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We apologize for the absence, due to lack of space, of the list of materials received for publication.

To the Reader

by Marc Nerfin

This issue of the IFDA Dossier will be the last one to appear in its current format. There are basically two reasons for this. The substantive one is that today's world bears little resemblance to that of 1978, when IFDA started the Dossier; changes of the magnitude we have witnessed over the last few years require, we believe, an existential re-appraisal. The other reason is that financial uncertainties no longer allow the Foundation to cover the increasing costs of the publication as it is (about 400,000 Swiss francs a year).

* * *

Fifteen years ago, when IFDA was founded, the cold war still prevailed; two super-powers were at the same time competing and 'justifying' each other; governments of the South were missing the opportunities for collective self-reliance, autonomous development and a New International Economic Order that had been offered by the OAUPEC actions of October 1973.

Five years ago, perestroika, glasnost and new thinking took off; that top down, authoritarian, socialism was a contradiction in terms was widely recognized; values like non-violence in domestic change and international relations, the categorical imperative of ethics or the primacy of the whole (eg. the human species) over its parts (eg. a class or a nation), were given a new chance; the old dream of liberté, égalité, fraternité was perhaps becoming less utopian.

Such a radical turning point was not without misrepresentations and misunderstandings. Yet, behind the propaganda curtain, the strident shoutings of capitalism's 'victory' could lure only those who were history-blind. The failures of the first real alternatives to world capitalism (in the form of either socialism in the Soviet Union or decolonization in the Third World) do not in any way exonerate capitalism from its globally negative record, past and present, including colonization and ethnocide, exploitation

and alienation, misuse of resources and destruction of nature - and war. Founded as it is on the bad side of human nature, greed and selfishness, fostering competition and inequality, capitalism necessarily produces winners and losers, the latter's fate being blown up by the winners' control of information. Moreover, the alternatives' deviations should be seen in relative historical terms: capitalism has been the dominant mode of societal relations for five centuries, whereas 'socialism' and decolonization appeared in this century only.

At any rate, until last Summer, there was hope. Then came the Gulf War, which made only victims and leaves only ruins:

- Iraq and the whole Arab community, starting with the Palestinians, and not only those tortured and killed in Kuwait;

- a more just global civilization hesitantly emerging amidst new challenges to sovereignty, democracy and security is now giving way to a unidimensional order;

- the USA themselves: the apparent triumph of Bush over a fabricated adversary should not obscure the decline of their economic base nor the irresistible ascension of Japan and Germany; more dangerously, they remain prisoner of their arrogance and destructive might, of an industrial-military complex controlling the Administration and of the resulting incapacity of the latter to understand, adjust to, let alone help the birth of, a really new order overcoming hegemonies, domination and violence;

- Europe, whose governments missed a chance of asserting the continent's autonomous role in a nascent polycentric world;

- the USSR, where the deepening of perestroika and the new foreign policy are in difficulty, whatever Gorbachev's internal and external efforts;

- the South as a whole, and the Non-Aligned Movement, marginalized beyond imagination;

- the peace movement, incapable of mobilizing itself against a real North-South war;

- the freedom of, and right to, information, suppressed as they were by a monopoly and a manipulation never seen in history;

- intercultural understanding set back by the return of an image of the Other as the Enemy that was slowly receding; and, last but not least,

- the United Nations, which seem to have survived the US hostility of the early 80s and regained a new lease of life as a result of Soviet initiatives only to be turned again into a US instrument accountable to no one.

In front of this accumulation of ruins, the first need is to understand what actually happened, not only in 1990 and 1991, but indeed since the end of the 1914-1918 war, and what are the prospects, for the human interest, of the new global deal and the accompanying trade-offs.

In order to understand what is, we must be free from what we assume we know. We should look afresh at everything, with new eyes, changing perhaps every perspective, starting with ourselves and our own personal and collective actions. Only this may enable people and their associations (The Citizen) to develop viable alternatives and their instrumentation, in terms of both policies and actors, so as to become able to move democratically and peacefully in a new direction. This may apply, for instance and among others, to the United Nations which sorely need a re-foundation; however, unlike the League of Nations after 1918 and the United Nations in 1945, the new organization should not be the creature of the victors, but of the victims - 'we the peoples'.

* * *

These are not times for agitation as usual, for continuing one's enterprises as if nothing had changed, as if one had been right and the Other(s) wrong. For their part, IFDA and its Dossier cannot remain unaffected when everything is changing.

What became IFDA started 20 years ago with the Founex Symposium on Development and Environment, a significant marking on the road to the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (the Stockholm Conference) followed by the Cocoyoc Seminar on Alternative Patterns of Resource Use and the 1975 Dag Hammarskjöld Report on

Development and International Cooperation (What Now - Another Development); the Foundation was legally established in 1976, and since then, in addition to and/or through its publications, it serviced a worldwide network of citizens and citizens' associations in search of alternatives; it organized and/or participated in countless seminars in all continents; it practiced concrete solidarity with democratic movements, especially in Chile and Tunisia; it contributed to re-thinking the United Nations and, with a view to help strengthening the South in the UN, it published for 10 years a daily bulletin, the Special United Nations Service (SUNS), now operated by the Penang-based Third World Network... This is not the place nor the moment for a self-critical, even less self-justifying, look back, but it appears obvious that IFDA's role must be re-examined and its modes of action adapted in the light of the new circumstances.

This implies, in particular, a more reflective IFDA (what went wrong, what was right, what might now be done, how, and by whom?). To this effect, members of IFDA's Committee and Council are initiating a process of meditation and discussion which should be reflected in a new series of the Dossier, a less regular and thinner publication along the lines of the early days' seminar by correspondence.

Among the assets of the Dossier are its mailing list, which grew from 2,500 to more than 25,000 addresses between 1978 and 1991 and the wider network of its readers, organizations and libraries representing a large proportion of those to which it is sent. Consultations are being and will be held with sister associations for the further use of the mailing list, and readers may receive, later in the year, some of their materials.

* * *

So, in a sense, this is a good bye to what we have been (in part). We trust that Dossier readers will understand the change and bear with us the uncertainties of these times, whilst sharing the frail hope - and pledge to help it - that out of the clouds of (among others) Mesopotamia and Turtle Bay may rise the dawn of a new morning.*

* The area of New York where the UN headquarters are located.

Rethinking Science

P.R. Sarkar's Reconstruction of Science and Society

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Abstract: *P.R. Sarkar (1921-1990) developed a new science of society that is neither solely past-oriented (cyclical) nor present-oriented (linear) and a new science of nature that does not fall into the various modern (anti or pro) science/technology positions. Sarkar's interest was to create a new cosmology, essentially spiritual but inclusive of the physical and mental. For Sarkar, there are four basic structures that create our subjectivities: the worker, the warrior, the intellectual and the accumulator. These are associated with personality types, classes and historical eras. Sarkar's goal was to begin a rational intuitional science. According to him, there are five ways of knowing the real: reason, sense inference, intuition, authority and devotion/love. Sarkar's theory reinterprets history allowing silenced voices to be heard and hidden structures to emerge.*

Repenser la science

Résumé: *Le philosophe indien P.R. Sarkar, mort l'an dernier, a développé une nouvelle science de la société qui n'est pas seulement fondée sur le passé (cyclique) ou sur le présent (linéaire) et une nouvelle science de la nature qui ne tombe pas dans les positions modernes pour ou contre la science et la technique. Sarkar voulait créer une nouvelle cosmologie essentiellement spirituelle mais englobant le physique et le mental. Pour Sarkar, il y a quatre structures de base qui créent nos subjectivités: le travailleur, le guerrier, l'intellectuel et l'accumulateur. Les structures sont associées avec les types de personnalité, classes et époques historiques. Le but de Sarkar est une science rationnelle intuitive. Selon lui, il y a cinq moyens de connaître le réel: la raison, l'inférence, l'intuition, l'autorité, et l'amour/dévotion. Cette théorie ré-interprète l'histoire en permettant à des voix réduites au silence de se faire entendre et à des structures cachées d'émerger.*

(Resumen español, vease página 16)

Sohail Inayatullah*

Rethinking Science

P.R. Sarkar's Reconstruction of Science and Society

The ubiquitous dominance of the scientific discourse has traditionally been critiqued by humanists, contextualized within a structure of paradigms by Thomas Kuhn, and more recently placed within a theory of epistemes - the boundaries of the construction of knowledge - by post-structuralists such as Foucault and interpreters like Michael Shapiro. In addition, Ashis Nandy has attempted to synthesize the many critiques of science, focusing on Third World politics, particularly the epistemological implications of the works of Gandhi. What follows is a short note that continues this project but attempts to inject an alternative perspective, that of P.R. Sarkar's, into the "what is science" or the science/culture debate. Sarkar, we argue, develops a new science of society that is neither solely cyclical (past-oriented) nor linear (present-oriented) and a new science of nature that does not fall into the various modern (pro or anti) science/technology positions. He does not reinscribe the western model of science nor does he merely develop a local science.

Science inside and outside of politics

Traditional science or positivistic science has attempted to place science and thereby knowledge outside of history, culture and language. In this view, the goal of good research is to remove the subjectivities situated in the person. The goal is disinterest *and* distance from the results of investigation.

This type of research has led critics to argue that science (and its brain-child, legitimate or bastard, technology) is amoral, without conscience. In his brilliant *Traditions, Tyranny and Utopias*, Ashis Nandy critiques those who wish to place themselves outside of history (the modern liberal scientists and the modern scientific socialist project). Both seek

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to end history not through individual liberation - as the yogi - but through the search for the perfect society either through the magic of the marketplace (greed leading to growth) or the magic of the communist state or non-state (power leading to justice). Central to both these projects has been the science and technology revolution. In Nandy's words "the image of the scientist as a slightly seedy natural philosopher and practitioner of an esoteric discipline, and that of the technologist as a humble craftsman or artisan, gradually underwent a change. Both became partners in a new, high paying, heady enterprise called modern science" (Nandy 1987, p78).

But the modern scientist did not stop there. "He was to sell the idea that while each technological achievement marked the success of modern science, each technological perversion was the responsibility of either the technologist or his political and economic mentors, not that of the scientist" (ib.).

In addition, science and technology constructed the world in which those with access to this worldview created the Other as primitive, as historical forms that need to be developed, to be modernized. This is also linear evolutionary theory with its social analog of developmentalism: Marx and Rostow. Both Edward Said in *Orientalism* and Frantz Fanon in *Black Skins, White Masks* have also developed this discourse.

Local science

In contrast, Gandhi has sought to develop a local Indian science. Recently, a great deal of literature has argued for a local knowledge perspective; one in which science is not dominated by Western "universalizing" knowledge practices but one where science is relevant to the local culture. For example, Pakistan has attempted to develop Islamic economics and science. However, while this indigenization of knowledge is enabling in that it does not attempt to merely mimic the Western model of knowledge, it does lead to situations in which old power structures - the landlords and mullahs/brahmins - are renewed. Instead of an alternative science of society or a science committed to the empirical, what results are conferences where "inshallah" is repeated

after every scientific formula (H₂O, God willing) or the Vedas are uttered continuously in the hopes of alchemically transforming the physical into the spiritual. Here, while science has been placed in an alternative cultural site it has lost its openness to critique and debate - an openness necessary for any creative development. While freed from modernity, this indigenization of knowledge perspective has become frozen in the historical ideational-religious traditions.

Compare this to the New Age paradigm articulated by writers such as Willis Harman, Marilyn Ferguson and Fritjof Capra. This alternative science claims to have reconciled religion, science and values through the rediscovery of ancient spirituality and through the reinterpretation of modern physics. The aim is not towards a local science but a new universal science that is not reductionist, but holistic, with truth simultaneously having many levels and at the same time grounded in a consciousness that exists ontologically prior to the intellectual mind. Central to this reconciliation is the creation of a planetary spiritual civilization that exists outside of the present industrial nation-state Cartesian paradigm. From this New Age view, the indigenization of knowledge, while creative in its anti-Western stance, is but a continuation of a knowledge regime controlled by those who ruled in premodernity eras, that is, the priests, mullahs and others whose robes kept them free from moral impurity (and interestingly this is isomorphic to the robe or frock of the scientist who also must be free of values or be free from the contamination of the organisms released in his experiments). From the view of modernity, this indigenization of knowledge is the return of superstition, of the power of local tales, local priests and backward institutions. Similarly, the New Age paradigm from the view of the traditional modern scientific discourse is merely bad science or at best mediocre metaphysics.

But for Nandy, *superstition* is not the danger. Local knowledge or New Age knowledge are not the problem. Rather, "modern science has built a structure of near total isolation where human beings - including all their suffering and moral experience - have been objectified as things and processes, to be vivisected, manipulated or corrected". Although modern science claims to be pluralistic, it has become authoritarian; at least in traditional cultures there were a variety of *gurus*, or perceptions of the real vying for allegiance.

Science then at one time pluralized the universe. In contemporary Indian philosopher and radical *guru* P.R. Sarkar's language, for example, it helped end the domination of the *vipras*, ideational (those who dominate the world through the intellect) and created the *vaeshyan*, sensate (those who dominate the world through transforming it and others into commodities) worldview, the science and technology revolution that aided in creating the modern world.

Gandhi, then (and others involved in the local knowledge project), in Nandy's reading comes out as one who attempted to create an alternative science; he rejected the technism of modernity and the Western categories exported through Orientalism. But how might Gandhi react to the new world of clones, global telecommunications, genetic engineering and space travel to the future? Are they merely the continued tradition of bureaucracy and control or are we on the verge of a new world? How should local and Western science deal with the dramatic restructuring potential of the new technologies (genetic, computer, space) that make our local and universal perspectives problematic: they destroy both worlds and eras?

Sarkar's science of society

P.R. Sarkar tries an alternative, unconventional approach. Neither does he attempt to support "universal" positive science nor the various forms of local science and technology. Rather Sarkar's interest is to create a new cosmology which is essentially spiritual but inclusive of the physical and mental. He does not locate action in mere reflection; rather to him life is a struggle with the environment and with ideas (history develops through this struggle, thus social change is material and ideational) and progress comes through the attraction of the Great (thus it is spiritual).

Sarkar begins with a science of society, a science in which there are four basic structures that create our subjectivities: the worker, the warrior, the intellectual, and the accumulator (here radically reinterpreting the classic Indian caste construction). The structures are associated with personality types, classes and with historical eras. He locates this discussion in a science of society instead of an art in that these structures are evolutionary and thus law-like. They developed from

interactions with the environment, that is, the worker is dominated by the environment, the warrior dominates the environment, the intellectual reconceptualizes the environment, and the accumulator transforms the environment into a commodity using all the types as resources for wealth accumulation. Society moves through the various eras: worker, warrior, intellectual and then accumulator. From the era of the accumulators either through revolution or evolution there emerges the era of the workers. This revolutionary time is chaotic and power quickly centralizes back to the heroic, the warriors after the revolution. But the warriors in the form of the military also exaggerate their power and eventually power passes onto the next stage, to the intellectuals (historically, the priests and recently the technocrats and finance ministers). There are also reversals of this cycle but given the "law" of the cycle, these are short lived. Thus these stages are historical. For Sarkar they are not metaphysically deduced. They are part of the science of society, but not science merely in the modern sense of empirically derived. For Sarkar science is defined not by the site of the material, but by *causality*, *systematicity* and the *rational*. That is, important in science is not authority or devotion (two ways of knowing the real) but reason and sense-inference. Superstition is when the self is located in the ego, one's geography, ideology or in speciesism; the goal is to move toward a placement that is outside of conventional boundaries - a type of spiritual universalism.

In this definition, the spiritual can become the scientific. It becomes intuitional science, synthetic in nature while material science is analytical and inference based. Both are necessary. This is different from the Western placement where epistemology was divided into authority (religion), inference (science), logic (philosophy). Sarkar's goal is to begin a rational intuitional science. The classic Indian episteme, which Sarkar emerges from exists in a unity of discourse, the division of Vico (understanding) and Weber (explanation) does not occur here. For Sarkar there are five ways of knowing the real: reason, sense inference, intuition, authority and devotion/love. Each way of knowing the real has its price, so to say; it is only with devotion/love that progress is possible, which is contradiction free. Sarkar can thus arrive at his theories intuitionally and claim that they are scientific in that they are systematic, rational, and have causal links. In addition, his theory of society can be scientific in that, from the Indian episteme, the social is in harmony and

in parallel with the physical and the cosmic. It would be surprising if there were no social laws! However, at the same time (and this is the paradox), the universe is not closed, nor clock-like since Consciousness emanates new forms of energy and reality. However, the openness of the universe only affects the social structure in the long run (following Rupert Sheldrake and his morphogenetic memory fields). In the short run it provides inspiration to individuals to transform their selves and then the world around them.

Sarkar's claim to the science discourse again differs from the socialist scientific law or the scientific laws based on modern developmental theory (*à la* Spencer) in that for Sarkar it is not that he is correct and they are wrong, that discoveries of the social were based on false consciousness prior to him, but rather that there are different levels of the real and different philosophers are in touch with different levels of reality. The only absolute truth is pure Consciousness, however, that truth cannot be expressed for when expressed it falls under local influences, that is, culture, technology and history -power.

Finally, insofar as the scientific enterprise exists to improve the conditions of the material and mental worlds, Sarkar's theory gives new political assets to the worker (and the other classes, the oppressor and the oppressed must liberate themselves from the particular social formation they find themselves in) as well as more fully explaining human history. His social theory reinterprets history allowing previously silenced voices to be heard and allowing hidden structures to emerge (his four-fold structure of power). His science is not apolitical, rather it is expressly political (in terms of creating new meanings) in rethinking history and in creating an alternative politics of the future - of the possibilities of change, of governance.

However, what emerges from Sarkar's attempt to re-enchant the material with the spiritual besides a new social theory are a range of new theories of evolution (evolution is desire based, not Darwinian mutation based). One central concept is the postulation of new particles called *microvita* that are both mind and body, that can be used to spread information throughout the universe, that carry viruses and solve the traditional mind/body dichotomy. These new particles, for Sarkar, exist in between perception and conception. They are the emanations of

Consciousness. Thus there is structure but there is change - the spiritual does not close the universe, as mentioned above, it guides it.

Theory, data, values and consciousness

Our point here is not the veracity of Sarkar's assertion but the knowledge space which allows him to make it intelligible. What Sarkar adds to the traditional triangle of theory (ideas), data (matter) and values (humans) is Consciousness, not merely as rational self-reflective thought but as presence. While the traditional model centered on data and theory, it is only recent efforts of humanists such as Nandy to include values (and projects such as the new world information order) arguing for values sited in culture, history and language. Thus, there is theory, data, values, and the specific Consciousness of the observer in terms of attitude and of spiritual evolution (level of awareness) - vibration. For example, an experiment might yield different results with different types of scientists as the mind influences the results of the experiment.

At the same time, we get interesting and exemplary forecasts of the future that are not possible in the anti-science (although they assert it is not science but the hegemonic Western science that is under criticism) polemic we tend to see from efforts to develop local forms of science. Sarkar can speak spiritual and high technology. In the context of global governance and spiritual cooperative socialism both can lead to transformation.

Rethinking and resituating the natural

Take the issue of genetic engineering. It is already used to increase the baby "safety rate" (to use technocratic language). This opens up the door for eventually using genetic engineering not for medical reasons, but for individual characteristic enhancement. If one doesn't enhance one's child's characteristics, he or she will be at a disadvantage. Other parents will certainly make use of these new technologies as they develop and are globally diffused. They will ask for enhancements in their child's physical characteristics and mental one's if possible. In the long run, beauty will become homogenized leading to an increased value on moral

values (intelligence too will move towards the mean). At the same time, the metaphor of birth itself will transform (from "creation" and "nurturance" to perhaps "production" and "perfection"). This, however, is not clear yet.

In his recent article titled *Laboratory Babies*, Sarkar asserts, "a day is sure to come when human beings will make babies in laboratories" (Sarkar, 1991, forthcoming, quote from unnumbered draft). Eventually, just as we evolved from *Australopithecus*, a new species will develop from us. But these future humans will be more creative, not caught in the physical world. Rather they will use their energy for new discoveries, for new inventions and for spiritual pursuits. Indeed, these new humans will be averse to the material world, particularly of family ties. But this type of discourse, the creation of humans, normally is considered obscene from the humanistic (religious or spiritual) viewpoint. But for Sarkar it is evolutionary. Eventually humans will co-create the real, the physical with *Prakriti* (Nature) (in Sarkar's cosmology Consciousness and Nature, *Prakriti*, are unified but it is the latter that preforms the activity of the universe). But given his situation in the Indian episteme, the children will still have *karma* as the brains can be changed, but the mind is still independent of the physical. Mind chooses brain, not the other way. Now suddenly, we have a total different type of science. Sarkar does not come out only as an attacker of technicism (the view that science must be politicized, placed outside the control of capitalists and that science is one way of knowing the world) nor does he come out like Jeremy Rifkin and other anti-science and anti-technology (who argue the social creates the technological, technology is not an independent acultural variable, and the public must shape scientific policy), while these critiques of power and science are to the point, there is more to him than that. Rather these positions are placed in a spiritual political vortex, where humanity moves ahead by conquering challenges, physical, mental and spiritual. For Sarkar there is creation and then through struggle and desire there is evolution from less developed life forms to human life forms. There is no reason why this evolution should not continue to new life forms (however created).

Moreover, for Sarkar, since embedded in his theory is divinity, structure and agency, it is not unproblematic that humans consciously (using the myths of the spiritual) participate in the creation of the "natural". In

his theory of social change the divine exists as an attracting force, as a place of individual perfection. But there is also the social (the stages of history) and there is individual agency (humans can and must change the world, they must make the world where the standard of living is high such that the spiritual can be easily accessible). However, since the inexpressible (absolute Consciousness) cannot be expressed in language and since the natural is ultimately a social construct, humans can change and evolve with nature, but they must do so with social responsibility (as opposed to market mechanisms). For Sarkar, without this needed social responsibility (here siding with Rifkin), the technician will continue to solve challenges without concern for those who are influenced by them and without the placement of science in a politics of structure and knowledge it will continue to be managed by the dominating class.

For Sarkar the natural while deeply historically patterned nonetheless is ever changing. Technology can change who we are; it can allow humans to co-create with Consciousness. Genetic engineering does not have to be placed in the "it will destroy human nature" discourse or in the apolitical modernity discourse of "it will solve all our problems". Indeed, for Sarkar, as humans locate themselves less in the sexual discourse they will become more creative in science, art and music. The creative urge in humans will be relocated from child bearing to the creation of new ideas and amenities for the betterment of the collective good. The relocation will change the natural and lead to increasing levels of ideational and spiritual culture.

Science then is situated in an alternative politics of the future. Sarkar creates a new rationality that rethinks science and spirituality. While critical post-structural theory sees science as merely one way of knowing the world and Kuhn sees science as having its own cycles of knowledge, and Nandy historicizes science and technology arguing for a view in which there is a plurality of ideas, Sarkar, speaking from the Indian episteme can divide science into intuitional and material, thus allowing more ways of knowing the real. In addition, arguing from his view, science and technology become important but are now placed in an evolutionary, social model, one where the "natural" and the "spiritual" do not necessarily follow the model of the religious era or the modern, rather he uses the past to reconstruct the future. Both material, mental

and spiritual worlds are real (resources and challenges) and exist within an ecology of Consciousness wherein science and the mystical co-exist.

Rationality and reenchantment

Sarkar's view, then, does not argue for an anti-science, anti-technology position nor does it fall into a science that exists outside of the social and the political, rather science and technology are contextualized allowing for a new science and a new science of society. Is this a return of Vico (and his new science) and Marx (and his scientific stages of society) or is it Buddha (and his radical epistemology) and Gandhi (and his recovery of premodern culture)? Which direction will the social sciences next move: towards empathy and interpretation or towards disinterest and distance? Are we about to lose universals as knowledge and power is localized and relativized? Or is a new model of the real about to become dominant that recasts these categories of "science", "local" and "universal"?

Sarkar's works are exemplary. Influenced by the classical Indian episteme (although Sarkar moves beyond it borrowing from Islamic, Chinese and Western cosmologies), he does not fall into an anti-linear, anti-progress trap, rather he allows for it in the context of the ancient cycle (there is a season for everything), of structure (episteme, class and gender), and of the divine. Yet at the same time individual agency is paramount, for it is we who create the world and recreate it even as the divine and the structural give it to us. The critical too remains. In Sarkar's reconstruction of science and society, in Sarkar's quest for reenchantment, for a new rationality, the political is not lost sight of. ○

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Repensar la ciencia

Resumen: El filósofo indio P.R. Sarkar, fallecido el año pasado, ha desarrollado una nueva ciencia de la sociedad, que no está únicamente fundada en el pasado (cíclica) o el presente (linearia), y una nueva ciencia de la naturaleza que no cae en las posiciones modernas para o en contra de la ciencia y de la técnica. Sarkar quería crear una nueva cosmología esencialmente espiritual, pero englobando lo físico y lo mental. Para Sarkar hay cuatro estructuras básicas que crean nuestras subjetividades: el trabajador, el guerrero, el intelectual y el acumulador. Estas estructuras están asociadas con tipos de personalidad, clases y épocas históricas. La meta de Sarkar es una ciencia racional intuitiva. Según él, para conocer lo real, existen cinco caminos: la razón, la intuición, la inferencia, la autoridad, y el amor/devoción. Esta teoría interpreta nuevamente la historia permitiendo a voces silenciosas de hacerse entender y a estructuras escondidas de emerger.

Towards an Alternative Development Paradigm

by **Md. Anisur Rahman**
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***Abstract:** Md. Anisur Rahman, member of the IFDA Council, just left the International Labour Office (ILO) where for the past 13 years he coordinated the Programme on Participatory Organisations of the Rural Poor (PORP) after having been a member of the Bangladesh Planning Commission (1972-74). Zed Books will publish soon People's Self-Development: A Journey through Experience, a book which retraces Anis' political and intellectual itinerary. The last chapter of the volume is constituted by the inaugural address he delivered last November to the Conference of the Bangladesh Economic Association. In the excerpts below, the author discusses the current concepts and practices of development and outlines an alternative paradigm based on endogeneity, non-hierarchical human relations, autonomous generation of knowledge and people "building" and "sharpening" each other as an alternative to top down teaching.*

Vers un autre paradigme de développement

***Résumé:** Md. Anisur Rahman, membre du Conseil de l'IFDA, vient de quitter le Bureau international de travail où, pendant les 13 dernières années, il a coordonné le Programme sur les organisations participatives des ruraux pauvres (PORP), après avoir été membre de la Commission du Plan du Bangladesh (1972-74). Zed Books va publier prochainement People's Self-Development: A Journey through Experience, un livre qui retrace l'itinéraire politico-intellectuel d'Anis. Le dernier chapitre du volume est constitué par le discours inaugural qu'il a prononcé à la Conférence de l'Association économique du Bangladesh en novembre dernier. Dans les larges extraits reproduits ci-dessous, l'auteur discute d'abord le concept et la pratique du développement conventionnel et esquisse le paradigme d'un autre développement fondé sur l'endogénéité, des relations humaines non-hiérarchiques, la création autonome de la connaissance, la "construction" et "l'aiguillage" mutuels des gens comme alternative à un enseignement vertical.*

(Resumen español, vease página 27)

Md. Anisur Rahman

Towards an Alternative Development Paradigm

What economists need to do most urgently is reevaluate the entire conceptual foundation and redesign their basic models and theories accordingly. The current economic crisis will be overcome only if economists are willing to participate in the paradigm shift that is now occurring in all fields.

(Fritjof Capra, *The Turning Point*, 1983)

Introduction: Do we want development?

