estáticas, produce más violencia e imposición.

Sociedad emergente, porque están emergiendo nuevas instancias entre las capas componentes de la sociedad. Estas instancias se esfuerzan por materializar soluciones con menor grado de dependencia o sometimiento a poderes cuasi-absolutos. La sociedad civil, concepto que se entiende y práctica de diversas maneras, surge en medio de crisis que paralizan o relativizan a los poderes políticos. Así fue en la Cd. de México, a raíz del terremoto que sufrió en Septiembre de 1985, cuando un Estado manipulador de situaciones calculables no supo ser protagonista ejemplar ante lo imprevisible y fue rebasado por el actuar espontáneo y creativo de una multitud de grupos, instituciones y movimientos sociales. En los últimos años, las dictaduras agotaron sus recursos de control ante una crisis que las superó, acusando su incapacidad para resolvérla. En países tan distintos como Haití o Chile, la movilización de la población se da ya en términos cualitativamente nuevos. En Brasil y Argentina, habiéndose

experimentado intentos reformistas o radicales en torno al Estado y que produjeron dictaduras militares, ahora se experimentan movilizaciones civiles en apoyo a democracias mas maduras, podriase decir de tendencia post-estatal y mas consecuentes con el desafio del mundo maledesarrollado, post-industrial y hegemonica de hoy.

Alternativas populares, porque no se puede seguir disenando e implementando pseudosoluciones sin la participacion de la poblacion mayoritaria en las tareas basicas por su realizacion humana, el la creacion de sistemas mas justos donde las oportunidades y los beneficios esten mas al alcance de todos. Se trata de superar modelos que en la practica resultan exclusivos y excluyentes, succionadores de poder economico y politico a favor de cada vez mas pequeñas minorias. Se trata de implementar microrevoluciones en la conciencia y en la praxis de una infinidad de comunidades, grupos, familias, que recentrandonse en si mismos, decidan de una vez por todas asumir sus destinos y luchar desde adentro y desde abajo por su libertad de accion y su progreso personal y colectivo. Se trata de reducir los costos humanos que formulas en caducidad havan pagar a las poblaciones. Se trata de ya no posponer indefinidamente anheladas soluciones prometidas por altos dirigentes y organismos piramidales, de ya no acumular frustracion en cada generacion.

Aqui, sera importante facilitar oportunidades a la inventcion, la creatividad, el ensayo endogeno. Las formulas convencionales de actuacion estan muy controladas, se precisa generar alternativas en tiempos, espacios y formas organicas que resulten, con une logica y una sustancia distinta, inalienables, indomables. La busqueda que los pueblos de Centroamerica han estado protagonizada en estos anos es un ejemplo notable de una lucha radical por superar estructuras obsoletas, donde elementos caracteristicos como el componente indigeno-campesino o el ancestral espiritu comunitario se combinan con otros, como los valores religiosos o los estetico literarios, y se rebelan contra un sistema impuesto con sangre y que responde a prioridades geopoliticas del mundo de los poderosos.

Dictaduras militares, democracias reformistas y revoluciones insurgentes han pugnado entre si, entrecruzandose en una sola region "balkanizada" y disputada por intereses exogenos. Las intervenciones del exterior tratan de prevalecer oscilando entre dictaduras y democracias, en tanto que las mociones populares, tratando de encontrar lo propio, lo conveniente, subsisten y resisten, oscilando entre democracias, insurgenencias y revolucion. Son estas tres ultimas opciones las que interesa cualificar con la protagonizacion medular del pueblo: democracia participativa, insurgenicia de la dignidad popular, revolucion en el logro de autosuficiencias, son desafios que requieren el maximo de creatividad y sabiduria.

PACTO DE SOLIDARIDAD

Entre componentes de organizaciones populares de promoción social, asistentes al Taller de Redes, México, Abril 1986.

Desde hace ya varios años, en Latinoamerica se ha venido promoviendo y posibilitando el dialogo y la concertación entre Organizaciones de Promoción, OPs, que operan en la region, con el propósito de intercambiar y poner en comun avances y problemáticas, y, así mismo, generar una corriente de alternativas populares que contribuyan a la creación de una sociedad justa.

Es en este marco historico, que hemos podido generar algunos espacios privilegiados de encuentros: en 1981, El Taller "Fe y Acción Solidaria con los Pueblos de Centroamerica"; en 1984, el Curso-Taller sobre "Microproyectos de Desarrollo" y con esa ocasión, el Taller Latinoamericano de Redes con el tema "Estrategias de Organizaciones de Base en la Crisis Regional".

Lo que a continuación expresamos es uno de los productos de un siguiente esfuerzo, que ha concertado a 128 personas representativas de mas de 78 OPs provenientes de todos de Centroamerica incluyendo Belice y Panama, mas Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Haití, Republica Dominicana, Mexico, Estados Unidos, Francia y Suecia. Esta concertación ha sido posible gracias a la convocatoria mancomunada de CRES-ALOP y a las tareas organizadoras de un colectivo de organizaciones con sede en Mexico.

Ha sido un nuevo Taller Latinoamericano de Redes, bajo el titulo general de "Cambios Críticos, Sociedad Emergente y Alternativas Populares". Se compuso de dos fases y un foro. Una primera fase de intercambio y capacitación, favoreciendo para ello el contacto en la práctica, visitándose a una serie de 15 organizaciones mexicanas. Con ellas, otras 20 OPs de la region participaron a través de 39 personas delegadas, responsables directas en el trabajo de base. Una segunda fase dio un paso mas en el diseño de estrategias y en la clarificación conceptual y operativa de la Redes existentes.

Este Taller ha permitido apreciar, a partir de nuestras diversidades, una serie de desafíos. Hay que subrayar que encontrar los espacios de comunicación, a través de los cuales reconocemos y compartimos como cada quien enfrenta sus desafíos, es en si mismo, un desafío mas.

El Taller, reflexionó respecto de quienes somos, que tenemos, donde estamos y para donde vamos, desde varias perspectivas o panorámicas. Luego de un intercambio de experiencias y una construcción colectiva de conceptos, se llegó a puntos de coincidencia, desafíos y recomendaciones. Sin pretender la tarea imposible de reflejar toda la riqueza que este Taller nos aportó en distintas dimensiones, una Comisión integrada el último día, elaboró el siguiente reporte que subraya algunos de esos desafíos y el Pacto que asumieron todos los participantes.

Desafíos

Logica de mayorías y civilización de sencillez. Ante el fracaso de los modelos de desarrollo de los países llamados avanzados se requiere una logica de mayorías en la construcción de una civilización de sencillez.

La crisis estructural que confronta Latinoamérica, la cual no solo se expresa en su dimensión económica, sino política, social, cultural, ambiental, con mayor premura en Centroamérica, nos representa un desafío en términos de las posibilidades de cambio que la misma conlleva. Es claro que por el lado económico esta en cuestión, el modelo mismo de industrialización, con su pretención de generar una sociedad de consumo en masa, similar a la de los países llamados avanzados.

Este modelo no solo ha sido incapaz de integrar a las grandes mayorías de nuestro continente, sino que ha dependido de un creciente pero a la misma vez insostenible ritmo de endeudamiento.

La crisis demanda toda una nueva alternativa que anteponga la logica de la mayorías, en donde una opción económica viable solo puede ser concebida en función de una civilización de la simplicidad, que parte de las necesidades primarias de la gente como un nuevo modelo de civilización.

Esta crisis, en su dimensión inmediata o duradera, ha traído consigo el surgimiento históricamente nuevo de protagonistas que perciben justamente a la crisis como oportunidad de echar a andar proyectos propios, con arraigo popular, en el marco de una civilización de la sencillez con acento latinoamericano.

Nuevos y diversos protagonistas. En la emergencia de nuevos protagonistas de los cambios necesarios, se destaca una diversidad de participantes heterogéneos en la forja de nuevos sujetos históricos.

El reto de este punto está en poder identificar las notas esenciales que caracterizan la realidad de protagonistas en cuanto sociedad emergente. Ante todo, nos aparece como dato directo del Taller, la heterogeneidad de los participantes hacia los cambios. Un mosaico más allá de la pictórico y los diversos, significa la contribución total de la mayorías a constituirse como sujetos de un destino que les pertenece.

Así, los hay en términos de hombres y mujeres, niños, jóvenes, adultos y ancianos; indígenas, mestizos y blancos; hispanoparlantes, anglofonos y francofonos; migrantes y refugiados... En fin, una América Latina que se retrae a sus propias raíces socio-históricas para emerger con nuevos contenidos y nuevas formas.

Pero sin duda, la interrogante sobre la identidad de los protagonistas apenas se inicia, y toda respuesta no es más que tentativa.

De ahí que es necesario una revalorización crítica de lo popular. Esta tarea se realiza en un marco más exigente que en el pasado.

Debemos ser capaces de responder al desafío de los nuevos protagonistas en las bases sociales y al de la emergencia de formas creativas que aparentemente resultan imprevistas o nos rebasan.

Conocimiento popular y resistencia. Se necesita superar academismos y empirismos mediante algo mas que una relación estrecha entre teoría y práctica, a partir del conocimiento popular y las prácticas de supervivencia y resistencia.

Es necesario que el trabajo común, lleve al protagonista de subsistencia y resistencia hacia procesos mas amplios y globales. La investigación-acción participativa - es uno de los métodos mas adecuados.

Se levanta el desafío de las relaciones y a veces contradictorias entre la teoría y el empirismo. En el trabajo de promoción, la teoría debe desarrollarse en el interior de la práctica popular. Debemos cuidarnos de la teorización estéril y meramente académica.

Es necesario fortalecer la vinculación y el apoyo teórico-metodológico íntimamente articulado al terreno mismo del saber, la acción y la organización popular. En ello, diferenciar métodos de la metodología, para encontrar la ciencia teórica de nuestro proceso y así podernos conducir históricamente.

Respecto a la teoría que necesitamos se recomienda avanzar en el proceso de desmitificación del conocimiento científico y de la revalorización del conocimiento popular, para rearticularlos y fortalecer la alternativa popular que sea capaz de ofrecer soluciones que nuestros pueblos necesitan.

En los espacios cerrados por la represión, es necesario aprender del pueblo para proteger el trabajo y desarrollar formas de latencia de la organización y la movilización.

La devolución hacia el pueblo de los logros teóricos tiene que hacerse en el lenguaje del pueblo y con la requeza y fuerza de su capacidad de expresión.

Poder alternativo y convergencias. La participación popular genera procesos de confrontación o de poder alternativo. Este a su vez requiere protección y defensa. Se deben evitar prepotencias de conducción y si favorecer consensos y convergencias comunitarias.

El trabajo debe inscribirse en el marco de opciones de poder y participación popular. Hay que trabajar la simplicidad en el marco de la visión más global y de largo plazo.

Se plantea también el desafío de fortalecer desde la acción la dinámica interna de formación y capacitación de la dirección popular de luchas y procesos.

Las organizaciones de promoción, OPs, deben estar atentas a los procesos unitarios o de convergencia que se dan en cada país para poder articular su trabajo y mantener una comunicación fluida en el marco de redes que permitan el conocimiento y el desarrollo de esos esfuerzos de unidad popular.

Un desafío de las OPs para que su inserción en los procesos populares favoreza la emergencia de protagonistas, es evitar el peligro de imponer prepotentemente un papel de conducción de los procesos populares.

Un desafío importante es el que se presenta a las OPs cuando sus espacios de trabajo se encuentran comprendidos en zonas en donde fuerzas revolucionarias han logrado avanzar. Se convierte en un reto de elevar niveles de comunicación y relación horizontal con estructuras políticas más amplias.

Capacidad creativa ante opresión y explotación. Proyectos y promotores no deben sobreponerse al movimiento popular sino ser facilitadores de la capacidad creativa del pueblo. No se debe escamotear una realidad de opresión y explotación.

Es necesario afrontar el desafío de como mantener la iniciativa y la creatividad sin arriesgar el conjunto del trabajo y de como acumular y sistematizar las experiencias sin que sus enseñanzas sean refuncionalizadas y cooptadas para usarse en contra del pueblo.

Debemos estar atentos para que los procesos unitarios de nuestros pueblos no sean instrumentalizados cuando se encuentran en su fase de consolidación y desarrollo.

Los promotores no pueden estar desligados de la bases. Tienen que surgir de ellas. Cuando provienen de una institución, tienen que ser suscitadores y facilitadores y poseer capacidad creativa y compromiso con el pueblo.

En el manejo de proyectos la lógica de las organizaciones de promoción no debe sobreponerse sobre la lógica de las necesidades y las peculiaridades del movimiento popular y su estrategia social.

En la tarea de impulsar la autosuficiencia de los grupos de base, es necesario cuidar que los recursos externos no se conviertan en objetivos centrales y que por otra parte, la autosuficiencia adquirida no sirva para ocultar o escamotear la realidad de opresión y explotación.

Agencias, información y replanteos. Entre las agencias de cooperación al desarrollo existen aquellas más sensibles a los procesos de cambio. Es preciso generar información adecuada y replanteamientos conjuntos para profundizar en la solidaridad.

Existen agencias y sectores que se comprometen más con el proceso de liberación, tanto en los países del Norte como en los nuestros. En relación con las agencias no debe aplicarse un criterio general de relación utilitarista Norte-Sur sino encontrar alternativas de mayor congruencia entre medios y fines.

Las agencias manejan fondos e información, que se suelen distribuir a su arbitrio exclusivo. Esta asimetría en la relación requerir ser transformada, no con mecanismos sutiles de dependencia sino con aperturas, convergencias y equivalencias reales.

En forma reciproca es necesario lograr una información adecuada sobre las agencias. Las redes estan en posibilidad de lograrla.

Es necesario plantear la relación con las agencias no solo circunscribiendose a proyectos concretos sino en el contexto de procesos en la realidad del país y de los acontecimientos que son significativos para esa realidad.

Es necesario buscar relación con la base social de las agencias ya que el interes en la relación no es solo económica, sino es elevar y repersonalizar los niveles de comunicación para clarificar y profundizar la solidaridad.

Se hace indispensable que OPs y redes avencen en dirección a elaborar pronunciamientos y planteamientos conjuntos ante agencias, en términos alternativos e inclusivos. Poco a poco se iran denotando aquellas agencias abiertas a un dialogo real.

Tejidos y momentos no formales de los procesos populares: redes y talleres. Es necesario vincular organicamente lo estratégico a la cotidianidad y las necesidades populares. Las redes son formas multipolares de comunicación-acción. Los talleres son formas adecuadas que habra que multiplicar.

Se recomienda la difusión y sistematización de la experiencias en materia de Redes. Para ello, utilizar un lenguaje comun, sencillo y funcional.

Respecto de problemas estratégicos de la organización en Redes, se reconoce la necesidad de vincular organicamente lo estratégico a la cotidianidad y necesidades populares. Se trate de procurar por todos los medios que nuestra actividad no coarte o limite las posibilidades estratégicas.

En cuanto a la sistematización se recomienda: recuperación de los elementos de la cultura popular tradicional al interior de procesos concretos de los nuevos protagonistas de lo histórico-social y con examen de tejido de lo no formal en los procesos populares.

Se impone la necesidad de elaborar un directorio de Redes. Hacer un inventario de los elementos caracteristicos de la metodología en la experiencia de Redes.

Se considera indispensable, que el encuentro sostenido en el Taller no se convierta en una situación pasajera. Los talleres son un espacio idoneo y privilegiado para la producción de conocimientos. A este respecto se hace indispensable un mecanismo operativo de información de los talleres que cada grupo o Red pretenda en el futuro proximo. En cada país seria util impulsar la celebración de talleres entre grupos similares.

Comunicación en pro de producciones alternativas reales. El rescate de la memoria popular, formas tecnológicas útiles y procesos masivos alternativos deben ser aprovechados en una comunicación productiva que se base en la esperanza.

Se vio como tarea permanente la recuperación de la palabra del pueblo, sus códigos y tradiciones, como apoyo al rescate de la memoria popular y a la creación de alternativas.

Desafíos evidentes son la simbiosis o el vacío entre procesos no formales de comunicación, tradiciones, o arcaicos y los aportes universales de la tecnología de punta.

Para avanzar en la dirección ya señalada de un trabajo teórico dentro de la práctica social se sugiere un boletín que aproveche recursos como la microcomputación que ya poseen algunas redes, para una circulación de información y retroalimentación colectiva, en contacto estrecho con los trabajos de base.

Mecanismos o canales alternativos de comunicación deben ensayarse. Desde los mismos movimientos sociales a raíz de la crisis: migraciones económicas o desplazamientos masivos políticos, exilios, movilidad transfronteriza, viajeros constantes, turismos alternativos hasta recursos casi olvidados, como las palomas mensajeras.

Necesidad de circular directorios de grupos, recursos humanos y técnicos disponibles, etc.

Una comunicación productiva se basa en los hechos y testimonios que producen confianza, amistad, esperanza. Rara vez se encuentra en formas masivas de comunicación tan prostituidas. Se impone la necesidad de una repersonalización de la relaciones, en todas las dimensiones del ser humano, tanto individuales como colectivas.

Pacto de solidaridad

Por lo tanto y basados en la experiencia histórica, de primordial importancia, de la solidaridad en el proceso de liberación de nuestros pueblos, los participantes en el Taller Latinoamericano de Redes, realizado en México, de 5 al 18 de Abril de 1986, proponen y acuerdan:

Establecer un PACTO DE SOLIDARIDAD entre las organizaciones populares y de promoción social participantes en las dos fases del Taller de Redes a efecto de comprometernos a trabajar tesoneramente por fortalecer la solidaridad entre nuestras organizaciones y en busca de perfeccionar nuestros métodos de trabajo, gracias al intercambio de experiencias y a un compromiso permanente con las aspiraciones de nuestros pueblos por conservar, defender y acrecentar la vida. Invitamos a las organizaciones latinoamericanas que no pudieron asistir a adherirse a este pacto.

Hacer un fraternal llamado a todas aquellas organizaciones populares de promoción de los países de Sur y del Norte a sumarse a los esfuerzos de solidaridad de los pueblos latinoamericanos, en proceso de emergencia, protagonismo y búsqueda de alternativas propias, especialmente en aquellos marginados y desposeídos en justicia.

Los anteriores desafíos y recomendaciones se enmarcan dentro del histórico esfuerzo por fortalecer los procesos de liberación integral de todos nuestros pueblos, que nos conduzcan a todos hacia una mayor plenitud de vida.

FROM THE NIEO TO THE PARTISAN GLOBAL POLICY

GLOBAL SHIFTS AND THEIR IMPACTS ON NATIONAL POLICIES

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1. Introductory comments on methods of Global Analysis

Economic literature is divided into micro and macro economics, hence micro and macro theories, analyses, etc. Though macro economics could refer, etymologically, to a broad spectrum of subjects, it usually refers to national economy.

For some two decades we have been observing the emergence of global concern, global thinking and also considerations of global strategies related to the notion of global economy and global economics. They are, indeed, slowly emerging in the current stream of economic thinking, particularly in connection with various institutional and conceptual initiatives of the United Nations. The UN should be justly considered to have a built-in "bias" for international and global thinking.

We have had the notion of "world economy". Is there any difference between "world economy" and "global economy"? Both terms can be and are often used as synonyms. However, while the term "world economy" has been used traditionally to describe some aggregate behaviour on a world-wide scale, the term "global economy" might be used rather to imply a kind of organic entity of world-wide processes. The term "global economy" would then be synonymous of "national economy", which denotes not just a mere aggregate but an economic organism, having some laws of behaviour. Recent thinking tends towards this kind of terminology.

There has been relatively long experience in describing the world economic processes in quantitative terms and in analysing the performance of the world economy. This experience has accumulated mainly within the United Nations, which has

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also developed a unified system of statistical notions and classifications for that purpose. These analyses which can be called of survey-type are mostly descriptive, though not devoid of certain explanatory values. They operate with aggregated data concerning:

- . outputs (GDP, GNP, sectors, main commodities)
- . investments (with some break-down),
- . international trade and financial flows,
- . various social indicators.

Time-series of the aggregated data are given for world economy as a whole and for important country groupings and are also available for many individual countries.

Descriptive analyses of this type can ascertain trends and fluctuations in performance of the world economy and differentiation of trends of change for various country groupings, hence growing or diminishing discrepancies in socio-economic levels of the various groups of countries; behaviour of factors influencing the development : capital investment, foreign trade, financial flows, structural change and a certain explanation of the reasons of changing performance. If carried on continuously, descriptive analyses can lead to even better understanding of the processes of economic change within the global framework. Thus, the continuous description of economic developments on the world scale was certainly useful in promoting comprehension of processes in the economic environment of individual countries, helping them to have a better understanding of the necessary premises for their own policies.

Description of some features and trends of change, though necessary for better understanding of socio-economic reality, is certainly not yet sufficient. Deeper insight is required for better anticipation of the changes most likely to occur in the future, which is a condition sine qua non of a more efficient development policy. Explanations of the survey-type of analysis have been insufficient. By and large, this has been understood and has led to various attempts to improve this aspect of world economic analyses.