Last March I attended a seminar in Cartigny, Geneva, on *Towards the Post-Development Age*.¹ In this seminar I listened to an all-out attack on the notion of development from scholars and scholar-activists of both North and South. The attack included a vigorous plea for abandoning the word "development" altogether. I wish to share with you the substance of the discussion and debate in that seminar.

It was observed that the idea of "development" was born as part of the "Truman design" of 1949 in response to the emerging cold war between the two great rival ideologies. The threat of the Bolshevik Revolution inspiring social revolutions in the Third World was sought to be countered by a promise of "development" and "development assistance" to help "underdeveloped" societies catch up with the "developed". Development was exclusively defined as "economic development", reducing the

degree of progress and maturity of a society to be measured by the level of its production. Development was considered possible only by emulating the ways of the "developed" countries - their aspirations, values, culture and technology. And financial and technical assistance were offered with a patronising assumption of superiority in the march to civilisation. The attraction of massive external finance and thrilling technology generated client states in the "underdeveloped" world where oligarchies able to capture the organs of the state could enrich and empower themselves as a class relatively to the wider society to whom "development plans" one after another at the national level, and, subsequently, "development decades" at the global level were offered as a perpetual hope for prosperity.

The result: The economic benefits of such development have not even trickled down to the vast majority of the people in most countries honourably referred to as "developing". But the most fundamental loss as identified by the Cartigny seminar has been *the*

obstruction of the evolution of indigenous alternatives for societal self-expression and authentic progress.

The vast majority of the people were classified as "poor", and therefore as objects of sympathy, paternalistic intervention and assistance. Many of these people under the blinding light of compassionate observation which was flashed upon them, have internalised this negative self-image. Perceiving themselves as "inferior", they have sought to be "developed" by the "superiors", surrendering their own values, cultures and their own accumulated knowledge and wisdom. Others have been forced to do so by the sheer power of "development" effort which itself has concentrated power privileges and wealth in a few hands with the ability to subjugate and exploit the broader masses; and which has often uprooted vast masses of people from their traditional life and life styles to become inferior citizens in alien environments. Thus they have suffered not only economic impoverishment but also a loss of identity and ability to develop endogenously and authentically with their own culture and capabilities - a *deeper human misery* which as economists we were not trained to recognise.

I had no problem agreeing to this critique of "development". But I was struck by the intensity with which the very notion of "development" was attacked. It was asserted that the notion of development is an "opium for the people" which legitimises the exercise of power by dominating structures and creates dependence of the people and

societies upon them, and which destroys the vernacular domain in which the people could evolve authentically. Granting this, I argued that we should have the right to give and assert our own conception of the term *development*. I submitted that I found the word "development" to be a very powerful means of expressing the conception of societal progress as the flowering of people's creativity. Must we abandon valuable words because they are abused? What do we do then with words like democracy, cooperation, socialism, all of which are being abused?

The debate was inconclusive. But it was a revealing indication to me of the fact that at least in some societies pro-people forces do not assess that they have the power to use the word "development" to their advantage even by redefining it. This is perhaps not a universal phenomenon yet, and we know of authentic popular movements which are using the notion of "development" as they conceive it, as a motive force in their initiatives and struggle. This throws to us, social scientists, the challenge to understand and articulate what development might mean to people who have not lost their sense of identity and are expressing themselves through authentic collective endeavours, and also to understand how such sense of identity and collective self-expression could be restored to others who may have lost them. In other words, to articulate an alternative development paradigm in which the evolution of popular life is not to be distorted and abused by paternalistic "development" endeavours with alien conceptions but

may be stimulated and assisted to find its highest self-expression which only can make a society proud of itself.

Popular initiatives

November 1989 I visited a number of organisations of landless workers in Sarail Upazilla in Bangladesh. Every year that I visit such organisations in Bangladesh as elsewhere I learn a lot. In Sarail, in particular, it was profoundly inspiring to see the kind of development some of these organisations of economically depressed classes are initiating.

The organisations of the landless in Sarail are managing, first, group-based saving-and-credit programmes. Priority is given in these programmes to internal resource mobilisation over external credit. External credit is given only against an equal contribution from the base groups' own saving fund. The repayment schedule is tailored to the nature of the activity for which the loan is advanced, and unlike some other credit-to-the-poor programmes in the country there is no bias here against long-yielding projects by way of requiring repayment to commence immediately. Each credit application is endorsed by two members of the concerned organisation who undertake to follow up the use of the credit and general financial condition of the debtor and to alert the organisation of any unforeseen problem that may arise which might affect timely repayment. The group discusses such a situation with the debtor at its weekly meeting and seeks to assist the debtor overcome the difficulty, sometimes extending the repay-

ment period if the difficulty is considered to be genuine. The approach to the credit operation is thus *sociological, humane and self-educational* rather than that of a credit bank with rigid procedural rules insensitive to specific human circumstances; the internal supervision procedure reduces the overhead cost of supervision as well. All this, with a repayment record claimed to be nearly 99 per cent in recent years - a worthy illustration of *people's self-management*.

What was furthermore impressive was that a number of these organisations explicitly assumed a responsibility for the welfare not only of their members but for all "poor" in their respective villages. Cases of unusual distress, whether families are members of an organisation or not, are brought to the weekly meeting and distress loans, grants and other kinds of assistance are extended. This is a value which some of the organisations that I visited were proud of and wanted consciously to preserve, e.g. candidates for new membership are not taken in immediately but are asked to attend weekly meetings to be exposed to the issues and concerns of the organisation, and are admitted only when the organisation assesses that the candidate wants to join not for selfish interests only but would also be concerned about the welfare of other poor people in the village. Otherwise, they explained to me, "our organisation would be disoriented".

Some organisations of the landless have gone further and have initiated development work involving and benefitting the village community as a whole. They

have convened meetings of all villagers and proposed large projects in irrigation or flood control which would bring more land under cultivation, or land would be protected from flood, and land-owning farmers as well as agricultural labourers would benefit from greater production and employment. The groups have offered their own contributions from their saving fund and their labour and have invited other villagers, rich and poor, to contribute in cash or labour. In one village I witnessed a mass meeting discussing the proposal for one such project - the construction of a dam which would save crop land from flood water as well as add land for habitation, and it was proposed that the extra land to be obtained from the earth work would be allocated to those who had no homestead at all.

In recent years such popular initiatives, spontaneous or "animated" and "facilitated" by social activists, are growing in many countries. Conventional development agencies have started recognising them in a "participatory development" rhetoric without necessarily understanding their basic aspiration and message - such movements cannot be "coopted" in the conventional development paradigm without being disoriented. Radical thinkers now disillusioned with the great experiments with "socialism" are also looking at such movements with new hope.² Such grassroots movements have matured sufficiently today and, among significant trends, exhibit convergent thinking through networking, exchanges, mutual cooperation and joint articulations in terms of their philosophical

orientation, to provide the basis for outlining some key dimensions of the alternative development paradigm to which these trends belong.

The conventional development paradigm

A development paradigm is a school of thinking about how to view development and how to investigate and assess reality for development policy and action, i.e. in broader terms, how to generate knowledge relevant for development. The basic premise of the conventional development paradigm is a conception of a *hierarchical human spectrum* in which some are "superior" to others and are therefore qualified to guide, control, determine the latter's development. In this view, some countries are more "developed" than others; classes within a country are superior to others in terms of achievement, education, culture. These superior quarters create, or control already existing structures to exercise organised domination over the "inferiors" - globally, nationally, locally - and take responsibility for their development. A professional class of intellectuals serve these structures by assessing reality and constructing knowledge, supposed to guide policy and action of these structures. Educational and training processes are developed to transfer such knowledge to members of the wider society through a hierarchical teacher-student, trainer-trainee relation. Such processes not only transfer knowledge but also deepen the hierarchy - the degree holder, the professionally or vocationally trained, are "superior" to the non-graduate or the untrained, and

are part of the structural "cadres" of development.

The generation of knowledge in this paradigm is a specialised professional function that is discharged by prescribed methods of the profession which require *observation from a "distance"* as opposed to getting "involved". The premise is that from one's "superior" vantage position it is possible to look down and assess what an inferior life lacks and needs, for the purpose of formulating development policy and action to help such life move up.

This paradigm, finally, gives *primacy to economics* - the management of scarce resources - as part of its ideology, reducing the notion of development to economic growth which in recent times is being tempered with a concern for "distributional equity".

Needless to say, it is the development policy and action of the hierarchical structures dominating society which are responsible for the dismal state of so many individual countries today and of the world as a whole - the ordinary people have not had the responsibility for their, and society's, development. In some of the most "developed" societies, we are witnessing social disease formations which are going beyond human control. On the whole, the economic, social, moral and ecological crises which we are facing today, coupled with the diversion of resources from productive uses to create means of mass destruction, are ample testimony to the inherent incapability of the dominating structures which have appropriated the

responsibility for social and world development, to steer society and the world toward a course of healthy progress. Instead, these structures have lent themselves to malignant interests whose growth and power are now threatening the very survival of the human race.

Towards an alternative development paradigm

Endogeneity of development

The alternative view of development represented by converging trends in grassroots movements rejects the notion that development can be "delivered" from "above". Development, meaning development of peoples and of societies, is an organic process of healthy growth of creative faculties and their application. This process may be stimulated and facilitated by external elements, but any attempt to force it toward one's own standards from the outside can only result in maiming it. *Development is endogenous* - there are no "front runners" to be followed. One can be impressed, inspired by others' achievements, but any attempt to emulate could at best produce a carbon copy in which the originality of a creative social life and evolution would be lost. In reality, even a carbon copy would not be attainable without its necessary historical preconditions, and an attempt to become such a copy can only yield gross distortions. If development is endogenous, then in people's development *the people are the subject*. This has profound implications for the categorising of people as well as for the relations of knowledge in the society.

Non-hierarchical human relations

In the hierarchical scheme of the conventional development paradigm the broad masses of the people are the objects of development and most of them, with economic "entitlements" less than standards defined by the dominant structures, are categorised as "poor". In fact, the development problem is widely viewed today as overcoming the problem of such poverty thus reducing human aspirations to the attainment of a bundle of economic goods. This problem of poverty has not been overcome and remains intractable for many countries after three "decades of development". Poverty cannot be overcome by identifying it as the problem to be solved as this creates negative motivations. In this context, I was struck by the following story in a paper at the Cartigny seminar:

I could have kicked myself afterwards. At the same time, my remark had seemed the most natural thing on earth. It was six months after the catastrophic earthquake in 1985, and we had spent the whole day walking around Tepito, a dilapidated quarter of Mexico City, inhabited by ordinary people but threatened by land speculators. We had expected ruins and resignation, decay and squalor, but our visit had made us think again: there was a proud neighbourly spirit, vigorous activity with small building cooperatives everywhere; we saw a flourishing shadow economy. But at the end of the day, indulging in a bit of stock-taking, the remark finally slipped out: "It is all very well, but when it comes down to it, these people are still terribly poor". Promptly, one of our companions stiffened: "No somos po-

bres, somos Tepitanos!" (We are not poor people, we are Tepitans). What a reprimand! Why had I made such an offensive remark? I had to admit to myself in embarrassment that, quite involuntarily, the clichés of development philosophy had triggered my reaction.³

I have myself been a victim of this received culture of thinking and have called the people "poor" in many of my writings. Nor are all people themselves able immediately to assert themselves as proudly as the Tepitans since many have internalised, as suggested before, the "gaze" of the rich upon the poor.⁴ *The development problem starts precisely here: there can be no development (which is endogenous) unless the people's pride in themselves as worthy human beings inferior to none is asserted or, if lost, restored.* The human quality of a people is independent of their economic condition - even more, it can shine and can inspire under the most trying conditions. The people need this self-esteem to give their best, most creative and humane response to their situation, thereby to develop. They must, therefore, be invited and empowered to relate with anyone and with any structure horizontally and not vertically, as equals.

Generation and relations of knowledge

Together, the above two premises - the endogeneity of development and a non-hierarchical concept of human relations - lead to a third premise which concerns the vital arena of knowledge relations and the generation of knowledge relevant for development.

Development being endogenous, it is not possible with somebody else's thinking and knowledge. Nor is a relation of equality possible if one feels that knowledge essential for one's development rests with others.

We spend in the order of, say, twenty-five years of our early life in classrooms and studies shut off from active life, to become "educated" - wise. Life moves on meanwhile, struggling and moving through challenges and odds. Those who survive the odds must be very able and wise, and among them must be some who are the ablest, *resourceful* even if "resource"-less, wisest and most creative of all human beings. Yet we have the audacity after these twenty-five years of existence isolated from people's life, to stand above this life with our educational certificates in our hands, and tell it how it should move, not caring even to learn from it how it has come so far and what its own thinking on issues of concern to itself are.

While we "wise" persons have been responsible for the sad plight of the world today, there are numerous examples of ordinary, "uneducated" people devising responses to problems confronting them which show great wisdom, sense of responsibility and morality. But the myth remains that it is professionals, and the "educated" generally, who are the repository of the knowledge and wisdom necessary for development. The myth is not only factually false; by perpetuating a *vertical knowledge relation* it also vitally obstructs development.

Social reality does not exist "out there" in an absolute sense to be observed by standardised techniques. Reality is constructed by the observer, whose own perceptions and values as well as the method of observation determine what is observed, what is abstracted in distilling the observation and what is finally constructed. Reality, in other words, is constructed within a given paradigm - i.e. of a particular epistemological school. Its validity therefore rests on the premise of designing policy and action within the given paradigm. The logical validity of educated professionals constructing social reality - knowledge - by standing apart from people's life and observing this life from their own vantage point, for the purpose of prescribing policy and action addressed to hierarchical structures (and to make great mistakes in doing so) is not in question. But the value of such knowledge stands and falls with the paradigm which premises structural subordination as the basis of development. If the people are the principal actors in the alternative development paradigm, *the relevant reality must be the people's own, constructed by them only.*

Popular movements in many parts of the world are today using variants of such an approach for the construction of social reality by the people themselves as a basis of and an organic part of their collective self-development. The central premise in this approach is social enquiry by collectives of the people themselves. A strategic task in such people's self-enquiry is the *recovery of history* by people's collectives, to "re-write" history with the people as the

principal actors having taken initiatives of their own, having responded to action by external or hierarchical forces, and having formulated and implemented collective policy and decisions to promote their own interests. Another critical task is the recovery and reassertion of the core *values and cultural elements* of the people themselves which are being threatened or are eroding as a result of the operation of the development paradigm which the dominant structures have imposed upon them. Finally, the results of such popular inquiry are the property of the people and are to be documented and disseminated through means of communication of the people themselves in accordance with their level of literacy and cultural development.⁵

"Building" and "sharpening" each other

In people's development, thus, reality will be constructed by grassroots social formations and not by "top-down" professional investigation. This does not deny the role of professionals to contribute to the construction of specific aspects of reality - e.g. macro-national or international aspects to which the popular forces may not have immediate access. Specific skills of professionals may also be of value to popular forces in assessing specific aspects of reality, and a constructive interaction between the two has the possibility of enriching popular construction of their reality always granting, however, the right of popular forces to consider adapt or reject any external input to their own effort at creating their own reality.

Needless to say, from such a constructive interaction the professionals themselves have the opportunity to learn and be enriched immensely.

This brings us to the question of what is conventionally called "education", and "training", and to the idea of "transfer of knowledge". There is need in every individual to improve one's intellectual capacity, breadth of knowledge and specific skills. The conventional methods of "teaching" and "training" administered in a hierarchical relation and aimed at a "transfer of knowledge" are a dull, depressive approach to serve this need. The "student" and the "trainee" go through such processes mainly because the dominating structures require them to do so for entry into the job market. Such processes have very little to do with real learning, and actually invite the recipients of knowledge to seek ways of acquiring the certificates without necessarily putting in even the prescribed efforts.

Knowledge cannot be transferred - it can be memorised for mechanical application, but learning is always an act of self-search and discovery. In this search and discovery one may be stimulated and assisted but cannot be "taught". Nor can one be "trained" to perform tasks which are not mechanical but creative. Institutions of teaching and training which seek to transfer knowledge and skills serve mainly to disorient the capacity that is in every healthy individual to creatively search and discover knowledge. It indoctrinates them, furthermore, in the value of hierarchy which they then tend to

pursue with vengeance - the humiliation of being subordinated is passed on to one's own subordinates.

For some time in recent years I have been looking for a language to replace words like teaching and training. I got it from a workshop of African and Caribbean grassroots activists held in Zimbabwe. Raising my question on the notion of training, I asked the participants to search whether in the vernacular language of the people with whom they had been working there was any word which expressed an alternative, non-hierarchical concept of learning. The participants came up with two words in the Bantu language of South Africa: *yuakana* meaning "building each other",

and *uglolana* meaning "sharpening each other". I invite you all to reflect deeply on the power and richness these words have in expressing both the concept and practice of non-hierarchical learning in which no one teaches or trains anybody, but instead knowledge is sought and created through mutual dialogue and collective enquiry. I would also invite you to reflect upon the power and richness of such popular conceptualisation as an organic part of their urge for collective self-development in a non-hierarchical framework - a power and richness which we are trying to destroy by imposing upon them concepts of education and training derived from an altogether alien scheme of values - i.e. the values of structural domination. ○

Notes

1. Organised by the Christophe Eckenstein Foundation, Geneva.
2. Eg. Frank and Fuentes (1988).
3. Wolfgang Sachs (1989, Essay 2, p1)
4. Aptly expressed by Rahnema (1990, p4)
5. As against the concept of "copyright", as part of a culture of "knowledge capitalism" of professional researchers who research upon the people using the people's time and sell the product for private gains.

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Hacia un alternativo paradigma de desarrollo

Md. Anisur Rahman, miembro del Consejo de la IFDA, acaba de dejar la Oficina internacional del trabajo, donde, durante los últimos 13 años, ha sido el coordinador del Programa sobre las organizaciones participativas de los rurales pobres (PORP), después de haber sido miembro de la Comisión del Plan del Bangladesh (1972-74). Zed Books publicará en breve People's Self-Development: A Journey through Experience, un libro que retraza el itinerario político-intelectual de Anis. El último capítulo está constituido por el discurso inaugural que el ha pronunciado en la Conferencia de la Asociación económica del Bangladesh, en noviembre último. En los largos extractos reproducidos más abajo, el autor discute el concepto y la práctica convencional del desarrollo y esboza un otro paradigma de desarrollo fundado sobre la endogeneidad, relaciones humanas non-jerárquicas, la creación autónoma del conocimiento, la "construcción" y el "aguzamiento" mutuo de la gente como alternativa a una enseñanza vertical.

Announcements

• Science Africa, is a monthly magazine of science, technology and development. A silent revolution is underway in Africa. The continent is turning to science and technology for solutions to its economic and ecological problems. Science Africa brings news and in-depth analysis on this transition. This new magazine covers agriculture, health, energy, natural resources, forestry, biological diversity, environment, science and technology policies, emerging technologies (microelectronics, biotechnology and new materials), and technology assessment. Science Africa is published by the African Centre for Technology Studies (ACTS) in conjunction with African science journalists. It obtains information directly from research institutes, state agencies, private firms, non-governmental bodies and individuals worldwide. (POB 45917 **Nairobi**, Kenya).

• Awareness on the role of biological diversity in human welfare and biotechnology research has led to controversies on the way the benefits of genetic resources are shared among countries. The issue of ownership is compounded by the alarming rate at which biodiversity is being lost world wide. An international symposium organized by the African Center for Technology Studies will explore this subject in Nairobi, Kenya from 10 to 15 June 1991. (Betina Ng'weno, POB 45917 **Nairobi**, Kenya).

• The International Organization of Consumers Unions (IOCU) will hold its 13th Congress in Hong Kong from 8 to 12 July 1991. The theme of the Congress is Consumer Power in the Nineties. The various manifestations of consumer power will be examined in four seminars: Consumer power in a changing world; Consumer power in a "free" market; Consumers in poverty: generating power; and Consumer power and the environment. In addition 30 specific work-

shops will examine issues such as consumer

protection in China, Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Pacific; Eco-labelling; Testing for green products; Consequences of the Uruguay Round, etc. (Contact Rajeswari Kanniah, 250-A Jalan Air Itam, 10460 **Penang**, Malaysia).

• The Museum of Peace and Solidarity, inaugurated in 1986, collects materials and promotes citizen diplomacy worldwide for peace, disarmament, development, protection of the environment, human rights, and so on. The Museum currently houses 10,000 different peace and solidarity exhibits from all the continents. It would appreciate receiving materials such as posters, streamers, paintings, children's drawings, photos, badges, films, slides, documents, original handmade items etc. (POB 76, 703000 **Samarkand**, Uzbekistan, USSR).

• Pacem in Maribus (PIM), the XIX annual convocation of the International Ocean Institute will be held in Lisbon, Portugal from 1 to 4 July 1991. The theme of the Conference will be Ocean Governance: National, Regional and Global Level. (POB 524 **Valletta**, Malta).

• The Centro Nuovo Modello di Sviluppo, an Italian group engaged in the organization of campaigns against the injustices suffered by peasants and rural workers involved in the production of cash crops consumed in the North is looking forward to get in touch with organizations in the North that struggle for a more equitable trade; institutes that investigate about commercial manipulations of products; trade unions, grassroot organizations, and institutes in the South that can inform them about working and living conditions of peasants and rural workers, the struggles and the negative effects of export-oriented agriculture. (Via della Barra 21 **Vecchiano** (Pisa)

L'exemple de l'agriculture paysanne andine

La modernité des sociétés traditionnelles

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Résumé: Une certaine vision du "développement" s'est limitée à un affrontement entre tradition et modernité. L'échec du "développement" appelle à re-poser les questions essentielles plutôt qu'à chercher des "solutions" aux "problèmes" du "progrès". En fait, l'opposition tradition-modernité n'est qu'un prétexte justifiant le transfert d'un modèle particulier qui, s'appropriant la modernité, se veut universel. L'agriculture paysanne andine offre un bon exemple de cette problématique: cette agriculture n'est pas seulement traditionnelle mais elle est moderne à sa façon. Elle ne demande qu'à conduire ses évolutions selon son identité propre et les possibilités contemporaines de son contexte. Tant que l'Occident ne remettra pas en cause son monopole du savoir (sa science universelle) et de la modernité (son modèle de développement) il ne pourra ni connaître ni respecter d'autres savoirs et d'autres modernités.

Modernity of Traditional Societies

Abstract: A certain vision of "development" limited itself to a confrontation between tradition and modernity. The failure of "development" calls for posing again the essential questions instead of continuing to search for "solutions" to "progress". The opposition "tradition-modernity" is only a pretext to justify the transfer of a particular model of development which, appropriating modernity, pretends to be universal. Andean peasant agriculture offers a good example of this problematic. This agriculture is not only traditional but it is modern in its own ways. It only wants to conduct its evolution according to its own identity and the possibilities of its contemporary context. As long as the West does not question its own monopoly of knowledge (its universal science) and modernity (its model of development), it will not be able to either respect or know other knowledges and other modernities.

La modernidad de las sociedades tradicionales

Resumen: Una cierta visión del "desarrollo" se ha limitado a un enfrentamiento entre tradición y modernidad. El fracaso del "desarrollo" pide un nuevo planteamiento de las preguntas esenciales en lugar de buscar "soluciones" a los "problemas" del "progreso". De hecho, la oposición tradición-modernidad no es más
(Pasa a la página 38)

François Greslou et Pierre de Zutter

L'exemple de l'agriculture paysanne andine

La modernité des sociétés traditionnelles

Après plus de vingt ans d'expérience sur le terrain, essentiellement en pays andins d'Amérique Latine, dans la recherche, les projets de développement et le travail avec des groupes ruraux autonomes, une équipe rapporte en Europe ses préoccupations, ses questions, ses pistes.

Le débat est faussé! Depuis quarante ou cinquante ans nous nous sommes laissés piéger par une vision du développement et du progrès enfermée dans l'affrontement entre tradition et modernité.

Il faut moderniser! Voilà le leitmotiv qui préside et inspire la plupart des propositions et des actions entreprises ici ou là pour intégrer toutes sortes de "marginiaux", qu'il s'agisse de pays ou de groupes dans une société donnée. En réaction, les possesseurs de riches traditions, ou les amants de celles-ci, s'organisent autour de leur défense et freinent toutes tentatives de modernisation. Chacun sert de repoussoir à l'autre.

Or, après tant d'échecs accumulés, ne faudrait-il pas reposer les questions essentielles au lieu de continuer à chercher des "solutions" aux "problèmes" et "goulots d'étranglement" que rencontre le progrès, aux attaques et aux distorsions qu'affronte la tradition?

Le débat est faussé! Modernité et modernisation ont été l'objet d'une contrebande grossière: la "modernisation" est devenue synonyme de "modèle civilisateur occidental", modèle contemporain que les pays du Nord ont mis en oeuvre sur la base du développement industriel et de l'essor de la science et des techniques. L'opposition tradition-modernité n'est donc qu'un prétexte pour justifier le transfert d'un modèle bien précis de développement qui prétend s'appropriier la modernité pour devenir lui-même universel.

Les attitudes face à l'agriculture paysanne andine offrent un bon exemple de cette contrebande et de ses effets.

Les diagnostics qui en sont faits (et qui servent de point de départ pour définir les politiques agricoles et orienter les projets de développement) sont unanimes. Ils qualifient cette agriculture de traditionnelle, d'archaïque, voire même d'obsolète et, du coup, les populations qui en vivent sont assénées d'adjectifs péjoratifs tels que: ignorantes, miséreuses, marginales, arriérées, autarciques et bien d'autres encore.

Cette vision extérieure des agricultures et populations paysannes (car l'andine n'est pas la seule à être perçue de cette façon) offre l'avantage de rendre évident et indiscutable la nécessité de les moderniser.

Les tenants de la modernisation ne veulent pas voir que cette agriculture n'est pas seulement traditionnelle. Elle est moderne au sens où elle est actuelle, où elle est contemporaine. Ce n'est donc pas un "vide" qu'il s'agirait de remplir. Ce n'est pas un monde arriéré et traditionnel, plein de problèmes et désespéré, qui supplie qu'on le modernise. C'est une autre modernité, différente, qui ne demande qu'à pouvoir vivre à sa manière, c'est-à-dire à conduire son devenir, ses évolutions, selon son identité propre, selon les possibilités réelles et contemporaines du contexte local, national et mondial dans lequel elle existe.

Ces décennies à concevoir et gérer la relation tradition-modernité en termes d'exclusions, où l'une des parties essaie de dominer et éliminer l'autre, n'ont-elles pas accentué la situation de crise et d'appauvrissement qui sévit dans bien des pays et des milieux?

Ne serait-il pas préférable de prendre en compte les deux parties, à savoir les différentes modernités en présence, pour repenser des politiques et concevoir des projets en termes de dialogues et de complémentarités?

1. Face à l'échec de la modernisation...

Les instances publiques des Etats andins et les différentes coopérations internationales qui les appuient ont déployé bien des efforts et mis en oeuvre bien des moyens pour appliquer leurs politiques de modernisation à l'agriculture paysanne. D'une manière ou d'une autre, elles s'inspirent des trois grands axes stratégiques suivants qui devaient

permettre de vaincre le sous-développement économique et améliorer les conditions de vie des populations rurales:

- leur intégration au système économique "industriel-exportateur" qui est destiné à devenir dominant au niveau national;
- l'augmentation de la production et de la productivité de certaines denrées agricoles et alimentaires, celles qui sont destinées au marché;
- la consolidation de l'organisation sociétale Etat-nation qui a surgi de la décolonisation de manière arbitraire et artificielle et qui reste fragile. En effet, seul un Etat fort et centralisé peut intégrer diverses sociétés ou ethnies autour d'un modèle exogène de développement.

Quarante ans après, il est évident que les objectifs sont loin d'être atteints.

L'intégration a provoqué, comme prévu, l'exode d'une partie importante de la population paysanne mais l'industrie nationale qui devait l'absorber en a été incapable. Et c'est sur la base de sa propre identité culturelle que cette population des bidonvilles a dû recréer et mettre en place de nouvelles stratégies de survie (commerce ambulatoire, petits ateliers de transformation, horticulture, etc.).

Quant à la production agricole en provenance de l'agriculture paysanne andine, elle a très fortement diminué avec la déstructuration des systèmes "traditionnels", les flux d'aide alimentaire, les importations politiques de denrées et matières premières agricoles, etc.

Le modèle d'organisation étatique-national est en crise: appauvri, l'Etat n'est plus capable de maintenir ses relais et ses instances dans les zones rurales; perdu dans des débats et querelles de partis sur le développement industriel et les taux de change pour favoriser les exportations, il n'intéresse qu'une petite "élite" urbaine; corrompu, il ne mérite plus la confiance de la population; etc.

Enfin, les populations rurales andines ont atteint une situation d'appauvrissement généralisé qui, à court terme, pourrait être lourde de conséquences:

- appauvrissement économique du fait des migrations rurales, de la détérioration des termes de l'échange entre les produits agricoles et les

"intrants", etc;

- appauvrissement écologique; érosion et dégradation du milieu naturel, disparition de certaines ressources phyto et zoogénétiques;
- appauvrissement socio-politique; déstructuration des organisations paysannes traditionnelles du fait de l'imposition de structures démocratiques à l'occidentale, la centralisation des décisions; et surtout;
- appauvrissement culturel du fait de la discrimination des savoirs andins.

Ces quarante ans d'échecs ne sont donc pas passés en vain car non seulement les objectifs n'ont pas été atteints mais, qui plus est, la crise s'est accentuée, les conditions de vie ont empiré et les populations ont perdu un certain nombre de potentiels...

Combien d'échecs faudra-t-il encore pour se rendre compte que le développement ne passe pas par la modernisation compulsive et donc par la disparition de l'agriculture paysanne?

Combien d'énergies, d'efforts et de fonds ont été gaspillés pour chercher à dominer et éliminer l'autre?

Cette relation en termes d'exclusions ne serait-elle pas à l'origine de l'échec d'une certaine modernisation et de ses effets néfastes?

Repenser des politiques agricoles et mettre en oeuvre des projets en termes de dialogues et de complémentarités, c'est-à-dire considérer l'autre, la (ou les) modernité(s) paysanne(s) andine(s), comme interlocuteur, passe, au moins, par deux préalables indispensables et interdépendants: remettre en cause le monopole occidental de la modernité et favoriser l'expression des modernités paysannes.

2. ...remettre en cause le monopole occidental de la modernité...

Il serait exagéré de dire qu'il n'a jamais été tenu compte des échecs. Face aux difficultés rencontrées, aux piètres résultats obtenus, aux résistances des populations, les politiques agricoles et les projets de développement ne sont pas restés indifférents. Périodiquement ils se

sont modifiés, ils ont évolué. Mais toujours à la recherche d'un transfert de la modernisation aux agricultures paysannes...

Au niveau des contenus d'abord, c'est-à-dire des messages technologiques à transmettre, il y a eu des changements importants: les paquets de la révolution verte, les technologies douces, appropriées, adéquates, les recettes de l'agriculture biologique, les trouvailles liées à l'écologie et à l'environnement, etc.

Au niveau des méthodes ou des stratégies ensuite, c'est-à-dire du "comment faire passer le message", la créativité a été encore plus exubérante: l'assistance technique, l'aide alimentaire, le crédit, la conscientisation, l'éducation populaire, la promotion d'organisations démocratiques, la recherche participative, la co-gestion, la recherche-développement, l'analyse des systèmes, etc.

Tous ces accommodements ne serviraient-ils pas en fait d'échappatoires pour éviter de remettre en cause le monopole occidental de la modernité?

Un exemple: pour être dignes de vulgarisation, même les contenus les plus "appropriés" doivent être produits ou validés scientifiquement par des centres ou des instances de pays du Nord.

Un autre exemple: même si certains partent du principe louable qu'il faut connaître et comprendre la réalité des bénéficiaires, n'est-ce pas avant tout pour mieux faire passer les mêmes messages?

Un autre exemple encore: l'évaluation des projets. Trop souvent inexistante ou bâclée, cette phase ne s'intéresse qu'à l'efficacité de l'intervention, donc à une simple comparaison entre programmation et exécution. Mais la pertinence des projets, leur finalité, qui s'inspirent du monopole occidental de la modernité, ne se discutent pas. Les fondements des politiques agricoles et les projets qui en découlent ne sont jamais sanctionnés sur l'essentiel.

Ainsi, il existe toujours la possibilité d'inventer et d'essayer de nouvelles "solutions" afin de ne pas reposer les questions de fond et plutôt de continuer à imposer une certaine modernité.

Tant que l'Occident ne remettra pas en cause son monopole du savoir (sa science universelle) et de la modernité (son modèle de développement), il lui sera difficile de respecter, connaître et prendre en compte d'autres savoirs et d'autres modernités.

Changer cette attitude d'intolérance et de suffisance pour considérer l'autre non plus comme un bénéficiaire traditionnel et ignorant, mais comme un interlocuteur moderne et savant est un préalable indispensable pour commencer à établir des relations en termes de complémentarités.

3. ...et favoriser l'expression des modernités paysannes

Remettre en cause le monopole occidental de la modernité c'est accepter l'existence d'autres modernités, d'autres sources de savoirs, d'autres "sciences" qui, dans leurs contextes respectifs et avec leurs propres potentialités, sont tout aussi valides, sinon plus, que la science occidentale.

Ainsi, l'agriculture paysanne andine est loin d'être un vestige qui, par inertie, maintiendrait des pratiques empiriques, rudimentaires et traditionnelles, appelées à être remplacées par des techniques modernes plus performantes. Sur la base de ces savoirs propres, qui cinq siècles plus tôt étaient capables de nourrir une population comparable à celle d'aujourd'hui, les paysans continuent à expérimenter, à re-crée, à produire et à utiliser des pratiques qui, de ce fait, sont tout aussi modernes. La différence (qui n'est pas négligeable!) provient du fait que ce processus s'inscrit dans une conception particulière - et en émane - de la relation entre société et nature, c'est-à-dire d'une cosmovision qui n'a rien à voir avec celle qui inspire la science et la modernité occidentales.

Populations et agricultures paysannes andines sont modernes mais, c'est bien le moins qu'on puisse dire, elles ont été secouées et perturbées par cinq siècles de persécution, d'agression et de domination dont les politiques et projets actuels ont, à leur manière, pris le relais. Le monde andin a résisté, il ne s'est pas "vidé", mais il a dû adopter un profil bas, se refermant sur lui-même, ou plutôt "s'enroulant" autour de ses bases non spoliées.

Agressions et dominations empêchent de dialoguer et d'établir des complémentarités, car pour cela il faudrait que les deux interlocuteurs puissent s'exprimer d'égal à égal et en toute confiance, ce qui est loin d'être le cas actuellement.

Donner la parole à un dirigeant paysan lors d'une réunion ou d'une assemblée, pour qu'il y fasse part des problèmes et nécessités de sa communauté, n'est souvent qu'une illusion de dialogue: lorsque ce dirigeant émane d'une structure organisationnelle imposée par l'Occident pour faciliter le transfert de sa modernité; lorsque la réunion elle-même est menée "démocratiquement" à l'occidentale; lorsque les thèmes discutés sont ceux que propose et décide l'agent extérieur en visite...

Entrer en contact avec les Autorités traditionnelles, les Anciens, c'est-à-dire ceux qui produisent et maintiennent les vrais savoirs paysans andins, permettrait sans doute un pas en avant vers ce dialogue. Mais, pour des raisons historiques évidentes, ceux-ci restent clandestins ou cachés et sont, en général, protégés par leurs communautés respectives: quelles raisons auraient-ils de s'ouvrir et de faire confiance à un quelconque représentant du monde adverse?

Redonner la parole est important mais n'est pas suffisant pour permettre l'expression vraie des modernités paysannes andines.

Si, à juste titre, elles sont qualifiées de paysannes, c'est parce qu'elles vivent et par conséquent s'expriment à travers l'agriculture. Les aspects culturels et culturels se confondent. Pour elles, l'agriculture n'est pas seulement une activité économique mettant en jeu des techniques pour obtenir des produits; c'est un processus qui permet à la société de transformer la nature et, réciproquement, d'être transformée par celle-ci; c'est l'expression d'une cosmovision qui inspire et guide les relations entre l'ensemble des membres de la "communauté naturelle".

Par conséquent, redonner toute sa vigueur à l'agriculture paysanne devrait être essentiel pour permettre aux sociétés andines de se "dés-enrouler" et d'exprimer pleinement leurs modernités, en récupérant leurs potentialités. La remise en vigueur de l'agriculture andine, l'expression de sa modernité, ne passent donc pas seulement par la revitalisation de certaines pratiques, considérées isolément.

Par exemple, ce n'est pas un hasard si l'histoire des luttes et des mobilisations paysannes andines est liée à la récupération des terres. Car l'agriculture andine, qui se fonde sur l'utilisation de multiples étages écologiques, a besoin de territoires diversifiés. Comment pourrait-elle s'exprimer à plénitude alors qu'elle a été dépouillée de tout accès et de toute complémentarité avec les vallées et se trouve recluse sur les versants supérieurs? A-t-elle besoin des nouveaux paquets écologiques de la modernisation occidentale ou de conditions suffisantes pour déployer ses propres potentiels et savoirs?

Autre exemple: comment l'agriculture andine pourrait-elle jouer son rôle intégrateur et transformateur au sein de la société alors que le développement modernisateur occidental essaie de l'enfermer et de la contrôler dans des organisations qui cloisonnent et séparent le productif du politique, du social, du culturel...?

Les modernités paysannes ne pourront renforcer leur identité et s'exprimer pleinement et en toute confiance qu'à partir du moment où leurs agricultures se seront "dés-enroulées" (développées?) pour récupérer leur force et leur vigueur. N'est-ce pas cela qu'il faudrait favoriser plutôt qu'une modernisation compulsive de l'extérieur?

Conclusion

Il serait bien prétentieux de vouloir proposer d'ores et déjà des stratégies, des méthodes, des recettes (si tant est qu'il en existe) qui permettent d'atteindre le dialogue et la complémentarité. Mais au moins peut-on signaler quelques écueils à éviter.

Par exemple, il ne faudrait pas confondre complémentarité avec combinaison. Il existe actuellement une mode des "technologies combinées" qui recherche le mélange de certaines techniques occidentales avec des savoirs paysans. Elle donne lieu à des formules bâtardes qui sont rarement viables comme telles. Dans cette combinaison, une des sources de savoirs domine l'autre si bien que la résultante ne peut être, dans la pratique, qu'une forme déguisée des messages modernes occidentaux. Au contraire, la complémentarité devrait être comprise comme un enrichissement réciproque où chacun adopte, recrée et intègre certains apports de l'autre pour développer sa propre identité.

Autre exemple: la formule "projet" comme modalité principale d'action du développement modernisateur sous-entend des relations de verticalité car ses délais, ses méthodes de gestion et ses priorités sont pré-élaborés et conditionnés par les bailleurs de fonds (nationaux et internationaux) alors que les populations locales ne "participent" qu'au remplissage avec leurs problèmes, leurs besoins et leur main d'oeuvre. La formule "projet" est fondamentalement un mode extérieur d'intervention que l'on essaie de transférer aux "bénéficiaires".

En fait, tant que les politiques et les modes d'action seront élaborés et décidés depuis un "centre", situé en dehors, il sera difficile d'écouter et de dialoguer avec les savoirs et les apports des autres modernités. Et cela ne pourra être atteint qu'une fois remplie deux conditions préalables.

Que les tenants actuels de la modernisation occidentale changent de mentalité et d'attitude vis-à-vis des autres modernités.

Que celles-ci disposent d'un répit et un espace suffisants pour pouvoir se "dés-enrouler", "se retrouver" et exprimer leurs potentialités.

Pour des raisons historiques, c'est la modernité occidentale qui, dans les Andes et ailleurs, est le plus souvent en contact avec la modernité locale. Elle est donc partenaire inévitable (s'il s'agit de relations de dialogue), mais devrait-elle être partenaire prioritaire à l'heure où les autres modernités ont besoin de commencer à se retrouver elles-mêmes, à s'affirmer? Ainsi, est-ce que la modernité andine n'aurait pas davantage de points d'ancrage, d'apports à échanger avec d'autres modernités rurales, en particulier celles qui, comme elle, partagent une écologie montagnarde? ○

que un pretexto justificando el traslado de un modelo particular que, apropiándose la modernidad, pretende ser universal. La agricultura campesina andina ofrece un buen ejemplo de esta problemática: esta agricultura no es unicamente tradicional sino es moderna en su manera. No pide más que en conducir sus evoluciones según su propia identidad y las posibilidades contemporaneas de su contexto. Mientras el occidente no reconsidere su monopolio del saber (su ciencia universal) y el de la modernidad (su modelo de desarrollo), no podrá ni conocer ni respetar otros saberes y otras modernidades.

Agricultura suburbana en pequeña escala en el Gran Buenos Aires

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Resumen: *Un cuarto de la población del Gran Buenos Aires vive por debajo del nivel mínimo de satisfacción de necesidades básicas y aunque la Argentina exporta trigo y carne, el hambre se hace sentir. Este artículo describe detalladamente un programa de educación popular que promueve la producción biológica de alimentos en el conurbano de Buenos Aires. Este programa se enfoca en primer lugar a la capacitación y seguimiento para personas y grupos miembros de organizaciones locales que aspiran a capacitarse para difundir entre sus vecinos esta modalidad productiva. El autor esquiza algunas proposiciones básicas que han orientado las principales conclusiones de la experiencia.*

Small Scale Sub-Urban Agriculture in Buenos Aires

Abstract: *One out of four people in the Buenos Aires conurbation lives below the poverty line and hunger is a growing problem even though Argentina exports grain and meat. This article describes in detail a popular education program promoting biological food production in the sub-urban areas of Buenos Aires. It focuses on the training and follow-up of promoters, individuals, and groups belonging to local organizations which are prepared to disseminate to their neighbors what they have learned. The author outlines some of the basic propositions of the project and some of the conclusions of the experience. [The full English text of the paper can be obtained from the author]*

Agriculture suburbaine à petite échelle à Buenos Aires

Résumé: *Un quart de la population du Grand Buenos Aires vit en-dessous du seuil de pauvreté et, bien que l'Argentine exporte du blé et de la viande, la faim sévit. Cet article décrit en détail un programme d'éducation populaire encourageant la production biologique d'aliments dans les zones suburbaines de l'agglomération de Buenos Aires. Ce programme concerne en premier lieu la formation et l'accompagnement de personnes et de groupes appartenant à des organisations locales disposées à diffuser auprès de leurs voisins ce qu'ils apprennent. L'auteur esquisse les hypothèses qui ont informé le projet et tire les principales conclusions de l'expérience.*

Carlos Alberto Flood

Agricultura suburbana en pequeña escala

Una propuesta para la producción local de alimentos en el Gran Buenos Aires

Este escrito describe un programa de educación popular que promueve la producción biológica de alimentos en el Gran Buenos Aires. En el mismo se resalta algunas proposiciones básicas que han orientado al proyecto y también las principales conclusiones que se han obtenido de la experiencia.

En la Capital Federal y sus alrededores habita un tercio de la población argentina. 26,7% de la población del Gran Buenos Aires, exceptuada la Capital Federal, se encuentra por debajo del nivel mínimo de satisfacción de necesidades básicas (NBI).¹ En algunas áreas en las que se implementa el proyecto, se supera el 50%.

Estimaciones más recientes muestran un incesante empeoramiento de esta situación.² En efecto, al menos el 30% de la población del Gran Buenos Aires (aproximadamente dos millones de personas) viven en condiciones de extrema pobreza. Entre algunas de sus manifestaciones pueden mencionarse las crecientes dificultades en el acceso a recursos alimentarios que derivan del desempleo, la inestabilidad laboral y los bajos ingresos. En este contexto, las políticas alimentarias oficiales han fracasado en hallar soluciones totales o parciales.

Por otro lado, la Argentina es un país productor excedentario de alimentos, fundamentalmente granos y carne vacuna. Los excedentes son exportados y en el mercado interno el acceso de la población a los alimentos es crecientemente desigual, tanto desde el punto de vista cuantitativo como cualitativo.

De la misma manera, la mayoría de los análisis sobre la problemática alimentaria adoptan este punto de vista cuando subrayan que los problemas alimentarios de los sectores sociales específicos no son tanto de disponibilidad de alimentos sino de acceso a los mismos.

Algunos estudios señalan una marcada disminución en el consumo de los alimentos en el Gran Buenos Aires (entre un 30 y un 40% para los sectores de menores ingresos), y un simultáneo aumento en la proporción del ingreso destinado al consumo alimentario.³ Viene disminuyendo el consumo de leche, huevos, hortalizas y frutas, pan, cereales, pastas, azúcar y aceites. "Medidos en volúmenes físicos se consumía en 1985/86, 21% menos alimentos per cápita que veinte años atrás".⁴

El tipo de dieta predominante es desbalanceada, históricamente con tendencia al consumo de carne vacuna, harina

de trigo, azúcar de caña y papa. Es muy bajo y decreciente el consumo de frutas, verduras y pescado en los sectores populares. Esta dieta, que depende fundamentalmente del ingreso salarial, es la matriz básica para las opciones de compra de la población. El efecto acumulativo de esta situación es el deterioro progresivo del estado sanitario de la población.

Los acontecimientos de mayo de 1989 muestran hasta qué punto esta situación ha venido empeorando. En esa época se producen episodios de violencia en diversas ciudades argentinas (asaltos a supermercados, sobre todo), que muestran el agravamiento de la situación alimentaria hasta límites extremos. A través de estos hechos queda definitivamente puesto en evidencia el problema del hambre en la Argentina, muchas veces enmascarado por tratarse de un país productor de alimentos. Por contraste con la disponibilidad global de alimentos, que se canaliza hacia los sectores de mayores ingresos y hacia la exportación, el hambre aparece como un rasgo estructural que nos remite a la injusticia profunda del modelo económico vigente.

Una propuesta de producción local de alimentos

A partir de lo expuesto aparece la agricultura sub-urbana y peri-urbana, si no como una solución de fondo a los problemas de acceso, al menos como una alternativa válida dentro de un conjunto más amplio de medidas. Dentro de este contexto, hemos trabaja-

do en el desarrollo de un proyecto local, focalizado en (a) una metodología de educación popular; y (b) una propuesta de producción de alimentos biológicos.

La educación popular puede ser definida como una contribución, desde el punto de vista de la educación no formal, a las organizaciones populares locales. Este trabajo es desarrollado con grupos de base, por medio de la formación de promotores o extensionistas locales. Por otro lado, la propuesta de producción biológica es encarada desde dos perspectivas (a) la producción de alimentos para autoconsumo familiar, principalmente de hortalizas, y la preparación y preservación de alimentos sobre bases alternativas; y (b) producción de alimentos para el mercado.

Hemos venido trabajando en la primera alternativa durante los últimos siete años, y hemos extraído un cierto número de conclusiones.

En relación con la segunda alternativa, recién estamos comenzando a explorar algunas proposiciones básicas.

Las hipótesis iniciales fundamentales del proyecto han sido las siguientes:

- i. Es posible desarrollar propuestas de producción biológica de alimentos al servicio de sectores populares urbanos y de sus necesidades básicas, a través de sus organizaciones.
- ii. Este tipo de propuestas puede operar como un factor catalizador en el surgimiento de movimientos locales de

base que aspiran a explorar formas autónomas para resolver, o al menos, paliar sus necesidades básicas alimentarias.

Esta afirmación no excluye la cooperación con niveles oficiales, pero la metodología subyacente pretende enfatizar la autogestión. En todo caso, transformando tales necesidades en demandas organizadas a las instituciones públicas.

Al estar a cargo de una organización no gubernamental, el proyecto ha necesitado afrontar limitaciones de escala. Por un lado, mediante la cooperación con instituciones del estado, como ya se ha mencionado (municipios, Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria, etc.) Por otro, centrando nuestra tarea en la formación de recursos humanos locales (promotores hortícolas provenientes de organizaciones populares, instituciones eclesíásticas, militantes políticos), como una forma de multiplicar su cobertura social.

El proyecto está fundamentalmente orientado hacia la capacitación y seguimiento de promotores. De todos modos, la formación está basada en alternativas productivas que derivan del hábitat urbano. Esta es la razón por la que este proyecto ha necesitado el soporte de la investigación aplicada referida a cuestiones específicas.

En relación con la capacitación, durante una primera etapa el proyecto se desarrollaba con familias y con grupos de familias. Luego, a medida que se fue acumulando experiencia y se profundizaba el contacto con organizaciones

de base, con instituciones intermedias como las iglesias y con instituciones oficiales, el trabajo se fue orientando hacia la formación de promotores hortícolas. Los beneficiarios son principalmente personas y grupos pertenecientes a organizaciones locales que aspiran a capacitarse para difundir esta modalidad productiva entre sus vecinos o en vecindarios próximos.

Este trabajo de capacitación se ha venido realizando principalmente en barrios, en escuelas, centros de salud, terrenos compartidos y casas de vecinos; o en dos centros de capacitación ubicados en el Gran Buenos Aires.

Esos centros de capacitación y demostración llamados *centros barriales*, constituyen ámbitos destinados a:

- Mostrar alternativas de producción y transformación biológica de alimentos en un contexto urbano y periurbano;
- ofrecer un servicio de capacitación para la formación de monitores o promotores hortícolas;
- recibir grupos provenientes de otros barrios para intercambiar experiencias, efectuar tareas de capacitación, favorecer la articulación entre grupos y organizaciones;
- acumular y sistematizar experiencia técnica producción y transformación de alimentos;
- brindar espacio para otras actividades originadas en iniciativas de los pobladores locales.

El trabajo de capacitación se realiza mediante actividades en los centros barriales o en los barrios. Para el caso de los centros barriales se opera en base a jornadas, o mediante estadias de

más de un día. Los asistentes participan de una formación en base a métodos activos y con fuerte apoyo en el "aprender haciendo" y en el trabajo grupal. Como parte de esta formación se reflexiona críticamente acerca del sentido social de la tarea que cada uno lleva a cabo en su área. Como los encuentros en los centros barriales son alternados con actividades en los barrios, no es difícil referir este intercambio a las situaciones concretas que preocupan a cada asistente, a las dificultades que encuentra para aplicar la propuesta y a la búsqueda de soluciones entre todos los participantes.

La capacitación tiene lugar, además, mediante el seguimiento *in situ* de algunas de las experiencias a las que se viene aportando capacitación desde centros barriales.

Esta forma de capacitación sirve no sólo para acumular experiencia educativa, sino también como una manera de generar conocimientos técnicos mediante la confrontación con los intereses, necesidades y creatividad de los sectores populares, buscando nuevas síntesis entre el conocimiento científico y el conocimiento popular.

Nuestra experiencia indica que las prácticas productivas que proponemos son apropiables por la población, pero requieren tiempo y un contacto progresivo con cada aspecto de la propuesta a partir de la producción de resultados concretos. Por otra parte, sabemos que en agricultura las cosas llevan su tiempo, sobre todo si los recursos son magros, si los suelos son deficientes y,

sobre todo, si se pretende respetar las leyes biológicas.

En cierto modo, esta línea de trabajo se ve facilitada porque los grupos están compuestos por personas habituadas al trabajo manual y a disponer y administrarse con recursos escasos. Muchos de ellos, o sus padres, han sido asalariados o pequeños productores campesinos en áreas rurales.

Desde el punto de vista de la agricultura biológica, la huerta familiar o comunitaria es un sistema de procesos en movimiento. Los factores instrumentales y naturales son organizados por la participación comprometida del hombre (la familia o el grupo), dentro de ese sistema. Este factor es decisivo y supone familiaridad con esos procesos y con la integralidad del sistema.

Esto implica una participación muy íntima del hombre (en este caso urbano), en los procesos naturales que forman parte de la producción. Sin necesidad de conocer enteramente las claves científicas de los procesos, puede acceder a su lógica interna en la medida que conduce dichos procesos. Un ejemplo de todo esto es la estimulación de la actividad biológica del suelo.

Por todo esto, la propuesta técnica no es un paquete terminado de una vez y para siempre. Se va haciendo en la práctica productiva, pedagógica y organizativa, en un diálogo con la gente, el suelo y las plantas. Dentro de este marco, las dificultades técnicas, que son numerosas al comienzo, empiezan a resolverse. Pensamos que este tipo de

agricultura favorece el aprendizaje activo, y esta es una de las claves pedagógicas con las que trabajamos: aprender haciendo.

Cada componente del paquete tecnológico sirve para resolver progresivamente los problemas que surgen como obstáculos concretos en cada unidad productiva. Constituyen sobre todo situaciones de aprendizaje sobre las posibilidades concretas de producir los propios alimentos y una vía de entrada para reflexionar críticamente y desde un plano concreto acerca de las propias condiciones de vida y las ventajas de la organización solidaria.

Modelos productivos⁵

Desde el punto de vista tecnológico, han sido trabajados diversos aspectos para afrontar las cuestiones arriba mencionadas (incluyendo las educacionales), bajo las especiales condiciones del hábitat urbano.

Entre otros, se pueden mencionar la escasez de recursos materiales y de tiempo de las familias y de los grupos, la disponibilidad de terrenos de reducidas dimensiones y frecuentemente con suelos de mala calidad (los barrios populares están generalmente ubicados en terrenos bajos) y la escasez o falta de agua (sobre todo durante el verano).

A todo esto debe agregarse la necesidad de producir un conjunto básico de hortalizas que progresivamente vaya siendo incorporado a la dieta. A menudo la huerta implica no sólo un aprendizaje productivo, sino además la paula-

tina incorporación de rubros poco o nada conocidos en la mesa familiar, con la consiguiente modificación de pautas muy arraigadas, proceso en el cual se debe ser muy respetuoso de las opciones personales, familiares o del grupo.

Para afrontar estas restricciones se fue desarrollando progresivamente una propuesta relativamente autosuficiente que, con el correr del tiempo, fue decantando en alternativas básicas. En la práctica, este recorrido estuvo sustentado en las siguientes actividades, realizadas con los grupos en el marco de la capacitación:

- Formación, preparación, mejoramiento y conservación de suelos en condiciones críticas (suelos en zonas bajas, inundables, de mal drenaje y/o relleno);
- diseños alternativos de huertas familiares y comunitarias según tamaño y tipo de terreno disponible, así como de recursos humanos y materiales. Esquemas de rotación de huertas de diverso tamaño, que luego darán lugar a la formulación de modelos integrados;
- preparación de la cama de siembra;
- preparación y empleo de abonos orgánicos, en base a los elementos disponibles; reciclaje de materia orgánica en general;
- preparación de almácigos y empleo de invernáculos caseros;
- siembra directa y transplante, en base al empleo del calendario de siembra, en relación con el espacio disponible y el perfil del consumo familiar o grupal;
- manejo: cultivo del suelo, aprovechamiento de la humedad disponible, control de malezas, métodos sencillos de riego, control de plagas, etc.

Pueden destacarse dos aspectos que sintetizan buena parte de nuestra experiencia tecnológica: la formación de los suelos y el desarrollo de modelos productivos básicos.