For a number of years, experimental application of economic models for analyses and projections of the world economy has been taking place. It seems to have started in the mid-1960s, with applications of the very aggregated models of the world economy within the UN Secretariat, used for projections prepared for the Second UN Development Decade. As far as I know, they were based on a conceptual model of "two gaps", i.e. of capital investment and of balance of trade, developed by Prof. Chenery. More disaggregated projects were produced in the Second Report for the Club of Rome (Pestel and Mesarovic). A known, disaggregated projection was also

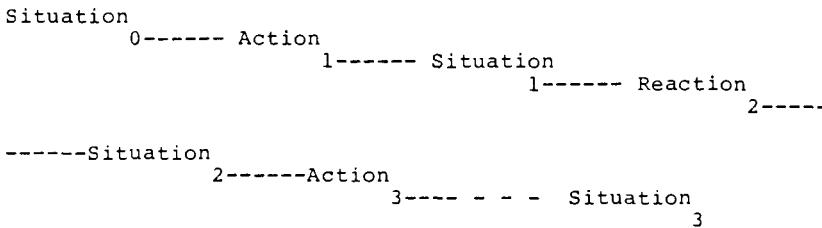
prepared for the UN by Prof. V. Leontief. Continuous studies and projections are carried out in application of a global s.c. Link Model (Prof. Klein).

Projection models are always based on some theoretical assumptions with respect to the behaviour patterns of the set-up under consideration. This is also true of global models, whether the theoretical assumptions are explicitly or implicitly formulated. However, there are also global models that are not in the form of quantitative formulae. They may serve for diagnosing the global processes. A good example here is the "centre-periphery" model of Raul Prebisch.

I do not intend to evaluate the whole experience in global models, quantitative and others. Suffice it to say that they demonstrate a certain progress in understanding the global processes. I believe that something can be learnt from global projections, and it should not be neglected. I am of the opinion, however, that applying models of comprehensive, disaggregated projections, going down to country behaviour, is not the only method for better understanding of global economic performance and anticipation of the changes most likely to emerge in the future. Let me stress that we should try various methods that offer any chance of increasing our understanding of the global processes.

I am now going to apply a method somewhat different from the ones indicated hitherto. It puts the main emphasis, not on presentation of the trends of change, but rather on the "logic of change", therefore not on the behaviour of various economic variables, but that of the various agents and institutions involved in the policy of change.

This methodological approach assumes that there are agents influencing the global processes and, indeed, carrying on some kind of global policy. This assumption would appear to reflect the real contemporary world scene. Description of the behaviour of agents can also be made by way of description of certain specific actions, what may be a convenient way of describing and analysing the ongoing process of change on the global scale. The process can then be presented by the following scheme :



No uniform description of situations or actions seems appropriate since they are supposed to reflect the actual set up. Any description of global processes of the kind discussed has to rely on some theoretical approach. My description and interpretation are based on a conceptual frame of the "centre-periphery" type. This defines in particular the choice of agents, though I attach greater significance to identification of real agents than to any general scheme.

I leave it to the reader to appraise the merits of the method applied. Let me indicate, however, that they should be seen in the explanatory context. This is not a substitute for other methods of global analysis of the types indicated above, but rather, another type.

2. Major shift resulting from OPEC's action

It is widely considered that the 1970s opened a new era in global developments. The 1970s were anything but a continuation of the trends appearing throughout the post-war period. World economy entered into a period of turbulence, trying convulsively to find new patterns. What happened was, of course, a result of forces and tendencies which had been at work for a long time. They surfaced, however, not by way of continuation but of unexpected change which, it should be stated in retrospect, the power of vision of the social scientists as well as that of politicians was clearly too weak to anticipate. Policy then had to catch up with change and adjust to it with the least possible delay. What we saw, instead, was policy taken by surprise, accompanied rather by convulsive than by conscious, purposeful action. This is not an universal characteristic, but still a proper one for a number of cases.

The first major change came with the decision to increase the price of oil. What followed was called the "energy crisis", though this is a rather misleading term. What really happened was a dramatic step taken by a group of countries to impose a new international distribution of income by increasing the price of the most important commodity - oil - the main source of energy on which contemporary civilisation relies very heavily. Reliance on oil proved to be so deep and universal that it proved impossible to dispense with or substitute in a short time. That is why the OPEC's action proved so effective.

The dramatic change came about in the entourage of the global issues. This was in a way prepared by the rising new global awareness created i.a. by the Report of the Secretary General of the UN, U Thant, by the publications of the Club of Rome and by a number of other studies on natural environment, world disproportions, etc. It is important to note that:

1. The OPEC's action was intended to dramatically change international distribution of income in favour of the Third World countries, which it achieved, gaining support and solidarity from practically all the Third World countries. Never before had this solidarity appeared so strongly on a global scale.
2. It came as a manifestation of the two most critical global issues : that of the appalling socio-economic discrepancies dominating the world scene and of the most serious, indeed, dangerous, potential resource limitation - energy.

The action had an historical dimension: it came about as a manifestation of factors accumulating historically, bringing about the necessary change, and it ushered in a period of altered patterns. For the first time in human history global issues came to the surface very strongly, not as mere intellectual arguments, but as real forces, exercising a profound influence on interhuman relations on a global scale. They can be said to have created new challenges which are here to stay and to be solved in one way or another.

It is not so much OPEC's action as the reaction to it that has had the deepest impact on the patterns of further global developments. World history has known bigger changes in terms of trade involving international income distribution, without such major repercussions. This time, however, it was also a real (power struggle) on the global scene, appearing against the background of forces bringing about historical change. That is why the OPEC's action ushered in a new period of global processes.

3. A strategic response to the challenge

While it is widely agreed that the OPEC's action started the upheaval of the 1970s, there is almost universal silence on the counteraction. Can one imagine that a blow as heavy as that dealt by OPEC, inflicting immediate losses on the major industrial powers and threatening their continuation, met no opposition? It is certainly not the major industrial powers which lack strategic vision in world economic relations, though one should not exaggerate their capacities in that field. The silence observed by politicians is understandable, but why are the economists silent? I will revert to this later.

I believe that the OPEC's challenge was met with great efficiency by a strategic counteraction. This consisted principally of two measures:

- . stagflation in global scope,
- . energy saving and the search for alternative sources of energy.

The latter could be expected to bring gradual solutions over a longer period. Hence the particular role of stagflation as an immediate countermeasure.

As I have indicated several times already, stagflation :

1. by virtue of stagnation, withheld the demand for energy on a global scale, and
2. by virtue of inflation, upset the new price relations resulting from OPEC's action even further, in favour of the energy importing industrialised countries.

Whether global stagflation was a consciously devised strategy or not is of little importance. Had it not happened, it would have to have been invented. If anyone were to argue that it was not purposely devised, but rather supported, or at least not strongly counteracted because of its inherent features, I would not disagree. In any case, today it can be stated that stagflation proved to be an extremely effective response, counteracting OPEC's action. Still, this was not understood and it continues to be a way of not understanding the global interactions in question. This is perhaps why we had a second oil price hike in 1979, followed by the deepest global economic recession, or rather depression, of the early 1980s.

Summing up the experience gained in counteracting the OPEC's action, the following evaluation seems justified :

- (i) Strategic counteraction taken by the oil importing industrialised countries proved most effective in upsetting the price structures imposed by OPEC, i.e in counteracting the intended income distribution patterns in favour of the Third World countries.
- (ii) Counteraction proved, however, to be very painful. Its costs consisted of deceleration of economic growth, particularly, the heavy depression of the early 1980s and the various human problems and economic repercussions that followed, i.a. mass unemployment, inflation, etc.
- (iii) It should be observed that as far as the long-term global issues are concerned, adjustment processes developed positively. People have become more energy conscious: energy savings have contributed to a better balance between civilisation and the ecosphere. This change is still very new and no long-term conclusions can be drawn from it.
- (iv) Another global issue, that of glaring disproportions and inequalities among the various nations has, however, become even more blatant. This leads one to ob-

serve that mankind has proved once again more able to solve technological problems, thus achieving a better balance between human beings and nature, than those no less crucial of interhuman relations. This appraisal, though valid for the period of time under consideration, seems to pose a threat to future.

4. Proclamation of the NIEO and its failure

The 1970s were not only period of global turbulence and global shifts. They were also, at least for some time, a period of great hope in the ability of the international community to arrange global relations more rationally. These aspirations were embodied in the New International Economic Order - NIEO - proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1974. Other significant documents aiming at reforming international economic relations within the global framework, in the direction of greater global rationality and more justice, were also accepted. Among the various actions discussed in this paper, proclamation of the NIEO was the best known. However, all this has not increased its real efficiency. Unilateral actions have been more successful than multilateral action proclaimed by consensus in the highest spheres of the UN.

It is significant that the NIEO came to life after OPEC's successful action and it was based on a belief that solidarity of the Third World and some economic leverage at its disposal, such as that of OPEC, would herald a new era in international economic relations in which patterns more beneficial to the South could be established. The NIEO was a great idea but its impact on real life in international relations proved almost nil. In retrospect, one could say that this was to be expected. Still, this international experience requires serious reconsideration.

With the hopes put into the NIEO, the forces required to carry it out were insufficient. Proclaiming of the NIEO testified to the fact that the global economy needed some rationality and guidance and that this need was maturing in human minds. The inability of the international community to implement it proved that the path between a great idea and reality is particularly difficult in this field. One cannot escape from the conclusion that all accounts of feasibility of the NIEO in the concrete historical period proved credulous.

The failure of NIEO does not mean that it was a useless exercise. It was a first try at institutionalizing greater purpose and rationality, undertaken in a multilateral framework within the global scope. The evolutionary process of human civilization found a substitute for it: the global policy exercised by the main capitalist metropolis came into being. It proved more efficient because it had the most po-

werful forces on its side. This solution occupies the stage today. One may like it or not, but it is better to understand it because it plays a crucial role in determining global processes. I call the new solution substituting for the NIEO the "partisan global policy". Since it is a competitive solution, it is also inimical to NIEO and its origin.

5. Major institutional change making up "partisan global policy"

Before analysing further developments in the recent global processes, it seems relevant to indicate certain changes taking place in the constitution of the major agents operating on the global scene, creating a new fabric of the global economy.

As already mentioned, the NIEO was born as a result of spectacular growth of solidarity and of the apparent new economic power of the Third World. In other words, using Raul Prebisch's terminology, the "periphery" became more united and energetic as an agent of global processes. However, far deeper changes have taken place on the other side, in the main capitalist "centre". In countering the action of OPEC, the industrialised countries developed their solidarity matching that of the Third World. One might argue that solidarity of the rich and powerful proved to be more efficient, though I would not attribute the greatest significance to it in historical terms. It was not the solidarity which brought about the new global pattern. Of much greater importance was a profound institutional change which had been going on for some time. It comprised two crucial elements :

1. the development of a network of transnational enterprise dominating international trade, finance and transfer of technology;
2. the global monetary system which, after detachment from gold, became extremely manipulatory.

Transnational corporations have a longer history and nothing resembling any kind of "institutional reform" took place during the 1970s. Still, their growth in numbers and in scope made a new pattern on global economy. The international monetary system has also, at least formally, remained within the framework of the Bretton Woods agreement. The main change which came about - detachment of the dollar from gold - was undertaken unilaterally, without involving a new international agreement. Consequently, the international monetary system was seemingly not subject to any reform during the 1970s. It was criticized as being "no system", and there have been many appeals for its reform. In fact, the international monetary system acquired new features.

While there was no visible deep reform of international economy, the real change in these two fields during the 1970s was profound and ushered in a completely new phase in global economic relations. This change was, in my view, much deeper than the one officially proclaimed and loudly publicized under the heading of the NIEO. It has not yet been sufficiently documented in economic literature.

This institutional change deeply modified the fabric of international economy in two important ways:

1. The global economic system acquired some new features allowing it to be guided or manipulated in a much higher degree than ever before. While it should be noted that socialist countries remained outside the direct influence of the new guidance, they were experiencing the impact of the monetary system of activities of the TNCs more than ever before.
2. The ensuing global guidance has fallen on the US, both because of the role of the dollar in the international monetary system and because of the role of transnational corporations operating within the scope of influence of the US administration. While some authors indicate the diminishing role of the US in global economy, based on its role in foreign trade, they ignore the institutional change bringing increased influence of the US in global economy.

One might speculate that modification of international fabric, though potentially called for by institutional change, was still latent and only emerged during the confrontation with OPEC. In my view, however, OPEC's action could only slightly accelerate the latent development, working like a catalyst.

It is against this background that a system of guidance of global relations, which I call the "partisan global policy", developed. It is this system, which opposed the NIEO and indeed substituted for it, which proved much more efficient than the NIEO.

Theoretically, one could visualise two alternative systems: one initiated by the NIEO, the Development Decades of the UN, shaped and managed multilaterally, and the second one shaped by a leading country or group of countries working in the interests of the managing agents. As mentioned above, an evolutionary process brought about the second alternative which established itself and shaped institutions and behaviour patterns. It can, of course, be changed, but it is already developing its survival forces. Therefore, any consideration of reinstitutionalising of the NIEO or something similar has to take into account the new international facts.

Understanding the agents operating on the global scene is most important for the analysis of global processes. The method applied in this paper is based on the institutional change explained above and its consequences in the field of global policy. However, this is not how global processes are usually presented. Traditional but still dominating presentation relies on existence of an open international market mechanism. Of course, it ignores what I called the "global policy", but cannot be ignored if one wants to develop thinking which is relevant to reality. Ignoring global policy has rendered most economic analysts incapable of analysing the strategic response to OPEC's action. We see continuation of this position in analyses of further global processes. Let me put forward a proposition that without reconsidering the methodological premises, the economic analysis will not be able to follow the global processes adequately.

6. Recession of the early 1980s and debt

To continue the foregoing argument, a drop in the global economic performance of the early 1980s can be presented as a result of the strong reaction the "centre" to the OPEC's new action in 1979. Accepting this interpretation, one would have to state, however, that it was really overreaction. The blow was extremely strong and therefore, also efficient. OPEC received a blow that deprived it of its energetic drive and slowed its chances of regaining some of its former power. This in turn weakened Third World hopes of being able to build up economic power and implement the NIEO.

On the other hand, the costs of the victory for the centre were terrible. It was a real Pyrrhic victory with the deepest recession of all the post-war period and its painful social, economic and political consequences.

I am well aware that many, if not most, economic analysts would reject this interpretation of the recent recessions. Let us therefore look at it in more depth.

Distinguish an originator from a purposeful actor. It should not be difficult to reach an agreement with respect to the originator of the deep fall of world economy during the early 1980s and of the shocks it caused. I quote a most knowledgeable judgement on that subject : "...came all of the post 1979 shocks that stemmed in considerable part from the unintended effects of the monetary, budgetary and revenue policy choices made by the US administrations." ^{1/} In the language applied in this study, the same would be ex-

^{1/} John Lewis, Development Strategies Reconsidered (Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1986) pp.28.

pressed in the following form: the shocks stemmed from the partisan global policy of the main capitalist metropolis. Leaving terminology aside as not the most important, the difference of opinion seems to be reduced to judgement as to whether the effects of the actions were "unintended" or consciously aimed at or anticipated as the necessary side effects. Judgements on that subject are coloured with emotion, e.g. the statement that the OPEC's action was counteracted with great efficiency may sound very nice, while the statement that the downfall of economic activity was deliberately brought about will not sound no nice.

It is not my intention to define here to what extend this global policy was deliberate and to what extend it was accidental. Policy is usually both, and it is rather a question

of measure and not of "yes or no". A proposition that the partisan global policy has been operating well or badly, intentionally or not, seems more important in this case. Its operation became a "natural pattern" once the institutional change described above took shape. Speaking of the "partisan global policy" is not an indictment but a statement about the real state of affairs.

This global policy also gave birth to the debt crisis. Again, I am not asserting that the debt crisis was deliberately provoked. However, there are arguments to show that without the new patterns of the global set up, debt would not have assumed the same proportions as it has done. The origins of the international debt crisis lie in a combination of international factors and specific to the internal causes of each case. The former include :

- . "petrodollar recycling" originating from oil price increases after 1973;
- . dollar inflation;
- . unsound lending practices by many commercial banks;
- . increase in interest rates to unprecedented levels, originating in the US;
- . appreciation of the value of the US dollar;
- . the deep 1981-83 world recession.

When evaluating the origins of the international debt crisis, one should not forget the fact that throughout the second half of the 1970s, almost till 1982, (the "Black Friday" of August in Mexico) there was no awareness of the great debt crisis. Again, the intellectual power of anticipation proved critically weak. This also demonstrates the fact that the ultimate source of the international debt crisis was the

global recession of 1981-83 which was initiated to a substantial degree by the global policy of the main industrial countries, particularly by US policy, which controls the most efficient instruments of global policy.

Thus, we are accumulating new historical evidence of the partisan global policy. To the deep recession of the early 1980s and the international debt crisis, one should add famine in Africa, the potential dangers of destabilisation in Latin America (due to indebtedness) and the ensuing political tensions in East-West relations. This initial record cannot yet be evaluated positively.

On observing from a distance, one may be tempted to think that the global policy is really short-sighted and self-centred, but it may change, learning from reality. However, can it change its own patterns to such an extent that it stops being "partisan" and acquires features of a more universal rationality seen in a longer time span? I would rather leave this question open.

7. Lessons for national policies

Drawing lessons for national policies from the experience of global turbulence in the 1970 and 1980s is a very fashionable subject of economic debate at present. Let me make a few observations on the subject without going into it in depth.

In the debate, various policy patterns are being evaluated from the point of view of how they survived the global turbulence. This is correct. Evaluation on that basis is very often applied with respect to the future. It implies then that the future will be similar to what we know from recent experience. For this, we have no grounds. This line of thought resembles the generals trying again and again to fight the last war, while the new war is usually different. It is my view that the "new war" in global affairs is going to be rather different than the recent ones. Therefore, we should concentrate more on global developments, trying to see national policies in the light of anticipated future conditions than of past patterns.

There appears to be a revival of most of the old controversies: a pattern that is inward-looking versus export oriented, industry-led versus agriculture-led, state-guided versus market-oriented, etc. Words of caution are called for to prevent simplistic alternatives of the either-or type as being universally valid. In framing strategy, there can be no substitute for many-sided and complex analysis. Recent historical experience has certainly not changed that.

LES ONGS COMME CHEVAL DE TROIE

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1. ONGs et economicide

Les valeurs de prestige d'un système de redistribution et réciprocité expriment naturellement la puissance du donateur et exaltent les caractères qui lui sont propres mais en même temps prétendent témoigner de l'être social auquel chacun participe. Celui-ci ne peut se réduire à une expression particulière car dans la réciprocité, l'être social naît de la relation à l'autre, c'est-à-dire que la conscience d'être est d'abord communautaire et ne se réfère pas à l'identité ou de l'un ou de l'autre mais à un tiers commun. Le prestige de l'autre est alors aussi important que le sien propre. C'est là une raison de ce que l'on appelle le "mimétisme" occidental du Tiers Monde. Cependant cette soif des valeurs de prestige d'autrui n'explique pas seule que le Tiers Monde adopte les représentations du prestige occidental.

Le système capitaliste est, lui, intéressé à substituer aux valeurs de prestige indigène des marchandises qui en tiennent lieu. Il s'agit d'imposer au système indigène de produire les biens d'exportation qui lui assurent les devises nécessaires pour acheter les bien de prestige qui lui sont proposés en lieu et place de ses propres valeurs.

Le moyen d'imposer cette production est le crédit. Du point de vue indigène, le crédit se traduit par une distribution immédiate de marchandises de prestige qui peut être interprétée dans ses catégories comme une redistribution justifiant la réciprocité, ici la réciprocité productive et inféodée: celle-ci se convertit en production de biens pour l'exportation qui peut se convertir en monnaie d'échange.

Le crédit, ou plutôt la dette, engendre une forme de tribut de production pour l'échange qui explique que les théories monétaristes aient pu s'imposer dans le Tiers Monde. Rappelons que ces théories prétendent que le développement des pays du Tiers Monde exige qu'ils se convertissent en producteurs de marchandises les plus avantageuses sur le marché de l'échange afin de disposer de la traduction monétaire qui leur permettra ensuite d'acheter ce qui leur est devenu nécessaire à ceux qui le produisent au moindre coût.

Cependant si l'indépendance des états du Tiers Monde permet une réorganisation des secteurs de l'économie de subsistance dans le cadre de la réciprocité à partir duquel se reconstituent les valeurs traditionnelles, l'axe "production occi-

dentale de marchandises de prestige - production indigène de valeurs d'échange pour l'exportation" s'oppose à l'axe "production indigène de valeurs de consommation - régénération de valeurs de prestige indigènes".

Par conséquent, pour les défenseurs du libre échange, il est impératif de détruire les systèmes de réciprocité traditionnelle, aujourd'hui comme hier, partout où ces systèmes subsistent ou se manifestent de nouveau.

Pour les Occidentaux, il faut empêcher définitivement que puisse se reconstituer des systèmes de réciprocité communautaire. Il s'agit aussi de favoriser l'intégration de ces sociétés à l'économie occidentale capitaliste afin d'éviter leur exploitation par les mouvements communistes: il s'agit donc de remplacer la production indigène de réciprocité par une production destinée à l'échange.

Les programmes internationaux d'aide technique, financière ou de coopération économique et scientifique (révolution verte, transferts de technologie, etc.) se sont multipliés, contribuant à la destruction ou à la dépendance des économies régionales et nationales mais sans parvenir à atteindre définitivement les communautés rurales les plus isolées ou les communautés indigènes les plus résistantes à l'intégration.