En relación con la formación de suelos, en las distintas fases del programa las restricciones encontradas en los barrios populares nos permitieron acumular experiencia sobre su formación y mejoramiento, en base a la resolución de los numerosos problemas concretos que iban apareciendo. Además, la puesta en producción de los centros barriales, ubicados sobre terrenos con suelos de baja aptitud agrícola, favoreció la investigación y sistematización de alternativas, así como un mejor seguimiento de los resultados.

Los resultados de esta experiencia fueron implícita o explícitamente incorporados en los modelos formulados para la producción urbana de autoconsumo, en los cuales ha sido necesario buscar alternativas, tomando en cuenta las diversas restricciones y posibilidades que derivan de las combinaciones disponibles de recursos humanos, materiales y ambientales.

Estos modelos de producción urbana para autoconsumo corresponden a superficies de 20/50, 100, 200 y de 500 a 2000 m², planteados desde la perspectiva de la agricultura biológica. Su desarrollo nos condujo hacia una mayor claridad acerca de qué entendemos por este tipo de agricultura y sus consecuencias en el plano práctico.

Es así como se llega a un concepto de formación de suelos y de manejo como

eje en la formulación y aplicación de los modelos productivos, variando en cada modelo la modalidad de trabajo, el tipo de recursos empleados, la forma de lograr fertilidad, la utilización de los tiempos y los resultados productivos obtenidos (...).

Los modelos abordados hasta aquí presentan dos tipos de limitaciones. Por un lado, desde su capacidad productiva sólo eventualmente puede aspirarse a la producción de excedentes y no en forma estable como para concebir la generación de un ingreso monetario razonable y sostenido. Por otro, conforman propuestas orientadas a sujetos sociales que no aspiran a hacer de la agricultura un oficio, sino un medio de supervivencia.

Para nosotros esto no significa que esos modelos expresen una agricultura "de segunda clase", sino que en todo caso están orientadas hacia la resolución de necesidades del propio consumo. Dentro de este escalón se puede maximizar el empleo de los recursos disponibles en función de un resultado, aspirando a un cierto tipo de eficacia, pero ordenada solamente al cumplimiento de objetivos de autoconsumo alimentario familiar, grupal o comunitario. Algo que decididamente no se puede con ellos es encarar emprendimientos con orientación de mercado, ni aportar a las necesidades del agricultor que abastece a la ciudad con alimentos.

El soporte tecnológico

El desarrollo del proyecto en los términos planteados hasta aquí fue generan-

do la necesidad de desarrollar actividades de apoyo y complementación desde pequeñas investigaciones y la sistematización de la experiencia en modelos productivos que sintetizaran una serie de proposiciones e interrogantes que concurren con las necesidades básicas de los sujetos de la experiencia y con los requerimientos que derivan del plano educativo y de la propuesta de capacitación desarrollada en los centros barriales y en los barrios.

En el futuro habrá que seguir trabajando en la respuesta a algunos de esos interrogantes. En primer lugar, en la evaluación de la potencialidad productiva de cada experiencia, a fin de saber con certeza si los resultados son repetibles y en qué condiciones. Los resultados de una repetición sostenida dependen de la fertilidad acumulada y por esa razón necesitamos encontrar algún parámetro que mida las variaciones de esta última.

En segundo lugar, es necesario trabajar en variedades apropiadas a escalas reducidas de producción, pues las disponibles suelen no ser enteramente compatibles con los requerimientos de la producción para autoconsumo o para la pequeña producción con destino a la venta comercial.

El tercer aspecto a cubrir es el de reconocer y trabajar con predadores que, junto con la fertilidad, la variedad de especies, y las plantas huéspedes, permitan asegurar una estrategia de protección natural de la producción.

Contestando a estas preguntas se podrá avanzar en la evaluación de los modelos

y desarrollar hipótesis aplicables a otras escalas productivas. Sabemos que, una vez iniciado un proceso productivo autosostenido, algunas de las respuestas surgirán del ecosistema emergente, que no podemos predecir pero que dará lugar a un equilibrio dinámico diferente.

Para abordar algunas de estas cuestiones es necesario continuar sistematizando la experiencia con los modelos en marcha, afinar los modelos de 500 a 1500 m² y diseñar modelos de mayor escala productiva. Pero estos trabajos, tanto los relacionados con los modelos para autoconsumo, como los nuevos modelos de mayor escala, deberán ser acompañados por trabajos de investigación aplicada en control biológico, evaluación de fertilidad y relevamiento de variedades disponibles.

Si bien nuestra meta no es transformarnos en investigadores, estos trabajos hacen necesario diferenciar metodológicamente una serie de actividades, respecto de la demostración/capacitación/promoción. Sin abandonar la confrontación de las tecnologías con los grupos concretos, hubo que desarrollar un espacio de proyecto, cuyo objetivo es sistematizar la experiencia acumulada y resolver los aspectos que aún faltan completar. No implica "investigar" en sentido estricto, sino un ordenamiento de proposiciones para resolver situaciones concretas mediante lo que podríamos llamar "pequeñas tecnologías".

Modelos orientados hacia el mercado

Como ya vimos, por estar orientados al autoconsumo los modelos muestran

algunas limitaciones cualitativas y de escala. Por estas mismas razones, no son aplicables en otras situaciones, como es el caso de los pequeños productores del periurbano o los microemprendimientos productivos urbanos con orientación de mercado.

Por ahora entendemos a la agricultura de mercado en un sentido muy amplio, incluyendo dentro de esta categoría las experiencias informales de venta local de los productos. Esto supone incluir dentro del universo de nuestro interés a las experiencias que no necesariamente denotan una relación con los mercados concentradores o características empresariales.

De hecho, y sin restarle importancia a la agricultura urbana de autoconsumo en la que venimos trabajando, nos encontramos con un techo:

a) Para seguir avanzado en el desarrollo de la agricultura biológica urbana.

b) Respecto de los sujetos de la experiencia, para emplear la agricultura biológica como instrumento de la educación popular en el caso de los pequeños productores periurbanos y de otras experiencias productivas populares urbanas de orientación comercial, de tipo más bien "artesanal" (por ejemplo, experiencias productivas de organizaciones barriales con aspiraciones de vender los excedentes).

c) Para avanzar en relación con interrogantes referidos a los circuitos agroalimentarios periurbanos-urbanos y a las posibilidades que estos circuitos ofrecen

para el desarrollo de propuestas alternativas desde las organizaciones populares.

Estas son las razones por las que nos encontramos ahora preparando una segunda etapa del proyecto, que incluye alternativas orientadas hacia el mercado, mientras continuamos con las metas en el área del autoconsumo. Comenzaremos a trabajar en la investigación exploratoria, el diseño y desarrollo de modelos productivos apropiados para productores periurbanos de alimentos. También deseamos evaluar el potencial organizativo de esos productores y los posibles vínculos con organizaciones populares suburbanas.

Las áreas periurbanas del Gran Buenos Aires presentan algunos rasgos favorables para el desarrollo de esta línea de trabajo. Nos encontramos frente a un área productiva de hortalizas que abarca más de 6000 km², con una superficie destinada a horticultura que supera las 15000 ha⁶ (...).

Este universo poblacional y productivo conforma un área potencial para vincular la producción biológica de alimentos con los diversos tipos de pequeños productores de alimentos en el área.

Para avanzar en este sentido, el estado actual de la cuestión supone en primer lugar una mejor caracterización de este poblamiento. Para ello contamos con datos censales recientes (1988). Luego, una identificación más afinada de los diversos tipos de pequeños productores y sus comportamientos esperados, que recoja la diversidad de situaciones.⁷ Esto

permitiría desarrollar criterios para seleccionar casos representativos que posibiliten un desarrollo exploratorio de los modelos en colaboración estrecha con pequeños productores, a fin de estimar alternativa productivas viables que debieran ser confrontadas en una segunda etapa con un marco social y organizativo más amplio.

Esto posibilitará acercar una concepción productiva y una metodología alternativa de trabajo a sectores sociales pobres o empobrecidos que habitualmente no tienen acceso a la información ni a los recursos necesarios para explorar nuevas posibilidades en el mercado y en el plano instrumental de los procesos organizativos.

Conviene recordar que estamos incluyendo dentro de nuestro universo las modalidades productivas informales locales, de tipo no empresarial, pero que buscan desarrollar un oficio remunerativo.

Nuestra hipótesis central es que la crisis actual, dista mucho de ser transitoria e impulsa de hecho la búsqueda de actividades económicas independientes, favoreciendo en el área periurbana la reproducción de pequeñas unidades productivas. Resulta necesario trabajar modelos productivos acordes con las escalas de tamaño menor y explorar formas asociativas que permitan contrapesar la creciente atomización que naturalmente genera este proceso reproductivo en el sector de la oferta.

Es en este punto que cobran realidad algunos desafíos no abordados en la

primera fase de nuestro proyecto, tanto en el aspecto tecnológico como en orden a desarrollar procesos de capacitación y de promoción de actividades asociativas.

En síntesis:

1. Durante una primera etapa estamos trabajando en un relevamiento exploratorio en base a fuentes secundarias e investigaciones realizadas por terceros, con el objeto de identificar y caracterizar los tipos de productores a los que potencialmente podría estar dirigida la propuesta.

2. En una segunda etapa es posible analizar casos (unidades productivas), para luego avanzar en la investigación aplicada y ensayo, en colaboración con productores o grupos de productores.

Durante esta segunda etapa nos proponemos investigar, diseñar, ensayar y aplicar exploratoriamente modelos productivos de alimentos biológicos para mercado, basados en tecnologías sencillas. De ese modo pretendemos extraer conclusiones acerca de las condiciones que son necesarias para que sean factibles este tipo de alternativas productivas en manos de pequeños productores periurbanos. Habrá que tomar en cuenta el potencial organizativo o asociativo que posibilite enmarcar la propuesta y el margen de posibilidades existentes para grupos urbanos y periurbanos, sin experiencia o con poca experiencia de mercado, que aspiren a crear por este medio nuevas fuentes de trabajo.

Mediante el análisis de casos se puede avanzar en el diseño, ensayo y demostración de modelos sustentados en propuestas tecnológicas sencillas, en diálogo con productores concretos.

La selección de los casos obedece no sólo a criterios estrictamente productivos, sino además a la necesidad de abarcar nuevos eslabones del sistema alimentario urbano, privilegiando aquellos tipos sociales productivos que permitan reconocer y luego trabajar en el plano educativo o organizativo con situaciones de producción apropiables por los sujetos involucrados.

El desarrollo de los modelos productivos incluye el trabajo con aspectos tecnológicos específicos, diferenciados para los distintos tipos y subtipos de productores que se vayan abordando, siempre en el marco de la agricultura biológica de mercado. Esto permitirá aprovechar nuestra experiencia con los modelos de producción para autoconsumo que ya hemos descrito, al menos en el caso de los tipos transicionales (de orientación parcial hacia el mercado).

Pero, por otro lado, implica desarrollar aspectos propios de una agricultura de mercado, tomando en cuenta la resolución de restricciones específicas que derivan de la condición de pequeños productores, mediante: insumos e inversiones poco capital-intensivos, el máximo aprovechamiento de la fuerza de trabajo familiar, variedades apropiadas a los modelos y al mercado, propuestas eficaces para el control biológico de plagas, criterios para la formación y conservación de suelos aptos en el

marco de cada modelo, propuestas adecuadas para el manejo integral de la explotación y su relación con el mercado.

En relación con éste último habrá que estudiar las condiciones necesarias para resolver las dificultades de acceso y de abastecimiento regular del mercado por parte de los pequeños productores, particularmente en el caso de la oferta hortícola. La falta de desarrollo de criterios de tipificación y fiscalización de productos biológicos en el área resulta ser un dificultad adicional que no puede ser soslayada.

Estos últimos señalamientos muestran la necesidad de considerar simultáneamente una dimensión económico-financiera y una problemática de mercadeo de la producción biológica de alimentos, lo cual implica la acumulación de dificultades derivadas, por un lado, de la condición de pequeños productores y, por el otro, de la especificidad del producto ofertado.

El sistema agroalimentario urbano es el marco dentro del cual tiene lugar la propuesta. Trabajar en conceptualizarlo, aprovechando estudios disponibles, servirá como referente del análisis de la realidad socioeconómica y ambiental que condiciona la aplicación de los modelos. Permitirá también extraer hipótesis acerca del comportamiento de los actores de dicho sistema y proveer de algunos criterios necesarios para evaluar los efectos de la propuesta dentro del marco de las políticas alimentarias globales.

3. En forma complementaria y progresiva el proyecto deberá ir conformando estos y otros espacios en ámbitos de aprendizaje que permitan luego desarrollar y sostener un sistema integrado de formación y capacitación para grupos organizados o de agentes que trabajan con ellos. De este modo se podrá encarar en forma crecientemente sistemática el plano educativo y promocional de la propuesta. ○

Notas

1. *La pobreza en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: INDED, 1984). Los criterios utilizados para la definición de necesidades básicas insatisfechas son: 1. Hacinamiento: familias que habitan en viviendas con más de tres personas por cuarto; 2. vivienda precaria; 3. condiciones sanitarias: viviendas sin instalación de baño; 4. educación: familias en las que por lo menos un niño en edad escolar no concurre a la escuela y 5. capacidad de subsistencia: hogares con tasa de dependencia mayor o igual a 4, cuyo jefe tiene bajo nivel de instrucción.

2. *La pobreza en el conurbano bonaerense* (INDEC, Serie Estudios N°13, 1989) y *Sobre la pobreza en Argentina: Un análisis de la situación en el Gran Buenos Aires* (Doc Trabajo N°9, 1989). Estos estudios oficiales sostienen que el 47.2% de la población del Gran Buenos Aires es pobre (3,3 millones), de los cuales aproximadamente un tercio son estructurales y el resto pauperizados. Se incorpora en los estudios un nuevo concep-

to: los pobres estructurales son los que han sufrido históricamente carencias y que constituyen la parte más desprotegida de la sociedad; los pauperizados son las familias que habiendo obtenido anteriormente mejores niveles de vida se caracterizan por las caídas en los consumos de bienes elementales y el acceso a la educación, salud, etc, como resultado de la disminución de sus ingresos.

3. D. Diaz y C. Russo, *La problemática alimentaria en Argentina: una aproximación desde la perspectiva del consumo* (Buenos Aires: 1988, Informe de Investigación)

4. Sobre la caída del consumo de alimentos, su relación con la evolución de los ingresos y el mayor costo de aquellos, así como los cambios en las pautas de consumo, ver Miguel Teubal, "Hambre y alimentación en la Argentina", *Revista Realidad Económica* (N°89, 1989).

5. Los modelos referidos en este punto y en el siguiente han sido presentados en Alfredo Galli, *Modelos de producción orgánica para la alimentación básica* (Buenos Aires: CIPIES, 1990).

6. P. Gutman; G. Gutman; G. Dascal, *El campo en la ciudad. La producción agrícola en el Gran Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: CEUR, 1987) p76; R. Benencia y otros, *Transformaciones recientes de la agricultura argentina. El cordón hortícola del Gran Buenos Aires* (Facultad de Agronomía, Universidad de Buenos Aires: 1988).

7. Un estudio reciente ha comenzado con esta tarea en base a datos del censo agropecuario de 1988, referidos a una de las principales áreas de producción del periurbano de Buenos Aires. Ver R. Benencia y C. Cattáneo, *Estratificación social, proceso de concentración y lógicas productivas entre horticultores bonaerenses* (Facultad de Agronomía, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1990).

Observations sur l'échec des coopératives rurales au Sud-Kivu, Zaïre

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***Résumé:** L'auteur identifie d'abord quatre types d'acteurs qui peuvent être à l'origine de la création de coopératives: politiciens, intellectuels en quête d'argent, hommes ayant déjà un certain succès économique et acteurs de bonne volonté. Il examine ensuite quelques conceptions erronées entourant le terme "coopérative", notamment la confusion avec les mutuelles, le bon marché ou les avantages non mérités. Il remarque trois tendances négatives: l'insuffisance de l'éducation coopérative, la manie de la grandeur et la non-maîtrise du multisectoriel. Il insiste, en conclusion, sur le fait que la cause la plus fréquente d'échec est la mauvaise gestion.*

Observations of the Failures of Rural Cooperatives in South Kivu, Zaire

***Abstract:** The author identifies four types of actors who could be at the origin of the creation of cooperatives: politicians, intellectuals in search of money, people having already a certain economic success and actors of good-will. He then examines some erroneous concepts which grew out of the term "cooperative", in particular the confusion with the mutual aid societies, low cost, and undeserved benefits. Finally, he notes three negative trends: insufficient attention to cooperative education, inclination to bigness, and poor control of multisectorialism. He insists, in conclusion, that the most frequent cause for failure is bad management.*

Observaciones sobre las causas del fracaso de las cooperativas rurales en el Sud-Kivu, Zaire

***Resumen:** El autor identifica en primer lugar cuatro tipos de actores que pueden estar al origen de la creación de cooperativas: políticos, intelectuales en búsqueda de dinero, hombres que ya tienen un cierto éxito económico y actores de buena voluntad. Examina luego algunas de las concepciones erróneas rodeando el término "cooperativa", particularmente la confusión con las mutualidades, el barato o los*

(Pasa a la página 56)

Observations sur l'échec des coopératives rurales au Sud-Kivu, Zaïre

La fréquence d'un dénouement malheureux pour de nombreuses initiatives coopératives en milieu rural est de plus en plus signalée par les observateurs et les analystes. Notre souci dans le cadre étroit de cet article n'est pas d'allonger le palmarès des coopératives paysannes qui se sont soldées par des échecs mais plutôt de présenter, sur la base des observations menées dans les zones de Fizi et d'Uvira au Sud-Kivu, une réflexion modeste sur ces échecs.

En effet, les coopératives naissent en grand nombre dans nos espaces ruraux et sous des formes différentes: coopératives de production, de consommation, d'écoulement, de pêche, etc. Nombre de ces coopératives sont de dimension réduite, manquent d'efficacité opérationnelle et exercent peu d'influence sur leur environnement. Cette sombre situation revêt, au Sud-Kivu, une extension qui ne manque pas de susciter l'inquiétude. Aussi nous sommes-nous mis à observer depuis déjà deux ans, des coopératives et même des "cadavres" de projets de coopératives dans les deux zones déjà citées. Les observations qui suivent resteront de caractère général car notre souci est de dégager des éléments d'explication de l'échec des coopératives au Sud-Kivu sans nous appesantir sur les spécificités relevant des études de cas.

Qui crée les coopératives en milieu rural du Sud-Kivu?

Si beaucoup d'auteurs insistent encore sur le fait que les coopératives ont été longtemps utilisées par l'Etat néo-colonial au service d'un modèle de développement qui ponctionne la paysannerie par le biais de structures fortement bureaucratiques, notre attention se tourne cependant sur les coopératives rurales actuelles qui sont des organisations à base volontaire et non une création directe de l'Etat. L'analyse de l'histoire de certaines coopératives (Luci, Emo, COOPAFI, COOPELAZ, ACODES-KI...) suggère que leur création est surtout l'oeuvre de quatre types d'acteurs ci-après:

a) *Des politiciens*. - Il s'agit surtout de personnes qui sont en quête d'une popularité indispensable pour la réussite aux élections. L'animation qu'elles mènent pour s'assurer l'adhésion des paysans est parsemée de promesses d'aides extérieures qui développent chez ceux-ci une attitude attentiste dans laquelle la souscription des parts sociales est considérée comme un appât destiné à attirer les dons en provenance du gouvernement ou d'organismes non gouvernementaux. Dans la suite, la non-réalisation de ces promesses devient un objet de déception pour les paysans et

produit un désinvestissement de l'enthousiasme envers la coopérative. Il est donc évident que, dans ce cas, les coopératives sont bâties sur un sous-basement d'objectifs inavoués visant les avantages personnels de leurs créateurs et voilés par des déclarations qui sont des bluffs destinés à faire croire que l'intérêt collectif est le centre des efforts déployés.

Cette tendance des politiciens et aspirants politiciens à chercher la popularité à travers les coopératives et autres associations populaires de développement devient de plus en plus remarquable au Sud-Kivu. Loin de condamner l'action des élites locales en faveur de la promotion socio-économique de leurs contrées d'origine, il est important de fustiger la tendance à utiliser les coopératives et autres associations de développement comme tremplin pour la constitution des zones d'influence et de prestige personnels au service de visées politiques. Le danger dans ce cas est la politisation des coopératives et l'inhibition des autres membres qui n'osent pas prendre des responsabilités croyant que celles-ci sont l'apanage des hommes "forts".

b) *Des intellectuels en quête d'argent.* - Il s'agit ici de gens qui profitent de leur ouverture d'esprit pour exploiter la paysannerie en lui proposant des actions collectives dont les avantages sont déviés vers les besoins individuels. Ce groupe a des ressemblances avec le précédent à la différence que les intérêts visés ici sont plus économiques que politiques.

c) *Des hommes ayant déjà un certain succès économique.* - Il s'agit d'anciens

commerçants et autres entrepreneurs locaux qui veulent, à travers les coopératives de paysans, renforcer leurs propres activités. Les coopérateurs ne reçoivent, dans ce cas, qu'un reliquat d'avantages destinés à distraire leur vigilance. Les moyens d'action, surtout l'argent, sont utilisés dans les affaires commerciales privées au nom des coopératives.

d) *Des acteurs de bonne volonté.* - Dans ce groupe on rencontre quelques personnes à esprit réellement coopératif, quelques responsables religieux animés de la volonté d'aider les gens à résoudre leurs problèmes. L'échec est dans ce cas dû à un manque de technicité qui fait apparaître des déficiences d'ordre organisationnel.

Quelques conceptions erronées qui se développent autour du terme "coopérative"

Le mot "coopérative" semble exercer un attrait particulier qui justifie l'existence de plusieurs petites organisations mal connues et portant ce nom. Cette attraction est due, du moins dans l'espace où nous avons mené nos observations, à une vision simpliste qui établit l'équation "coopérative-développement". Cette vision vicie le vrai sens de la coopérative et occasionne l'emploi de ce terme pour désigner toute initiative de caractère économique et/ou social considérée comme poursuivant un objectif de développement. C'est ainsi que, dans la zone de Fizi, comme dans beaucoup d'autres endroits du Sud-Kivu, il se développe trois fausses

conceptions autour de l'entreprise coopérative.

a) *Une association d'entraide.* - Le mot coopérative est ici confondu avec la mutuelle et est employé pour désigner des regroupements à base familiale ou résidentielle destinés à porter secours aux membres en situation de besoin.

b) *Une entreprise où l'on doit vendre à bas prix.* - Cette conception est née dans les coopératives de consommateurs où, voulant montrer que la coopérative est plus avantageuse que la boutique du commerçant, les responsables adoptent des prix inférieurs. Mais, tout en reconnaissant à cette pratique un certain bien-fondé coopératif, nous savons bien qu'il est possible de montrer aux membres que, même en adoptant des prix égaux à ceux des commerçants, la coopérative reste plus avantageuse pour les raisons suivantes:

- l'octroi de la ristourne à chaque membre au prorata des transactions effectuées avec la coopérative est une façon de remettre à celui-ci ce que la coopérative a perçu en adoptant le même prix que le commerçant privé;
- une partie des excédents favorables de la coopérative peuvent être utilisés au financement des services collectifs, c'est-à-dire qu'en définitive ils sont remis aux membres sous une forme globale, non individualisée.

c) *Une entreprise qui fournit des avantages sans exiger des sacrifices énormes.* - C'est la troisième fausse conception qui semble tirer ses racines dans les coopératives dont la création a fait intervenir

des promesses d'aides extérieures. Il est alors entré dans le savoir populaire que l'adhésion à une coopérative peut toujours rapporter des avantages même si le membre n'y engage pas son effort. Cette conception place haut le profit en mettant à l'index les devoirs du membre. Or, il n'est pas nécessaire d'être savant pour remarquer que droits et devoirs sont intimement liés, tout comme, dans la logique économique, tout acte économique est bipolaire en ce sens qu'il comporte, d'une part une utilité, et d'autre part un sacrifice.

Quelques erreurs courantes

Dans la pratique de la coopération en milieu rural, certaines tares et de mauvaises tendances procédurales émergent. Voici les principales que nous avons remarquées:

a) *Une moindre importance réservée à l'éducation coopérative.* - Les membres ne sont pas suffisamment informés et formés sur l'idéal coopératif, sur les affaires de leur entreprise et leur rôle dans le fonctionnement de celle-ci. Leur participation à la réalisation des objectifs communs est donc inefficace, faute d'information, de formation et de compétences nécessaires. Il est donc indispensable de restituer à l'éducation coopérative la place qu'il lui faut car la coopérative ne peut exister vraiment, c'est-à-dire permettre à ses membres de participer à sa gestion ou à sa direction, que lorsqu'un effort soutenu d'éducation aura développé l'esprit coopératif et éveillé chez tous le sens des responsabilités communes.

b) *Une manie de la grandeur.* - Nombre de coopératives veulent, dès leur création, couvrir un ressort territorial très vaste et avoir ainsi le maximum de membres possible. Avec une gestion peu avertie, la conduite des affaires de l'entreprise et la répartition des avantages deviennent l'objet de maintes distorsions. Les structures de contrôle de la gestion deviennent inefficaces et la majorité des membres restent ignorants de ce qui se passe dans leur association. Cela favorise la concentration des pouvoirs entre les mains d'une poignée de membres actifs ou même entre celles du seul gérant, avec toutes les conséquences néfastes qui en découlent: prééminence de l'intérêt individuel, exploitation des membres et désintéressement de ceux-ci.

Il serait donc mieux de commencer petit, c'est-à-dire démarrer dans un ressort territorial réduit et avec un nombre raisonnable de membres. La stratégie à adapter sera d'atteindre, dans un bref délai, des résultats positifs, tangibles, susceptibles de renforcer la confiance des membres et d'attirer celle des non-membres. Misant sur ce petit succès rapide et appliquant rationnellement le principe de la porte ouverte, la coopérative pourra progressivement intégrer de nouveaux membres et étendre son champ d'action.

c) *Un multisectorialisme non maîtrisé.* - La plupart des coopératives rurales sont multisectorielles. Cela se justifierait par le multiplicité des problèmes qui se posent dans nos campagnes et que ces organisations sont tentées d'aborder tous à la fois (approvisionnement en

produits manufacturés de première nécessité, écoulement de la production agricole, organisation de l'épargne, etc.). Cependant, malgré la justification d'une approche globale, il ne reste pas moins vrai qu'il faut s'assurer que les moyens matériels et financiers disponibles ainsi que les compétences humaines en présence permettent d'intervenir dans plusieurs domaines d'activités à la fois. Sinon, il est prudent de maîtriser d'abord un secteur précis et y réussir au lieu de s'engager dans des activités très diversifiées en y essayant des échecs.

Conclusion: Redorer le blason de la coopération, une tâche primordiale dans le développement rural

La synergie entre tous les facteurs ci-haut mentionnés (création des coopératives avec des motivations individualistes sous-jacentes, fausses conceptions de l'institution coopérative et erreurs de pratique) a comme grande conséquence les échecs des coopératives. Les déboires encaissés engendrent la perte de confiance et accroissent la réticence face aux initiatives analogues ultérieures.

Et pourtant, nonobstant leurs échecs, nous ne saurions soutenir que les coopératives sont peu indiquées dans l'action de développement rural. La masse paysanne du Sud-Kivu est en général dépourvue de moyens d'actions indispensables à l'organisation des entreprises individuelles. En outre, elle vit dans un contexte social où les actions collectives ne sont pas une nouveauté. Les coopératives restent donc, grâce à leur nature à la fois sociale et économique, des cadres d'action par

lesquels les paysans peuvent satisfaire des besoins personnels et collectifs au moyen d'un effort communautaire. En plaçant le sociétaire au centre de son entreprise, en faisant de lui un responsable de la satisfaction de ses propres besoins, la pédagogie coopérative répond donc à l'esprit d'un développement auto-centré et autopropulsé.

Si donc malgré sa valeur intrinsèque la coopération ne parvient pas à améliorer significativement le sort des paysans, nous pouvons attribuer cet état de choses à la qualité de la gestion des coopératives. La mauvaise gestion est la cause la plus fréquente de l'échec des coopératives au Zaïre. Le manque de gérants et d'administrateurs efficaces, compétents et dévoués est un mal qui ronge plusieurs coopératives.

Le travail avec les paysans pour l'intérêt de la paysannerie ne doit donc pas être l'oeuvre de quelqu'un qui l'exerce pour la simple raison qu'il n'a pas pu trouver mieux ailleurs. Il requiert du dévouement, de la modestie, de l'abnégation. Bref, la vocation. C'est là une tâche qui

interpelle l'agent de développement rural qui doit alors bâtir son action sur un solide tremplin éthique indispensable aux gestionnaires des coopératives dans notre situation de crise organisationnelle manifeste.

Nous avons insisté sur l'échec des coopératives dans le contexte d'un milieu rural zaïrois. Nous aurions pu même parler de projets non coopératifs qui restent lettre morte ou qui se limitent à des réalisations à peine commencées; tout cela dans un espace géographique doté de potentialités énormes. En fait, que notre milieu naturel soit un scandale géologique ou agricole, nous n'y sommes pour rien: les gisements miniers, les sols fertiles et les climats généreux ne sont pas notre création. Mais, qu'avec leurs potentialités naturelles gigantesques nos milieux ruraux soient le théâtre des situations peu épanouissantes, voilà un état qui n'épargne la responsabilité d'aucun d'entre nous, tant il est vrai que le développement ne part pas des biens seulement mais des hommes, de leur éducation et de leur organisation. ○

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beneficios no merecidos. Observa asimismo tres tendencias negativas: la insuficiencia de la educación cooperativa, la manía de grandeza y la ausencia de dominio de lo multisectorial. El autor insiste, en conclusión, sobre el hecho que la causa más frecuente del fracaso es la mala gestión.

Ivan Illich and friends: **Declaration on Soil**

Our friend Ivan Illich sends us the following Declaration on Soil drawn up by some of the participants in a meeting on agriculture in Oldenburg, Germany, held in honor of Robert Rodale.)

The ecological discourse about planet earth, global hunger, threats to life, urges us to look down at the soil, humbly, as philosophers. We stand on soil, not on earth. From soil we come, and to the soil we bequeath our excrements and remains. And yet soil - its cultivation and our bondage to it - is remarkably absent from those things clarified by philosophy in our western tradition.

As philosophers, we search below our feet because our generation has lost its grounding in both soil and virtue. By virtue, we mean that shape, order and direction of action informed by tradition, bounded by place, and qualified by choices made within the habitual reach of the actor; we mean practice mutually recognized as being good within a shared local culture which enhances the memories of a place.

We note that such virtue is traditionally found in labor, craft, dwelling and suffering supported, not by an abstract earth, environment or energy system, but by the particular soils these very actions have enriched with their traces. And yet, in spite of this ultimate bond between soil and being, soil and the good, philosophy has not brought forth the concepts which would allow us to relate virtue to common soil, something vastly different from managing behavior on a shared planet.

We were torn from the bonds to soil - the connections which limited action, making practical virtue possible - when modernization insulated us from plain dirt, from toil, flesh, soil and grave. The economy into which we have been absorbed - some, willy-nilly, some at great cost - transforms people into interchangeable morsels of population, ruled by the laws of scarcity.

Commons and homes are barely imaginable to persons hooked on public utilities and garaged in furnished cubicles. Bread is a mere foodstuff, if

not calories or roughage. To speak of friendship, religion and joint suffering as a style of conviviality - after the soil has been poisoned and cemented over - appears like academic dreaming to people randomly scattered in vehicles, offices, prisons and hotels.

As philosophers, we emphasize the duty to speak about soil. For Plato, Aristotle and Galen it could be taken for granted; not so today. Soil on which culture can grow and corn be cultivated is lost from view when it is defined as a complex subsystem, sector, resource, problem or "farm" - as agricultural science tends to do.

As philosophers, we offer resistance to those ecological experts who preach respect for science, but foster neglect for historical tradition, local flair and the earthy virtue, self-limitation.

Sadly, but without nostalgia, we acknowledge the pastness of the past. With diffidence, then, we attempt to share what we see: some results of the earth's having lost its soil. And we are irked by the neglect for soil in the discourse carried on among boardroom ecologists. But we are also critical of many among well-meaning romantics, Luddites and mystics who exalt soil, making it the matrix, not of virtue, but of life. Therefore, we issue a call for a philosophy of soil: a clear, disciplined analysis of that experience and memory of soil without which neither virtue nor some new kind of subsistence can be. ○

Hebenshausen, 6 December 1990

Signar Groeneveld, Lee Hoinacki, Ivan Illich and friends

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Poland: The Green Federation - A Political Movement for Radical Ecology

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Abstract: Poland has three national green organizations: the Polish Green Party (PPZ), the Independent Party, and the Green Federation (FZ). The author describes the differences between the PPZ and the FZ. He then reports about the political, ideological, structural, and economical positions of the FZ. The latter supports a development which is neither centrally planned nor trapped by the market ideology. The Green Federation is a pattern of networks; there are no hierarchies. Its vision is a democreative society - a society that supercedes the power relations among people and vertical structures of domination. Democreation, the key concept of the political philosophy of the Green Federation, is defined not as one of the ways to wield power but rather to create human communities.

Pologne: la Fédération verte - un mouvement pour une écologie radicale

Résumé: Il y a trois organisations nationales vertes en Pologne: le Parti vert polonais (PPZ), le Parti indépendant et la Fédération verte (FZ). L'auteur montre les différences entre le PPZ et la FZ. Il décrit ensuite les positions politiques, idéologiques, structurelles et économiques de la FZ. Celle-ci se prononce en faveur d'un développement qui ne soit ni centralement planifié ni prisonnier de l'idéologie du marché. La Fédération verte constitue un ensemble de réseaux non-hiérarchiques. Sa vision est celle d'une société démocratique - une société dépassant les relations de pouvoir entre les gens et les structures verticales de domination. La démocrécration, concept-clé de la philosophie de la FZ, est définie comme un moyen, non d'exercer un pouvoir, mais bien plutôt de créer des communautés humaines.

(Resumen español, vease página 65)

Grzegorz Peszko

Poland: The Green Federation - A Political Movement for Radical Ecology

There are three national green organizations in Poland that openly declare political ambitions and character: the *Polish Green Party* (PPZ), the *Independent Party - the Green Movement* and the *Green Federation* (FZ), which is the focus of the present paper*. It was founded simultaneously with the other two by part of the group of people who, in Autumn 1988, came to the idea of setting up the political representation of Polish Greens.

While divisions within the Polish Green Party seem to be rooted in personal ambitions of its leading activists, the distinction between the Green Federation and the Polish Green Party reflects different concepts of philosophy, programmes and structure of political organization. To some extent, it corresponds to the differences between "realists" and "fundamentalists" to be found in most West European green parties. The coexistence of *realos* and *fundis* provide green parties with a specific dynamics and livability. However, in the Polish case, as was discussed at the inaugural congress of the Green Federation, the gap between people from PPZ and people from FZ in relation to basic presumptions and concepts of green politics, green economics and ecological lifestyle was too wide to be creative and inspiring. It could have rather turned destructive.

So it was decided to cooperate with PPZ where and when it would benefit the environment, but to stay independent. In the short information pamphlet about the Green Federation which was issued in English, it is stated that "our ideas are too different to be contained in one single organization. We simply believe that we have different roles to play in the green movement. Both are necessary and neither is more important than the other".

* This is a chapter of Przemyslaw Czajkowski's book *Ecological Movements and Organizations in Poland (forthcoming)*. The author is one of the leaders of the FZ.

Different visions of basic ideas and different visions of the organizational structure appeared as early as in Autumn 1988 during the discussions of the initiative group of the Polish Ecological Party. Two different versions of the manifesto and of the statute were elaborated. A special commission was set up to merge those documents. Since divergences, however, turned out to be irreconcilable, it was decided that it would be better to launch two different organizations working side by side. That was how there came to be two separate foundation congresses - that of Polish Green Party in Krakow on 10 December and that of the Green Federation in Ostrow Wielkopolski, also on 10-11 December.

At the foundation congress of the Green Federation, the declaration of ideas called *Our Principles* and constitution called *Anti-statute of the Green Federation* were elaborated and accepted. *Our Principles* are based on one of the versions of documents presented earlier in the initiative group of the Polish Ecological Party. The manifesto of the Polish Green Party, accepted at the congress in Krakow, is based on the mixture of those documents. That is why there are some similar wordings in *Our Principles* of the FZ and the manifesto of the PPZ.

In the statutory resolutions of the Polish Green Party adopted later by all three conflicting fractions, traditional structures and functions of political parties such as formalized membership, hierarchical power structure and goal to acquire power in the state were accepted. In contrast to that, the constitutional documents of the Green Federation are aimed at a new model of political activity and political organization.

The *Anti-statute* does not provide for formal membership. It states: "Participation in the Green Federation begins with declaring the will to cultivate and share the ideas expressed in *Our principles* and to join the common activities for reaching common goals". This declaration is by no means a written formula. FZ is not registering its members, nor issuing any membership cards. Participation in the activities of the Green Federation remains the only criterium of "membership".

The structure of the Green Federation intentionally differs from the forms traditionally adopted by mainstream political parties. It is created according to a pattern of a network, not a pyramid. Thus, as the *Anti-statute* states: "The Green Federation is a network of horizontally

connected, autonomous groups of people. Both the local groups and the whole Federation are lacking hierarchical relations of subordination and especially vertical power structures. Whenever necessary, for the sake of coordination of, over and above local activities, temporary structures might be called into being by mutual agreements. Such structures include for instance single-issue cooperatives, discussions or advisory groups". Thus, there are no boards in the Green Federation, nor fixed spokesmen and leaders. The only fixed function is a contact person of each group. Such a person is to be changed every mid-year. Despite this lack of hierarchical structures, a coordination of actions between different groups has been quite effective so far. The most active groups have kept permanent contacts with each other. The problem that a few groups have faced was related to the fact that informal group leaders have been emerging. The countermeasures to prevent it were discussed during the first regular congress.

The concepts of means and goals of political activity are also different from those that are adopted by traditional parties. As the *Anti-statute* says "the ends and means of its activity challenge traditional political institutions and rituals". Defining itself as a political group, FZ rejects playing the fundamental role of a political party - it does not want to be a specialized organization dedicated to struggle for people in the state. It is implied by a shared vision of a *democreative* society - a concept that constitutes a central category of the political programme of FZ. Briefly speaking, it is going to be a society which develops such forms of public activity that supersede the power relations among people and vertical structures of domination.

That is why *democreation* is defined in *Our Principles* not as one of the ways to wield power but as one of the ways to create human communities. The desired political vision is a nonhierarchical society created from the grassroots according to a pattern of a network of diverse local communities. That is why it was decided at the foundation congress that the Green Federation was never going to run for elections to the national parliament and that the political activity of its participants would be oriented on weakening the central state power and on the reconstruction of the political subjectivity of small scale local communities. As it was emphasized, the participants in FZ perceive their role not as members of an organization dedicated to act on behalf of

local communities but rather as inspirers of the direct political participation and public activity of those communities. Such a self-perception arises from a strong aversion for the totalitarian practices of the communist party-state that limited political subjectivity and activity to a narrow elite of hierarchically ordered *nomenklatura*, as well as from critics of today's institutions and rituals of indirect, parliamentary, democracy subordinated to domination of money and violence. *Our Principles* also expresses a conviction that all seeds of direct, participatory democracy ought to be enforced and developed.

The main points of the vision of the Green Federation

- *The deep approach to ecology* - the rejection of anthropocentric presumption that environment should be protected because its destruction threatens the existence of human beings. The intrinsic value of nature is emphasized and a holistic perspective of interconnectedness of all elements and dimensions of reality is maintained.
- *Nonreductionist, postquantitative economics* - which uses values that are not all translated into the language of money. This requires an economy that involves ecological, social and moral considerations while making economic choices. The Green Federation promotes and supports a development that goes away from the centrally planned economy but does not get trapped by market ideology. The economic vision of FZ eclipses the paradigm of economic growth and encourages low energy, bioregionally self-reliant economies that respect such principles as satisfaction of whole range of human needs including full satisfaction of basic material needs; preservation of cultural diversity of local communities; comprehensive personal development; social justice; sustainable use of resources; promotion of lifestyles that are simple in means but rich in ends (Arne Naess); and harmonious co-existence with rich living environment.
- *Broad understanding of security* - as stated in *Our Principles*, "our concept of peace is not based on security provided by strong police-state authority, nor by a great army deterring foreign enemies". Thus the Green Federation envisages the security that include environmental and social security to be achieved in demilitarized societies. The activities of FZ are oriented on digging out social roots of war - particularly

... I wan bi President

by Ezenwa-Ohaeto (Nigeria)

E get one dream
Wey dey worry me

De dream bi say
I wan bi President

I never see President hungry
I never see President thirsty
President no go worry for road
Police no go stop him am for checking
President no go worry for house
Na government cook dey prepare food
Na government dry cleaner dey wash
cloth
Na government driver dey drive motor
Na him make I wan bi President

If President go oversea
Na for red carpet e go walk
Na so so salute dem go dey make
Na special aeroplane go carry am
Na for best hotel e go sleep
Dem fit give am special woman for
night

President fit take cocaine travel
E fit carry heroin dey go
E fit bring hemp return
Dem no dey search President

I wan bi President like Russia dem own
If you sneeze every country go begin
cry
I wan bi President like America dem
own

If you cough every country go begin
weep

I wan bi President
If I wan marry beautiful wife
I go order make she come
If I wan chop better food
I go order make dem go bring am
If I wan girl friend sef
Na so I go send driver for evening

I wan bi President
Wey dem go dey praise
Every street go carry my name
I go rename all University for de
country

All de towns go carry my name
If dem publish newspaper or magazine
Wey curse me even small
Na bomb I go take teach dem lesson

I wan bi President
If food no dey market I no worry
If dem say price don rise I no go worry
If salary no come on time I no go
worry
If petrol dey cost too much I no go
worry
If sanitation exercise dey I no go worry
If na religion trouble dey I no go worry

My broder
I wan bi President
Even for my Papa House
...But na dream I dey dream... ○

Foreign Ngos, Uses and Abuses: An African Perspective

by **Yash Tandon**

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***Abstract:** Against the background of the failure of the state in Africa, the author questions who are the foreign (western) Ngos and what they are doing in Africa. He points out their secrecy, non-transparency of their decision-making process, non-reciprocity in relations with the southern Ngos, and their reluctance to be evaluated by their African partners. He warns that Africans should be more vigilant and concludes with two recommendations: firstly, Africans must do their own scientific studies on their history, culture, economy, and the patterns of authority and legitimacy so as to ascertain what is acceptable and achievable by the people of Africa. Secondly, northern Ngos must be made more transparent. In sum, what Africa is asking for is an alliance, not one-sided solidarity, with the progressive forces of the North.*

Ongs étrangères, utilisation et abus: un point de vue africain

***Résumé:** Dans le contexte de l'échec de l'état en Afrique, l'auteur demande qui sont les Ongs étrangères occidentales et ce qu'elles font en Afrique. Il souligne leur goût du secret, l'opacité de leurs processus décisionnels, l'absence de réciprocité dans les relations avec les Ongs du Sud et les difficultés qu'elles ont à accepter d'être évaluées par leurs partenaires africaines. Il appelle les Africains à être plus vigilants et conclut par deux recommandations: primo, les Africains doivent entreprendre eux-mêmes l'étude scientifique de leur histoire, de leur culture, de leur économie, des relations de pouvoir et de légitimité afin de déterminer ce qui est acceptable et réalisable par eux-mêmes; secundo, les Ongs du Nord doivent être rendues plus transparentes. En somme, ce que l'Afrique demande est une alliance, et non la solidarité unilatérale, avec les forces progressistes du Nord.*

(Resumen español, véase página 78)

Yash Tandon

Foreign Ngos, Uses and Abuses: An African Perspective

Excerpted from a paper read at the Roundtable organised by the African Association of Public Administration (AAPAM) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa Special Action Programme in Administration and Management - Regional Project (ECA/SAPAM), on the theme Mobilizing the Informal Sector and Non-Governmental Organizations for Recovery and Development: Policy and Management Issues, Abuja, Nigeria, December 1990.

The rise of the Ngos and the fall of the state

The African state has come under severe criticism over the last few years for its failure to deliver "development" to the people. We have no reason to come out in its defence. For all practical purposes and as far as the masses of the people of Africa are concerned, the African neo-colonial state has indeed failed. The failure, however, is presented in the journalistic media and in "policy reviewing" conferences as either an institutional failure, with very little attempts made to analyse the specific nature of the African state, or as personal failures on the part of those who are in the seat of government, with very little effort made, at a theoretical level, to distinguish between state and government. However, since this is not an issue we wish to tackle here, we simply take note of the fact that the state in Africa as an instrument of development is more or less discredited.

It is in this context that the Ngos have come to the fore. There is much talk

these days about the "civil society" (as if the civil society can be understood separate from and outside of the state, although that is how matters are generally presented by those who are critical of the state). The groundswell of opposition from citizens' associations in Eastern Europe and their role in the virtual demise of those states as we had known them, and the foreseeable demise of the South African *apartheid* government through mass action from below have further increased the prestige of "the civics" in contrast to the state. Against this background of the failure of the African and the "socialist" states, the Ngos have acquired new prominence and are enjoying unprecedented popularity.

We all know that the Ngos have proliferated in Africa in terms of both geographic spread and function. Ngos which in previous decades were limited largely to relief and refugees work are now doing all kinds of things. For

example, the publication *Non-Governmental Organizations and Sub-Saharan Africa* put out by the United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service in July 1988 listed some 195 Ngo based in Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand (excluding, that is, those from the USA and Canada) with operational or educational activities in Sub-Saharan Africa. Of these, 60% listed themselves as working in the area of primary health care, 39% in agriculture, 33% in non-formal/adult education, 22% in training, 19% in rural and community development, 16% on women's issues, and 15% on water supply. Of course, most of these issues are interconnected and so most northern Ngos working in Africa now loosely describe themselves as "developmental". Besides developmental work in Africa, most of them are also involved in what they call "advocacy". They try to present the African case to their own home publics in an attempt to obtain support from them (usually financial) to back their operational work in Africa. Many of them are involved in what they call "solidarity" work in Africa: they have been supporting, for example, the liberation movements in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Furthermore, and increasingly these days, they are moving into the human rights field, and are becoming significant monitoring agents for the western countries on the observance (or otherwise) of human rights in Africa.¹

There are two issues of concern about these (western) Ngos in Africa: Who are they and what are they doing in Africa? Public understanding on both these issues is both superficial and

uncritical, for the fact of the matter is that we do not really know what the western Ngos amidst us are doing in Africa. Are they the missionaries of a new era and therefore forerunners of a new kind of imperialism, or are they indeed allies of the people of Africa in their continuing struggle against domination and exploitation by imperialism over the last hundred and more years?

Before we make our assessment of what we think foreign Ngos are doing in Africa, we must accept the limitations of our inquiry. We are making this assessment purely on the basis of what we have seen of them in our work in southern and eastern Africa, although we do believe that our conclusions would apply to Africa generally. Secondly, and this is a point we wish to further elaborate, the foreign Ngos are a secret lot. We do not really know much about them. What we know about them is on the basis of their "field work" in Africa. We know little about "how their heart beats" in Europe or America or Canada. We shall further develop this point because one of the recommendations we shall later make is that the Ngos from the North should be made more transparent for us to know exactly what their motivations are in Africa. Much of the criticism we have of foreign Ngos in Africa stems from the fact that they work with such secrecy and opaqueness that it is right for an African to be suspicious about them *ab initio*. After all, Africa has in the past been taken for a ride many times. The generally hospitable and welcoming culture of Africa is too easily prone to taking the foreigner at his face value,

and in the process Africa has lost all its lands and all its resources to the foreigners. This time Africa should be more vigilant.

Opaqueness of the western Ngos

Therefore we begin by first explaining why it is so difficult to know about northern Ngos. There are five reasons for this, possibly more:

- a) the secrecy of their decision-making processes;
- b) their relations with their own governments;
- c) the complexity of their domestic or home constituencies to which they are accountable;
- d) the historical relations of dominance between their countries and Africa; and
- e) their reluctance to be evaluated by African "partners".

Most western Ngos are shrouded in secrecy. What we know of them are the addresses of their head offices (especially, these days, their fax numbers - so that we can have quick access to their money), some of the staff working in these offices, their field representatives and staff, and their glossy magazines showing pictures of the kinds of work they do in Africa. It is also possible to get hold of the constitutions or trust deeds under which they operate, and their annual reports although few Africans bother to acquire or read these. So what we know about western Ngos are only the outward trappings of these organizations. More than the outward flummery very few Africans know much about them. In particular, it is difficult

to know exactly how these organizations take decisions on concrete issues.

One may also think that it would be out of character for the CIA not to penetrate the Ngo world when they have been able to penetrate even the inner labyrinths of African liberation movements. Besides, the Ngos provide a perfect camouflage for they are so readily trusted in Africa (and in other parts of the Third World) as "solidarity" organs created and run by people in the West who are "sympathetic" to Africans and the peoples of the Third World. We are not saying that we know that these Ngos are outposts of western intelligence. All we are saying is that we don't know, but we are suspicious because of the secret manner in which they take decisions.

Western Ngos' relations with their own governments

Another factor that makes it difficult for Africans to understand western Ngos is their relations with their governments. Many of them receive direct government funds and yet they are called "non-governmental". Why? For example, in Europe, the Dutch "Ngos", Novib, Hivos and Snv are very active in Africa. Hivos gets 100% of its funds from the Dutch government, Novib gets about 70% and Snv, in fact, is a direct arm of the Foreign Ministry. What right do they have to present themselves to Africans as "non-governmental"?

In the United States, the African Development Foundation (Adf) is a congressional creation, and gets all its money

from the Congress. It is, furthermore, accountable to the Congress on how it spends its money in Africa. The Adf was modelled after the Inter-American Foundation with a large network of projects all over Latin America, just as the Adf too has a widespread presence

in Africa.² Is it proper to call the Adf an Ngo?

A Canadian study, *Bridges of Hope?* brought out the fact that the Government of Canada, has increasingly taken over the funding of Canadian Ngos, as the table below shows.

Growth of revenue of a sample of Ngos, by source of funds³

	1975		1984	
	C\$ million	%	C\$ million	%
Government sources	16.0	39.9%	96.4	49.4%
Private sources	<u>24.1</u>	<u>60.1%</u>	<u>98.9</u>	<u>50.6%</u>
Total	40.1	100%	195.3	100%

As the table shows, government funding of Canadian "Ngos" has increased from a third to almost half between 1975 and 1984. Given this trend, the government contribution in the 1990s may well be more than half. Explaining this, the authors of the book say: "...government funding of Ngo activity has increased markedly over the past decade. For the most part, these funds are part of the official development assistance (ODA) budget, channelled through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) or provincial government matching grant programs; in addition, a few agencies receive funding from other federal and provincial government programs not included in the ODA budget."

It is legitimate for Africans to ask the question: if Canadian "Ngos" receive a greater and greater portion of their funding from their governments, and if

furthermore, part of the funding that is described as "private" comes from business corporations, to what extent is it still legitimate to describe these bodies as "non-governmental"? We know, for example, that the Canadian "Ngo", CUSO, which is a major actor on the grassroots scene in Africa, is required by the Canadian government to undertake placement of what are euphemistically called "co-operants" within the grassroots organizations in Africa that they purport to service. Is this, one might ask, a way of creating jobs for young Canadian unemployed graduates?

Increasingly, the European "Ngos" get money from the European Economic Community (EEC). It is part of the new strategy of the EEC to direct portion of their "development" assistance through the Ngos, because, they say, and indeed we agree, that the state

machinery in Africa is not able to deliver the goods to the people. This EEC money is "official" money. Therefore their disbursement, one must fairly surmise, is aimed at fulfilling certain economic and foreign policy objectives of the EEC countries. Under the circumstances, how legitimate is it for European Ngos administering these funds in Africa to continue to describe themselves as "non-governmental"?

Let us give an example. The best known use of this EEC money was through the Kagiso Trust in South Africa. The Kagiso Trust was specifically created to channel EEC funds to Ngos in South Africa involved in welfare activities, human rights, media work or in some form of resistance against the South African *apartheid* regime. Now we may approve of the use to which this money was put, because it strengthened the capacity of the grassroots civic and mass organizations to combat against racism and *apartheid*. But that, in the context of the present discussion, is irrelevant, because the point is that the money came through the EEC and was aimed at fulfilling certain "official" governmental objectives of the EEC countries, and the European and South African Ngos were simply used as conduits. In other words, why the EEC decided it wanted to channel funds to these "opposition" Ngos in South Africa must be part of its own broader and long-term strategy in South Africa. Most of these monies were used by the ANC-UDF backed mass and civic organizations. (In passing, we might mention in relation to the Kagiso Trust that Britain's Thatcher tried, though not suc-

cessfully, to channel some of this money to Gatcha Buthelezi's Inkatha Movement, but the other members of the EEC blocked this effort for certain political reasons of their own.) That still raises questions about policy. Was this EEC money given as "conscience money" or were there more subtle and long-term considerations behind it?

EEC money comes into Africa through northern "Ngos" to finance rural development and grassroots projects. We have no record of any African organization which has carried out a systematic evaluation of what all this EEC money is actually doing in Africa, and whose interest it is really serving. From our own inquiry, we have found that much of this money goes into what the EEC calls "micro-projects", but the inputs that go into these projects (such as seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, tractors, consultancies and training and extension service) continue to tie Africa into the market economy of Europe. The question then to ask is whether these activities have not intensified African people's dependence on Europe rather than enabling them to become self-reliant. How, in other words, does the EEC funding to African Ngos fit into the overall EEC's economic strategy of continuing the plunder of Africa? Or are these, once again, "charity money" to assuage the conscience of Europe?

The complexity of the domestic or home constituencies to which western Ngos are accountable

The next factor that makes western Ngos a mystery for us in Africa is the

question of who really is their constituency. We are told that the people in Africa, where they work, are their "operational" constituencies, whereas we suspect that their "real" constituencies are the people (and governments) in the countries where they collect funds for their activities. In other words, their agendas are not decided in Africa but in Europe, America, Canada, etc. because it is to the people and governments of these "donor" countries to which they are primarily accountable.

Western Ngos, we must understand, are products of complex social forces in their own countries of which Africans can have only partial and ephemeral glimpses. In the Netherlands, for example, there are four major Ngos: Hivos, Novib, Icco and Cebemo. Cebemo is Catholic, Icco Protestant, and in the Dutch public Hivos is known as "humanistic" and Novib as "secular". The point to make is that the various Dutch "Ngos" are accountable to their own specific constituencies, besides the government from which they receive the bulk of their funding. How, within the complexity of Dutch society, they decide which of their Ngos should go into which African country, and for which purpose, is mystery to us. From the little information we have, evidently there is some kind of a "division of labour" amongst them so that they can "cover" as much of Africa as possible, and from different vantage points.