Et c'est ici que les défenseurs du libre échange et des théories monétaristes laissent la parole aux Organisations Non Gouvernementales (ONGs). Celles-ci, en effet, utilisent des capitaux qui ne sont pas tributaires d'une nécessité immédiate de rentabilité et qui échappent aux contraintes de la production capitaliste. Ils peuvent donc être, au moins partiellement assimilés, mieux encore que le crédit, à des investissements à fonds perdus, c'est-à-dire au Don.

Les ONGs peuvent toutes se prévaloir d'être donatrices ou protectrices. Plus que leur efficacité économique, ces titres expliquent leur crédit et leur succès dans le domaine de l'aide et de la coopération des pays occidentaux. La reconnaissance du prestige qui est nécessairement liée au don par les communautés indigènes les établit comme autorité politique.

On peut distinguer les ONGs donatrices et les ONGs d'assistance technique qui ne disposent pas directement de fonds et de pouvoirs économiques. Les ONGs donatrices peuvent avoir leur propre service de techniciens comme certaines organisations nationales de coopération bilatérale ou bien elles utilisent les ONGs d'assistance technique comme intermédiaires pour gérer, contrôler ou redistribuer les fonds des programmes d'aide.

Les organisations indigènes et paysannes contestent cette tutelle. Après avoir revendiqué le contact direct avec les

ONGs de financement et le contrôle des ONGs techniciennes, elles recherchent aujourd'hui des contrats de réciprocité directs avec des "professionnels" ou encore des partenaires de réciprocité; c'est-à-dire qu'elles désirent maîtriser l'orientation et la définition des programmes de développement et remplacer les techniciens occidentaux par les leurs.

Inutile de dire qu'il n'existe pas d'ONG de financement ou technicienne qui ait accepté ce type de contrôle ou de contrat.

Face à ces revendications des organisations indigènes ou paysannes, les ONGs préfèrent chercher des partenaires nationaux, relais des ONGs techniciennes nationales qui se proposent comme nouveaux intermédiaires et qui se légitiment au nom de l'indépendance nationale.

Il reste cependant aux ONGs pour être efficaces, de s'adapter aux dimensions des structures de réciprocité indigènes ce qui justifie une stratégie d'intervention au niveau micro-économique car les structures de réciprocité indigènes ont été dissociées voire atomisées par la colonisation. Il s'agit d'adapter les projets de développement au niveau de l'entreprise communautaire du village, c'est-à-dire au niveau de l'unité principale de réciprocité.

Ce redéploiement de l'action des ONGs sur les structures de réciprocité, cette adaptation, permet la substitution du pouvoir à un niveau ethnique ou familial selon les cas et, grâce à cette substitution d'autorité, le technicien ou l'organisme de financement peut décider des projets des investissements en lieu et place de l'autorité villageoise, de l'autorité communautaire ethnique ou familiale. Comme il traduit son autorité dans les termes de ses compétences, il induit, qu'il le veuille ou non, un développement de type occidental.

On peut illustrer ce comportement économicidaire d'un exemple nord-américain en Bolivie.

On sait que dans les communautés de réciprocité, lors des cérémonies rituelles qui permettent à des particuliers d'accéder ou de participer à un statut supérieur, une personne autorisée est choisie pour exprimer la tradition ou dire la loi de la communauté. Lors du mariage, par exemple, dans les communautés des Andes, la personne élue pour témoigner de la communauté et de sa tradition doit donner l'exemple de ce qui engendre la valeur pour la communauté: le Don. Etre choisi pour bénir le mariage, pour en être le parrain oblige d'abord à donner puis à unir par la parole les deux parties qui souhaitent fonder une relation de réciprocité matrimoniale. Donner est ici l'acte qui établit le parrain dans son rôle de référence éthique. Dans d'autres circonstances, il ne donne pas lui-même mais assure la redistribution des off-

frandes des uns et des autres comme un centre collectif de relations de réciprocité symétrique afin que toutes se traduisent par un sentiment commun, une loi et une parole unique. Il redistribue les dons qu'il reçoit et cette redistribution lui confère l'autorité qui consacre l'identité ethnique.

Une des ONGs les plus importantes de Bolivie, nord-américaine, s'est nommée "Plan para el Padrino" (Plan pour le parrain). Elle prétend établir des relations similaires à celles de la parenté entre familles indigènes et nord-américaines. Ces dernières restent anonymes mais offrent de l'argent. Le parrainage est assuré par l'ONG elle-même qui redistribue les fonds. A travers ces dons, elle s'assure de l'autorité indigène mais proclame des valeurs religieuses nord-américaines et non pas les valeurs de l'éthique des communautés Aymaras ou Quechuas.

La substitution de pouvoir est évidente. La substitution de références aussi, tant au niveau économique où l'argent vient remplacer les valeurs de redistribution indigène (feuilles de coca par exemple) qu'au niveau de la représentation culturelle où les idées religieuses et les croyances se substituent aux valeurs traditionnelles. L'anonymat des familles nord-américaines permet à l'institution de gérer librement les fonds selon une stratégie qui ne permet jamais à l'Aymara ou au Quechua d'échapper à la nouvelle loi, c'est-à-dire l'inféodation morale quand ce n'est pas le tribut matériel. En réalité, c'est l'inféodation morale que recherche cette ONG afin de substituer au prestige Aymara le prestige défini en termes occidentaux et au "padrino" indien un dieu nord-américain.

Si toutes les ONGs ne déclarent pas si ouvertement leurs intentions toutes doivent leur autorité au don.

Certaines ONGs prétendent défendre les cultures autochtones et font même appel à une caution anthropologique mais il est facile de remarquer que sous le prétexte du respect de la culture indigène, il s'agit en réalité de la dissocier de l'économie de réciprocité. Pour réussir cette séparation, elles définissent l'économie politique en termes occidentaux (la production de valeurs d'échange). Comme il n'existe généralement pas d'économie de ce genre dans le monde indigène, elles se réfèrent à la thèse anthropologique selon laquelle l'économie d'échange serait en réalité cachée, masquée ou intégrée.^{1/} Cette thèse autorise donc les techniciens occidentaux à la découvrir, la démasquer ou plutôt

^{1/} Cette thèse aberrante est soutenue en particulier par Pierre Clastres dans sa préface au livre de Marshall Sahlins Age de pierre, âge d'abondance (Paris: Gallimard, 1976).

l'inventer en réinterprétant en termes occidentaux les catégories indigènes, et, ainsi, justifier leur intervention.

L'anthropologue culturaliste pour sa part y trouve l'intérêt d'acquérir une autorité sur la culture indigène elle-même.

L'un prétend être le spécialiste de la culture, l'autre de l'économie. Ils se partagent la communauté ou l'ethnie, l'un le corps, l'autre l'âme, chacun selon ses compétences.

Mais cette manière de dissocier la culture indigène de l'économie qui la soutient en refusant d'admettre qu'existent d'autres systèmes économiques qui celui de l'échange permet aux Occidentaux de développer la production pour l'échange sous couvert du respect de la culture indigène, ce que l'on peut appeler une politique "de la fleur coupée".

Au niveau des racines économiques, le travail du technicien occidental est de remplacer le processus de réciprocité indigène par un procès de production "rentable" (qu'il estime, lui, rentable en termes de valeur d'échange). L'effet de cette politique est de développer sur les territoires délaissés par les entreprises coloniales ou capitalistes (ou par la coopération technique bilatérale, internationale) des formes de production privatisées ou collectivisées qui orientent la production indigène vers l'échange et vers la création de monnaie d'échange.

Il est cependant très difficile de dénoncer ces ONGs comme ethnocidaires. Elles se défendent de cette accusation avec beaucoup de conviction, faisant immédiatement appel à la garantie anthropologique. Elles exploitent d'autre part un certain capital de confiance indigène. Parfois elles se présentent même derrière des responsables indigènes. Bref, elles se présentent comme les Grecs dans le cheval de Troie face aux Troyens. Le cheval de Troie est ici le Don, l'aide au Tiers Monde elle-même. 2/

Il faut reconnaître que leur action ethnocidaire n'est qu'indirecte. Ce sont les infrastructures économiques mises en place qui joueront ce rôle: elles engendreront en effet leurs propres représentations lesquelles entreront en concurrence avec les représentations traditionnelles. La substitution de références culturelles s'effectuera par la solution d'un conflit de génération mais ce sont les indigènes eux-mêmes qui assureront cette transformation. Ici l'ethnocide est particulièrement bien masqué.

L'action des ONGs n'en est pas moins directe au niveau économique: elle consiste à substituer à l'infrastructure de

2/ Le cheval de Troie était aussi une offrande, un don.

réciprocité une infrastructure d'échange. C'est ce que je propose d'appeler l'économicide. C'est la fonction essentielle et systématique des ONGs occidentales.

L'économicide n'est pas l'exclusive des ONGs. Il est aussi caractéristique de la coopération technique et de l'aide internationale. Mais les ONGs sont pratiquement les seules forces occidentales qui puissent intervenir sur les communautés indigènes. Elles constituent le front "pionnier" du développement de la production pour l'échange, mais "masqué", car ces organisations à caractère caritatif, religieux, humanitaire se présentent comme une alternative aux institutions gouvernementales et intergouvernementales. Elles drainent l'aide désintéressée de particuliers, des associations occidentales privées, au nom de la solidarité, de la lutte pour la justice sociale, des droits de l'Homme et des Peuples. Si la coopération officielle ignore le plus souvent les communautés paysannes et indigènes et ne trompe plus personne, les ONGs elles se trompent d'abord et trompent deux fois, les donateurs occidentaux et les communautés indigènes.

Les conséquences de leur intervention sont cependant devenues si évidentes qu'elles sont aujourd'hui de plus en plus contestées par les communautés et organisations indigènes quand celles-ci ont droit à la parole et qu'elles ont accès aux médias.

On doit préciser que cette remise en cause n'a rien à voir avec l'exploitation de l'échec des ONGs par une critique néo-libérale aux motivations douteuses. Cette critique a pour effet d'autoriser une justification tiersmondiste qui a facilement raison d'arguments démagogiques mais qui profite de l'occasion offerte pour étouffer la critique faite par les communautés indigènes.

Cela ne veut pas dire que les peuples du Tiers Monde ignorent l'échange. On peut dire au contraire que depuis les origines toutes les communautés connaissent l'échange mais elles l'utilisent seulement à leurs frontières ou pour des activités serviles et non pas pour engendrer la valeur. Pour engendrer la valeur, elles ont recours à la réciprocité de telle façon que l'échange reste finalement peu utilisé voire plus du tout, au sein des communautés indigènes. Or, aujourd'hui, le libéralisme économique prétend que l'échange doit diriger l'économie des communautés et engendrer la valeur de référence.

On ne peut non plus prétendre que les communautés ne souhaitent pas pratiquer elles-mêmes l'échange avec les Occidentaux, puisque c'est là le seul moyen de commercer avec eux, du moins lorsque cela est à leur avantage. Elles développent d'ailleurs certaines bases de production destinée à l'échange ce qui explique quelques alliances de communautés indigènes.

nes avec des entreprises occidentales, mais, dans ce cas, on doit souligner que ces activités sont dirigées vers le marché d'échange, à l'extérieur des communautés et non à l'intérieur des frontières communautaires. De telles initiatives restent normalement inféodées à l'autorité indigène déterminée, elle, exclusivement par les lois de la réciprocité intra-communautaire. C'est la réciprocité qui, dans ce cas, inféode l'échange et non le contraire. C'est dire qu'il existe une alternative indigène au développement promu par les Occidentaux et c'est pourquoi les autorités qui dirigent le processus économique indigène doivent affronter les tutelles étrangères de type ONG.

Cette autorité indigène est celle des responsables légitimes du développement communautaire ou de l'ethnodéveloppement, et il existe donc bien une ligne de front entre les responsables des communautés et les représentants économistes ou ethnologues de l'Occident sur la question de la définition du développement et du contrôle des moyens de celui-ci.

Cette ligne situe les avant-postes d'une part de la société de "l'homme unidimensionnel" ou de "l'homo aequalis" avec son matérialisme idéologique, son économie d'échange et de concurrence, ses aliénations idéalistes et religieuses et, d'autre part, des sociétés du Tiers Monde fondées par la réciprocité, des valeurs éthiques et une praxis où la vie concrète et spirituelle ne sont pas aliénées l'une par l'autre.

Cependant, pour ces dernières, il est dramatique que ne soient pas reconnues les lois de leur système et que chacune reste prisonnière de son imaginaire quand la reconnaissance de leurs raisons théoriques leur permettrait de se comprendre les unes les autres et d'institutionnaliser, de frontière à frontière, des relations de respect mutuel et de solidarité, de façon peut-être universelle.

2. La confusion entre la charité et le don

On a coutume de dire que c'est en toute bonne foi qu'agissent les ONGs et que leurs actions vis-à-vis du Tiers Monde ne s'inscrivent pas dans un plan concerté d'ethnocide. Mais comment expliquer les faits: faut-il les considérer comme l'actualisation de leurs principes fondamentaux? Ce qui pourrait les expliquer serait peut-être une confusion de ces institutions entre la charité et le don.

Il est symptomatique que l'église catholique par exemple essaie de réduire la théologie de la libération au silence comme le rappelle l'interdiction fait au théologien L. Boff d'exprimer ses idées sous le prétexte que la traduction de la foi dans une praxis marxiste aux côtés des paysans en lutte constitue un compromis avec le monde, un compromis politique, alors que les œuvres missionnaires qui se fon-

dent sur la pratique du don désintéressé matériellement seraient, elles, des œuvres spirituelles et légitimes car apolitiques.

Le don ne représente pas pour les religieux un acte d'économie politique mais, au contraire, un acte anti-économique car ils se réfèrent aux définitions de l'économie politique occidentale. (Il est anti-économique en effet dans une économie d'échange.) Mais une telle définition de l'économie est caractéristique d'un ethnocentrisme occidental exacerbé que l'on peut rapprocher du racisme. On appelle économie politique l'économie politique de l'échange et l'on considère ensuite que l'économie de réciprocité des sociétés du Tiers Monde doit être une forme archaïque de celle-ci sinon il ne s'agit pas d'économie...

A partir de cette tautologie, il est facile aux églises de dire qu'elles ne pratiquent pas de compromis économique ou politique lorsqu'elles établissent leur pouvoir sur le don. Cependant, l'autorité des missions sur les communautés indigènes est celle que les indigènes reconnaissent aux donateurs et la pacification religieuse, depuis la fondation des réductions en Amérique du Sud par les Franciscains et les Jésuites jusqu'à celles des missions nord-américaines d'aujourd'hui, est fondée sur le don.

Les églises ont d'ailleurs traduit l'autorité acquise en termes de prestige pour qu'elle soit reconnue des indigènes eux-mêmes: c'est ce que manifeste en Amérique l'extraordinaire faste des cérémonies religieuses. Il est vrai, cependant, que les fêtes religieuses sont des lieux d'affrontements culturels complexes car les Indiens utilisent, en effet, les images des saints, des vierges et des dieux pour, comme à leur abri, conserver leurs propres traditions qui, elles, correspondent à leurs structures de réciprocité et non pas à des motivations chrétiennes. Mais il serait difficile aux églises de soutenir qu'elles utilisèrent les fêtes et le prestige sans connaître le bénéfice qu'elles pouvaient en retirer. En réalité pour obtenir l'autorité, elles utilisèrent et utilisent toujours sciemment le don et utilisent les fêtes, danses, chants au profit de représentations religieuses dans l'espoir de substituer les croyances occidentales à l'éthique des peuples indigènes.

Autrefois, les missionnaires dépendaient de l'administration ou des colons pour disposer des biens matériels qu'ils redistribuaient, hâches de fer, machettes, bétail, tissus manufacturés, etc. Aujourd'hui ils distribuent une part de l'aide au Tiers Monde (dispensaires, hôpitaux, écoles, ateliers, scieries, coopératives, services de presse et d'édition, imprimeries, etc.) mais c'est le même principe qui leur permet d'usurper l'autorité politique et spirituelle.

J'en donnerai un exemple à partir d'un souvenir personnel. Un jour où j'accostai dans un endroit isolé d'Amazonie où

vivait un missionnaire en contact avec une communauté dirigée par un chef légitime, ce dernier me dit: "Ce prêtre est venu ici il y a dix ans apportant avec lui un bateau, plus tard il apporta un dispensaire; ensuite une scierie. Pour qu'il demeure encore ici, le temps est venu qu'il donne autre chose: pourrais-tu lui suggérer qu'il apporte des tôles ondulées pour les toits car depuis que nous sommes installés ici, les palmiers alentours ont tous été coupés et nous n'avons pas de palmes pour renouveler les toits de nos maisons". Le missionnaire ne se rendait pas compte, semble-t-il, que son pouvoir venait uniquement de ses dons. Le jour où ses services disparaîtraient, son pouvoir s'évanouirait. C'est ce que confirmait l'évêque de la région. "Il y a quatre cents ans que nous sommes ici et quand nous partirons, nous pourrons dire qu'il ne restera aucune trace de notre passage".

La raison me semble en être que l'autorité conquise par le don doit être reproduite périodiquement par un autre don et lorsque ce n'est pas le cas, le prestige disparaît. C'est là, la difficulté des missions qui pensent pouvoir établir leur autorité sur le don.

Elles rencontrent cependant une autre difficulté qui explique que leur pouvoir reste toujours sans contenu. Dans le système de la réciprocité, la légitimité de l'autorité appartient à qui produit le don et les Indiens par exemple savent bien que ce ne sont pas les prêtres qui produisent ce qu'ils distribuent... L'autorité que les indigènes concèdent aux missionnaires devrait, dans leur esprit, être restituée aux producteurs du don. Les indigènes acceptent facilement que les missions soient tributaires des administration coloniales sans voir en elles autre chose qu'un pouvoir politique transitoire ou de délégation mais qui renvoie à un pouvoir supérieur, celui de la société occidentale tout entière et donc à son système économique, le système capitaliste.

Si le don des missionnaires et des prêtres est tributaire du système qui le produit matériellement, cela révèle leur alliance avec le système de production et d'exploitation capitaliste. Ainsi le compromis politique des églises, en dépit de leurs protestations d'autonomie, est très clair.

Le don oblige celui qui le reçoit à le reproduire, quand cela est possible, pour reconquérir sa dignité perdue lorsqu'il accepte le don d'autrui, sinon à s'inféoder et accepter le nom du donateur, le nom de chrétien par exemple. C'est pour cette raison que les missionnaires purent christianiser les indigènes et organiser leur production au service de notre civilisation. Mais donner c'est toujours dominer et recevoir se soumettre et c'est par cette voie que les missions et réductions ont imposé leur loi aux sociétés du Tiers Monde.

On ne peut malheureusement identifier les représentations religieuses occidentales avec celles de la réciprocité indigène. En effet, la société occidentale, en réduisant l'économie politique à l'économie d'échange réduit la notion de valeur économique à celle de richesse matérielle et les autres dimensions de la valeur sont rejetées dans un univers métaphysique qui devient le champ de prédilection de l'inconscient et de la religion.

Cette dichotomie quasi schizophrénique de l'économie politique et de la religion s'oppose à ce que les missionnaires et les anthropologues appellent le syncrétisme indigène. Mais le syncrétisme semble plutôt être une cohérence des faits et de leurs représentations, une vie dialectique des uns et des autres, une praxis et aussi l'intégration de l'image de l'autre à la construction de l'identité et de l'unité humaine. En réalité les églises occidentales ont peu d'espoir de parvenir à imposer leurs idéologies, leurs croyances, si elles ne réussissent pas, au préalable, à détruire les systèmes de réciprocité indigène. Pour obtenir un quelconque succès, elles doivent s'associer longtemps à la répression coloniale directe ou indirecte comme au temps de Marcos aux Philippines, de Duvalier à Haïti, de Somoza au Nicaragua, de Stroessner au Paraguay, etc., avant d'hériter d'une situation où elles pourront tenter de reconstruire des bases sociales conformes à leurs objectifs, des bases occidentales en somme. L'éthnocide est un préalable des églises, et l'économicide est en réalité leur principale arme pour le réaliser. C'est à ce niveau que se trouve l'alliance profonde, indéfectible des églises avec la colonisation et au-delà avec le libre échange et le système capitaliste.

On peut résumer: Donner c'est dominer mais la domination de la mission est tributaire de la colonisation du système capitaliste dont la logique est de dominer pour prendre. La politique des églises est une politique d'alliance tout à fait objective que l'on peut qualifier de politique conservatrice.

Pour ceux qui ne veulent pas se compromettre avec la politique de droite, c'est-à-dire avec le système capitaliste, reste la solution d'entrer réellement dans le jeu révolutionnaire indigène, ce qui est alors dénoncé par les conservateurs comme politique de gauche (la théologie de la libération par exemple au Brésil ou au Pérou). Mais cette église silencieuse, cette église du silence ou "des pauvres" est alors confrontée à un problème théorique encore plus grave qui exige de sa part une conversion importante.