In the United States there are what they call Pvos - public voluntary organizations. It is easy to get a very generalised description of what they do

in Africa. But some of the description is aimed at hiding, rather than revealing, the true nature of these organizations. We know that there are organizations that came into existence at the height of anti-communist national paranoia in America. Some of these organizations - and it might be libellous to mention them by name here - have now penetrated Africa in the name of "welfare" and "development", but they are clearly involved in counter-revolutionary activities. For example, some of them are known openly to support Renamo in Mozambique and the right-wing racist and fascist organizations in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Others are more subtle in their operations, and they continue with their "anti-communist" crusade in Africa - in the name of charity and "development".

In Germany, there are the "foundations" linked with the four major political parties. There is the Konrad Adenauer Foundation linked with the Christian Democratic Party, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) linked with the Social Democrats, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation linked with the Liberals and the newly-founded Boll Foundation associated with the Greens. Each of them gets taxpayers' money in proportion to their share in the electoral vote in the Bundestag. In a sense, therefore, they are "Ngos", but then they are also closely tied with political parties, and have thus definite political agendas of their own. The Konrad Adenauer Foundation, for example, has had long historical links with the Catholic-dominated parties in many countries in Africa, and they openly espouse the virtues of

"private enterprise". The FES, on the other hand, is deeply involved in the trade unions and co-operative movement in Africa, and tends generally to push the social democratic perspectives on Africa.

Social democracy, one must remember, was a product of a compromise between certain class forces in Europe at a certain historical conjuncture, and has no real basis in Africa because those objective economic and social forces do not exist in Africa. Nonetheless, because of vast amounts of money the European social democratic Ngos spend in Africa - and the German FES and some Swedish "Ngos" are at the head of this movement - they are very influential in promoting the "European brand of social democracy" in Africa.

Thus, it is not easy for us in Africa to understand the western Ngos not only because of their secrecy but also because their ideological and philosophical orientations are products of complex historical forces within their own countries which outsiders cannot fully comprehend. They have their own "hidden agendas" which is difficult for outsiders to fathom. The only guide we have is a historical one, namely, they all come from countries that have had a history of over 400 years of plunder of Africa, first in the form of direct slavery, then in the form of colonialism and now in the form of neo-colonialism.

The western Ngos' reluctance to be evaluated by African "partners"

The secrecy and non-transparency of western Ngos is all the more impene-

trable because they dogmatically refuse to allow themselves to be evaluated by African Ngos. There is a certain amount of non-reciprocity in the relations between the western Ngos and their southern "partners". We know that this inequality of relationship stems essentially from the fact that the North has money and the South has not. But this inequality is further compounded by the western Ngos reluctance to open their doors to investigation by the southern Ngos.

The fact that western Ngos provide money for "development", such as it is, gives them an easy access to African Ngos. Periodically, the western Ngos demand that their "partners" open up their books and hearts to explaining what they have been doing with "their money". This is called "evaluation". Speaking personally, I have been working with the Ngos in Africa for some eight years now, and I have yet to find one "evaluation team" sent from Europe which understands what "evaluation" really means. They are usually in a sea of confusion partly, I suspect, because they do not understand "development" and partly because they are loath to uncover the deep-rooted causes of underdevelopment in Africa. However, what this "periodic evaluation" does do is to enable the western Ngos to keep monitoring the processes of change in Africa, and even to know intimately the possible future leadership of Africa and how they think and behave.

African Ngos have no such privileged access to the hearts and minds (and accounts) of the western Ngos from

which they receive money. There is an unwritten law that says that where monies are spent they must be "accounted for", but where information is supplied (as African Ngos do to western Ngos) there need not to be any accountability on how that information is used. The doctrine of financial accountability is legitimate, the doctrine of informational accountability is not.

These, then, are the reasons why we in Africa do not really know what western Ngos are and what they are doing in Africa. Their secrecy, their non-transparency, the non-reciprocity of relations between northern and southern Ngos on matters of evaluation, the complexity of the constituencies from which the western Ngos derive their agendas and to which they are accountable - all these make the western Ngos difficult for Africa to understand.

Western Ngos' agendas are their agendas, not Africa's

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Africans have no control over the agendas of their western "partners". If, in some cases, the western Ngos do not entirely have their own way in Africa, that is because Africans, too, have devised their own means of survival and occasionally of opposing the programmes of the western Ngos, and, we might add, ways of "cheating" the western Ngos. We have some evidence to prove this but we reserve that for another occasion.

Apart from the "development" field, the western Ngos are instruments of bring-

ing into Africa their own value systems peculiar to European-American culture. We shall here give only three examples. The first is the issue of *gender*, the second the issue of *human rights*, and the third is the issue of *ecology*.

On the issue of *gender*, the western Ngos are obsessed about the allegedly male chauvinistic character of the African culture. This may or may not be true. Also, it may or may not be true that the African males do not care about the oppression of their women in their societies. But the concern of the Europeans about the condition of the women in Africa arises from the specificities of European experience where, in line with everything else, the relationship between men and women too is highly individualised and more or less commercialised. Africa has its own problems no doubt, and indeed, Africans must look at every area of injustice in their own societies, uncover them and combat against them. But Europeans have a way of universalising their value systems and they have a genuine difficulty contextualising and historicising Africa's problems. Europeans attempt to impose their own values as if they are universal.

Speaking personally again, I have sat through some so-called "gender awareness" workshops in southern Africa. Most of them are financed by western Ngos and subtly initiated by them through inducement of funds for these workshops. Often they are run by "animators" from the western Ngos. One of the constant difficulties they face is the problem of "contextualising

and historicising" Africa's gender issues. To what extent is the gender inequality against women an "African" cultural heritage, and to what extent is it an importation from European culture and capitalist practice in Africa? When families break in Europe, they have always the social security system to fall back on, whereas in Africa broken families have nothing to fall back on by way of state social security. In the final analysis such people fall back on the larger family system for survival and sanity. In such a situation, is it proper for the western Ngos to insist that only they know how to resolve the problem of gender discrimination in African societies? Is the unitisation of the family system (ie. every person a "unit" unto himself or herself), as today found in most of Europe, the best model for Africa?

Also, within the context of Africa's struggles against domination and exploitation from the North, what kind of political system must we build in Africa to resolve the many contradictions in African society - the gender contradiction being one of them? These are concrete questions that must be resolved by the thinking and caring people in Africa based on their own priorities and contextualities, and not based on European conception of the problem.

Like with the gender issues, so with the issue related to the observation and violation of *human rights*. Once again, the western Ngos in Africa working on this issue find that they cannot contextualise and historicise Africa's human rights problems. They tend to be either

"universalists" or "cultural relativists" in a one-sided manner.

Amnesty International and Africa Watch are the best illustrations of the universalists. They imagine that there are certain principles of human rights that are universally valid for all time and place, and they forget that these rights, in their own countries, were products of intense struggles between the oppressed and exploited classes and the dominant classes. Even the right to vote and the right to education for working class children, among other democratic rights, were fought on the hard terrain of class struggle. Having won these rights and embodied them in "legalistic" documents, national and international, the West now thinks that these can simply be "parachuted" on to the African soil without the African masses having to struggle for them. Of course, things are not so simple or easy.

There is also a tendency on the part of the "universalists" to abstract the political rights from the economic ones, to concentrate, in other words, on the violation of political freedoms ignoring that the violations of economic rights of the people of Africa by the international capital which will not allow the African peasants and workers a just price for the labour they put into the production of crops and minerals that are exported.

The "cultural relativists" amongst the western Ngos "explain away" violations of human rights in Africa as if Africa has a "lower" standard of morality, and can be expected to kill and imprison people without causing pain and suffer-

ing. Africans do admit that there are more killings and torture of prisoners in Africa than in Europe, but they insist that these occurrences, too, should be historicized and contextualised without alleging that somehow Africans can put up with a lower standard of morality.

Also, Africans insist that Europe must squarely face their own guilt in this matter, as in others.

Finally, the question of *ecology and the environment*. Having exploited both the human and natural resources of Africa for five hundred years, Europe is awakening to the reality of the African ecological crisis. Recent scholarship is digging fresh evidence to indicate that Africa's pre-colonial relationship with nature was one of harmony and not conflict, as is the case with the manner western civilization has handled nature.

When you try to control nature, African wisdom says, nature rebels. You try to work with it and not try to enslave it. And now suddenly, European Ngos are descending on Africa offering large sums of money to save the rhino here and a lagoon there. Their perception of reality is still mechanistic, partial, undialectical and, above all, eurocentric. In their state of impecunity, and as one of the survival strategies, African Ngos do accept this money and try to implement the agendas of western Ngos, but if they had their way, which no doubt they will one day, then the agenda on the ecology and on the relationship between man and nature would look different from that which is today imposed on them from outside.

Conclusion

Readers of this paper would notice that we have mostly criticised the foreign Ngos and their approaches and perception of the various issues on which they are involved in Africa - development, human rights, gender issues, ecology and so on. However, we are not being just "negative". We do have some positive things to say about them, but this is not the time to say these yet. The time is to put them on the carpet for they have become too arrogant in thinking that they have answers to Africa's many problems, and they are uncritically being accepted not only by international agencies such as the World Bank, the IMF and the E.C but also by African governments and peoples themselves as suitable vehicles to channel ideas (as well as money) into Africa. We must continue to insist for some time yet to come that the ideas emanating from Europe are eurocentric, partial, unholistic and undialectical, and therefore instead of presenting as answers to Africa's many problems, they could well compound them.

The main recommendation we have to make is that Africans must do their own scientific studies on their history, culture, economy, traditions and the patterns of authority and legitimacy in relation to what is acceptable and achievable by the people of Africa through their own efforts at self-reliance. This is a big subject, and we shall say no more here.

Our second recommendation is that western Ngos must be made to be

more transparent. They must open up their hidden labyrinths and their hidden agendas. To start with they must accept the principle of reciprocity in their dealings with African Ngos. Every time a western Ngos descends on Africa with offer of funds followed a few months later with an "evaluation mission", the African Ngo, too, must supply them with whatever information is relevant for their accountability to their constituencies followed by, a few months later, an evaluation mission from Africa to go and assess what the western Ngos do with all the information they collect in Africa. The informational accountability must be accepted on the same level as financial accountability.

Only on that basis will there be an equal relationship (of sorts) between African peoples and the peoples of Europe. What Africa wants is not "solidarity" from western Ngos in relation to solving African problems, for

Africa can solve its own problems. There are deep-rooted and serious problems in Europe too, an excessive materialist consumption at the cost of the people of the Third World and at the cost of nature being one of these. So what Africa is asking for is an "alliance" (not one-sided "solidarity") with the progressive forces of the North in a joint effort to deal with the common problems of humanity, whose causes and manifestations cut across boundaries and cultures. ○

Notes

1. *Non-Governmental Organizations and sub-Saharan Africa* (Geneva: United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service, 1988).
2. See S. Hellinger and F.M. O'Reagan *Aid for Just Development* (Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988).
3. Adapted from Table 5.2 in Tim Broadhead and Brent Herbert-Copley, *Bridges of Hope? Canadian Voluntary Agencies and the Third World* (Ottawa: North-South Institute, 1988) p79.

Ongs extranjeras, utilización y abuso: un punto de vista africano

Resumen: *En el contexto del fracaso del estado en Africa, el autor pregunta quienes son las Ongs extranjeras (occidentales) y lo que hacen en Africa. Destaca el gusto del secreto que las caracteriza, la opacidad de sus procesos decisionales, la ausencia de reciprocidad en las relaciones con las Ongs del Sur y las dificultades que tienen en aceptar de ser evaluadas por sus partners africanos. Todas estas son las razones por las cuales el autor incita los Africanos a ser más vigilantes y concluye con dos recomendaciones: primero, los Africanos deben emprender el propio estudio científico de su historia, de su cultura, de su economía, de las relaciones de poder y de la legitimidad con el proposito de determinar lo que es aceptable y realizable por ellos mismos; segundo, las Ongs del Norte deben hacerse más transparentes. En resumen, lo que Africa pide es una alianza, y no la solidaridad unilateral, con las fuerzas progresistas del Norte.*

A Case of Environmental Colonialism

Indian Citizens Challenge UN-US Study on Third World's Role in Global Warming

*The Delhi-based Centre for Science and Environment (CSE), an independent policy research institute, has accused the United Nations Environment Programme, the United Nations Development Programme and the US World Resources Institute to spread disinformation about the Third World's contribution to global warming. The Director of CSE and co-author of the Report, Anil Agarwal, has written to the Heads of UNEP and UNDP asking for explanations.**

Scientists have found that the quantity of gases like carbon dioxide, methane and chlorofluorocarbons is increasing in the earth's atmosphere. It is now widely believed that these gases will trap the sun's heat and heat up the earth - hence the 'greenhouse effect' or 'global warming'. This could destabilise the world's climate, increase floods and droughts, melt the polar ice caps, raise the level of the sea and drown large parts of countries.

WRI, UNEP and UNDP jointly released a report called *World Resources 1990-91* which, for the first time, said that India, China and Brazil are amongst the top five countries responsible for the accumulation of these gases in the earth's atmosphere.

* Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain, *Global Warming in an Unequal World, A Case of Environmental Colonialism* (CSE: 1991) 36pp. [F-6, Kailash Colony, New Delhi 110 048, India].

But CSE's study, which uses WRI's own data, shows that the Third World is responsible for only 16 per cent of carbon dioxide accumulating in the atmosphere whereas WRI-UN claims a Third World share of 48 per cent. The Third World is not responsible for any methane accumulation whereas WRI claims a Third World share of 56 per cent. Why are there such dramatic differences in these conclusions when they are based on the same data?

Carbon dioxide is largely absorbed by the world's oceans and methane by the earth's troposphere. Therefore, *the issue is not how much carbon dioxide or methane each country produces but how much of each of these gases is produced over and above earth's natural ability to cleanse the atmosphere.*

In other words, no country can be blamed for the gases accumulating in the earth's atmosphere until each country's share in the earth's cleansing ability

has been apportioned on a fair basis. Since most of the cleansing is done by the oceans and the troposphere, the earth's cleansing ability, also known as the natural sinks of methane and carbon dioxide, has to be treated as a common heritage of humankind.

Human beings being equal, CSE has apportioned the world's cleansing ability to each country in proportion to its population. India, for instance, with 16 per cent of the world's population, gets 16 per cent of the earth's natural sinks for carbon dioxide and methane. Describing these emissions, which will be absorbed by the earth, as "permissible emissions", CSE finds that India is producing carbon dioxide just equal to six per cent of the world's natural sinks and methane equal to 14 per cent of the natural sinks. A similar picture emerges for China, Pakistan, Egypt, Nigeria and other countries. But almost all western countries are emitting well beyond their permissible shares. It is western overconsumption that is threatening the earth.

The CSE study also argues that it is immoral to equate the "luxury emissions" of carbon dioxide from American, European, or for that matter, New Delhi automobiles, with the "survival emissions" of methane from the minuscule paddy fields or cattle owned by a poor Bengali or Thai farmer.

An interesting implication of CSE's study is that it opens the way for Third World to bill the North for its excess emissions. Since a typical Third World country is using only a small share of

its permissible emissions, the excess emitting countries would buy the unused permissible emissions of other countries. Using a figure of \$15 per tonne of carbon emitted, which will raise the price of oil by 10 per cent (at 1986 prices), a minute amount when compared to the economic damage that global warming could cause, the top 15 polluting countries would have to pay a total of \$20 billion dollars annually.

Such a system of "tradeable emissions" would be an ideal market economy solution to control global warming, argues CSE. It would work both ways by giving Third World countries the incentive not to promote activities increasing greenhouse gas emissions while providing industrial countries with a sufficient disincentive to reduce their emissions. For instance, the US would have to pay \$6.3 billion, Japan \$1.4 billion, UK \$1.2 billion, etc.

CSE further argues that countries which exceed their permissible emissions even after having purchased the unused shares of Third World countries should pay damages at a higher rate, say \$25 per tonne of carbon emitted, to a global climate protection fund, already proposed by many experts and environmentalists. Such a fund, which would amount to \$90 billion annually, on the basis of payments by the 15 worst polluters, should be used to compensate adversely affected countries and develop alternative, non-polluting energy technologies as a common resource for humankind. If indeed such a fund was available, solar energy research could get a major boost. ○

Questioning the UN Mandate in the Gulf

by **Richard Falk***

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Since the outset of the actual war in the Gulf the role of the United Nations has diminished almost to zero. It has become evident to all that, for better or worse, this war has been the outcome of decisions made in Washington by American political leaders acting on their own. The United States succeeded in building a coalition of countries that have cooperated in the war, and its unilateral control over combat strategy has not yet produced objections at the United Nations or elsewhere. And yet, in a formal sense, this is a United Nations war, the approach and results voted upon by the Security Council over a period of months and approved by such major governments as those of the Soviet Union, France and Japan. But is this the way the United Nations was expected to work on behalf of international peace and security? Is this Gulf War, in other words, a fulfillment of the dream of a powerful United Nations taking over the task of protecting countries from aggression or is it the perversion of that dream?

For decades, during the whole of the Cold War, peace-minded persons bemoaned the political paralysis in the Organization that made the United Nations little more than a spectator in relation to most of the great moments of international conflict in recent decades. With the ending of the Cold War, especially accompanied by Gorbachev's enthusiastic support for a global approach to war/peace issues, the UN received a new lease on life. The Gulf Crisis seemed to present the perfect opportunity to take full advantage of these favorable developments - clear aggression against a small state, with the aggressor, for the first time in UN history, purporting to annex a Member, and then

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intensifying the criminality of its undertaking by taking foreign hostages and committing a series of crimes against humanity in the occupied country.

Given such provocation, and with East-West conflict abated, it is entirely appropriate that a strong and concerted response followed. Iraq's aggression against Kuwait also threatened the security and price structure of the world oil market, engaging major political interests. Endorsing a firm response at the global level under UN auspices is not, however, equivalent to suggesting either that war should have been authorized or that the United States be allowed to run the show as if the matter were one of its foreign policy. War should not have been authorized, or even threatened by way of the 15 January deadline, and if it erupted in any event, the UN had an obligation to control the definition of war goals, the means chosen to achieve them and to use its authority to impose a ceasefire. The Security Council has no authority whatsoever to delegate these responsibilities to one or more of its Members, and its own legitimacy in relation to the overall membership of the UN, especially with regard to the Islamic world, is drawn into serious question. The General Assembly and the Secretary General should have been far more active in preventing war, more vigilant in upholding the integrity of the UN Charter in the face of the failure of the Security Council to act in accord with either its letter or spirit, and more vigorous in avoiding the impression and reality of double standards with respect to UN authority. The authority of the United Nations has been defied by Israel for many years, with the backing of the United States. This defiance relates both to the Israeli refusal to withdraw from the territories occupied during the 1967 war including the West Bank and Gaza and its rejection of all reasonable approaches to the satisfaction of Palestinian claims of self-determination.

The peoples of the world were subjected to a series of misleading arguments to justify the US/UN approach in the period between 2 August, the date of the invasion of Kuwait, and the initiation of warfare on 15 January. Whether these arguments were put forward sincerely or hypocritically remains difficult to tell, although there was likely present a mixture of belief and expediency. It is disturbing that such large portions of the public and the media swallowed these arguments with so little critical reaction, especially in the weeks leading up to the

The purpose of opting for economic sanctions is not solely for the effect that they will have upon a country's economy. It is also to demonstrate that a country which has resorted to force can be effectively opposed without resorting to the same means. (...) It is precisely in exhausting all non-military options in its dealings with international disputes that the United Nations demonstrates its superiority to each sovereign state in terms of the principles of civilization. Regardless of how just the ultimate objectives may be, waging war in the name of the United Nations in itself runs counter to those principles.

Yoshikazu Sakamoto, *Asahi Evening News*, Tokyo, 30 January 1991

outbreak of war. My attempt here is to expose several illusions that are embedded in the US arguments justifying its approach to the crisis.

It is certainly true that the United Nations *formally* authorized the United States approach. President Bush can correctly claim that the UN Security Council "has endorsed 12 resolutions to condemn Iraq's unprovoked invasion and occupation of Kuwait, implement tough economic sanctions to stop all trade in and out of Iraq, and authorize the use of force to compel Saddam to comply". But behind this formal mandate from the United Nations lie extremely serious questions about whether the Organization has been true to its own Charter, and to the larger purposes of peace and justice that it was established to serve. And below these concerns is the disturbing impression that the United Nations has been converted during this Gulf Crisis into a virtual tool of US foreign policy, thereby compromising its credibility in the future.

There was, above all, the unrestricted mandate to use force after 15 January. UN Resolution 678 authorized "all necessary means" without guidance of clarification. It was widely understood in advance as giving Washington a green light to wage the war of its choice under its command so long as it waited the deadline passed. Resolution 678 does not even contain limits as to duration or obligations to keep the Security Council informed, not even restrictions as to the level of

destructive means or accountability in terms of civilian damage, and not even a renunciation of weapons of mass destruction. To issue such a warrant to the United States to wage unrestricted war is completely at odds with the fundamental UN undertaking "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

The gap between the duties of Article 33 and President Bush's reluctant willingness "to go the extra mile for peace" is revealed by his so-called "offer" of meetings at the foreign minister level held in Geneva. Secretary Baker was instructed to meet with Foreign Minister Aziz in Geneva on the basis of the following formula, as expressed in a speech by Bush: "No negotiations, no compromises, no attempts at face-saving, and no rewards for aggression". This is hardly the sort of injunction to find peaceful solutions that is embodied in Article 33!

The full extent of this perversion of UN role and purpose is evident as 15 January approached. Virtually all diplomatic attention was fixed on the interaction of Washington and Baghdad, with some minor confusing byplay on the part of the European Community, especially France. The UN virtually disappeared as an actor. If this were a genuine UN undertaking, then one would have expected the Security Council to be in virtual continuous session as a situation of this magnitude moves toward climax and witnessed feverish efforts all along by the Secretary General to stimulate a diplomatic solution. Instead, in the weeks prior to the war, there appeared to be no disposition whatsoever to allow even further discussion in the Security Council (for fear of weakening the threat of war after 15 January) and the Secretary General became invisible. In what was no more than a last minute gesture to create an impression of peaceful intention, it was announced by Secretary of State James Baker from Geneva after his futile talks with Iraqi Foreign Minister on 9 January, that since direct contact between the United States and Iraq had produced no results, then the United States would welcome a subsequent last-ditch effort by the Secretary General and other members of the UN coalition. Such encouragement was not meant seriously and was explicitly restricted to the Bush guidelines that deliberately provided no room whatsoever for diplomatic manoeuvre. Perez de Cuellar visited Iraq and Saudi Arabia on this meaningless basis shortly before the 15, an undertaking he should have refused. Such a belated, feeble and insincere initiative did more to build the case for

war than it did to facilitate peace. We now know that President Bush and his "war cabinet" (of close advisors) had decided on war at Camp David during the Christmas period, that is, well before the willingness to proceed with the meeting in Geneva and the subsequent encouragement of good offices. It is quite astonishing that even Saudi Arabia and Kuwait did not participate in this decision process, nor were they seriously consulted. Nothing was done in this period by other Members to counter the impression and reality that the United Nations was being used by the United States to build as much public support as possible for its unilateral and militarist approach to the crisis.

The difficulties with the UN handling of the crisis go deeper. Article 33 of the UN Charter imposes upon states a fundamental obligation to seek a negotiated solution to any international dispute that is war-threatening. Of course, one can rhetorically maintain, as did John Major, the British Prime Minister, that one doesn't negotiate with a burglar. Such an analogy is simplistic and faulty. If the burglar is heavily armed, it would seem mindlessly self-destructive to refuse negotiations regardless of the circumstances. In any event, an international crisis cannot be usefully compared to a civil crime. Far more complex issues and interests are at stake. The peace and well-being of many millions of people has been jeopardized by the refusal even to seek a peaceful solution. This refusal is a more severe failing by the UN when the evidence suggested that the sanctions alternative to war was succeeding.

Perhaps, most disturbing of all, this UN rush to mandate war almost totally discounted the alternative of sanctions. Again, no one can claim with certainty whether and by when sanctions could have succeeded, but it was far too soon to conclude that they had failed. Likewise, it is helpful to recall that the two countries most reluctant to pursue the sanctions approach in this crisis, United States and United Kingdom, were the very same states that lectured the world community that in relation to South Africa it was necessary to be patient in order to allow sanctions to exert meaningful pressure. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that sanctions were exerting heavy pressure on Iraq, a country whose viability has been tied to foreign exchange earnings from oil exports. William Webster, the Director of the CIA, no critic of US policy, testified before Congress that sanctions have cut down Iraqi exports by 97% and imports by 90%, and other prominent former

government and military officials have agreed with the general proposition that sanctions have been surprisingly effective. Journalists on the scene have confirmed the impression that sanctions were exerting increasing pressure in Iraq. In the face of such evidence, it was unseemly for the UN to wait, even if no diplomatic option seemed available.

There is also a serious technical difficulty with the fundamental resolution of the Security Council that set the 15 January deadline. According to Article 27(3) of the Charter, decisions by the Security Council on this sort of issue require "an affirmative vote of nine members including the *concurring* votes of the permanent members." China abstained from Resolution 678. An abstention is not a concurring vote. There is a shaky precedent for ignoring China's abstention that goes back to the Korean War when the Security Council was allowed to authorize force during a period when the Soviet Union was boycotting its sessions. Then, at least, a constitutional argument was found that attempted to explain and justify the apparent evasion of the Charter. At the time, the apparent evasion of Article 27 was justified by the Soviet *boycott*, which was argued to be an expression of a refusal to participate in the activity of the Security Council, and hence grounds for saying that it was preferable to conclude that for the sake of world peace Soviet non-support could be overlooked. A parallel argument could no doubt be put forward in the setting of an abstention, but it was never attempted, and it would be difficult to make such a line of reasoning. It would be one thing to abandon the veto, given a more cooperative East-West relationship; such a course might be helpful for the future of the United Nations. It would, however, require an amendment to the Charter. Here too, one would have expected that such a manifest breach of the UN's own constitutional structure would have at least occasioned challenge and discussion both in the Organization and in the press. Silence on this matter is an indication of how complete the US control over the use of UN machinery has been since 2 August. It is somewhat surprising that the two states that voted against 678 in the Security Council, Yemen and Cuba, never raised any constitutional objection to such a way of proceeding. This pattern is extremely disturbing in relation to the independence and future of the Organization. It is neither healthy nor politically acceptable for the United Nations to become the creature of the only remaining superpower in the world, especially in the area of peace and security.

It should be clear, then, that the UN authorization in this case rests on an extremely weak foundation. Recourse to war demonstrates the weakness of the UN in relation to its own Charter far more than it adds to the American claim that its policies are properly justified as the way to resolve the Gulf Crisis. However one thinks about correct policy, it is an illusion to think that because the United Nations gave its blessings to war, such a course of action is legitimate.

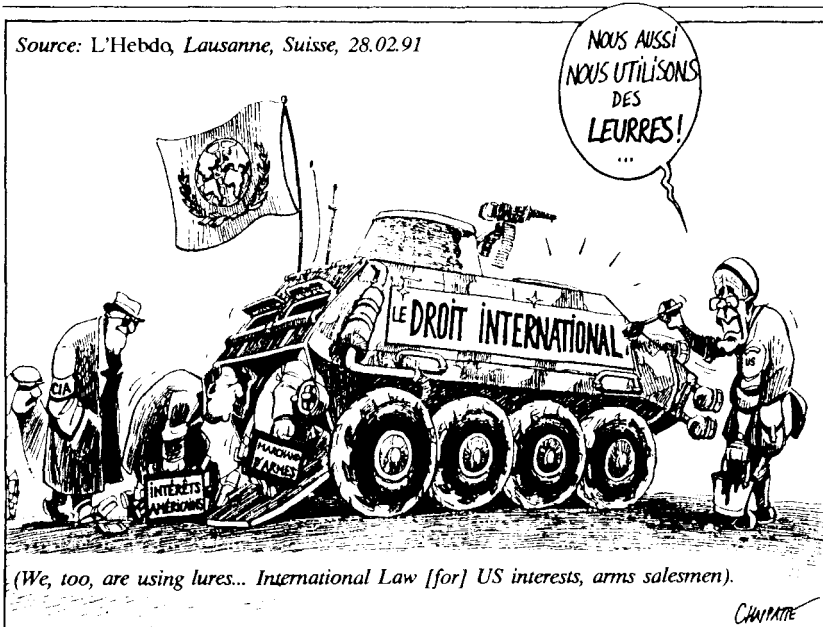
A related explanation of the drift into war arose from the US insistence, again imposed without effective opposition, on the UN process, that it would be a reward for Iraqi aggression to work for overall stability in the region. Any mention of justice for the Palestinians, even the proposal of a conference to consider Palestinian claims was waved off by Washington with a single word, "linkage" - but the Palestinian card was in Saddam's hand mainly because the West has taken such an imbalanced approach over the years to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. To move toward the creation of a Palestinian state by a diplomatic process is long overdue and it would contribute to resolving the core regional conflict that has brought suffering and continual warfare to the peoples of the region, including the Israelis, for more than four decades. Beyond this, the UN response to Iraq's illegal occupation of Kuwait would be balanced by a belated, but necessary, rectification of Israel's illegal and prolonged (since 1967) occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. It would be useful, as well, to take steps to restore full Lebanese sovereignty, a country cruelly victimized for almost two decades by periodic interventions and occupations by its Syrian and Israeli neighbors, and by the armed forces of the PLO.

These regional concerns still should be addressed with urgency. Such initiatives never needed to be packaged as a deal with Iraq, but if a war could have been prevented because they incidentally provided some kind of "face-saving" benefits for Saddam Hussein, it would have been a bargain price to pay to obtain Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait.

That war came to the Gulf was to a large extent a consequence of governments and public opinion having been lulled toward submissiveness by a UN diplomacy of illusion crafted by the United States Government. Most states learned passivity during the Cold War, leaving

global peace and security almost totally in the hands of the superpowers. The Gulf War makes it plain that the persistence of this passivity is likely to produce a new dangerous version of Pax Americana. One consequence of such a course would be to reduce the United Nations to a rubber stamp and its Secretary General to an errand boy.

This period after the Cold War even now presents genuine opportunities for a new world order which is less militarist and more centered on respect for international law and an increased role for the United Nations. Such a possibility cannot happen until a wider number of governments take greater responsibility for shaping and implementing global policy on this basis. The Gulf War vividly demonstrates the acute dangers to world peace that arise from a refusal of those countries with economic power and leverage to throw their weight in the direction of peaceful settlement of conflicts and on behalf of common standards of law, morality, and justice so that equals are treated equally when it comes to a refusal to bend to the will of the global community as expressed through the United Nations. ○



Humiliation de l'Autre

Ignacy Sachs nous communique cette lettre ouverte que lui a adressée une de ses étudiantes, libanaise chrétienne vivant à Tunis. Cette lettre a été publiée dans *La Presse de Tunisie* le 24 février dernier.

Lettre ouverte à mon directeur de thèse, en France

Cher professeur,

Il est vingt heures ici à Tunis, George Bush vient de refuser la proposition de plan de paix soviétique, j'ai écouté les nouvelles sur France Inter, et ce soir j'ai envie de pleurer de rage, ou peut-être est-ce de haine. Jamais je n'aurais cru, moi que la politique n'a jamais intéressée, que je vivrais cette guerre au plus profond de moi-même. J'ai mis l'Ave Maria de Schubert, et soudain avec cette guerre je prends conscience que le Matérialisme a sans doute définitivement ruiné le monde. Je relis Voltaire en ce moment, et je me dis aussi que le triomphe de la Raison sur l'Instinct, ce qui seul peut distinguer l'Homme de l'animal, n'est peut-être qu'une utopie d'intellectuels... L'Instinct... il faut être arabe pour se sentir blessée, meurrie dans sa chair, par le discours de haine instinctive, de haine raciale, qui se déguise en langage politique, adressée à tout un peuple à travers les attaques lancées à un homme que l'on n'appelle plus que par son prénom. Mais on tutoie bien les Maghrébins dans le métro...

La guerre, toutes les guerres, posent finalement en dernière instance la question-clé: celle de l'appartenance. Et aujourd'hui, malgré mon passeport français, et mes vingt ans sur trente passés en France, je me sens totalement arabe. L'Occident est en train de refaire une énième démonstration de sa "supériorité" (qui n'est que technologique) sur un monde musulman dont je me sens totalement solidaire, parce que bien que non-musulmane j'appartiens à cet Orient-là (ce qui prouve à quel point on peut se tromper lorsqu'on imagine que ne jouent en faveur de la cause arabe que les solidarités religieuses). Vivant à nouveau en Orient depuis deux ans, je prends conscience au contraire de jour en jour de la supériorité morale des gens d'ici: car ici, les valeurs ont encore un sens, et le Matérialisme, unique

religion américaine, n'a toujours pas réussi à dissoudre le tissu social, le tissu de la vie. On me demande souvent pourquoi j'ai quitté Paris (Montparnasse!) pour ce pays "provincial", qui n'est pas le mien, guère assez exotique pour séduire, ni assez européen pour être "vivable". Je me suis longtemps posée cette question moi-même, et maintenant je crois avoir trouvé la réponse: Je reste pour le sourire du jeune homme qui me sert mon café-crème du matin, je reste pour les sous-rires échangés entre femmes dans les vastes cuisines, je reste pour les rires des enfants que l'on adore ici, je reste parce que les Tunisiens, les soirs d'été, préfèrent le clair de lune sur une mer d'argent à tous les Dallas du monde, je reste parce qu'ici la poésie se vend même dans les kiosques à journaux, je reste pour la musique qui est larmes et douleur et joie et bonheur à la fois, je reste pour un homme qui sait encore rire d'un vrai rire et me porter très haut dans ses bras, je reste pour tous les hommes et toutes les femmes d'ici qui connaissent le prix des choses et la valeur des êtres, je reste pour la vie.

L'Amérique ne peut pas comprendre ces choses-là, qui ne connaît de valeur que la puissance, dont l'argent n'est qu'une métaphore, et l'humiliation de l'Autre unique jouissance. Vous, qui avez fui la Pologne lorsque vous étiez enfant, victime d'autres haines gratuites, savez, j'en suis sûre, pourquoi je pleure aujourd'hui. Car ce soir j'ai l'impression que ce n'est pas un peuple qu'ils veulent tuer, c'est mon cœur.

Nadia Khouri-Dagher

One more thought about the Gulf War

by Joy Assefa

The Gulf War not only illustrates the superpowerness of the US. It also shows that people did not do enough to avert the escalation to the war and that the United Nations and its Secretary-General accepted to lend their name to a wrong cause.

Why didn't people of this abused planet *act*? Why weren't there daily and powerful anti-war demonstrations? Why didn't people stand up and confront their governments? Why did people accept this war? Where were the peace movements? Did they lose their voice?

These questions in no way imply that Saddam Hussein's invasion and occupation of Kuwait should have been tolerated. Yet, peaceful means to solve the conflict weren't seriously considered.

Different methods of conflict-resolution weren't attempted because *war* is still perceived as a solution to a conflict. In the case of the Gulf War, the most visible results are the deaths of tens of thousands of innocent people; the destruction of Kuwait City and Baghdad; and the contamination and pollution of the environment. Is this a contribution to a lasting peace?

War is indeed part of the problem in the Gulf Crisis. This war has not resolved the problems of the region (whether the causes are recent or past). On the contrary, it has aggravated the situation. For instance, will the Israelis leave the Occupied Territories; will there be peace in Lebanon; and will Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States feel safe without an American military presence?

When Iraq invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990, there was a role for the UN. War could have been avoided. The economic sanctions imposed to Iraq by the Security Council were effective. Why then did the Council authorize war?

What happened to the Secretary-General? He was substituted by the President of the United States and the UN was replaced once again by the US. So why should the UN exist? What is its role? Is it to legitimize the actions of a superpower? If that is the case, then the United Nations don't abide by their own Charter. Their Secretary-General should have resigned.

In sum, it seems that to respond to aggression by aggression is the message of the "New World Order" of the 1990s. If people do not take the initiative to stop this "new" order, then we are heading straight to the dark past of humankind. ○

Dominating Knowledge Development, Culture and Resistance

by Frédérique Apffel Marglin and Stephen A. Marglin (eds),
(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 293pp.

par Gilbert Rist*

La critique du "développement" peut emprunter de multiples voies. Les auteurs de ce livre collectif ont pris le parti de l'histoire pour faire apparaître les incompatibilités fondamentales qui séparent la culture occidentale de celles du sous-continent indien, auxquelles l'ouvrage est largement consacré, même si les leçons qu'ils en tirent peuvent être généralisées.

Cette distance accroît sans doute la sérénité de l'argument mais le prive aussi d'une partie de sa force: n'est-ce pas un lieu commun, partagé par tous ceux qui peuplent le champ du "développement", que de prétendre "tirer les leçons des échecs du passé"? On a beau savoir que cette autocritique ne vise qu'à conforter le courant dominant - ce qui n'est évidemment pas le cas des contributions de cet ouvrage - il reste que tout le monde admettra volontiers les erreurs commises à une époque où l'Occident colonial déguisait son arrogance sous le prétexte de sa "mission sacrée de civilisation".

Ainsi, l'article de Frédérique Apffel Marglin retrace avec beaucoup d'érudition le combat engagé par l'administration coloniale puis le gouvernement pour soumettre la majorité des Indiens à la vaccination anti-variolique alors que les techniques autochtones d'inoculation du virus étaient, finalement, plus efficaces que des campagnes de vaccination mal préparées ou conduites *mammi militari*. Le contraste est en effet flagrant entre une science occidentale qui combat la maladie au nom de la santé, pour obtenir des résultats aléatoires, et une vision du monde qui conjoint la religion et la médecine, vénère les malades de la même manière que la déesse Sitala - qui porte en elle le double principe de la maladie et de la guérison - et dont les succès thérapeutiques étaient indiscutables. Mais, en l'occurrence, l'OMS et les services sanitaires avaient-ils un autre choix puisque, au moment de l'indépendance, les techniques traditionnelles étaient déjà oubliées?

Enfin, contrairement au "développement" qui est loin de tenir ses promesses, l'acharnement de l'OMS a malgré tout contribué à éradiquer la variole...

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On pourrait en dire autant de la contribution d'Ashis Nandy et Shiv Visvanathan qui opposent le discours médical occidental à la médecine traditionnelle, et notamment gandhienne, et soulignent les relations entre théosophes du début du siècle et la thérapeutique ayurvédique. Arjun Appadurai décrit - sur un siècle - la transformation de la socialité, considérée comme une valeur fondamentale de la reproduction sociale et entretenue par une multitude de relations d'interdépendance réciproque, par l'introduction de l'irrigation "moderne" qui bouleverse le calendrier agricole, convertit les paysans en fermiers individualistes et fait disparaître leurs savoir-faire. Enfin, Stephen A. Marglin montre que la conception judéo-chrétienne qui, selon lui, déconsidère le travail et le "désenchâsse" des relations sociales (Polanyi), modifie considérablement les techniques des tisserands indiens, contraints d'accepter une nouvelle épistémè.

Thèses classiques, certes, mais qui prennent tout leur intérêt lorsqu'elles sont replacées dans la perspective de Tariq Banuri qui, en deux intéressants chapitres, montre pourquoi et comment la "critique culturelle" du "développement" est à la fois la dernière en date et la plus radicale. Même si son histoire du "développement" souffre de quelque schématisme (et d'une concentration excessive sur la littérature anglo-saxonne, comme l'ensemble de l'ouvrage d'ailleurs), elle montre bien comment les vues critiques sont phagocytées par le courant dominant qui, ainsi, s'auto-immunise contre ce qui pourrait le déstabiliser. Si bien que le Sud, incapab-

le de faire prévaloir sa propre vision du "développement", s'épuise dans une résistance sans fin contre les pressions exercées sur lui par le Nord. Or il s'agit, finalement, d'une opposition entre visions du monde ou entre systèmes cognitifs qui s'articule autour de l'enjeu suivant: un système construit sur des relations impersonnelles est-il supérieur à celui qui repose sur des relations personnelles? D'un côté la rationalité, la linéarité, l'organisation et le contrôle, de l'autre la relation, les réseaux, la complexité et le respect du contexte social. Mais cette dichotomie elle-même est caractéristique de la pensée occidentale: toutes les sociétés incluent ces éléments contradictoires et c'est la prédominance de l'un ou de l'autre qui les distingue.

On affirme souvent que le progrès consiste à élargir l'éventail des choix, à accroître la liberté. L'ensemble de cet ouvrage - et c'est son principal mérite - consiste à prouver qu'il n'en est rien; à partir d'exemples précis, il montre que la croissance économique ouvre sans doute des possibilités nouvelles mais en exclut d'autres qui constitueraient de véritables solutions de rechange. Voilà pourquoi Ashis Nandy définit le progrès comme "l'expansion de la conscience de l'oppression" (p91). Tout en s'interdisant de prêcher aux pauvres la frugalité, les auteurs plaident pour une décolonisation des esprits qui permettrait à la nécessaire croissance économique de se dérouler sans effets pervers. En prenant le parti de l'imagination culturelle, ils échappent à la critique morose et stérile et fournissent d'excellents arguments à la résistance à la modernisation. ○

Recolonization: GATT, the Uruguay Round & the Third World

by Chakravarthi Raghavan, with a foreword by Julius Nyerere (Penang: Third World Network & London: Zed Books, 1990) 319pp.

by **Hélan Jaworski C.***

The South is fighting in the GATT arena a crucial battle for real development and possibly for survival, without many of its own leaders being aware of what is at stake and lacking the required commonality of political will and support for effective action. This is the central message and the ringing alarm brought by Raghavan's book.

Putting together a lifelong experience as journalist from which more than ten years in Geneva, editing for IFDA's the *Special United Nations Service* (SUNS) and carefully monitoring North-South relations mainly at UNCTAD and the GATT, Raghavan has been able to put together an amazing book.

The issue is GATT and more specifically, the Uruguay Round; its origins, assets, the players, the procedures, the stages and the expected results. For each subject there is a precise description, at the beginning and at the mid-term review. Not a concession to demagoguery. Not even the title. A clear affirmation: the Uruguay Round is a

round planned by the North to restrain competition from the Third World. Could that be true?

For many Third World politicians, colonialism is a word related to the historical past or more recently, associated with gun-boat diplomacy, not with trade. On the other hand, after what the mass media have recently emphasized, GATT's meetings at Geneva on technicalities regarding tariffs, duties and safeguards, were enlivened at the end of 1990 with the open confrontation between the US and the EEC on the subject of farm subsidies and protection for domestic agriculture. Nothing that could be changed through Third World actions or brought to bear in excess on the interests of the South.

Nevertheless, with a net reduction in financial flows, from no new investment and disinvestment by reason of relocation in productive activities, to sharp reduction in bank commercial loans and export credits as consequence of the debt crisis, bonds markets available only to the NIC's elite, and ODA resources gravitating more and more between tied

(continued on p116)

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An Alternative to the Columbus Day Celebration

We, at the South and Meso-American Indian Information Center (SAIIC) call on all people to join together in creating an alternative to the Columbus Day celebrations. This is a call to all people to reflect on what the last 500 years of colonization of the American continent has meant to you personally, to your people, to the people of this world, and to Mother Earth.

1992 will mark 500 years since the arrival of Columbus' genocidal forces on this continent. 12 October marks the so-called "Discovery", or no less misnamed "Encounter of Two Worlds". For Indian people of the Americas, this date marks the beginning of an invasion of the continent. This invasion took place with the explicit purpose of exploiting the natural resources of this continent to supply European elites with the least expensive resources possible. The invasion has been taking place for 500 years without the slightest regard for the Native people of this continent. We ask the Spanish government, the United States government, the Vatican, and all Latin American and European governments who are promoting the Quincentennial Jubilee, how the total steam-rolling of cultures for the enrichment of a European minority can be considered an "Encounter of Two Worlds". We want the truth to be known by the people of the world. The myths about Columbus and the "Encounter" are a completely false manipulation of history.

The most evident consequences of the European invasion are genocide, torture, political, ideological and cultural submission and death through diseases brought to the continent. Our land and our resources have been and continue to be plundered. Milita-

ry, ideologic, economic and religious power are the instruments of domination in this conquest.

We are still witnessing colonial aggression today. The conquest of the Amazon is a very clear example of this. This land is under assault in order to exploit its mineral resources, its reserves of valuable timber and its hydro-electric potential. The Indian people of the Amazon are confronting this conquest, and this is 1991! The Yanomami, the most populous of the Indigenous people of the Amazonian rainforest, are facing the loss of their lands and are being killed because they are viewed as a barrier to the maximum exploitation of natural resources in Brazil. When Indian people in El Salvador or Guatemala work their traditional lands communally to feed their families, and this interferes with the provision of cheap natural resources to the "developed world", they are slaughtered. The Canadian army invades the Kahnawake Mohawk Reservation when the Mohawk people attempt to protect traditional lands from the expansion of a golf course! The truth is that the atrocities of the early years of the European invasion continue unabated today. We realize that we are just one population of many which have been and continue to be victimized by the system imposed upon us by the Western/European culture. African-Americans, brought to this continent as slaves and the Mestizo populations continue with us in our struggles for freedom, justice and respect.

We are calling on all sectors of society to form an alliance to counter the planned Quincentennial Jubilee and demand that governments, religious and educational

institutions tell the truth about what took place 500 years ago and examine how these injustices continue today.

On 17-21 July 1990, nearly 400 Indian people, representing 120 nations, tribes and organizations of the Western Hemisphere met for the first time in Quito, Ecuador, to discuss their peoples' struggles for self-determination and strategize for a unified Indian response to the 1992 Jubilee celebrations. Despite the offensive denial of truth in the official histories, we choose instead to use this symbolic date to reflect upon what the invasion has meant to us, to work with a renewed effort for our autonomy, to educate the people of the world, to celebrate that we are still here and our cultures are still alive thanks to 500 years of resist

ing, and to formulate alternatives for a better life, in harmony with Mother Earth. We at SAIIIC are serving as a liaison between Indian people of the South and Indian people of the North, as well as educating the general public about what the past 500 years has meant to Indian people in South and Meso-America and how they are strategizing for change.

There exist many myths among Indian people from all over the Americas which say that this period of oppression will last for 500 years and we would enter a period of change (*Pachakutek*) and the oppression will end. We believe we are now in *Pachakutek*. Join us in support of Native peoples in 1992 and beyond.

(POB 7550, *Berkeley*, CA 94707, USA)

Association for Support & Defense of Bedouin Rights in Israel

There are more than 100,000 Bedouin Arabs in Israel today, and they constitute some 13% of the Palestinian Arab minority in the state of Israel. (This minority is in turn 17% of the population of Israel.) There are approximately 35,000 of these Bedouin in the Galilee, and an estimated 70,000 in the Negev. A third of the Negev Bedouin live in government-planned settlements, and the rest in smaller settlements which are regarded as illegal by the government and therefore do not receive funds and services.

The Bedouin have suffered a particularly hard fate as a result of the Israeli policies of land expropriation, "forced sedentarization" and the concomitant destruction of their traditional patterns of settlement and life. Before the establishment of the State, the Negev Bedouin worked and laid claim

to some four million *dunams* (10 *dunams* = 1 hectare) of land, more than 90% of which has been taken over by the Israeli authorities for "military purposes".

Over the past three decades, the Bedouin have been transformed from agriculturalists and shepherds into a reservoir of cheap labour. They are subject to constant pressures and harassment at the hands of a number of Israeli government agencies and units, in particular the paramilitary "Green Patrol" of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Israeli Lands Administration - which force Bedouin into leaving their ancestral land and moving to planned settlements that have come to be called "concentration towns" by their inhabitants. These towns, such as Rahat, north of Beersheba, lack any economic basis which would allow residents to earn a living there. "Green Patrol" ac-

tivities include the frequent confiscation of Bedouin herds and the systematic destruction of crops.

The Association and its goals

A recognition of the severe injustices suffered by the Bedouin Arab citizens of Israel led to a meeting of some twenty activists from different tribes in late 1979 who decided to found an independent organization to defend Bedouin rights in Israel.

The common objective of the members of the Association - Arabs and Jews - is equality of rights for all citizens, without discrimination against any individual or group.

Objectives of the Association

- To defend the human, civil and religious rights of the Bedouin Arabs, and in particular, their rights to their ancestral land and property;
- to aid Bedouin tribes in their demand for the establishment of agricultural villages;
- to promote substantive improvement in Bedouin schools and housing facilities in Bedouin settlements;
- to provide aid to students and others in need of support.

Activities of the Association

• *Land and water.* - The Association provides legal aid to families who suffer from the government policies of evicting them from their lands and homes, and maintains a legal office in Tel Aviv and fights for the rights to drinking water for Bedouin families in unrecognized settlements in the Negev and supports the demand for the establishment of modern agricultural villages with land and water rights.

• *Housing.* - The Association supports law suits against the demolition of dozens of homes every year. Campaigns against the proposed demolition of over 6,000 homes, which was called for in the 1987 government-sponsored "Markovitz Report". (The Association's *Bi-Monthly Report* [Nov/Dec 1990] reports that according to the Israeli Ministry of Interior more than 500 Bedouin houses have been demolished between June 1988 and April 1990.)

• *Education.* - The Association provides scholarships for Bedouin university students, special tutoring and courses in various subjects (such as English and Mathematics) to prepare high school pupils for matriculation exams, distributes school textbooks to needy students, offers a Bedouin community leadership course (in conjunction with other organizations) which educates people about their rights, and teaches them leadership and organizing skills for working together as communities to obtain their rights.

• *Health.* - The Association operates a clinic providing basic medical services to hundreds of families, as well as dental care.

• *Religious rights (rights to religious property).* The Association continues to struggle for the return of the Beersheba Mosque, which was turned into a "museum" by the Beer-sheba municipality, to the control and use of the Moslem community, and fights for the protection of Moslem holy places and cemeteries.

• *Information.* - The Association attempts to raise public consciousness in Israel and abroad by publications, symposia, lectures, press conferences, guided tours and visits to Bedouin tribes, protest demonstrations and by appeals to various public officials.

(POB 5212, *Beersheba, Israel*)

Mali: Amade

Les origines profondes de l'Amade (l'Association malienne pour le développement) se confondent avec la vie d'un groupe d'amis qui en est le fondateur. Dans le souci de mieux servir le pays, qui alors manquait de cadres s'intéressant au développement, le groupe a entrepris des actions de formation et d'animation: création de clubs de lecture, participation à des groupes de réflexion, et à l'animation du Centre Djoliba (une importante bibliothèque) jusqu'en 1976.

Après la conférence des bailleurs de fonds sur le redressement économique du Mali tenue en décembre 1982, on a assisté à une éclosion sans précédent des initiatives privées. Le groupe d'amis s'est alors organisé pour créer un organisme de promotion d'initiatives de base. Cet organisme a vu le jour le 1er mai 1983 sous le nom de *Amade*. Il compte aujourd'hui soixante-six membres.

Objectifs de l'Association

L'Amade est une association à but non lucratif qui vise la promotion socio-économique du monde rural par la mise en oeuvre de projets de développement initiés à la base ou ayant obtenu l'accord des populations villageoises.

Cet objectif est inspiré de la volonté de l'Association de faire des paysans les premiers acteurs de leur mieux-être. Il définit les domaines d'intervention de l'organisme.

Un autre objectif de l'Amade est de permettre aux cadres maliens des services techniques qui travaillent avec elle dans le cadre de la collaboration Amade - services technique, de valoriser leurs connaissances et d'être de véritables hommes de terrain.

Domaines et zones d'intervention

L'Amade intervient dans plusieurs domaines d'activité précisés à l'article 2 de ses statuts:

- l'approvisionnement des villages en eau potable;
- l'hydraulique pastorale et les petites irrigations;
- l'utilisation de l'énergie solaire et autres énergies renouvelables (fours solaires, chauffe-eau solaires, séchoirs solaires, biomasse);
- lutte contre le déboisement (reboisement villageois, promotion et vulgarisation des foyers améliorés, etc.);
- les soins de santé primaires par des interventions ponctuelles;
- l'aménagement de périmètres agricoles, aide en semences et autres intrants;
- les actions de promotion de petites coopératives d'éleveurs et d'agriculteurs;
- la formation en vue de l'autogestion des projets.

Ces domaines d'intervention sont localisés dans les régions de Kayes, Koulikoro, Mopti, Tombouctou et pourraient s'étendre à d'autres régions.

(BP 2646, *Bamako, Mali*)

• *Making the rounds, a World Petition calling for Planet Earth's Representation in the UN and for the joining together of individuals, groups, eco and peace organizations and like-minded industries to propose candidate. Write to Susan Clerici, Via Flaminia Nuova 290, Rome, 00191 Italy.*

Kenya: The Green Belt Movement

The Green Belt Movement of Kenya is an indigenous grassroot environment/campaign with tree planting as its basic activity. Although its objectives are many and varied, the tree has been used as the focal point around which other environmental issues are discussed and brought to the attention of the public and decision makers. Trees have indeed become a symbol of hope and a living indicator on what needs to be done in order to realize rehabilitation and conservation of the environment so as to ensure sustainable development, i.e. development which endeavours to meet the basic needs of our world today without putting tomorrow in jeopardy.

Tree planting is a simple activity; it has been developed steadily in response to local needs and local capabilities. It relies on local expertise and advisors.

The main objective of the Green Belt Movement is to raise the consciousness of our people to the level which moves them to do the right things for the environment because their hearts have become touched and their minds convinced.

The project was developed under the auspices of the National Council of Women of Kenya. It has developed into a programme that approaches the issues of development holistically, endeavours to build on local expertise and abilities and to curb all desertification processes in Kenya and throughout Africa.

Short term objectives

- To create public awareness on desertification.
- To also raise public awareness on the relationship between the environment *per se*

and such issues as the fuelwood crisis, poverty, unemployment and under-employment, food crisis, over-population, mismanagement of natural resources and the effects of these on the political and economic situation throughout Africa.

- To encourage tree planting so as to provide the major energy source (wood-fuel and charcoal) for over 90% of Kenya's rural population and the urban's lower income groups.
- To promote planting of multi-purpose trees with special reference to nutrition and energy requirements for man and his livestock.
- To encourage soil rehabilitation, water harvesting and conservation and protection of the catchment areas, many of which have been deforested and even settled upon.
- To re-afforest Kenya and restore its natural beauty while raising people's awareness on the need to protect Kenya's remaining forests (less than 2.9% and still being encroached upon to create agricultural land).
- To create jobs in the rural areas especially for the handicapped and the rural poor.
- To make tree planting an income-generating activity especially for women.
- To encourage extensive tree farming by private small-scale farmers.
- To promote zero-grazing and organic farming as a means of improving soil fertility and food production.
- To promote and increase awareness on the importance of adequate and balanced

diet based on traditional foodstuffs and drought resistant crops.

- To initiate tree planting in every community in Kenya.

Long term objectives

- To avert desertification processes through tree planting and soil/and water conservation.

- To promote indigenous trees and shrubs which are rapidly becoming extinct as promotion of exotic species intensifies (for rapid economic exploitation and also because the methods for propagating exotic species are now better known to foresters and farmers).

- To promote a positive image of a woman's personality by projecting her leading role in national development.

- To encourage indigenous initiatives which restore self-confidence in a people overwhelmed by foreign "experts".