Il faut se rappeler ici que les communautés de réciprocité et les sociétés de redistribution sont fondées sur des structures de réciprocité génératrices de valeurs éthiques y compris lorsqu'elles se sont aliénées dans des évolutions où la réciprocité devient inégale et où l'éthique est dominée

par l'imaginaire du prestige. Derrière les structures les plus complexes de la réciprocité on retrouve toujours des structures de base qui assurent à l'être social sa réalité la plus humaine. L'échange s'oppose directement à cette dynamique de création d'un être supérieur, communautaire, parce qu'il est l'expression de l'intérêt individuel, de l'intérêt privé. Dans la réciprocité, la définition de l'homme ne peut se réduire à celle d'une quelconque identité, ni la sienne ni celle de l'autre; elle est celle du "grand Autre", celle d'un être supérieur à soi-même et à l'autre pour résulter de leur interaction: un "tiers inclus" dont, c'est-à-dire exactement le contraire du "tiers exclu" de la logique de l'échange (qui est aussi la logique occidentale). Ce "tiers inclus", dans les sociétés de réciprocité, est l'être même de la communauté. Il reçoit évidemment le nom de l'humanité.

Tous ceux qui participent de relations de réciprocité peuvent se prévaloir du titre "nous les vrais hommes". Bien que ce nom soit spécifique de chaque communauté en vertu des caractéristiques, des conditions matérielles de la réciprocité, bien que ce nom-là puisse se pétrifier dans des représentations imaginaires singulières qui peuvent devenir antagonistes les unes des autres, il se reproduit de façon systématique, partout où se reconstituent des structures de réciprocité. C'est pour cela qu'il peut être défini comme le nom de toute l'humanité et non pas comme celui d'une seule communauté ethnique et donc recevoir un nom propre universel: Dieu, par exemple.

Mais il vaut mieux appeler cette réalité de l'être social du nom de l'humanité elle-même et conserver le nom de Dieu pour son aliénation en un absolu dont la fétichisation devient l'arme d'un pouvoir particulier, celui des religieux et des prêtres.

Mais peut-être est-ce pour cela que beaucoup de religieux se sentent mal à l'aise dans leurs églises lorsqu'ils sont au contact du Tiers Monde et qu'ils rompent avec elles pour se reconnaître en tant qu'hommes au sein des nouvelles communautés en lutte dans le Tiers Monde. Cette rupture semble être le phénomène religieux le plus important de notre époque dans les sociétés occidentales parce qu'elle révèle une vraie vie spirituelle au coeur même de l'Occident et qui a un sens universel. Cependant ces religieux se trouvent confrontés aux forces de libération populaires dont la praxis est souvent de type occidental et nombreux sont ceux qui doivent accepter d'emprunter le sillon des analyses marxistes et pratiquer l'idéologie marxiste, idéologique parce que c'est pure idéologie de vouloir imposer à la réalité du Tiers Monde une voie de libération fondée sur la critique de l'aliénation du système occidental, alors que les sociétés du Tiers Monde n'appartiennent pas à ce système. Cette critique ne se justifie que sur les marches coloniales de l'em-

pire capitaliste et à l'intérieur du système capitaliste; au-delà de ses frontières elle n'est plus pertinente et doit laisser la place aux théories de la réciprocité.

3. Collectivisation et communauté

La principale confusion marxiste qu'il est possible de dénoncer ici est celle de la collectivisation comme système de production communautaire.

Le marxisme originel est la critique du système économique de la société de droit privé occidental, déterminé par l'échange. Cette critique dénonce la privatisation des moyens de production qui a pour conséquence l'exploitation du travail et la réduction de la valeur à une quantité de travail biologique, en définitive une quantité d'énergie "matérielle". Avant d'être matérialiste par lui-même, le marxisme dénonce le matérialisme de l'échange qui conduit à la réduction de "l'homme total" à une énergie de production à l'intérieur d'un monde privé de praxis éthique et constraint à la dépendance de religions et morales métaphysiques, éthérees.

Cependant, après la critique, le marxisme se trouve devant la nécessité de proposer une alternative. C'est là que le communisme s'est fourvoyé car à partir de ce point zéro il reste rivé à la notion de l'échange; ce qu'il propose c'est l'échange égal généralisé mesuré par la quantité de travail produit. Il requiert, pour ce faire, la socialisation des moyens de production. Ce que généralise le marxisme, c'est toujours une production de valeurs matérielles. La proposition de base continue d'être matérialiste. A défaut d'une critique de l'échange lui-même, le système communiste reste matérialiste, et en ce sens, inhumain.

Ici, il faut bien comprendre en quoi consiste l'antagonisme entre échange et réciprocité. Par l'échange s'engendre une valeur exclusivement matérielle alors que par la réciprocité s'engendre une valeur enrichie d'autres dimensions jusqu'à la plus haute qui est celle de l'éthique. Il faut regretter que le marxisme n'ait pas reconnu cet antagonisme et qu'il soit demeuré prisonnier de l'échange et d'une conception matérialiste de la valeur aussi matérialiste en définitive que celle du libéralisme économique. Il est vrai que la valeur éthique peut s'aliéner dans les imaginaires du prestige propres à chaque identité ethnique; on pourrait parler d'ethnicité peut-être comme aliénation de l'éthique universelle mais, elle ne s'y aliène jamais autant que dans l'échange où elle disparaît complètement.

Cette aliénation de l'éthique dans les limites de l'imaginaire ethnique qui peuvent conduire à des exclusions réciproques a conduit des critiques à interpréter ces limites comme sources de racisme. D'autre part, l'aliénation du don a per-

mis d'interpréter les valeurs de renommée ou de prestige comme des signes de despotisme et donc des obstacles à la révolution.

Mais il ne faut pas oublier que dans tous les systèmes de réciprocité, la valeur de prestige traduit aussi la valeur éthique. Cette équivalence est d'autant plus précise que la réciprocité est plus égalitaire. Elle est moins précise quand la réciprocité devient inégale ou tributaire comme elle l'était devenue dans les grands systèmes de redistribution des anciens empires. Mais la colonisation a désorganisé ces empires, découvrant les bases du système comme d'innombrables structures de réciprocité élémentaires, libérées de l'inégalité et du tribut. Celles-ci sont devenues autant de sources autonomes de la valeur étroitement liées au sentiment de justice. C'est ce qui fonde la justice comme moteur économique. On peut dire que la justice a sa propre force en tant que dynamique de l'économie pour être un besoin de l'homme plus important encore que les nécessités de subsistance même.

C'est alors que peut se réaliser une alliance avec les organisations marxistes, sur le thème de la justice sociale, bien que les revendications des uns et des autres procèdent de déterminations diamétralement opposées: en effet, les uns veulent améliorer les conditions de l'échange tandis que les autres essaient de diminuer son importance pour rétablir la réciprocité. Mais une alliance sur l'objectif d'un "prix juste" est empiriquement possible. Les uns voient dans le prix juste la rémunération de leur force de travail, les autres entendent par là le respect de leurs équivalences de réciprocité. Ethique et matérialisme apparaissent ici comme un couple de forces produisant leur effet dans le même sens contre un adversaire commun mais qui, une fois au pouvoir, révéleront qu'elles sont contradictoires.

Mais il est clair que la collectivisation va à l'encontre de cette dynamique d'entraînement de la production. Elle supprime en effet l'individualisation de la renommée, le prestige ou la responsabilité personnelle et par conséquent entrave toute concurrence entre les uns et les autres pour produire plus ou mieux. L'annulation du prestige a pour conséquence immédiate de rendre inutile le travail créateur ou producteur d'excédents. Il ne reste aux individus pour motivation de la production que l'autoconsommation biologique. La collectivisation constitue donc une dynamique du sous-développement des communautés de réciprocité. Son échec est d'ailleurs évident dans les sociétés paysannes de l'Union Soviétique, de la RDA, de la Pologne, de la Tchécoslovaquie, du Vietnam, du Nicaragua, de la Chine, du moins avant que celle-ci ne réhabilite l'exploitation familiale et communautaire.

Dans ces pays, le moteur de la production collectiviste est surtout la nécessité, la pénurie dans la consommation,

l'auto-subsistance biologique. La confusion entre communauté et collectivité est en définitive aussi grave que celle de la charité avec le don. Elle provoque en effet l'arrêt dans la croissance et l'évolution économique.

On peut donc dire que de la privatisation à la collectivisation occidentales, les communautés du Tiers Monde vont de Charybde en Scylla.

Le tiersmondisme d'inspiration marxiste ne vaut pas beaucoup mieux que l'aide au Tiers Monde capitaliste. L'un utilise le don comme cheval de Troie pour détruire l'économie du Tiers Monde, l'autre refuse de reconnaître le don et la réciprocité comme fondements d'un autre système économique que celui de l'échange généralisé. Aucun des deux ne reconnaît le don et la réciprocité comme bases de la communauté et principes d'un développement post-capitaliste (et post-marxiste).

Chacun veut détruire, et en cela ils ont objectivement alliés, les frontières des communautés du Tiers Monde pour imposer sa loi: la loi de l'échange inégal pour les uns, pour les autres celle de l'échange égal mais collectivisé. Cependant, les deux montrent qu'ils obéissent bien à la logique de l'échange alors que c'est sur la réciprocité que se fonde la communauté.

L'économicide consiste donc à détruire les bases économiques de réciprocité des communautés soit pour imposer la privatisation soit pour imposer la collectivisation. Cet économicide est aujourd'hui l'arme la plus secrète mais peut-être la plus efficace, en tout cas, la mieux masquée de l'Occident face au Tiers Monde.

TOWARDS A PEOPLE-ORIENTED BIOTECHNOLOGY

The Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on "the socio-economic impact of new biotechnologies on basic health and agriculture in the Third World"

BIOTECHNOLOGY REVOLUTION NEEDS GLOBAL RESPONSE

by Chakravarthi Raghavan
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Biotechnologies now under development will introduce the greatest technological revolution, and this could have great potential benefits but also pose great threats to environment, health and economic security of millions, and thus, a global issue needing a global response.

Such a global response requires active involvement of citizen groups acting in the national and international spaces and on governments and international organisations, to ensure rational biotechnology (BT) geared to satisfaction of real needs of the majority of the world's people and creation of more equitable and self-reliant societies working in harmony with the environment.

These are among the broad conclusions of representatives of citizens' groups, scientists and other experts from diverse networks who have been looking at the issues raised by the new BT revolution underway.

The citizens' groups decided to coordinate their efforts in a campaign for "a people-oriented biotechnology" and formulated a number of recommendations for action in the national and international spaces and by citizens groups.

In the national space they have called for establishing and strictly enforcing regulatory requirements for safe testing and introduction of BT, as well as to secure control of the BT in the public sector rather than its monopolisation by private interests.

In the international space, there should be a wider-ranging discussion of the impact of BT and a major revision undertaken of intellectual property rights and of the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) to safeguard Third World interests.

Third World governments should develop appropriate BT and explore South-South cooperation in all aspects of BT, and, in particular, use of its genetic raw materials, the group recommended.

Citizens' groups have been called upon to monitor industry activities in BT, develop and secure a code of conduct for safe and adequate application of these technologies through UN system agencies.

The five-day seminar at Bogèeve, France, and a two-day symposium in Geneva with wider participation, including diplomats and representatives for international organisations, was organised by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation of Uppsala, Sweden.

Participants considered the socio-economic impact of new biotechnologies on basic health and agriculture in the Third World and issued a Bogèeve Declaration which is reproduced below.

Science and technology, Amir Jamal, Tanzanian ambassador and member of the Board of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, told the symposium, permeates the daily life of the industrial world and increasingly determines the options for Third World development.

Capital combined with science and technology, when given free play in the market, might succeed in developing the most efficient techniques to shortcut evolution and natural selection, but could also create social and economic consequences for the disenfranchised vulnerable sections of humanity with little counter-vailing power to safeguard their short-term as well as long-term interests.

Explaining some of the concerns raised by BT, Anwar Fazal of the International Organisations of Consumers' Unions (IOCU) and chairman of the symposium, said discussants at the seminar and symposium were concerned that the technology is not being controlled from the health or safety point of view, and field tests are being conducted without the knowledge of governments and peoples.

The issue is global, Fazal explains: "Science is global. The TNCs operate this industry globally, and micro-organisms created do not respect national boundaries and need no passports. Hence the need for a global response". Things are also moving at great speed, and "everyone wants to make money quickly, get control over this technology, and patent genes and micro-organisms".

A lot of work on this technology, Fazal notes, is being done in secrecy, and even in universities and research institutions not much is being publicised. "The actual work, and the people who do this work are hardly ever seen, nor would the micro-organisms that would be created and let loose. And all this is frightening, and there has to be greater public knowledge, discussion and awareness, to enable informed decisions", Fazal says.

"Basically, the organisations and networks who have been considering this would like to move towards a rational BT policy, and organise global campaigns involving information and actions at the UN and international agencies, to get this issue on their agenda, and for specific actions directed at companies and governments to get BT under control", he says.

For the first time in the era of scientific and technological revolution and discoveries, the birth of BT has been accompanied by awareness of and concerns over its social implications, Surendra Patel, former Director of UNCTAD's Technology Division points out. "We can therefore act now, everywhere, to make sure that the technology is controlled and used beneficially, and not harmfully, and that it has no harmful consequences for the masses of peoples.

Pat Mooney, author of the "Law of the Seeds", Development Dialogue, (1983:1-2) and "Seeds of the Earth", said recently the US Government had authorised tests and release of new micro-organisms in the environment, and this was causing considerable concern.

Many BT enterprises, he says, are under pressure to produce quick results through marketable products, and given the rigorous controls on testing in industrial countries, many of these micro-organisms and products are likely to be tested in the Third World, and without the knowledge or authorisation of their governments, he worries.

Mooney cites a recent case, when a US enterprise produced a new rabies vaccine through BT, got it tested in Argentina on cattle, with the tests carried out through the Panamerican Health Organisation (PAHO), a regional organisation of the World Health Organisation.

The Argentine Government came to know about the test only when a PAHO official inadvertently mentioned it, Mooney notes.

It was strictly "legal", in the sense that there was no law in Argentina requiring prior government clearance or consent, but even the people working at the facilities where the animals were tested were not aware, and this could not be called "informed advice and consent" that the ethical rules for testing are supposed to require.

"We have to alert Third World governments to prepare and put in place regulations for safe testing and controlled introduction of these products of BT well in time before they are marketed", Mooney suggests.

Vandana Shiva, of the Indian Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Natural Resource Policy, points to

the disastrous consequences, now becoming apparent, of the Green Revolution - where a single variety was evolved and spread, and the "environment" was changed to suit the variety, through fertilizers, irrigation, pesticides, etc.

Apart from the economic consequences to the smaller peasantry, the ecological consequences of the Green Revolution are now very much apparent, Shiva and other experts explained at the symposium.

BT has a "uni-cell syndrome", and instead of the natural processes of gene evolution, single genes to provide a particular characteristic are being created and spread, without adequate understanding and study of the consequences to the environment and ecology.

Mooney refers to efforts, already successful as in tobacco, to develop plants with a particular gene that could resist the herbicides, while the weeds and pests would be destroyed. Instead of tackling the problem of dangerous herbicides, research and development is going in the direction making crops safe for herbicides, he points out.

BT is a science-intensive industry, and scientists are moving out of universities to create enterprises, and even their corporate forms are changing, Celestous Juma of the Public Law Institute, Nairobi, told the symposium.

While the enterprises started out as small ones, there is already evident a growing concentration, with TNCs (involved in energy, seed production or other agribusiness) acquiring such BT firms or entering into contracts with them.

The total global investment is now of the order of four billion dollars. About 60 percent is focussed on recombinant DNA or genetic engineering, about 30 percent in cellular biology and creating monoclonal antibodies or cloning single cells, and 8 percent in fermentation technologies. About ten organisations now account for 63 percent of the investments - a very high degree of concentration.

New patent treaties and regulations to patent these micro-organisms are being rushed, and Third World countries and NGOs must take care and focus on activities at WIPO, UNCTAD, etc., to make sure that wider public interests, and not monopoly interests are served, Mooney and others argue.

But the rules of the game are changing, and the fight is shifting to new battlefields - from universal and comparatively transparent organisations to the GATT, Chakravarthi Raghavan of IFDA warned the symposium.

By simply tacking "trade" on to them, the issues of intellectual property rights, investments rights for TNCs and

so-called services, are now being sought to be addressed through the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations (MTNs).

GATT's opaque practices, he told the symposium, enable the three majors (US, EEC and Japan) to negotiate among themselves and try to impose the accords and codes on the Third World, by holding out a few "carrots" of trade concessions and threats of trade retaliation if it does not fall in line

But the Third World collectively is not so helpless and can use its market power of taking in over 30 percent of Northern exports to block such moves, he suggested. Citizens' groups, both in the North and the South, would have to join forces to bring pressure on their own governments to resist such moves.

Susanta Goonatilake of Sri Lanka complained that Third World governments, UN agencies, citizens' groups and intellectuals were constantly reacting to moves and ideas of the North. It was time they evolved their own strategies and tactics and chalked out their own course of action, he suggested.

Citing the experience of the Indian Freedom Movement and Gandhi's insistence on using home-made goods (swadeshi), Vandana Shiva suggested that the Third World people need not mere "lookers-on", or to merely react to events and forces of others in GATT or elsewhere over BT. The raw materials concerned, and even the genes and seeds, come from them, and the peoples of the Third World are the ultimate markets for all these BT products of TNCs.

Peoples and governments of the Third World should begin to rely on themselves and just refuse to deal with these products or developments except on their own terms, and instead rely on themselves and their raw materials and products for self-reliant development.

(This article was originally published in IFDA's daily Special United Nations Service (SUNS) No. 1674, 17.03.87.)

THE BOGEVE DECLARATION

Twenty-eight participants from nineteen countries met at Bogève, France, March 7-12, for the 1987 Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on "The socioeconomic impact of new biotechnologies on basic health and agriculture in the Third World". The seminar was organized by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden, and the Rural Advancement Fund International (RAFI), Pittsboro, USA, and Brandon, Canada, in cooperation with the International Organization of Consumers Unions (IOCU), Penang, Malaysia, the International Coalition for Development Action (ICDA), Brussels, Belgium, and the United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service (NGLS), Geneva.

We, the seminar participants, met in Bogève, France, to discuss the impact of new biotechnologies on health and agriculture in the Third World, where the vast majority of the world's people live. In discussing the nature of the new biotechnologies, and their significance for humanity, we recognize that:

Biotechnology is a global issue. It cannot be assigned such attributes as positive, negative, or neutral. Like any other technology, it is inextricably linked to the society in which it is created and used, and will be as socially just or unjust as its milieu. Therefore, we conclude that in today's world this most powerful new technology is more likely to serve the interests of the rich and powerful than the needs of the poor and powerless.

We fully recognize the potential of biotechnology to improve the quality of life of humanity. But it is important to emphasize the risks and hazards associated with biotechnology, including serious and possibly irreversible health, safety, environmental and socioeconomic consequences, as well as the use of such technology in biological warfare.

In agriculture, for instance, while biotechnology may promise to increase production and reduce costs, it is more likely to accentuate inequalities in the farm population, aggravate the problem of genetic erosion and uniformity, undermine life-support systems, increase the vulnerability and dependence of farmers and further concentrate the power of transnational agribusiness.

In health, for instance, biotechnology promises more effective diagnostic tools and new ways of preventing and curing diseases. However, the pharmaceutical industry is more likely to focus on the most profitable commercial opportunities and divert attention from basic health requirements.

In view of the above, we make the following recommendations:

As citizens:

- that we accept a major role in the development of public discussion and policy related to biotechnology;
- that we monitor industry activities in this field;
- that we commit ourselves to taking action in this field with the relevant UN bodies including FAO, GATT, ILO, UNCTAD, UNEP, UNIDO, WHO and WIPO;
- that we agree to carry our concerns back to the networks with whom we are engaged, such as Health Action International (HAI), International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN), Pesticide Action Network (PAN) and Seeds Action Network (SAN) in order to facilitate co-operation;
- that we seek to promote appropriate technologies that are socially just and ecologically sustainable, including regenerative agriculture, alternative crop protection strategies, preventive medicine, recycling of resources and wastes, etc.

Nationally:

- that a dialogue be established to determine the real needs of society and the main requirements for a national biotechnology strategy based on these needs;
- that the socioeconomic and environmental implications of such a strategy be fully considered;
- that the regulatory requirements for the safe testing and introduction of the technology be established and stringently enforced;
- that the control over the technology be assigned to the public sector and that the monopolization of the technology by private interests be resisted.

Internationally:

- that as in the national space, a wider-ranging international discussion of the impact of biotechnologies be encouraged and begun as soon as possible, noting particularly the initiatives begun in UNIDO/ICGEB (The International Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology), UNCSTD/ATAS (The Advance Technology Alert System) and other international bodies;
- that Third World governments take measures to develop appropriate biotechnologies and further explore the opportunities for South-South cooperation in all as-

pects of the development and use of biotechnology, in particular with regard to the utilisation of genetic raw materials;

- that the evolution of research and development of biotechnology be closely monitored so that the interests and rights of the Third World are kept foremost in institutions working on these issues;
- that changes in existing intellectual property rights discussed in WIPO, which deny the rights of the Third World, be closely monitored and that a major revision of the Paris Convention be encouraged in order to safeguard the interests of the Third World.

In conclusion, we wish to reaffirm that a rational biotechnology policy must be geared to meet the real needs of the majority of the world's people and the creation of more equitable and self-reliant societies while working in harmony with the environment.

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DAWN: DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES WITH WOMEN FOR A NEW ERA

The world has been moving from one crisis to another, causing devastating impact on the lives of women and men. Many attempts have been made to understand such crises, but they rarely place women in the centre, to find alternative solutions and provide new avenues for the future. Yet, the cultural factors that maintain women's subordination such as family hierarchies, religious fundamentalism and violence against women, are interlinked to global and local economic factors accounting for the fact that women constitute the major ranks of the dispossessed.

Women's subordination is reinforced by the tendency for policy makers to transfer family structure hierarchies to the overall development planning process, thereby perpetuating inequalities between men and women, as well as within society as a whole.

A growing group of Third World women is convinced that the analyses of such crises has to be based on both cultural and economic factors related to women's participation in development. This concern matured and converged into a unified approach and action oriented programme in 1984, in Bangalore, India. There, a group of women researchers, activists and policy makers, which became known as the DAWN group, decided to prepare a position paper which was presented during the 1985 UN World Women's Conference in Nairobi at the "NGOs" Forum. The discussion of this document offered the main platform for DAWN's upsurge.

In Nairobi, through panels and workshops, as well as through non-conventional presentations such as theatre groups, singers and other activities known as dialogues, DAWN gained new insights and consciousness as a group. The positive resonance and engagement in DAWN's activities at that conference encouraged the initial group to continue its work.

Today DAWN has consolidated its initial conceptual framework and platform, by defining a programme of action and a flexible operational framework. In February, 1986, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, DAWN defined its main objectives and areas of activities, including specific priority areas for research and its present organizational structure.

Objectives and activities. The group aims at proposing and implementing new alternatives for the future through influencing policy changes, research and community action. These efforts also advocate women's full participation in the decision making process. Within this context, DAWN is particularly interested in participating in the formulation and implementation of specific demands and programmes geared towards the establishment of a New International Order which advocates a more equal international exchange for a more just socio-economic development in the Third World.

DAWN's activities stimulate cross cultural comparative research in the national, regional and global spaces on the following issues : Food,

energy and the debt crisis in relation to women and women's vision and movements. The group also facilitates communications and networking among Third World women's groups, including publications and the use of media. The group operates mainly as a network and catalyst.

Structure. DAWN is an autonomous organisation. Its programme was formulated by the Founding Advisory Committee after wide consultation. Although it receives funds from international organisations to support its activities it, does so only on the condition that its autonomous character be preserved. While DAWN has a coordinating office, it does not have a fixed membership. It has signatories who identify themselves with its approach and concerns. The Secretariat provides the link between the Steering Committee and signatories, although the programme area coordinators may also be contacted directly. DAWN invites those who identify themselves with its goals to participate in projects of their interest.

In order to articulate and implement its action programme and objectives, DAWN also promotes communication in the local spaces through meetings, workshops, panel discussions seminars and so forth. An information office working at the General Secretariat is in charge of publishing a newsletter and interacting with other interested media networks.

DAWN is a Third World organisation. The Steering Committee is the main policy making body and it is composed of six members chosen from all regions of the Third World. One general coordinator is elected to function as the secretariat with a mandate of two years. At the end of the mandate, the secretariat shifts to another region. The following persons have been elected and designated to coordinate DAWN's major areas of activities and form the Steering Committee:

- . Research Coordinator (Asia) Hameeda Hossain, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, Dhaka, Bangladesh;
- . Communications Coordinator (Pacific) Claire Slatter, Dept of Politics, South Pacific University, Suva, Fiji;
- . Advocacy Coordinator (Caribbean) Lucille Mair, ISER, University of West Indies, Mona, Kingston 6, Jamaica;
- . International Relations Coordinator (Asia) Devaki Jain; ISST, Tharanga, Rajmahal Vilas Extension, Bangalore 56006, India;
- . Publications Coordinator (Latin America) Lourdes Arizpe, Museo Nac. Culturas Populares, Av. Hidalgo 289, México 04000 DF, Mexico
- . Training Coordinator (Africa) to be indicated;
- . General Coordinator (Secretariat) Neuma Aguiar and Information Officer Noracy Ruiz de Souza, both at IUPERJ, Rua Paulino Fernandes 32, Rio de Janeiro RJ 22.270 Botafago, Brazil.

FEMMES SOUS LOIS MUSULMANES

Réseau international de solidarité
34980 Combaillaux (Montpellier)
France

Lors de la réunion qui s'est tenue du 18 au 24 avril 1986, à laquelle assistaient des femmes de huit pays ou communautés vivant sous lois musulmanes (Soudan, Egypte, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc), des discussions détaillées ont eu lieu, concernant l'économie politique des femmes, l'histoire des luttes des femmes et le statut des femmes dans les divers systèmes légaux.

Quoique dans des contextes différents, beaucoup de points communs existent :

1. Nous attirons l'attention, et spécialement celle des femmes des pays et communautés vivant sous lois musulmanes, sur le fait que certains de nos pays n'ont pas hésité à passer des lois favorables aux femmes sans craindre d'y perdre leur identité culturelle, religieuse ou nationale, mais au contraire, avec la certitude que celle-ci en sortirait renforcée.
2. Nous appelons toutes les femmes des pays et communautés musulmans à soutenir massivement et sans distinction de nationalité toutes les actions des femmes qui ont pour but d'améliorer leur statut et leur situation et de changer les lois injustes qui les gouvernent.
3. Il faut accorder une attention spéciale à l'oppression spécifique - et double - des femmes des minorités, soit qu'elles appartiennent à des minorités non musulmanes soumises aux lois musulmanes, soit qu'elles appartiennent aux minorités musulmanes dans un pays où l'Islam n'est pas religion d'Etat. Dans ce dernier cas, il est important de remarquer que des groupes réactionnaires, exploitant les sentiments d'identité et d'appartenance à la communauté, et les sentiments religieux de ces minorités, réclament que soient imposées des lois musulmanes qui vont à l'encontre de l'intérêt des femmes en général.
4. Nous soutenons les actions pilotes menées par des femmes telles que Sheenaz Sheikh et Shah Bano qui ont contesté divers aspects de la loi musulmane en Inde, ainsi que toutes les actions qui en ont découlé. Toutes ces actions tendent à améliorer la situation des femmes musulmanes, que ce soit par le biais de réforme des lois musulmanes ou par celui de l'adoption d'un Code Civil unifié applicable à l'ensemble des citoyens.
5. Nous soutenons la Déclaration du groupe "Les femmes musulmanes parlent", regroupant des femmes de 8 pays différents qui se sont rencontrées à Lahore (Pakistan) du 28 février au 3 mars 1986 et réclament la mise en place d'une législation progressiste et humanitaire, afin que cesse la discrimination envers les mères divorcées en matière de garde d'enfants (cf. texte plus bas).

6. Nous soutenons les actions des mères divorcées, de toutes nationalités, dont les enfants ont été enlevés de force au nom des lois musulmanes. En considération des droits de l'enfant, nous soutenons les revendications des mères concernant le droit de visite inconditionnel ainsi que la libre circulation des enfants entre leurs familles paternelle et maternelle. En particulier, nous soutenons le cas des cinq mères françaises qui réclament l'application des droits sus-mentionnés devant les tribunaux algériens.
7. Nous exigeons de nos gouvernements la ratification de toutes les conventions multilatérales internationales concernant les droits des enfants, et l'accélération de l'adoption de conventions bilatérales qui garantissent les droits élémentaires des femmes et des enfants. Il va de soi que pour qu'un quelconque bénéfice puisse être tiré de la signature de telles conventions, il faut non seulement qu'elles soient traduites dans les lois des pays concernés, mais aussi qu'on veille à leur application.
8. Nous exprimons notre solidarité et notre soutien aux efforts des femmes qui luttent contre les formes d'oppression qui leur sont imposées au nom de quelque religion que ce soit, et nous encourageons tout dialogue entre femmes de religions différentes.

DÉCLARATION DE LAHORE

Les femmes musulmanes d'Algérie, Bangladesh, Canada, Malaisie, Pakistan, Philippines et Sri Lanka, attirent l'attention des Gouvernements des pays musulmans dans le monde et des pays à minorités musulmanes sur la situation critique des femmes divorcées séparées de leurs enfants.

Dans le système patriarcal qui prévaut dans les sociétés concernées, des millions de ces femmes sont privées du droit de garde de leurs enfants à partir d'un certain âge.

Nous demandons aux gouvernements concernés d'introduire une législation progressiste et humanitaire pour mettre un terme à cette discrimination.

Signé à Lahore, le 3 mars 1986, par les femmes de la conférence "Les femmes musulmanes parlent" organisée par Simorgh du 28 février au 3 mars 1986.

HUMAN RIGHTS INTERNET

The Human Rights Internet is an international communications network and clearinghouse on human rights with universal coverage. Over 2,000 organisations and individuals contribute to the network.

Since accurate information is a precondition to effective action, the HRI furthers the defense of human rights through the dissemination of information. This information is available to human rights organisations, scholars, asylum lawyers, journalists, policymakers and the general public. The HRI also engages in extensive networking and actively promotes teaching and research on human rights. Internet's services and publications include :

- The Human Rights Internet Reporter, the best current awareness tool for following international human rights developments and the most comprehensive bibliographic reference for research and advocacy;
- HRI's Human Rights Directories, which describe the work of human rights organisations on all continents;
- HRI's unique documentation centre, particularly rich in the publications of human rights organisations and ephemeral material difficult to obtain elsewhere;
- Internet's computerized databases, to assist asylum lawyers, advocacy organisations, scholars and policymakers to retrieve information on the status of human rights in all countries;
- Internet's annual microfiche collection of the publications of non-governmental human rights organisation;
- Resources for teaching and research;
- An internship programme to train students in the use of human rights documentation.

Located at Harvard Law School, Internet works in close association with HLS's Human Rights Programme. A non-partisan educational and international organisation, Internet has Consultative Status II with the United Nations (ECOSOC and UNICEF). In the area of documentation and information, Internet has close working relationships with human rights organisations throughout the world.

The Human Rights Internet Reporter

Published bimonthly, every issue of the Reporter is fully indexed and cross-referenced by subject, by geographic focus and by organisation. A specialised indexing vocabulary has been developed to meet the needs of human rights advocacy organisations and scholars. Accompanying the Reporter is a Master List of organisations, publications and indexing language.

The Reporter contains:

- . Commentary on issues of importance to the human rights community;
- . A calendar of upcoming events;
- . News of major national and international developments in the Americas, Africa, Asia, the Pacific, Europe and the Middle East;
- . Highlights of fact-finding missions;
- . Reports of attacks on human rights defenders;
- . Information on the concerns and work of human rights citizens' groups;
- . Reviews of the work of inter-governmental organisations;
- . News about human rights conferences;
- . Resources for teaching and research;
- . Information about funding and awards;
- . Developments in the area of documentation and computerisation.

Each issue of the Reporter also abstracts and indexes hundreds of publications in many languages. These focus on such violations as torture, political imprisonment, disappearances and general repression; on civil and political rights and on social economic and cultural rights; on the rights of women, children, refugees, labour minorities, indigenous populations and other vulnerable groups; on the work of human rights organisations, the policies of governments and the protection and promotion of human rights through international organisations.

Human rights documentation on microfiche

For the past several years, HRI has been serving as an unofficial depository for documentation produced by citizen's human rights organisations world-wide. For the first time, a substantial portion of this material is available on microfiche.

Compiled and edited by HRI for the Inter Documentation Company, Switzerland and Netherlands, this collection will aid in the preservation and dissemination of this important record of the human rights struggle.

The collection offered covers the years 1980-1983 and is being updated. It currently includes the material of over 200 organisations, and provision is made for new organisations to join the collection so that it become as comprehensive as possible. This may be ordered as a complete collection, or by region, from : Inter Documentation Company AG, Poststrasse 14, 6300 Zug, Switzerland; or Inter Documentation Co., Hogewoerd 151, 2311 HK Leiden, Netherlands.

(Harvard Law School, Pound Hall Room 401, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA).

NGALU E KISAL DEVELOPPEMENT SAHEL

Groupement d'intérêt économique à Sinthiane, Matam, Sénégal pour l'autosuffisance, la qualité de vie, l'emploi dans la région du fleuve

Sinthiane, village d'un millier d'habitants, se dépeuple, perdant avec les jeunes ses éléments les plus dynamiques. En cela, il subit le sort de la majorité des villages sahéliens. Longtemps restée saisonnière et célibataire, l'émigration sinthianoise se sédentarisé et devient familiale. Elle est disséminée au Sénégal, notamment dans la région dakaroise et un peu partout en Afrique francophone: Burkina-Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Congo, Gabon, Guinée-Conakry, Mauritanie, Zaïre, etc. Les mandats et les contributions matérielles et financières des associations de sa diaspora représentent une partie importante des ressources du village et, pour beaucoup de foyers, l'unique ressource. Or, avec la crise économique mondiale, le chômage qui frappe particulièrement les migrants, ces contributions se raréfient, menaçant l'équilibre précaire de nombreuses familles. Pour faire face à cette situation un groupe d'immigrés originaires de Sinthiane a créé l'association Ngalu e Kisal (Prosérité et Bien-être) pour la réalisation de projets de développement. Ngalu e Kisal se fixe à court et à moyen terme trois objectifs:

1. l'autosuffisance alimentaire;
2. l'amélioration de la qualité de la vie;
3. l'arrêt et l'inversion de l'exode rural par la création d'emplois.

Pour atteindre ces objectifs, une vingtaine de Sinthianais en France, en union avec des compatriotes restés au village ou émigrés ont élaboré un programme de projets réalisables en quatre années:

- une exploitation agricole polyvalente produisant des céréales, des légumes, des fruits. Cette exploitation, réalisée progressivement, contribuera à la lutte contre la famine et la malnutrition. Les techniques, tout en s'appuyant sur les moyens et savoir faire locaux, s'ouvriront à la modernité;
- une banque alimentaire jouera le rôle d'un grenier collectif à fonctions multiples: transformation et production alimentaire: farine, pain, jus de fruits et de légumes, etc.; approvisionnement en produits de premières nécessités: mil, riz, huile; constitution d'un stock de sécurité alimentaire en prévision des mauvaises récoltes; lutte contre la spéculation et le gaspillage. Comme les autres villages de la région, Sinthiane fait face à un déficit vivrier et aux spéculations des commerçants.
- une ferme avicole pour produire des œufs et surtout des poulets de chair. La viande, malgré son importance nutritionnelle, devient un luxe dans le village.
- Un centre de technologies à vocation multi-fonctionnelle. Il sera à la fois un lieu de production d'équipements villageois: meubles,

matériels agricoles ou domestiques, réparations; formation aux différents métiers; distribution et échange de biens et de savoir-faire.

- Un centre mutualiste de santé qui paliera au manque d'infrastructures sanitaires dans le village. Au début des années 70, face aux grandes sécheresses sahariennes, le village, avec l'aide de sa diaspora, construisit à la hâte une "pharmacie-dispensaire" - petit bâtiment de deux pièces - qui ne fonctionne plus depuis 10 ans. Plusieurs raisons expliquent cette fermeture : absence d'un personnel soignant; pénurie de médicaments et d'équipement; gestion défectueuse; exéguïté et vétusté des locaux. Situés respectivement à 3 et 18 km le dispensaire et l'hôpital les plus proches, faute de matériel, de médicaments et d'un personnel, ne peuvent satisfaire une demande croissante de soins. Permettre au plus grand nombre de se soigner, tel est le principal objectif de ce centre.

Outre la nécessaire mobilisation de ses membres recrutés sur la base du volontariat, Ngalu e Kisal, dans une volonté d'ouverture efficace, recherche un partenariat actif et diversifié : services technique de l'Administration sénégalaise, organisations nationales et internationales, collectivités locales, groupes de citoyens, institutions, experts, populations.

La réalisation des différents projets passera par le respect des pratiques et des usages sociaux du village et dans la perspective de son développement par des études et expertises qui seront menées au village par les membres du regroupement; la mobilisation des ressources, notamment locales, qui seront combinées avec les techniques et le savoir-faire importés; la prise en charge et l'organisation des formalités nécessaires que requièrent la gestion et la réalisation des différents projets.

Sinthiane est situé dans la communauté rurale de Kanel (Département de Matam, Région de Saint-Louis). Population: environ 1,000 habitants d'ethnie Halpulaar. Les Halpularen qui sont de confession musulmane et, majoritairement, de la confrérie des Tidianes, sont la population la plus nombreuse du département de Matam.

Emigration: plus de 85% de la population masculine (15 à 50 ans) et 20% des familles sont fixées à l'étranger. Cet exode n'est pas récent. Il date de l'avant-indépendance du Sénégal (1960) et était généralement saisonnier. C'est dans les années 70, avec ses sécheresses successives, que l'exode s'est amplifié, dépeuplant le village de sa jeunesse masculine. La tendance s'accentue.

Vie associative: le tissu associatif du village touche l'ensemble de la population. En moyenne chaque habitant appartient à trois associations: association de solidarité familiale, de voisinage, association "jeunesse" qui rassemble l'ensemble des jeunes, "caisse de la diaspora". Ces deux associations participent à la réalisation de projets tels que: forage de puits, constitution d'un grenier collectif, réalisation d'une mosquée et des salles de classe, etc.

(25b, chemin Arabesque, 95800 Cergy Saint-Christophe, France).

INDIA: THE AHMEDABAD STUDY ACTION GROUP (ASAG)

For the past ten years, the Ahmedabad Study Action Group (ASAG) has been engaged in low cost housing and community development activities in Gujarat State. ASAG's exclusive concern has been for the urban and rural poor - slum dwellers, landless agricultural labourers, village artisans, small/marginal farmers and disaster victims.

ASAG is a voluntary, no-profit-no-loss organisation of concerned professionals committed to utilising their skills and training for the benefit of society - particularly the disadvantaged sections. Professionals from various fields of activity - design, planning, social sciences, architecture, engineering, education, economics, medicine, community work and rural studies - have joined their energies in an interdisciplinary team to promote housing and development activities where they are needed most.

Evolution of thought

The original inspiration for forming ASAG came from a small group of young student architects who questioned their future role in society. They recognised that their training, like that of all professions, was confined to serving the privileged few. Traditional professional practice revolved around the wealth and aspirations of the urban elite while the survival needs of the great majority in the villages and disadvantaged settlements in the cities remained unattended. Given an opportunity, they wanted to use their skills and training to serve society.

From the search for an "alternative client" and a new professionalism relevant to society's real needs came a second recognition that a substantial departure also had to be made in the method of working. With poor communities as the new client, a comprehensive involvement was necessary. The sectoral approach became invalid because "poverty" was the issue - not housing, education, or health. Therefore, professional commitment would have to extend beyond the narrow bounds of conventionally defined specialisations. The single-disciplined professional had to be replaced by a multi-disciplinary team. As professionals traditionally did not work together, it was necessary to create a new ethos and work culture in which an integrated strategy for development could be cultivated. Hence, the concept of the group became all important.

Work methodology

ASAG was conceived to be an assertive advocacy organisation. Towards this objective, the Group is endeavouring to evolve an appropriate work methodology which combines the stages of problem statement, research, action, evaluation and communication in addressing the complex issues of development.

One of ASAG's guiding principles is that the Group should not accept projects - it should "create" them on behalf of depressed communities. Hence, Group members are continuously sensitive to problems and issues which need to be addressed, but on which no action is being taken. Re-

cognising a specific problem to be within its scope of competence, ASAG undertakes investigative studies to clarify the dimensions and nature of the problem. Based on this problem definition, approaches towards a solution are hypothesised by the Group and an action plan developed. At this point, ASAG advocates the need and possible approach for addressing the problem. This initial involvement is pursued voluntarily in response to the needs of the poorer sections of society.

Direct action in the form of projects and experimental pilot activities is then undertaken to validate the premise of the study. The Group does not depend on donations or grants for implementation activities, but rather organises existing resources (from people as well as Government), to support the programme, the underlying principle being that development is fundamentally different from charity; that direct action should be supported by available resources meant for that purpose, and that the pilot activity should set an example for subsequent action by the responsible authorities and affected communities.

Continuous monitoring of the action channels information back to the project to improve implementation and to gauge its effectiveness in meeting the objectives and needs of the client groups. Post-project evaluation provides useful feedback for subsequent action.

Monitoring and evaluation constitutes an important component of this work methodology. The lessons gained from direct action are communicated to policy makers, administrators, funding agencies, citizens' groups, research institutes, other client communities and the public at large.

Facilitator role

Through this work methodology, ASAG endeavours to work as a facilitator - a catalyst - in the development process. Free of many of the constraints operating on professionals and government agencies, the Group attempts to muster more active fresher forces to confront issues. By its own direct involvement, ASAG hopes to evoke interest and action from the concerned communities themselves as well as organisations with greater financial resources, political power and relevant skills.

ASAG believes voluntary agencies to be influential agents of change. It views the voluntary sector as a genuine vehicle for strengthening democratic institutions and ideals and places heavy emphasis on its role as an interface between people and power - between needs and resources.

(ASAG, Dalal Building, behind Capri Hotel, Relief Rd, Ahmedabad 1, India).

BELIZE: BELIZE ENTERPRISE FOR SUSTAINED TECHNOLOGY (BEST)

We are a private, non-profit Belizean foundation, operated by Belizeans, dedicated to improving the economic and social well-being of low income people of Belize, consistent with the country's overall agro-economic development strategy. We provide management, financial, accounting, technical, marketing and training services to community-based enterprises engaged in agriculture, agroindustry, fisheries and related natural resource development activities.

BEST was founded on these values:

The development of Belize is the responsibility of Belizeans and external assistance must promote self-reliance, pride and dignity, determination of the aspirations and goals, plans and accomplishments by Belizeans. Development should promote the economic and social well-being of the less privileged majority, not just the privileged few. We believe that development is both complex and long-term and that long-term problems require long-term solutions. Development must be defined in terms of education, housing, health, self-worth and reliance, as well as economic; it must be holistic.

We believe that cooperatives, associations, etc., as part of the new private sector, have an important role to play in the economic and social development of Belize and in ensuring an equitable distribution of the nation's resources. "Bottom up" is better than "top down", more lasting, promotes full participation, pride of accomplishment and ownership in the development of the human potential.

We believe that people must participate fully in all stages of the development process - from identification through planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of their activities in order to achieve meaningful and sustainable positive changes. We act merely as facilitators or catalysts in this process. We believe in the comprehensive approach to development assistance and that the piece meal approach to assistance is not sustainable in the long-term. We lend a helping, we do not provide hand outs; those we assist must pay something, however, small for our services.

To operate, we depend almost exclusively on contributions; therefore, we must be fiscally responsible, intellectually honest and must be held accountable for and provide a measurement of our services and activities. We will not discriminate on the basis of race, colour, creed, language, political affiliation or sex but are committed to recognizing, promoting and enhancing the role of women in development. We will be law-abiding in all respects and will not participate in graft, kickbacks or corruption.

Members of the Board of Directors, staff and employees will not use their position or information for economic and political advantage and will maintain strict confidentiality in all matters at all times. We assert that we are a moral institution dedicated to the development of Belize and will be guided by ethical standards at all times, including standards on conflicts of interest.

(POB 6, Belmopan, Belize).

USA: PLENTY

PLENTY USA was born from the realization that all people are members of the human family, and that, if we wisely use and share the abundance of the earth, there is plenty for everyone.

The recognition that we are one family inspires kindness and generosity in response to suffering, courage and moral outrage in response to injustice. Today, as a result of modern communications and transportation, the world is shrinking. We are more aware of each other than ever before and more able to answer a cry for help.

Since its founding in 1974, PLENTY volunteers have worked in twelve countries on four continents, living among the people in their villages, sharing their poverty and experiencing their struggle and their joy. We have found that good development is much more than aid or charity. The most successful projects begin with love and grow with trust, friendship and mutual respect.

PLENTY's projects are designed to enhance self-sufficiency and self-determination, health and well-being. They are undertaken with the full participation of the people who are supposed to benefit from them. Through agriculture, nutrition, primary health care, potable water, sanitation, alternative energy, communications, cottage industries, litigation, training and education, PLENTY seeks practical solutions to poverty, injustice and misfortune.

PLENTY feels a special kinship with Indian cultures around the world, many of which are threatened with extinction. We believe it to be essential that native societies, with their ancient traditions of reverence for life and the earth, not be swept aside in an unthinking rush for "progress" and profit. PLENTY is working to strengthen and preserve native communities and heighten public awareness about indigenous people.

The projects: PLENTY started out by giving away food to needy people living near our original office in rural Tennessee. We were farming and had surpluses. Gradually, we expanded this food aid program further afield as we discovered pockets of hunger in urban Nashville, Memphis, Chicago and Detroit. By 1975 PLENTY was shipping food to hurricane victims in Honduras and famine victims in Haiti.

When a massive earthquake struck Guatemala in 1976, killing 23,000 people and leaving one million homeless, PLENTY sent volunteers to assist the medical relief and reconstruction. We discovered that the Mayan Indians, who make up more than half of the total population, had borne the worst of the devastation. We stayed on for five years. We saw how an insidious combination of forces can operate to keep a people in the grip of poverty. Poor health, inadequate nutrition, lack of medical care, complete absence of sanitation and running water, a shrinking land base and deforestation : these are the spokes in the wheel of poverty. Driven by greed, racism and violence, the wheel goes round and round. We met Indian farmers who taught us about amaranth, the high protein grain of the pre-conquest Mayan civilization, and we introduced them to the soybean. Later, responding to enthusiastic request, our volunteers per-

formed public demonstrations to teach families how to prepare mild and cheese from soybeans in their homes. In one village we helped a local cooperative build a soy dairy where soy foods are manufactured for sale in local markets. We built a two-storey Community Centre and installed an FM broadcast station for the use of the Cakchikel Mayans. Other projects focused on primary health care training and the construction of schools, clinics and gravity-feed water systems. Civil war and a worsening campaign of indiscriminate violence waged against the highland Mayans forced us to withdraw our volunteers from Guatemala at the end of 1980. Today, PLENTY is aiding some of the more than 150'000 Mayan refugees in Mexico and the United States and is supporting indigenous developments within Guatemala.

In Bangladesh PLENTY volunteers took part in an effort to establish a health clinic and orphanage near Dacca.

In Baja California, our volunteers built emergency housing for barrio dwellers whose makeshift dwellings were washed away in a flash flood.

In Haiti, we trained the staff of a home for orphans and abandoned children to prepare nutritious soy foods.

In Lesotho, an independent Black country completely surrounded by South Africa, we have promoted "integrated village development" involving reforestation, agriculture, solar energy and, most recently, setting up a rural health centre.

The South Bronx attracted our attention after we saw a television report about the "sweat equity" urban pioneers and their heroic efforts to rebuild low-cost housing in the midst of the burning ghetto. In 1978 we renovated an abandoned tenement for offices and volunteer quarters. When we put a free ambulance on the street, operated by PLENTY Emergency Medical Technicians, the PLENTY Ambulance Service was born. As city ambulance services improved their coverage of the South Bronx, the project evolved into a training program in which local residents have been able to become licensed EMTs and get jobs with professional ambulance companies.

In Washington DC, PLENTY founded a free medical clinic and health care training class which serves the fast-growing Latin American refugee population in the capital.

On Indian reservations PLENTY is supporting the efforts of Native Americans to regain a measure of sovereignty and self-determination by helping them start a reservation ambulance service, or create a community radio station, or re-establish an economic land base through agriculture, reforestation and the use of alternative energy sources.

(PLENTY USA, Midwest Office, P.O. Box 90, Summertown TN 38483; West Coast Office, 610 Sixteenth Street, Suite 521, Oakland CA 94612. PLENTY Canada: R.R. 3, Lanark, Ont. K0G 1K0, Canada).

SAM AND APPEN NEWS FEATURE SERVICE

Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM - Friends of the Earth Malaysia) is a citizens' organization involved with development and environment issues, formed in 1977 when the country had embarked on a process of rapid economic growth and concomitant environmental deterioration.

SAM works closely with, and makes representations for, affected communities throughout the country, like farmers whose crops are destroyed by pests and pollution; fishermen whose livelihood are threatened because of depleting fish resources; estate workers whose health and well-being are affected by the pesticides they use without any safeguards; indigenous communities whose lands are taken for timber exploitation, etc.

The Asia-Pacific People's Environment Network (APPEN), an informal group of development and environment associations from the Asia-Pacific region, is being coordinated from SAM. APPEN was formed in 1983. Its main objectives are : the collection and dissemination of information pertaining to development and environment issues; contributing towards regional collaboration on such issues; investigating, reporting and making representations on those urgent issues in the region.

Another part of SAM and APPEN work is the publication of books and materials to serve as an effective communication tool so that the public can have access to news and information about the latest developments concerning the environment.

We have started, in 1984, a SAM and APPEN news feature service as news and information on development and environment from the Third World is limited. The SAM features cover general and local issues while the APPEN features touch on issues in the Asia-Pacific region.

SAM features have touched upon topics like "Malaysia's Nuclear Energy Programme"; "The Highway Fiasco in Malaysia"; "Herbicide Use in Estate"; "The Papan Radioactive Waste-Dump Controversy"; "1984 Fisheries Bill"; "Native Land Rights" and many others.

The APPEN features have included issues such as "Seed Business is Big Business"; "2, 4, 5-T Pesticides"; "Controversy of the Eucalyptus Tree"; "The People Behind the Fishing Industry"; "Detergents in the Third World"; "Exporting Pollution - Japanese Style"; "Rats - How Pesky Can They Get" and many others.

Features appear fortnightly. The yearly subscription rate (by air mail) is US\$80.00. This will also allow you to receive our other materials published by SAM such a campaign materials, publications and newsletters.

(SAM and APPEN News Feature Service, 37 Lorong Birch, 10250 Penang, Malaysia).

PHARMACEUTICAL PATENTS

An international seminar organised by the International Organisation of Consumers Unions (IOCU), Chulalongkorn University and Social Research Institute (CUSRI), the Drug Study Group (DSG), the Coordinating Committee for Primary Health Care of Thai NGOs (CCPN), took place on 4 April 1987 at Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute, Bangkok, Thailand.

The seminar, which was attended by 34 representatives from 15 organisations of 10 countries, was organised as part of the programme of Action for Rational Drugs in Asia (ARDA), a network of health, consumer and development groups in the region.

The seminar issued the following statement :

THE ARDA STATEMENT ON PATENTS AND PHARMACEUTICALS

1. The goal to achieve the health of people and communities must be met by a commitment to another developmental paradigm based on self-reliance and comprehensive Rational Drug Policies.

2. A rational drug policy must be based on drugs satisfying the five principles of:

- (a) meeting real medical needs;
- (b) having significant therapeutic value;
- (c) being acceptably safe;
- (d) offering satisfactory value for money; and
- (e) availability and accessibility.

3. The role of patents in contributing to such rational drug policies is at best a very limited one. On the contrary, patents can become instruments for promoting private monopolies at the expense of the public interest, contribute to creating dependency and hinder the real development of rational drug policies.

4. International and regional organisations, including WIPO, UNCTAD, UNIDO, WHO, ESCAP, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, have expressed many and various legitimate concerns of Third World countries. The following three principles have emerged and are widely accepted:

- (a) patents should assist in national economic and social development and have special regard for the needs of developing countries;
- (b) the public interest should always prevail; and
- (c) patents should not become an obstacle to legitimate international trade.

5. In the present global context, taking into account the legitimate needs of Third World countries and, in particular, their health requirements, the aim should be to work towards a patent-free environment for pharmaceuticals.

6. Any patent law should explicitly exclude both pharmaceutical products (all kinds of drugs or combinations of them) and processes (the methods or techniques of making such drugs or combinations). Instead, as an alternative, laws on intellectual property should provide for a system of protection through inventors' certificates to encourage and stimulate real technical innovation in Third World countries.

7. If patent protection is granted at all, it should be limited to process patents only and not be granted to products. It is important to provide adequate safeguards aimed at ensuring satisfactory working of the patented invention. The safeguards must include the following:

- (a) protection granted to a process is not extended to products so that "product by process" is not applicable;
- (b) provision that importation does not constitute working of the patent;
- (c) a clear definition of the terms "exploitation", and "working" of the patent;
- (d) shorter duration of patent, and use it to ensure working of the patented invention;
- (e) an expeditious system of compulsory licensing;
- (f) ensuring the fullest use of locally available resources in working the patent; and
- (g) forfeiture or revocation of the patent on specific grounds.

8. Wherever intellectual property protection laws exist, there should be a mandatory multi-sectoral National Commission to review policies and practices at fixed regular periods. Citizens' groups must have a right to participate fully in such reviews and their involvement should be ensured.

9. Policies on intellectual property protection must be seen in conjunction with and subject to a comprehensive Rational Drug Policy. The impact of any patent policy on health, economic, social and technological development must be properly determined, particularly through indigenous research, prior to the granting of any patents.

10. Third World countries and citizens' groups involved in health and development issues both in the North and the South have the responsibility to work in solidarity to ensure that intellectual property protection policies respond to the real health needs of society.

(ARDA, c/o IOCU Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, POB 1045, 10830 Penang, Malaysia).

FROM ORGANISATION... TO ORGANISM

a new view of business & management at a findhorn conference

The stable organisation has become an anachronism. Rapid and on-going changes in technology, individual expectations and value systems, plus the impact of a global marketplace mean that organisations and businesses are having to maintain a state of continuous change to survive. Today's challenge is to create resilient, responsive organisational structures which nourish the human spirit, yet still meet goals and fulfill responsibilities. An organisational revolution is upon us.

Viewing the organisation as organism with a social, cultural and ecological context is providing a new framework within which individuals and groups can experiment with new forms. Large organisations are refining their structures to create smaller, more responsible units; cooperative ventures of all sizes are on the increase. Is this just current fashion, or does it indicate a deep and lasting change in the heart of our culture?

To examine these changes and possibilities we are convening a conference "From Organisation to Organism: a new view of business and management" from 10 to 17 October 1987. Our intention is to create a week of inspiration, participation and mutual support for those who are working with, and interested in, new ideas in business, management and organisational development for the future.

Specific themes will include:

- changing perspectives: the impact of wholism; group as living system; implications of interconnectedness; shifting cultural values;
- a new ecology: right livelihood at the organisational level, social responsibility and conservation awareness;
- innovation and creativity: unleashing the individual; ways and means to stimulate initiative and increase productivity;
- innovations in organisational structures: new working relationships, formal and informal; creating teams and networks;
- power in the organisation: relationships between power and structure; changing employer/employee relationships; role of women;
- qualities for the future: applied inner-directedness, vision, creativity, intuition.

Our faculty will include not only the visionaries and thinkers who are the forefront of this movement, but those who have actually put these ideas into practice in their own situations. Through a combination of lectures, discussions, workshops and active participation, we will create together an opportunity to learn from each other, a time to discover how to bring our values and aspirations more into our working life.

(For further details: Cluny Hill College, Forres Scotland, IV36 ORD.).

ESPAÑA: CURSOS DEL INAUCO

El INAUCO es un centro creado por la Fundación Laboral de Asistencia y Promoción de Empresa que realiza una labor investigadora, docente y publicista sobre los conceptos de autonomía, autoorganización y autogestión y las formas comunitarias y participativas en Economía, Política y el conjunto de la Ciencias Sociales. El INAUCO ofrece los siguientes cursos de postgrado:

Modelo para una economía social, desarrollo alternativo y nueva economía: la situación económica vigente; la búsqueda de una nueva economía; un desarrollo alternativo o una nueva forma de pensar algunas hipótesis e intuiciones.

Descentralización, autonomía, federalismo y participación popular: problemas constitucionales de la descentralización territorial en los Estados federales y unitarios; descentralización a nivel local; descentralización, derechos humanos y participación popular.

3. Promotores de desarrollo experimental y acción comunal: desarrollo experimental, integrado y de acción comunal; el modelo de empresa comunitaria como elemento de desarrollo; iniciativas locales para la creación de empleos y el desarrollo experimental de acción comunal.

Requisitos para los tres cursos: Titulación académica superior suficiente o experiencia profesional en la función pública. Duración: Cada uno de los cursos tiene una duración de cinco meses y medio (15 enero - 30 junio de 1988). Inscripción: hasta el 30 de noviembre de 1987.

(Dr. Antonio Colomer Viadel, Instituto intercultural para la autogestión y la acción comunal, Departamento de Derecho Político, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Campus de Canto Blanco, 28049 Madrid, España).

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.

DE AARAU, SUISSE

Votre publication est vraiment excellente et surtout très nécessaire.
Merci!

Marcel Fischer

FROM ADELAIDE, AUSTRALIA

This (Editorial "We are all Palestinians", Dossier 57/58) convinced me that I want no more of your publications. Please remove my name from your mailing list.

D.T. Healey

FROM AMMAN, JORDAN

We at QOU applaud the concern and help that the IFDA has rendered to humanitarian causes in general and to Palestinian issues in particular.

Dr Walid Kamhawi, President, al-Quds Open University

FROM AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS

On behalf of the Inter NGO Conference on IGGI matters (INGI) I would like to thank you for your efforts to inform us on international NGO activities through your IFDA Dossier. INGI is the first NGO Conference to complement a consultative group of donor-countries (of Indonesia in this case). Therefore, any information concerning international NGO networking is very much welcome.

Peter van Tuijl

DE COLIMA, MEXICO

Agradezco mucho el envío de su interesantísima revista IFDA Dossier. Hacemos nuestros mejores votos para que contribuyan con esas publicaciones a labrar un mundo mejor, que mucha falta hace hoy día. Quicieramos seguir recibiendo esas valiosísimas publicaciones.

Francisco Javier Cárdenas Monguia, Presidente de Pro-Ecología de Colima

FROM COTABATO, PHILIPPINES

May we thank you for the Dossier so timely sent. My staff and I recognize its importance and how it can open-up avenues of better development concepts for Region XII, Philippines. We are glad to learn Philippines' PROCESS (as contained in Dossier 54). This NGO has never been known to us but, much to our excitement when we learned that their development approach is nearly exact to what the Ministry of Human Settlements, Region XII had been doing. We shall be communicating with PROCESS to reciprocate development ideas good for our country. Again, our sincere thanks and appreciations to the IFDA.

Enrico B. Paloma, Ministry of Human Settlements

FROM ZANZIBAR, TANZANIA

I am writing to express my profound thanks to Marc Nerfin personally and through him to the Foundation for constant and kind provision of IFDA Dossiers. They have been extremely useful to my department. Once again, I thank you very much and hope that you will continue to provide us with these important Dossiers.

Ali O. Korsheni, Director, Department of Foreign Affairs.

FROM AN AFRICAN STUDENT IN THE UK

Thank you for your letter asking those who can afford it to pay a subscription fee for your very useful publication IFDA Dossier. Unfortunately, being a student here from Africa without any grant, I find it very difficult to meet your request at the moment. I hope however that you will keep me on your mailing list. Your IFDA Dossier has been so far very useful to me. As soon as I am able to contribute, either by some article or financially, I will gladly do so.

Michel Ongolo Ndongo, Manchester, UK

FROM HONOLULU, HAWAII

I greatly enjoyed your recent article on "Neither Prince nor Merchant: Citizen". I have used it in the enclosed article on the Philippines which the Dossier may find of some use. Thank you once again for the Dossier, I and others in Hawaii use it regularly. Please see the enclosed review from a Dossier article for the Judicial Futures newsletter, Nu Hou Kanawi (sent to judges, administrators and attorneys).

Tahir Sohail Inayatullah

FROM POZNAN, POLAND

Thank you for January/April issue of the IFDA Dossier. I found this publication very interesting and useful for my teaching and research.

Piotr Pezalski

FROM SEVIERVILLE, TENNESSEE

Your article "Neither Prince nor Merchant: Citizen - An introduction to the third system" is not only clarifying but also provocatively stimulating. Thanks for it.

Harry B. Prize

FROM ST JULIAN, MALTA

Bravo pour l'éditorial sur la Palestine, qui m'a aidé à voir clair.

Michael

FROM S. LEOPOLDO, BRAZIL

I read and liked very much your essay on UN future in IFDA Dossier 56 and in Development Dialogue 1985:1. I intend to work on and help getting it discussed.

Carlos Cardoso Aveline, President Agapan-SL

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

. Robert Theobald, The Rapid of change: Social Entrepreneurship in Turbulent Times (Indianapolis: Knowledge Systems Inc., 1987) 254pp. People's ability to deal with rapid, fundamental change will be challenged more in the last thirteen years of the twentieth century than in the first eighty-seven. Change has been produced by revolutions in computers, weaponry, the environment, population, biology, and human rights. Decision-making, from personal to global spaces has been driven by our effectively unlimited productive and destructive power. Now we must make choices which will enhance human dignity and preserve the environment. Providing a framework for these opportunities is the task undertaken by Robert Theobald. He says the immediate challenge is to unite the growing number of mainstream decision-makers who are looking for new directions with the social entrepreneurs who have already developed necessary skills and models. The social entrepreneur, or change agent, has moved beyond unrealistic optimism and deadening despair, and is operating out of "realistic hope", where the danger of our current situation are accepted but also being used as triggers to create a higher quality of life. The arguments in The Rapids have been endorsed by over 70 organizations active in the areas of ecology, education, housing, economics, community, health, leadership development, peace, politics, work, social justice and spirituality. The organizations are listed in the book and the description of their activities provides an overview of the social entrepreneurship now taking place. (7777 West Morris St., Indianapolis, IN 46231, USA) US\$ 18.45

. Carlos Barrios N. y Mario Padrón C. (editores), Comunidad campesina y empresa comunal (Lima: CLA/CEDEP/DESCO, 1986) 202pp. Pueden las Comunidades Campesinas Andinas y las Comunidades Nativas de la Amazonía peruana ser entendidas y comportarse como sujetos de un proceso de modernización y desarrollo? En qué condiciones y cómo? Qué papel cabe a las Empresas Comunales y otras formas de organización empresarial vinculadas a las Comunidades? Hay experiencias que responden positivamente a estas preguntas, señalando en sus reflexiones las limitaciones y problemas que existen. Esto libro da cuenta de algunas de estas experiencias (DESCO, Av. Salaverry 1935, Lima 14, Perú).

. Nelson Manrique, Mercado interno y región: La Sierra central 1820-1930 (Lima: DESC0) 281pp. La historiografía republicana tradicional creía que el Estado en el Perú representaba efectivamente a la Nación: bastaba entonces estudiar a aquél para comprender a ésta. La Historia del Perú se redujo así a una historia del Estado peruano (y ésta, en buena medida, a una historia de Lima). Pero un Estado obligárquico, representante de una minoría de espaldas a los intereses de las mayorías nacionales,

no podía expresar los radicales cambios que la sociedad peruana experimentó en su primera centuria de vida republicana. Mercado interno y región traslada el eje del análisis de la sociedad política a la sociedad civil. De la reconstrucción del proceso de conformación del mercado interno en la región central emerge una visión diferente de la historia del Perú republicano, que da nuevas luces sobre problemas contemporáneos cruciales: el desarrollo capitalista en el Perú y la cuestión regional; la lógica y las modalidades de la penetración imperialista en la economía peruana; el origen y la naturaleza de las clases sociales en el interior; la conflictiva relación entre el Estado y la Nación, para solo citar algunos de los Más relevantes.

- . Jaap Lemereis, La lucha por el agua de los Aymaras del Norte de Chile, 116pp. (CIREN, Casilla 2223, Iquique, Chile).
- . Sergio Gómez y Jorge Echenique, Trabajadores temporeros de la agricultura moderna del Chile central, 72pp. (FLACSO) Casilla 3213 Correo Central, Santiago, Chile).
- . Fernando Rello, Burguesía, campesinos y Estado en México: el conflicto agrario de 1976, 119pp. and State and Peasantry in Mexico: A Case Study of Rural Credit in La Laguna, 116pp; Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Oppressed but not Defeated: Peasant Struggles among the Ayamara and Qechwa in Bolivia , 1900-1980, 222pp. and Politics and Ideology of the Colombian Peasant Movement, The case of ANUC, 226pp.; Andrew Turton, Production, Power and Participation in Rural Thailand: Experiences of Poor Farmers' Groups, 132pp. (UNRISD, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland).
- . T.N. Kaul, Reflections of a Non-Conformist: Life in a Himalayan Hamlet (New Delhi: Lancer International, 1986) 103pp. T.N. Kaul joined the Indian Civil Service in 1936 and was one of the first diplomats of independent India. He represented his country in Washington, Moscow, Beijing, London. He then retired to a hamlet in the Himalaya and looked at India from another angle. The result of his observations will be read with interest and pleasure in a little book (100pp) which was the simple and irreplaceable taste of life. The author tells his readers of the daily life of the hill peasants, their culture, their problems - including their relations with the state, that is with its last representatives, the teachers, the health workers - and how could their situation be improved. He speaks plainly: unless the living conditions of the rural people - half of whom are below the poverty line - are changed, "our march towards the 21st century will be meaningless", he writes. (Post Box 3802, New Delhi 110 049, India).
- . Sushma Kapoor and Anuradha, Women and Media in Development (Cendit, 1986) 65pp. (D-1 Soami Nagar, New Delhi 110 017, India).
- . Kamla Bhasin and Nighat Said Khan, Some Questions on Feminism and its Relevance in South Asia (Kali for Women, 1986) 22pp. (N 84 Panchshila Park, New Delhi 110 017, India).
- . Kamla Bhasin, Vasant Palshikar and Lakshmi Rao, The Role and Training of Development Activists (FFHC/AD, 1983) 62pp. (FAO, 55 Max Mueller Marg, New Delhi 110 003, India).

. Kamla Bhasin, Formulating Projects with People (1985) 32pp; Are we on the Right Track? (1986) (New Delhi: FFHC/AD, address above).

. From the Centre for Women's Development Studies, New Delhi, occasional papers: Kumud Sharma, Interaction between Policy Assumption and Rural Women's Work (N°1, 1985) 40pp; Govind Kalkar, Women and Structural Violence in India (N°4, 1985) 13pp; Narayan K. Banerjee, Women Participation and Development: A Case Study from West Bengal (N°5, 1985) 25pp; Kamlesh Jhurani, Women Participation and Development: A Case Study from Rural Punjab (N°6, 1985) 16pp; Balaji Pandey, Post-Independence Educational Development Among Women in India (N°9, 1987) 26pp. The Centre recently organized a workshop on Rural Women and Development (Hyderabad, 9-11 February 1987), to which it submitted a collection of articles, Women and Rural Development, Some Issues. It also publishes - since 1983 - an annual journal, Samaya Shakt, a journal of women's studies (B-43 Panchsheel Enclave, New Delhi 110 017, India).

. Dolores T. Poelzer and Irene A. Poelzer, In Our Own Words: Northern Saskatchewan Metis Women Speak Out (Saskatoon: One Sky, 1986) 161pp. This is the first publication in Canada that gives central importance to the perceptions and experiences of Metis women as an essential element in understanding the dynamics and efforts of change in northern Saskatchewan. Irene Poelzer spent months travelling the roads of northern Saskatchewan. She met and conversed hours with Metis women. Dolores Poelzer organized the great variety of topics and insights that surfaced in these taped conversations. (134 Avenue F South, Saskatoon, Sask. S7M 1S8, Canada).

. Self Determination and Indigenous Peoples: Sámi Rights and Northern Perspectives (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1987) 172pp. The papers in this document were first presented at a seminar held 1984 in Copenhagen. The topic of the seminar was the rights of indigenous peoples, particularly Sámi, of the Northern Cap - i.e. Norway, Sweden, Finland, Greenland and Canada. The seminar focused primarily on the degree to which the political principle of self-determination is reflected in present legislation and future legislation now under preparation for the peoples in the region. (Fiolstraede 10, 1171 Copenhagen K, Denmark).

. Peter F. Ffolliott et John L. Thames, Planifier la reforestation rurale (ENDA, 1986) 158pp. (BP 3370, Dakar, Sénégal).

: Le semis du sorgho de décrue au fuata: Une technologie traditionnelle de semis en zone sèche (ENDA, 1986) 60pp.

. Más con menos/More with less (Amsterdam: TOOL, 1987) 90pp. Rehabilitation is aimed at offering the physically handicapped the possibility to function as independantly as possible in one's living and working surroundings. Simple tools can be an enormous help in performing Daily activities. More with less/Más con menos shows 90 aids for daily living. An understandable instruction is given with each illustration in English and Spanish. The tools described are relatively cheap and made from materials available in many places on earth. The book tries to inspire disabled persons and their therapists from all over the world in search for and in manufacturing of aids for daily living. (Entrepôtdok 68a/69a, 1018 AD Amsterdam, Holland) Dfl.10.-

. Agnes Chepkwony, The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Development: A study of the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCK) 1963-1978 (Uppsala: 1987) 393pp. The demand for more development efforts in the Third World has increased and there has been attempts on the part of the 'NGOs', both secular and religious, to combat the socio-economic and political crisis that faces the poor. The recent debate points out the failure of Governments to bring about meaningful and effective change for the majority of the people and focuses on the 'NGOs' as possible alternatives. The present study - a Doctoral dissertation from the Faculty of Theology, University of Uppsala, Sweden - focuses primarily on the nature and scope of a religious NGO's contribution to development in a Third World setting. The author discusses the historical basis of the NCCK's, its constituency and the interaction with the nationalists. She goes on with an analysis of the Council's contribution to national development. A discussion of thrusts and shifts in the methods of work, programmes and ideas is undertaken. Three levels of analysis are pursued: the NCCK/Church-State relationship, the NCCK-Donor agencies relationships and the NCCK-member churches relationship. The last section consists of an evaluation and structural analysis of the NCCK's work. It includes a detailed evaluation of a sample of representative projects and an attempt to identify the bottlenecks. The study concludes with a critique of the present NGO debate. Underlying each chapter are the questions of the role of external aid and more significantly, the prophetic function of a Church-related NGO in a Third World setting where development is hitherto centralist.

NATIONAL SPACE

. S.M. Mohamed Idris, Malaysian Consumers and Development (Penang: Consumers' Association, 1986) 97pp. The President of CAP writes on a wide range of critical issues affecting Malaysian consumers in this turbulent age. Among the topics are health, basic needs and national unity; the environmental crisis; education; law and social justice; rural development and human rights; the Third World crisis; and more appropriate forms of development. (87 Cantonment Rd, 10250 Penang, Malaysia).

. From Penang also: four more CAP reports on drugs and the Third World: N°10: "Phenacetin Risks, Benefits and Marketing in Malaysia"; N°11: "Pizotifen: Double Standards in Marketing"; N°12: "Cyproheptidine: Risks and Unethical Marketing in Malaysia; and N°13: "Stanozolol: Toxicity and Unethical Marketing in Malaysia and the Third World". The Malaysian government banned the sale of all the four drugs following these reports (address above).

. Evelyn Hong, Natives of Sarawak: Survival in Borneo's Vanishing Forests (Penang: Institut Masyarakat, 1987) 259pp. This book is an in-depth analysis of the problems faced by the native peoples of Sarawak, most of whom live in long-house communities in Borneo's tropical forests. It describes the traditional social and economic system of swidden agriculture, and how their forest resources and way of life are increasingly threatened by the forces of 'modernisation'. Included are testimonies from several native communities. The book also analyses the social and environmental impact of logging activities, and provides sug-

gements as to what can be done to resolve the problems. Essential reading for those interested in Sarawak, and its natives, the fate of the tropical forests and the rights of indigenous peoples in the Third World. US\$ 10 (address: c/o CAP above).

. Chandra Muzaffar, Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia (Petaling Jaya: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd., 1987) 114pp. Through its sociological perspective, this book shows the reasons for Islamic resurgence, its characteristics, its consequences, and the ideologies of the groups involved. Chandra Muzaffar argues that the major force behind the phenomenon is ethnic dichotomization, and that the re-awakening of Islam has implications not only for relations between Malaysia's different religious communities, but also for the whole pattern of its political development. (3 Jalan 13/3, 46200 Petaling Jaya, Selangor, Malaysia).

. Ruth Gall et al, Las actividades espaciales en México: Une revisión crítica (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987) 219pp. La primera parte de este libro considera las aplicaciones económicas, culturales, políticas y militares relacionadas con la utilización del espacio. La segunda parte se concentra en la descripción y valoración de las actividades espaciales en México; el desarrollo de las ciencias básicas espaciales en la UNAM; las aplicaciones de los satélites en la detección de los recursos naturales realizada por diversas instituciones. También se tratan sus aspectos sociales, con énfasis especial en el uso de los satélites de comunicación y la postura mexicana dentro del contexto del derecho internacional espacial. (Av. de la Universidad 975, 03100 México DF, Mexico).

. Eugenio Tironi, El liberalismo real (Santiago: Ediciones SUR, 1986) 165pp. Transcurridos tantos años desde el Golpe de Estado de 1973, no hay una explicación compartida acerca de la persistencia del régimen militar chileno. A juicio del autor, ella obedece al tipo de sociedad creada en este período, donde la militarización del Estado tiene como contrapartida la desarticulación de la ciudadanía. Este libro relata los orígenes, el modelo y el derrumbe de la utopía liberal, cuya imposición ha hecho de Chile el caso más puro de un nuevo tipo histórico: el "liberalismo real". (Román Díaz 199, Santiago, Chile).

. Rosemary B. Jommo, Indigenous Enterprise in Kenya's Tourism Industry (Geneva: IUED, 1987) 201pp. The reader will see in a minute why the editor thought a special word about the author was in order: Rosemary Berewa Jommo was born in Nairobi, Kenya, where she did her early schooling and went on to work as a secretary in the defunct East African Community in Arusha, Tanzania. In 1976 she travelled to Europe to seek wider horizons. Before resuming her studies at the Institut universitaire d'études du développement (IUED), Geneva, she worked with IFDA for a few years. In April 1986, she was appointed Deputy Executive Secretary of the Association of African Women for Research and Development, Dakar, Senegal. (Case 136, 1211 Geneva 21, Switzerland).

. K. Rajeswaran, Appropriate Technology in Zambia: Suggested Policy Implications and Research Direction, 20pp. (IDS, University of Helsinki, Annankatu 20, 00100 Helsinki, Finland).

. Christopher Flavin, Reassessing Nuclear Power: The Fallout from Chernobyl (Washington: Worldwatch Paper, N°75, 1987) 91pp. When the

Chernobyl nuclear plant exploded on 26 April 1986, the resulting conflagration engulfed more than a Soviet reactor. A few days later, much of Europe was experiencing the highest levels of radioactive fallout ever recorded there, and within two weeks, minor radioactivity was detected throughout the northern hemisphere. But the political fallout from Chernobyl will be its lasting legacy. Since the accident the pro-nuclear consensus has collapsed in country after country, and the future of nuclear power, already hanging by a thread in some nations, is now in greater jeopardy than ever. Chernobyl is the world's most serious nuclear power accident so far. The direct costs include 1,000 immediate injuries, 31 deaths, 135,000 people evacuated from their homes in the Ukraine, and at least \$3 billion in financial losses. But the long-term implications are far more troubling and uncertain. It may not be possible simply to "remove the consequences of the accident", as Soviet officials put it. The health of people and of the environment in the Ukraine and throughout Europe could be affected for decades. Estimates of resulting cancer deaths by researchers in the field range from less than 1,000 to almost 500,000. The IFDA Dossier does not indulge in frequent judgement and/or advice on books. This is a really special case. This 91pp. report on Chernobyl is a must. (1776 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036, USA). US\$ 4.-

. E. Goldsmith and N. Hildyard, The Social and Environmental Effects of Large Dams (Cornwall: The Wadebridge Ecological Centre), Vol.I: Overview, 1984, 346pp. and Vol.II: Case studies, 1986, 331pp., considers such issues as the politics of damming, the problems of resettlement, the spread of waterborne diseases, flood control, water-logging and salinisation, the problems of management and maintenance, and the effects of hydropower and irrigation projects on land and water use. The report also considers the vernacular irrigation methods of five traditional societies - and their relevance to determining a viable irrigation policy. Vol. II contains 31 case studies on the effects of dam projects in 23 different countries. It is the first time that such a large collection of assessments has been published in a single volume. Some case studies deal with the problems of resettlement, others with the ecological destruction caused by dams, and still others with the problems of irrigation agriculture and the role that water projects play in spreading disease. Goldsmith and Hildyard also point to the adverse economic impact of dam building. "Building dams is prodigiously expensive. The world's largest hydro-electric complex - the Itaipu Dam on the Parana River between Paraguay and Brazil - cost \$ 16 billion. Few Third World Governments are able to lay their hands on such sums. They must therefore borrow. But the loans that are made to them are made on the assumption that the dams will provide a net return on investment. In all too many cases, they have turned out to be economic white elephants. Whilst some of the contributors share the editors' view that large dams are inevitably destructive, and that their social and environmental costs will always outweigh their benefits, others do not go so far. (Whitehay, Withiel, Nr. Bodmin, Cornwall PL30 5NQ, UK).

GLOBAL SPACE

. Jacques Chonchol, Le défi alimentaire: la faim dans le monde (Paris: Larousse, 1987) 272pp. Ouvrage de synthèse et de proposition sur

le problème de la faim dans le monde, ce livre propose des stratégies pour améliorer la situation alimentaire des populations du Tiers Monde. Malgré les progrès de la production agricole, de grands pays vivent dans un état permanent d'insécurité alimentaire et sont périodiquement exposés à des famines meurtrières. Environ un milliard de personnes souffrent de la malnutrition, de la faim. Pourquoi cette incapacité à trouver la solution? Peut-on espérer parvenir à la satisfaction des besoins alimentaires? Jacques Chonchol s'efforce de répondre à ces questions. Il appuie son analyse sur la notion de système alimentaire qui prend en compte l'ensemble de la chaîne, de la production agricole à la consommation. (17 rue de Montparnasse, 75298 Paris Cedex, France).

. Henk Hobbelink, New Hope or False Promise? Biotechnology and Third World Agriculture (Brussels: ICDA, 1987) 72pp. Will biotechnology be the answer to the problems of hunger and malnutrition in the Third World? Drawing on experience of the Green Revolution, this book analyses the potential of agricultural biotechnology and describes the context in which it is being developed. The same transnational corporations which already control the agro-chemical and pharmaceutical market and which have taken control of a major part of the seeds sector, are also main actors in biotechnology. Application of biotechnology within the present socio-economic structures is likely to result in a new international division of labour, decreased value of the South's agricultural commodities, enhanced dependence and further marginalisation of the rural poor. Whether or not biotechnology will be a 'new hope' for the Third World depends largely on whether this monopolistic control can be challenged. This booklet concludes with a discussion on the problems arising from the appropriation of biotechnology by the Third World for its own needs - and the role of citizens' groups in the process. (22 rue des Bollandistes, 1040 Bruxelles, Belgium). \$7.50

. Lester R. Brown et al, State of the World 1987 (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987) 268pp. "Our relationship with the earth and its natural systems is changing, often in ways that we do not understand", write Worldwatch Institute President Lester R. Brown and Senior Researcher Sandra Postel. "The scale of human activities threatens the ability of the earth itself. A sustainable society satisfies its needs without diminishing the prospects of the next generation. But by many measures, contemporary society fails to meet this criterion." The 1987 report assesses human-caused disruptions of global chemical cycles; evaluates the worldwide reappraisal of nuclear power after the Chernobyl accident; profiles the accelerating urbanization of the world's population; discusses the shift to reliance on markets in a growing number of countries; and advocates new initiatives in recycling materials and raising agricultural productivity. (500 Fifth Ave, New York, NY 10110, USA).

. Hans Thoelen & Berth Verstappen, Human rights Missions: A Study of the Fact-finding Practice of Non-governmental organizations (Utrecht: SIM, 1986) 184pp. The last decade has witnessed a dramatic increase in fact-finding by citizens' groups. Not only Amnesty International, but dozens of other organizations engage in on-site investigations into human rights violations. The international human rights instruments have created a universal normative framework, but a gap remains between norms and facts. Citizens' groups fact-finding, because of its origins and

rapid development, has all the characteristics of a dynamic, but uncontrolled phenomenon which has remained uncharted even in its quantitative aspects. How many and which missions went to which country? Are there general rules for collecting evidence? How many members go on a mission? How professional are reports? Conclusions and recommendations are formulated by the authors on the basis of existing practice, taking into account both the diversity of the missions and the need for better procedural accounting. (Domplein 24, 3512 JE Utrecht, Netherlands).

. Andrew Gray, IWGIA Yearbook 1986, "Indigenous Peoples and Human Rights" (Copenhagen, 1987) 167pp. A detailed and illustrated account of the major events which have taken place in the indigenous world in 1986. In addition a section on international indigenous rights and discussions of the main issues affecting indigenous peoples provide valuable insights into human rights of the oppressed. The Yearbook also includes a survey of the work of IWGIA during 1986. (Fiolstraede 10, 1171 Copenhagen K, Denmark).

. Sir Robert Jackson, "Disasters and the United Nations: International Operations, Science and Politics", Interdisciplinary Sciences Review (Vol.11, N°4, 1986) pp.326-345.

. Ronald G. Musto, The Catholic Peace Tradition (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1986) 365pp. As a comprehensive historical examination of peace orientations within Roman Catholicism this book is a remarkable scholarly achievement. In his treatments of individuals and groups, of movements and institutions, and of actions and events, the author presents a fair and balanced account of this peace tradition that interacts with the surrounding violence of religious and secular history. Its factual detail, consistent documentation, and probing analysis make this book a resource without equal for the study of church history generally as well as of historic movements for peace. (Maryknoll, NY 10545, USA).

. A. Joxe, R. Patry, Y. Perez, A. Santos et J. Sapir, Fleuve noir: Production de stratégies et production de systèmes d'armes (Paris: CIRPES, 1986) 139pp. La pensée stratégique contemporaine et les armements qui l'accompagnent sont-ils "produits", chacun de leur côté, après une confrontation dans la boîte noire du "complexe militaire-industriel"? Ce processus long de 10 à 15 ans, selon les armes, mérite le nom de Fleuve Noir, un fleuve à quatre rives (militaire, politique, financière, technologique). Pendant la phase de gestation d'une arme, les affluents de ces quatre rives (les inputs) viennent se mêler dans des biefs entrecoupés de barrages institutionnels et de rapides; à l'issue de ce parcours, l'arme est produite. Sa nature et sa signification ont été modifiées depuis le premier projet de la "source". En général, elle est plutôt cause que conséquence des stratégies dont elle est l'outil. Parfois elle est inutilisable. (54 bd Raspail, 75006 Paris, France).

. Marek Thee (ed), Arms and Disarmament: SIPRI Findings (Stockholm: SIPRI, 1986) 491pp. To celebrate its 20th Anniversary, SIPRI has published an anthology of studies undertaken over the past ten years. This volume, edited by Marek Thee, from the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, for SIPRI. It provides a comprehensive overview of the whole field of arms and arms control, and serves as an encyclopedia of

the subject. The book can be obtained at discount price from SIPRI as long as the stock lasts. (Pipers väg 28, 171 73 Solna, Sweden).

. Bhupendra Jasani and Toshibomi Sakata (eds), Satellites for Arms Control and Crisis Monitoring (Stockholm: SIPRI, 1987) 176pp. This book shows how the use of reconnaissance satellites could be expanded to benefit the international community. It reviews the technological requirements for satellite monitoring of arms control agreements and show that there is no serious technical obstacle to implementing an international satellite monitoring agency along the lines suggested to the United Nations in 1978. The potential of modern remote-sensing technology is illustrated with satellite photographs of areas of conflict (Iran-Iraq War), and catastrophes (Chernobyl). The data available from civilian satellites approach those required for many verification tasks in the arms control context. Nevertheless, the idea of an international satellite monitoring agency faces major institutional and political problems. Since it cannot be achieved without the cooperation of the superpowers, contributors focus on the possibility of a regional agency, first of all in Europe, where space reconnaissance would well become one of the next generation of confidence- and security-building measures. The possibility of a satellite system shared by the neutral and non-aligned states is also discussed.

. Michael Brzoska, The Impact of Arms Production in the Third World (Centre for the Study of Wars, Armaments and Development, Universität Hamburg: 1987) 34pp. (Allende-Platz 1, 2000 Hamburg 13, FRG)

. Archie J. Bahm, "Peace Union: A World Organization of Peace Societies", The Journal of Peace Studies, (Vol.5 N°2, 1986) pp.3-15.

. Sous la direction de Tapio Varis, La circulation internationale des émissions de télévision (Paris: UNESCO, 1986) 61pp.

. Susan P. Joeckes, Women in the World Economy: An INSTRAW Study (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) 161pp. This book analyses merging long-term trends in the world economy and shows their effect on the economic position of women in the Third World. Stressing the interlinkages between the macro and micro levels of the economy, it approaches the subject from two perspectives: the position of women who are engaged in what is defined as gainful employment - that is, women who are wage earners - and the role of women in unpaid labor such as household work, farm work on their own land, and other activities that put them in a position of managing resources. Analyzing the employment trends for women by geographical region and by sector - including agriculture, industry, and services - the author assesses how the emergence of a modern international economy has affected the economic position of women. She also suggests directions for innovative development policies related to women that will take into account the current international economic climate. (200 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, USA).

. Diana Tussie, The Less Developed Countries and the World Trading System: A Challenge to the GATT (London: Frances Pinter, 1986) 162pp. When reading the literature on the North-South debate, one is struck by the paradox that while there are a number of works on the rôle of the

IMF in the South, there is no equivalent study of the General Agreement Tariffs and Trade (GATT), even though the debate owes its origins to trade problems. Why is it that those who criticise the free trade principles that GATT seems to stand for never bother to delve more deeply into it? Why is it neglected in academic circles yet, at the same time, governments from Third World countries continue to request accession to it? This book aims to address these questions and cover the gap in the available literature on the workings of GATT and to provide a critical understanding of the world trading system.

. At the Service of the Human Community: An Ethical Approach to the International Debt Question (Vatican Polyglot Press) 32pp.

. Seizing the Trade Chance in '87: Proposals for Early Action in the Uruguay Round (Islamabad: North South Roundtable, 1987) 29pp. (POB 2006, Islamabad, Pakistan).

. Les effets du commerce extérieur sur le modèle de développement (Neuchâtel: EDES, 1986) 111pp. (Université de Neuchâtel, Suisse).

. Louis Malassis, Economie agro-alimentaire Tome III, L'économie mondiale (CUJAS, 1986) 449pp. (4 rue de la Maison Blanche, 75013 Paris, France).

. IUED, Annuaire Suisse-Tiers Monde 1986 (Genève, 1987) 358pp. La 6e édition de l'Annuaire - descendant d'une étude entreprise à l'instigation de la FIPAD - comporte quatre parties: Revue des événements intervenus en 1985/86 sur le plan des négociations internationales, des relations économiques extérieures de la Suisse et de la coopération au développement. Analyses et positions regroupe les contributions d'auteurs sur des sujets tels que le rôle des banques suisses face à l'endettement du Tiers Monde; les nouvelles initiatives en faveur d'un commerce équitable; la coopération suisse dans le domaine de la promotion artisanale et industrielle. Bibliographie: principaux ouvrages, articles et documents parus en 1985/86 sur le thème des relations Suisse-Tiers Monde. Statistiques: chiffres et commentaires concernant les relations commerciales, les flux financiers et l'aide publique au développement de la Suisse. (CP 136, 1211 Genève 21, Suisse).

PERIODICALS

(The addresses of the 69 periodicals mentioned below appear, in alphabetical order, at the end of this section)

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND CHANGE: In Alternatives (Vol XII, No 2) 'The global promise of social movements: exploration at the edge of time' by Richard Falk, 'Alternative development as social practice' by D.L. Sheth and 'The challenge of the peace movement: civilian security and civilian emancipation' by Zsuzsa Hegedus. In Breakthrough (Vol 8, no 1-2), 'Three zones of transition' by Hazel Henderson. The Newsletter of International Labour Studies (nos 32-33) is devoted to 'labour and the new social movements'. En las Notas del Clah (No 47), 'organizaciones populares y estado: entre la dependencia y la autonomía. Dans le Bulletin Cridex (No 66), 'Inde: les mouvements ruraux'.

WOMEN * FEMMES * MUJERES: 'What's with feminism these days' in Utne Reader (the best of the [US] alternative press) (No 21); 'Femicide' in Seminar (No 33); 'Women and health' in Health for the millions (Vol XIII, No 1-2). 'Féminisme à la marocaine' dans Sindbad (No 58); 'Formation des femmes dans un monde en changement' dans INSTRAW Nouvelles (No 7), 'Les femmes gagnent leur vie' dans La Tribune (No 10); 'Sécurité alimentaire familiale et rôle des femmes en Afrique sahélienne' dans Enfants et femmes d'Afrique (Nos 2-3). 'Camper-sinas y comuneras, la fuerza de los Andes', un numero muy interesante y rico(60p) de Mujer y Sociedad (Año VII, No 12).

CONSUMERS: In Timbangan, Journal from the Philippines' Church-based consumers movement (Vol V, No 4), 'The Christmas message and the plight of Filipino consumers'. De Dakar, le No 6 (mars 1987) de Vivre autrement, Consommateurs en Afrique avec un dossier sur Abidjan, 'réussir, c'est quoi?'.

LOCAL SPACE: Cultural Survival Quarterly (Vol 11, No 1) is devoted to 'grassroots economic development'. Asian Action (no 62) presents governmental/non-governmental responses to Sri Lanka's rural poverty. Satyodaya (no 116) is devoted to 'a self-evaluative report of Satyodaya in 1986'. In Social Change (Vol 16, No 4), 'The role of local governments in rural development in Nigeria: a structural analysis'. Rudoc News (Vol 2 No 1) offers 'my way to self-reliance' by Wibul Khemchalearn. In World Development (Vol 15, No 4), 'Development through Harambee: who wins and who loses? Rural self-help projects in Kenya'. De Lima, Alternativas (No 49) nos ofrece ideas sobre el tema 'agua'. La Lettre du DIPA (No 4/5) examine divers aspects de la pêche en Afrique.

WORK * TRAVAIL: 'Work, money and local economy, some directions for the future' by James Robertson in the European Centre for Work and Society News (No 12). 'Labour and the Japanese recession' in the Asia Labour Monitor (Vol 3, Nos 5/6). Futuribles (No 110) porte quelques 'regards sur le vieillissement'.

CULTURES: 'Urdu, a linguistic genocide' in Seminar (No 332). In the IWCIA Newsletter (No 49), articles and notes on the Arctic, Australia, Bangladesh, Brazil, Canada, Salvador, Hawaï'i, India, Nicaragua, Peru, Suriname, Tigray and Venezuela. Dans la Revue internationale des sciences sociales (No 111), 'Phénomènes ethniques, nationalisme, classifications, préjugés'.

DERECHOS HUMANOS * HUMAN RIGHTS: 'Violencia y anomia' de Hugo Neira sigue un editorial 'Por una ética democrática en la democracia' en Socialismo y Participación (No 37). Guatemala Derechos Humanos, Boletín internacional (No 22) transcribe el resumen del informe 'Derechos humanos en Guatemala durante el primer año del Presidente Cerezo' establecido por la organización Americas' Watch y el Grupo parlamentario británico de derechos humanos. En los Cuadernos del CITCUA (No 12), 'Estrategias populares de defensa contra la represión, un análisis comparativo entre el Comité de madres Oscar Arnulfo Romero (Comadres) y el Grupo de apoyo mutuo (Gam) de Guatemala. In the Scandinavian Journal of Development Alternatives (Vol VI, No 1), 'Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights: a comparative analysis of US human rights policy toward the Palestinians, Israel and the Soviet Union' by Cheryl A. Rubenberg. In Thai Development (No 12), 'Human rights in Thailand'.

ENVIRONMENT: 'Corporate crime and violence' (Bhopal, Minamata, thalidomide, asbestos, etc) in Multinational Monitor (April 1987). The ESRC Newsletter (No 59) deals with 'environmental issues'; the EPA Journal (Vol 12, No 10) with 'our fragile atmosphere: the greenhouse effect and ozone depletion' and Airplan (No 7/8) from the Air Pollution Action Network with 'the sickening air of New Delhi' as well as that of Santiago, Tokyo, Mexico, and others. In Eden (No 2), 'a reflexion on environmental issues in India' by Rajarajeswari Parisot, and 'Energy and poverty' in the IDS Bulletin (Vol 18, No 1).

HABITAT: Development (1986:4) is devoted to urban self-reliance with articles of Ignacy Sachs, Pablo Gutman, Ricardo Navarro, Jorge Hardoy, Céline Sachs, David Morris and Ivan Illich ('Dwelling'). Habitat International (Vol 10, No 4) concludes its tenth volume and offers, *inter alia*, Stelios Kafandaris' 'Trailing clouds of research in building economics'. 'Housing problems of the urban poor' in Indonesia's Grassroots (No 3). En Norte, 'una experiencia de participación y democracia en planificación urbana [en un pueblo joven de Lima, Perú]. En el Boletín de medio ambiente y urbanización (Año 5, No 17), 'Ciudades intermedias y pequeñas' y un suplemento especial 'los asentamientos populares y el papel de los [ONGs] en América latina. Dans la Lettre urbaine (No 12), le 'Déclaration de Limuru, Principes d'actions et recommandations', du nom du centre kényan où se sont réunies, en avril, 49 'ongs' actives en matière d'habitat.

DEBT * DEUDA: 'Dimes for dollars, the international debt scandal' in Idoc (87/2), incl. 'Military debt' by Michael Brzoska. En Comercio Exterior (Vol 37, Núm 1), 'El endeudamiento de América Latina' con un artículo de Jorge Eduardo Navarrete, 'El manejo de la deuda, políticas y consecuencias'.

SOUTH-SOUTH: A special double issue of Africa Development (Vol XI, No 2-3) guest-edited by Samir Amin, 'Afro-Arab cooperation: what form of insertion in the world economy?' with articles by Bernard Founou, Akin Fadahunsi, Charbel Zarour and a bibliography. In the OPEC Monthly Bulletin (Vol 13, No 3), an address by Ali Attiga on 'opportunities for co-operation between the Arab and the South Asian countries'.

PEACE * PAIX * PAZ: in Peace News for Nonviolent Revolution (No 2291), 'Peace work in Denmark and (No 2289), 'The Bofors affair'. La Lettre de Solagral (No 58) aborde également les ventes d'armes au Tiers Monde. En Comercio Exterior (Vol 36, No 12), 'Desarme, tecnología militar y desarrollo' con artículos de Nicole Ball, Alfonso García Robles, Gabriel García Márquez, Peri Pamir y Miguel Wionczek. The indefatigable Inga Thorsson never stops in advocating disarmament, for instance in Socialist Affairs (1/87) with 'Disarmament and development: the link that would save lives'.

PLACES: Jorge Schwarzer pone en su contexto la política económica argentina en El Bimestre (No 32). 'La larga marcha de la movilización popular en Bolivia' en Informe R (Nº126). Carlos Portales comenta sobre 'Chile-Estados Unidos 1986-1987, Influencia para la transición' en Cono Sur (Vol VI, No 2). 'Haití, qué ha cambiado', en Pensamiento propio (Año V, Nº49). Andrew Reading comments on Nicaragua's 'remarkable new Constitution' in World Connections (March 87). On the Philippines: several articles on the transition and alternatives in Kasarínlan (Vol 2, No 2); in Alternative (Vol 1, No 2) the approval of the new constitution, 'human rights, legal services and development' and 'the forestry codes of the Philippines'. Philippine Insight (Vol 1, No 5) which started in November 1986 is a monthly magazine for the international reader. In Third World, 'Philippines, army/guerrilla: a chance for peace'. On South Africa, 'After apartheid' is the main theme of Third World Quarterly (Vol 9, No 2); 'South African miners - undermining apartheid' in International Labour Reports (No 21). The Shipping Research Bureau continues the publication of its Newsletter on the oil embargo against South Africa, whose No 7 was published in April. 'Viet Nam, une économie à la dérive' dans les Dossiers Faim-Développement (No 154).

NEW PERIODICALS

Congad infos, dont le No 1 vient de paraître, est le bulletin de liaison et d'information du Conseil des organisations non gouvernementales d'appui au développement, à Dakar, Sénégal. Comme l'écrit Mazide Ndiaye, son président, il s'agit d'exposer 'nos idées, nos

espoirs et nos efforts. Partager nos doutes sur ce que nous faisons, ou ce que font les autres, avouer nos limites et même nos faiblesses'. Courageux programme. Nous y reviendrons.

Ecoafrica is a new bi-monthly environment and development networking magazine published by ANEN (cf. IFDA Dossier 59) for African citizens' groups. It intends to focus on grassroots initiatives that promote environmentally sound and sustainable development. Free for African 'ngos'; annual subscription US\$ 15 for others.

Kalibu, le magazine publié par un groupe de jeunes Africains résidant en Suisse, commence une seconde vie avec sa nouvelle série, dont deux numéros sont parus. Au sommaire du No 1, 'Droit d'asile en Europe, les années de plomb' et à celui du No 2, le Fespaco, Festival panafricain du cinéma de Ouagadougou, 'la fête pour un cinéma malade, mais nécessaire'. Abonnements (10 numéros) 25 francs suisses (ou plus).

Workteam - Letsema, Ilima, Nhimbe is a new magazine for production co-operatives throughout Southern Africa. The second issue offers 'co-op evaluation', especially in Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

ADRESSES/ADRESSES/DIRECCIONES:

- . Africa Development, BP 3304, Dakar, Senegal
- . Airplan, POB 5627, 1007 AP Amsterdam, Netherlands
- . Alternativas, Quilca 431, Lima, Peru
- . Alternative, 54 Estrella St., Makati, Metro Manila, Philippines
- . Alternatives, 29 Rajpur Rd, Delhi 110054, India / 777 United Nations Plaza, New York
- . Asia Labour Monitor, 444 Nathan Road, 8-B, Kowloon, Hongkong
- . Asian Action, GPO Box 2930, Bangkok 10501, Thailand
- . El Bimestre, Pueyrredón 510, 6º piso, 1032 Buenos Aires, Argentina
- . Boletín de medio ambiente y urbanización, Corrientes 2835, 6ºB, Cuerpo A, 1193 Buenos Aires, Argentina
- . Breakthrough, Global Education Associates, Suite 570, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115, USA
- . Bulletin CRIDEV, 41 avenue Janvier, 35000 Rennes, France
- . Comercio Exterior, Cerrada de Malintzin 28, Col. Carmen, Coyoacan, Mexico DF 04100, Mexico
- . Congad infos, BP 4109, Dakar, Sénégal
- . Cono Sur, FLACSO, Casilla 3213, Correo Central, Santiago, Chile
- . Cuadernos del CITCUA, Apdo postal 20-668, México DF 01000, México
- . Cultural Survival Quarterly, 11 Divinity Ave, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA
- . Development, SID, Palazzo della Civiltà del Lavoro, 00144 Roma, Italia
- . Dossiers Faim-Développement, 4 rue Jean-Lantier, 75001 Paris, France
- . Ecoafrica, POB 58504, Nairobi, Kenya
- . Eden, c/o CIRED, 54 bd Raspail, 75270 Paris Cedex 06, France
- . Enfants et femmes d'Afrique, UNICEF, BP 443, Abidjan 04, Côte d'Ivoire
- . EPA Journal, Waterside Mall, 401 M St., SW, Washington, DC 20460, USA
- . ESRC Newsletter, 160 Great Portland Street, London NW1 6BA, UK
- . Futuribles, 55 rue de Varenne, 75341 Paris Cedex 07, France
- . Grassroots, POB 1, KBY SB/Jaksel, Jakarta, Indonesia
- . Guatemala Derechos Humanos, 5 rue de Carouge, 1205 Ginebra, Suiza
- . Habitat International, 15 The Mount Square, London NW3 6SX, UK

- Health for the Millions, VHAI, 40 Institutional Area, New Delhi 110 016, India
- IDOC, Via S.M. dell'Anima 30, 00186 Roma, Italia
- IDS Bulletin, University of Sussex, Brighton BN1 9RE, UK
- Informer 'RI', Casilla 20194, La Paz, Bolivia
- INSTRAW Nouvelles, POB 21 747, S Domingo, Rep. Dominicana
- International Labour Reports, 2/4 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1 5QA, UK
- IwGIA Newsletter, Fiolstraede 10, 1171 Copenhagen K, Denmark
- Kaliby, Case postale 2054, 1002 Lausanne, Suisse
- Kasaririlan, POB 210, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines
- La Lettre du DIPA, BP 1369, Cotonou, Bénin
- La Lettre de Solagral, 5 rue François Bizette, 35000 Rennes, France
- La Lettre urbaine, c/o ENDA, BP 3370, Dakar, Sénégal
- Mujer y sociedad, av. Nicolás de Piérola 677 Of. 503, Lima, Perú
- Multinational Monitor, POB 19405, Washington, DC 20036, USA
- News (from the) European Centre for Work and Society, POB 3073, 6202 NB Maastricht, Netherlands
- Newsletter of International Labour Studies, Galileistraat 130, 2561 TK The Hague, Netherlands
- Newsletter on the oil embargo against South Africa, POB 11898, 1001 GW Amsterdam, Netherlands
- Norte, CIPEP, Avenida Túpac Amaru 7045 San Martin de Porres, Lima, Peru
- Notas del CLAEH, Casilla 5021, Montevideo, Uruguay
- OAPEC Monthly Bulletin, POB 20501, Safat, Kuwait
- Peace News for Non Violent Revolution, 8 Elm Ave, Nottingham NG3 4GF, UK
- Pensamiento propio, Apartado 3516, Managua, Nicaragua
- Philippines Insight, EPIC, Rm 403, FMSSG Bldg 9, Balete Drive cor 3rd str., Quezon City, Philippines
- Revue internationale des sciences sociales, Unesco, 7 pl. Fontenoy, 75700, Paris, France
- Rudoc News, 6/14 Soi Tinnakorn, Din Dang Rd, Phyahtai, Bangkok 10400, Thailand
- Satyodaya, 30 Pushpadana Mawatha, Kandy, Sri Lanka
- Scandinavian Journal of Development Alternatives, POB 7339, 103 90 Stockholm, Sweden
- Seminar, POB 338, New Delhi 1, India
- Sindbad, 10 place des Alaouites, Rabat, Maroc
- Social Change, 53 Lodi Estate, New Delhi 110003, India
- Socialismo y participación, Apartado 11-0201 Lima 11, Peru
- Socialist Affairs, Maritime House, Old Town, Clapham, London SW4 0JW
- Thai Development Newsletter, 121/90 Near Chaloemla Bridge, Phyahtai Rd, 10 400 Bangkok, Thailand
- Third World, Calçada do Combro 10, 1st fl., 1200 Lisbon, Portugal
- Third World Quarterly, New Zealand House, 8 Haymarket, London SW1Y 4TS, UK
- Timbangan, NCCP Ecumenical Center, 879 Epifanio de los Santos Avenue, Quezon City, Philippines
- La Tribune, Int. Women's Tribune Centre, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA
- The Utne Reader, POB 1974, Marion, OH 43306-1974, USA
- Vivre autrement, ENDA, BP 3370, Dakar, Sénégal
- Workteam, POB 20906, Gaborone, Botswana
- World Connections, POB 337, Washington, Virginia 22747, USA
- World Development, Suite 501, 1717 Mass. Ave NW, Washington DC 20030, USA

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

- . Alain Retière, Personne ne développe personne: Propositions pour un rôle nouveau du technicien au sein de la communauté paysanne (38 rue Jean Brunet, 92190 Meudon, France) 22pp.
- . Robert Russell, Memo to Developers - Paper N°2 (4001 N. 9th St., Apt. 707, Arlington, VA 22203 USA) 19pp.
- . Felix A. Ryan, Pumps without Water (8 West Mada St., Srinagar Colony, Saidapet, Madras 600 015, India) 8pp.

REGIONAL SPACE

- . Ismail-Sabri Abdalla, The reverse oil shocks, harsh effects and mild responses (Third World Forum, POB 43, Orman, Cairo, Egypt) 26pp.
- . Tsudi Wa Kibuti Mambu-Lo et Muambu Ifulu Kia-Butandu, Dialogue interafricain, Dialogue Sud-Sud: La condition de la réussite (ISDR/MBEO, BP 8251, Kinshasa 1, Zaïre) 12pp.

GLOBAL SPACE

- . Ahmad Abubakar, The New International Economic Order, The West and Selfish Economics (CIRDAFRICA, POB 6115, Arusha, Tanzania) 12pp.
- . Sam Cole, World Bank Forecasts and Planning in the Third World (Environmental Design & Planning, State University of New York, Hayes Hall, Main Street Campus, Buffalo, NY 14214, USA) 32pp.
- . Vojin Dakovic, Two kinds of Labour and the Laws of Marginal Equilibrium (Podi 53, 81340 Herceg Novi, Yugoslavia) 3pp.
- . Martin Huslid, Disarmament, Development and international solidarity: simpleminded idealism or practical policy? (Mission of Norway, Case 274, 1211 Geneva 19, Switzerland) 29pp.
- . Mekki Mtewa, Basic Principles for the Equal Treatment and Protection of Overseas Scholars and Students in North American and European Universities (Assoc. for the Advancement of Policy, Research & Development in the Third World, POB 70257, Washington, DC 20024-1534, USA) 3pp.

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