- To promote the protection and maintenance of the environment through seminars, conferences, workshops, etc.

- To develop replicable methodology for rural development.

Accomplishments to date

- Over 1000 tree nurseries have been established. Some have died because of one constraint or another. They have produced millions of tree seedlings which have been issued to small-scale farmers, schools and churches.

- Many jobs have been created both in the urban centre but mostly in the rural areas.

- The campaign for indigenous trees and shrubs has been successful.

- Women continue to cultivate a more positive image of themselves. About 50,000 women are involved at nursery sites.

- The groups are proud of their ability to carry out their projects on their own without being patronized.

- Public awareness on the need to protect the environment has increased.

- Two booklets and several films on the Green Belt Movement have been produced.

- The Movement is spreading to other African countries.

- The Green Belt Movement has been a developing project by the people rather than for the people.

- Over seven million trees are recorded as having been planted and survived, at a survival rate of about 70-80% in the last ten years.

- Over 3000 schools have planted trees on school compounds and have involved over 1 million school children.

- Over 50,000 households (small scale farmers) have planted trees on their farms. This amounts to about half a million persons.

[See also Wangari Maathai, "The Green Belt Movement, IFDA Dossier 49 (Sept/Oct 1985) pp3-12]

(POB 67545, Nairobi, Kenya)

Latin America: CLAES

El Centro Latino Americano de Ecología Social (CLAES) es una institución sin fines de lucro que, desde 1989, se dedica a la investigación y promoción de las relaciones de los humanos entre sí y con su ambiente, desde la perspectiva latinoamericana de la ecología social. El CLAES ha venido desarrollando sus actividades por medio de diferentes programas:

a) *Investigación participativa*. - Desarrolla nuevas prácticas y experiencias con grupos marginados, integrando los aspectos sociales y ambientales, a través de metodologías participativas.

b) *Ambiente y desarrollo*. - Estudia la dimensión ambiental de los estilos de desarrollo latinoamericanos, analizando sus paradigmas, postulados éticos, etc. El programa también realizó una encuesta acerca de las prácticas socioambientales de las organizaciones latinoamericanas.

c) *Comunicación en ecología social*. - Su objetivo es expandir la perspectiva latinoamericana de la ecología social. El programa incluye:

- Red Latino Americana de Ecología Social (RedLAES) cuyo propósito principal es fortalecer la comunicación interregional en esta perspectiva.

- Sistema de Información en Comercio y Ambiente para América Latina (SICA-AL), que difunde informaciones y datos sobre los impactos ambientales del comercio internacional.

- Asesoramiento a otras instituciones y grupos que trabajen en promoción e investigación, contestando sus consultas por materiales escritos, contactos personales, etc.

- Desarrollo de un sistema de catalogación bibliográfica en ecología social (SIES) con el objetivo de organizar la información en estos temas.

- Edición y distribución de las publicaciones del CLAES, las cuales incluyen: *Cuadernos Latinoamericanos de Ecología Social* (revista con artículos originales, editado a intervalos irregulares conjuntamente con CIPFE y Amigos de la Tierra Uruguay); *Estudios en Ecología Social* (monografías con conceptos y metodologías útiles para la práctica social y ambiental); y *Teko-ha*, boletín cuatrimestral de la RedLAES; el que incluye como suplemento el boletín del SICA-AL.

Red Latino Americana de Ecología Social

La RedLAES es la principal herramienta de intercomunicación del CLAES. Iniciada en 1989, con la finalidad de recuperar una perspectiva integrada de las relaciones del ser humano con su entorno, promueve la comunicación entre instituciones, grupos o personas que trabajan en una perspectiva interdisciplinaria que incluya las dimensiones sociales y ambientales. El intercambio de información entre los países del Sur, la promoción de proyectos conjuntos y el apoyo a instancias de discusión son algunos de sus objetivos principales. El boletín *Teko-ha* es la principal herramienta de comunicación entre los miembros de la Red.

Actualmente la Red cuenta con más de 50 participantes en 12 países, y ha realizado dos reuniones latinoamericanas (1989 Montevideo; 1990 Buenos Aires), donde se intercambiaron directamente opiniones, críticas y proyectos.

(CC 13000, 11700 Montevideo, Uruguay)

Costa Rica: Women for Housing

CEFEMINA (Centro Feminista de Información y Acción), a women's organization, was established in 1981 as an independent, non-political organization dedicated to improving the lives of women. Its members, drawn from all ranks of society, launched a campaign against the policy of allowing squatter communities to spread indiscriminately onto vacant lands before housing and urban services were in place. It asked the government for virgin land on which to pioneer self-help community development which would preserve the natural environment and improve the quality of human life.

Guarari - women show the way

The Guarari Community Development Project is a unique experiment in low-cost housing in the crowded central valley of Costa Rica. CEFEMINA and COPAN, which campaigns for and helps build community housing, have stimulated and supported a grassroots movement. The project illustrates the roles of women, as planners and resource managers.

At Guarari there are plans for 3,000 houses, some 300 of which have already been built. Women are the principal activists. Each group of houses will have the social and physical facilities necessary for a productive community life. The arrangement of houses into small groups enables them to adapt to the natural topography and preserves the natural habitat as far as possible. All members of the community are involved in house-building and take part in the community's assembly where all decisions are taken.

The government facilitates land acquisition and material; the beneficiaries provide the labour. Financial support is provided by the Banco Hipotecario de la Vivienda

(BANHVI), which is a government credit bank. A house in Guarari costs 210,000 colones (about \$2,500). To qualify for a house a head of household needs 900 hours of credits for work done on the site, most of which will be construction work but can also include training in construction work, day-care of children, help in the communal kitchen, road cleaning and maintenance of services.

Special efforts are being made to save, as much as possible, the natural flora. There is a project to grow and propagate medicinal plants, now in an embryonic stage but with a development plan. The management of waste is an important part of the environmental protection programme. The use of devices to conserve energy and water has been proposed for future units and incentives will be given to demonstration houses.

Guarari is included in the programme of "Salud Vivencial" (living health) promoted by CEFEMINA in conjunction with other social assistance organizations for the area. This is an integrated approach to health services in which prevention of disease, nutrition, personal and social hygiene and family planning are included. The health committees in the community are responsible for the education and referral services within the group. In Guarari, most of the women and men interviewed were quite familiar with the health activities and vocal about the need to balance personal interests and needs with scarce natural resources.

Moreover, CEFEMINA publishes *Mujer* with a special focus on women's issues and problems.

(Apdo 5355, San José 1000, Costa Rica)-

Costa Rica: Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano

La Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano es una organización sin fines de lucro cuyo propósito es la promoción de la paz y el progreso humano, auspiciando el diálogo, la reconciliación, la concertación social y el desarrollo sostenido en Centroamérica.

Fue establecida el 20 de febrero de 1988, y simboliza el cumplimiento de una promesa formulada por el Dr Oscar Arias Sánchez al recibir el Premio Nobel de la Paz en 1987 y destinar el producto económico de ese Premio a la creación de la Fundación.

Para llevar a cabo su misión la Fundación ha establecido dos centros: el Centro para la Paz y la Reconciliación y el Centro del Progreso Humano. El Centro para la Paz y la Reconciliación se dedicará a estimular el diálogo en la región como una manera de resolver los conflictos, con fundamento en los esfuerzos de paz llevados a cabo por el Dr Arias. El objetivo del Centro para el Progreso Humano es promover el desarrollo sostenido. Ambos centros apoyarán la investigación, capacitación y educación; mediante la realización de conferencias; la publicación y divulgación de estudios relacionados con sus áreas de interés y colaborará con individuos y organizaciones de la región, comprometidos con las metas de la Fundación.

La Fundación, además, se define como una fundación de la comunidad, en el tanto en que se nutre e inspira de los intereses y necesidades de la comunidad centroamericana, y promueve el desarrollo de la filantropía organizada en el área, como un concepto opuesto a la caridad y paternalismo; siendo, más bien, una manera de coadyuvar

al desarrollo de los pueblos mediante el esfuerzo y trabajo conjuntos.

El primer programa de la Fundación es La Participación Digna de la Mujer en la Economía Centroamericana, y tiene como objetivo fundamental fomentar el acceso de las mujeres a los recursos y oportunidades, con especial atención en las mujeres pobres que son jefas de familia. La Fundación trabajará en el nivel de establecimiento de políticas para integrar a las mujeres a la economía en tres sectores: agricultura, trabajo asalariado y pequeña empresa; apoyando la investigación, capacitación y educación y reforma legal. Otros programas se relacionan con el desarrollo de la filantropía en Centroamérica y Mujer y Medio Ambiente.

• *The 47th International Congress of the Americanistas will meet 7-11 July 1991 in New Orleans, USA on the theme Urgent Anthropological research and Rights of Indigenous Peoples in front of the State. (Further information, Dr. Orlando Sampaio Silva, Rua José de Freitas Guimarães 328 Pacaembu, 01237 Sao Paulo, Brazil).*

• *Scholars, researchers, specialists interested in Latin American affairs can receive a list of new publications which are edited in Argentina. These books are a valuable instrument for knowledge and investigation of the Argentinian and Latin American realities. (Contact Graciela Laufer, Postfach 10 47 24, 6900 Heidelberg, Germany).*

Africa: CIFAD

The International Committee of African Women for Development (CIFAD) is a network of women's groups and associations of African countries having a common usage of French. It was created in July 1985 at the "Forum 85" in Nairobi.

By working together, the groups were able to identify common problems and also find possible solutions as well as appropriate strategies. At a first workshop women from other parts of the world were introduced to the problems facing African women. The exchange of ideas permitted to question international cooperation in its present form, for example, the fact that "donor" countries decide often unilaterally on projects which rarely improve the conditions of life of African women.

To attain this goal, the representatives of the African women associations decided to create a committee for the coordination of development projects for African women, through the concertation South-South and South-North.

Objectives

- To identify, promote and coordinate development projects, initiated by African women for improving their living conditions;
- to encourage the exchange and spreading of useful information for setting up projects;
- to encourage the training and research needed for development projects;
- to encourage an international network of support for development projects;
- to identify potential organs likely to support financially and technically development projects favoring women.

Types of projects

Development projects considered by women as priorities are socio-economic in charac-

ter: income-generating projects; projects to alleviate women's work; and training programmes for women.

The CIFAD member associations and women's groups in each country identify and initiate development projects. CIFAD, as a structure of promotion and coordination, identifies and solicits potential organizations able to provide technical and financial support to the projects.

Resources

The resources of CIFAD are provided by contributions of members, grants from African governments, Ngos and development agencies.

Main areas of activities

Projects area. - CIFAD mobilizes the human, financial and technical resources to support community development projects initiated and executed by African women. CIFAD favors leaving the management of projects to requesting associations and women's groups.

Communication area. - CIFAD promotes the exchange and diffusion of all information useful to the implementation of the projects by member organizations; put in contact with the women groups, potential organizations likely to support their activities; develop a network of intercommunication between the different groups based within and between countries.

Research, training and supervision areas. - CIFAD has initiated a documentation centre to sustain research and training. It aims to specify policies of intervention and to emphasize the types of actions for women's promotion.

(01 BP 5147, Abidjan 01, Côte d'Ivoire)

Perú: Desco cumple 25 años

Desco nació hace veinticinco años. Su origen se debió al compromiso de nuestros fundadores (instituciones y personas individuales) con la dura realidad que enfrentaban y enfrentan aún hoy las mayorías nacionales. La misión de Desco fue contribuir al cambio de las estructuras injustas imperantes.

Desde entonces, cientos de personas hemos compartido el diseño, ejecución y evaluación constante de las actividades institucionales, dirigidas a acompañar al pueblo del Perú en su esfuerzo liberador de las varias opresiones que sufre. A través de una Memoria publicada por la ocasión (*Desco: 25 años de quehacer institucional*, 56pp), deseamos, escribe su Presidente Marcial Rubio Correa, compartir con los amigos nuestras ideas sobre la promoción del desarrollo, lo que hacemos, lo que prevemos realizar a futuro, y alguna que otra información que, luego de un cuarto de siglo, puede ser interesante conocer y guardar en un puñado de páginas.

Desco se hizo por las personas que trabajaron en él, y por la acogida que las organizaciones populares y los peruanos han dado a los resultados variados de la labor desarrollada.

Los objetivos institucionales de Desco:

- Llevar a cabo programas de promoción social que contribuyan a que los grupos y comunidades de base tomen un rol activo en el proceso de transformación de las estructuras socio-económicas del país.
- Investigar la realidad socio-económica del Perú, con el objeto de elaborar planes y programas concretos de acción frente a los problemas que demanda el cambio de estructuras, con el propósito de que esta

investigación se traduzca en medios efectivos para la promoción de los grupos de base.

- Estudiar, promover y asesorar proyectos de desarrollo socio-económico que contribuyan a la transformación de las estructuras.
- Promover y asesorar la organización y desarrollo de grupos y comunidades de base, de manera que éstas contribuyan a la transformación de las estructuras socio-económicas del país.
- Difundir, en beneficio de los grupos de base, las investigaciones realizadas por la institución y cualquier otro conocimiento que contribuya al cumplimiento de los fines institucionales.
- Prestar servicios técnicos, contables, legales, económicos, de gestión administrativa o similares que requieran los grupos o programas de desarrollo a cargo de la Institución o que, bajo dependencia de otras unidades, contribuyan al cumplimiento de los fines institucionales, sin que esto constituya ánimo de lucro.

La preocupación central de Desco, en la perspectiva de un desarrollo auténtico para el Perú, son las personas y grupos de personas menos favorecidas de la ciudad y del campo; es decir, las clases populares, los explotados y marginados del poder. Desco pretende colaborar en el diseño de fórmulas realistas para superar la actual situación de injusticia y para desterrar toda forma de explotación.

Nuestra actividad de promoción del desarrollo tiene tres aspectos: el trabajo de campo estrictamente hablando, la colaboración con otras organizaciones dedicadas a

los mismos fines, y el reprocesamiento de la experiencia de manera que sirva para futuros proyectos de Desco y para terceros interesados.

Trabajar sobre la realidad exige comprenderla y, por ello, Desco hace también labor de investigación vinculada a la actividad de promoción. Desco también realiza ciertas actividades que no constituyen propiamente investigación ni programas de promoción, sino algo que denominamos promoción indirecta. La promoción indirecta es una actividad de proyección de Desco hacia la sociedad que utiliza las posibilidades y calidades del personal de la institución, para colaborar en aspectos importantes del desarrollo social pero de manera difusa, es decir, sin contar con un equipo ni con un ámbito de trabajo determinados. En el terreno de la promoción indirecta, y a través del trabajo de nuestros profesionales a lo largo de estos 25 años, Desco se ha relacionado con infinidad de sindicatos y gremios del mundo popular, comunidades cristianas de base, organizaciones juveniles y de supervivencia, comunidades campesinas y colegios profesionales, así como universidades nacionales. Charlas, conferencias, materiales audiovisuales, diagnósticos y propuestas fueron los vehículos que materializaron esa relación fecunda.

A mediados de la década de los setenta, Desco consideró de importancia facilitar información política a personas e instituciones que, principalmente en las provincias, se veían privadas del acceso a los periódicos impresos. Con tal finalidad inició la edición del *Resumen Semanal*, un servicio que ha sido editado ininterrumpidamente durante diecisiete años y que tiene por finalidad dar el poder de la información a quien no tiene acceso a ella.

Hace doce años, Desco consideró importante colaborar a la organización y sistematización de la información política del país.

Para ello, constituyó un *Banco de Datos* computarizado que ha sido actualizado permanentemente.

Durante sesenticinco bimestres consecutivos Desco ha publicado la revista *QueHacer*, cuya finalidad es contribuir al desarrollo de la conciencia política y social del país, presentando material sobre la realidad que reúna concurrentemente calidad académica y presentación periodística. *QueHacer* se lee principalmente en medios políticos, sindicales, periodísticos, organizaciones populares, estudiantiles, profesionales, y entre especialistas extranjeros sobre el Perú. También llega a muchos peruanos que, nostálgicos de la Patria, la piden desde el extranjero.

Desco ha publicado hasta la fecha 206 títulos, muchos de ellos con varias reimpresiones y reediciones. También hemos publicado 65 números de la revista *QueHacer*, 579 números de *Resumen Semanal*, 50 ediciones de *Coyuntura Laboral*, 18 números de *Indicadores Económicos*, 6 ediciones de *La Propuesta* (en coedición con el Cidap, Tarea y el Cied), 6 números de *Yunta* y un número de *Pretextos*, nueva revista de carácter académico editada por la División de Investigaciones. Las publicaciones de Desco están dirigidas a muy distintos lectores: desde los folletos de crianza animal y cultivos dedicados al productor, hasta las obras que pretenden ser libros de texto universitario, pasando por toda una amplia gama de libros dedicados a la interpretación de la sociedad peruana. La inmensa mayoría de los textos que publicamos son elaborados dentro de la institución.

(Léon de la Fuente 110, **Lima** 7, Perú)

Manifeste d'Alger sur le futur de l'Islam

Le Centre d'Etudes sur le Futur de l'Islam, créé en décembre 1989, à Londres, pour améliorer les études de prospective dans le monde musulman, a tenu sa première manifestation à Alger, du 4 au 7 mai 1990, sous la forme d'un colloque consacrée à l'avenir du monde musulman.

Une quarantaine d'hommes et de femmes, représentant différentes disciplines et courants de pensée, ont participé à ce colloque. 22 études ont été présentées traitant de la définition et de la méthodologie de la prospective, du monde musulman du 21^e siècle, du devenir du problème palestinien, de l'avenir des mouvements politiques et culturels islamiques, du dialogue islamo-laïque, de la pluralité politique dans le monde islamique et du futur de l'action islamiste moderne.

Le colloque a présenté des suggestions et des axes de réflexion aux penseurs et décideurs du monde musulman en 19 points et en particulier les suivants:

- Il est indispensable de développer les études de prospective et d'en approfondir les concepts dans des institutions scientifiques spécialisées et de mettre à la disposition de ces derniers les moyens nécessaires.
- Ce qui met le plus en danger les sociétés musulmanes et met en cause leur avenir est la propagation de toute sorte d'injustices et de dictatures politiques, administratives et économiques. La première réclamation islamique doit donc être l'instauration de la justice dans l'ensemble du monde musulman et la lutte contre l'injustice et la dictature sous toutes leurs formes et à tous les niveaux.
- L'avenir des pays islamiques dépend du devoir des états à prendre les dispositions

qui s'imposent pour la défense de la liberté et la protection de la dignité.

- Le sous-développement dans plusieurs domaines de la vie comme dans celui de la pensée retarde la communauté musulmane et entrave sa marche vers l'avenir. Afin que cet avenir soit bien meilleur que le présent, la communauté devra surmonter son sous-développement politique, économique, industriel, scientifique, technologique, social et culturel.
- La situation de la femme musulmane laisse énormément à désirer et est bien en-deçà de ce qui est recommandé par l'Islam. Les musulmans en général et les mouvements islamiques en particulier sont invités à contribuer à la réhabilitation de la femme en lui assurant la place qui lui revient, en combattant toutes les injustices qu'elle a subi par l'ignorance des principes de l'Islam qui a régné dans la société. Les sociétés musulmanes doivent comprendre que l'avenir des générations musulmanes futures dépend des mesures et garanties prises pour permettre à la femme d'accomplir son rôle en entier, et sans entraves, dans la vie active à côté de l'homme. Il est aussi attendu de la femme musulmane qu'elle prenne plus conscience de son rôle et qu'elle prenne en main des responsabilités afin de faire face aux défis qui la confrontent.
- L'unité islamique est une condition essentielle pour l'avenir de la communauté musulmane - c'est un devoir prescrit par l'Islam ainsi qu'un atout majeur pour faire face aux défis qui la confrontent. Il incombe à la communauté d'en faire le noyau de son projet de civilisation du futur. L'entretien et le développement de la langue arabe en tant que langue principale du monde musulman est un devoir pour la construction d'un avenir devant reposer sur une union civilisa-

tionnelle autour de la pensée et de la culture.

- Le grand fossé qui ne cesse de se creuser, dans les domaines de la science et de la technologie et de leurs applications industrielles, entre les sociétés industrielles et les sociétés musulmanes constitue un grand danger pour le devenir de la communauté. Il y a lieu de conjuguer les efforts de toutes les sociétés de la communauté pour y faire face avec tous les moyens dont ils disposent. Ce danger impose à la communauté d'accorder une place prioritaire à la technologie et à la mise en place de stratégies de développement endogène dans tous les secteurs. Les sociétés musulmanes ne pourront s'épanouir que si elles se libèrent de toute sorte de dépendance à l'égard de l'étranger. Sans cette libération on ne saurait parler d'avenir de la communauté.

- Un des graves périls qui menacent la communauté est celui de l'exode des cerveaux. Le devoir impose à tous les pays musulmans de créer les conditions nécessaires et de prendre les dispositions qui s'imposent pour palier à cette hémorragie des potentialités de la communauté et afin d'encourager le rapatriement des capacités scientifiques et culturelles immigrées.

Parmi les 22 études présentées, on peut mentionner les suivantes:

- "La prospective: nécessité, obstacles et horizons", Mahdi Elmandjra (Maroc);
- "Recommandations d'une génération passée à une génération future sur le chemin de la mission", Mustapha Machrhour (Égypte);
- "Les problèmes du dialogue culturel dans la nation arabe", Tareq El Bechri (Égypte);
- "L'avenir du dialogue entre islamistes et laïques dans le monde musulman", Bourhane Ghalioun (Syrie);

- "Pluralisme politique d'un point de vue islamique", Mohamed Salim Al Aoua (Égypte);

- "La femme musulmane et son rôle dans la construction de l'avenir", Chafia Essedik (Algérie).

De par ses travaux - treize séances riches de discussion et commentaires, par ses résultats et conclusions, ce colloque a été une riche manifestation intellectuelle sur l'islam et les mouvements islamiques.

(CIFS, POB 1758, **Londres** NW2 6EP, UK)

- *An international solidarity event entitled International Peace Festival in the Philippines will be held in Manila from 4 to 17 September 1991. The event is envisioned to promote dialogue on current world issues and to foster understanding and solidarity to the continuing struggles of the Filipino people to build peace and sovereignty in the country. (Ipsf, Suite 0066, FNP G/F Cosmopolitan Tower Condominium, 134 Valero Street, Salcedo Village, **Makati**, Metro Manila, Philippines).*

- *The fourth Fair of the Practical Utopias will take place from 19 to 27 October 1991 at Città di Castello, Perugia, Italy. After water, earth and fire, this year's theme will be air. Specific topics include urban traffic and air pollution, mobility and breathable air, climate and local contributions, North/South relations and inequality in producing damage and finding remedies. There will be an exhibition, seminars, and entertainment. (Segreteria Fiera Utopie Concrete, Comune, 06012 **Città di Castello**, Perugia, Italy).*

Asia: Lawasia for Human Rights

Lawasia (The Law Association for Asia and the Pacific) is a professional, non-governmental association of lawyers - private and government lawyers, judges and law teachers. Membership is made up of individual members, member organisations, corporations and law firms as well as "Friends of Lawasia" in countries outside the region.

Lawasia was formed at a conference called by the Law Council of Australia in Canberra in August 1966. Lawasia now has individual and member organisations in Australia, Bangladesh, Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Peoples Republic of China, the Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand and Western Samoa.

Lawasia's objectives include:

- promoting the administration of justice, the protection of human rights and the maintenance of the rule of law;
- advancing legal education;
- diffusing knowledge of the laws of member countries;
- promoting development of the law and uniformity where appropriate;
- furthering international understanding and goodwill;
- fostering relations and intercourse between lawyers in the region;
- upholding and advancing the status of the legal profession in the region.

The *Lawasia Human Rights Standing Committee* is one of eighteen standing committees, sections and interest groups within Lawasia.

Activities of the Lawasia Human Rights Committee 1979-1990 include:

- *Steps taken to contribute to the establishment of a Human Rights Commission for the Asian and Pacific region:* A variety of different approaches have been undertaken: firstly, the dissemination of information concerning human rights and the promotion of awareness of human rights throughout the region; secondly, the establishment of a coalition of non-governmental organisations concerned with human rights issues in the region; and thirdly, the taking of steps which it is hoped will lead to the establishment of sub-regional Human Rights Commissions. These include some of the activities listed below.

- *Dissemination of information on human rights matters within the Asian region.*

- *Steps leading to the establishment of the Asian Coalition of Human Rights Organisations:* The Committee feels that co-operation between Ngos is important for many reasons, including the fact that it provides the organisations involved with contact, information and support - enabling them to learn from the experiences of other organisations and to avoid duplication of effort, and providing protection for human rights activists who are subject for harassment.

Subsequently, Lawasia organised two meetings. The first took place in New Delhi in October 1982. It was attended by thirty-four organisations from twelve countries, and passed resolutions in favour of the formation of a loose coalition of human rights organisations. The second meeting took place in Manila in September 1983. At this meeting thirty-seven organisations from twelve countries attended, and, at this time,

formed the coalition known as ACIHO (Asian Coalition of Human Rights Organisations). ACIHO which operates independently of Lawasia, has now developed a firm programme of activities.

- *Steps to examine the possibility of the establishment of sub-regional Human Rights Commissions:* Accordingly in April 1985, the Lawasian Human Rights Committee held a seminar: *Prospects for the Establishment of a South Pacific Inter-Governmental Human Rights Commission* in Fiji. Among the topics discussed at the conference were: decolonisation movements in New Caledonia and French Occupied Polynesia, nuclear issues affecting the Pacific, the position of women, the rights of indigenous populations and development issues. It was the first time that people from around, or interested in, the Pacific region had come together to discuss many of these issues in such a way, and the meeting was considered most successful by all who were involved.

Other seminars

- A seminar on *Women and the Law* was staged by the Committee in Kuala Lumpur in May 1983.
- Furthering the Committee's concern with the administration of justice in the region, several seminars have since been convened by the Lawasia Judicial Section. In August 1985, the Section held a *Conference of Chief Justices* in Penang to discuss court administration in the region. In November 1986, the Section held a *Conference of Senior Court Administrators* in Malacca, also to discuss court administration in the region. In October 1987, the Section held a further *Conference of Chief Justices* in Islamabad.
- A meeting on the topic *The Exploitation of the child*, was held in Singapore on 13 and 14 November 1984. In February 1986, the Committee held a follow-up conference

in Kuala Lumpur entitled *Child Exploitation: Child Labour and Child Prostitution*.

- In February 1988, the Committee, in conjunction with Defence for Children International (Geneva), held a further seminar on child exploitation. The seminar, entitled *The Rights of Children: How Laws and Lawyers can help Protect Children from Exploitation*, was held in Lahore, Pakistan, and discussed possible practical steps which lawyers can take towards improving the situation of child labourers (eg. interpretation of child exploitation legislation, the improvement of such legislation and its implementation, the establishment of legal aid centres to deal with these issues, and the establishment of links between active Ngos, journalists, lawyers, etc.).

Publications

Human Rights Bulletin. - The *Bulletin* commenced in June 1982. It provides a factual overview of events which relate to human rights within the Lawasia region. Prior to the commencement of the *Bulletin*, there was no human rights publication dealing specifically with the Asian-Pacific region. Through the *Bulletin* it is hoped to encourage the dissemination of knowledge which relates to human rights issues and causes within the region.

Human Rights Newsletter. - Through the *Newsletter*, the Committee hoped to encourage interaction with activists in the region, inviting their comments and suggestions and maintaining a regular means of contact with such people.

Trends in Human Rights. - To date, four volumes have been published.

(Ateneo Law School, 130 De La Costa S.J. Street, Salcedo Village, **Makati**, Metro Manila 3116, Philippines)

Brazil: CIELA facilitates South-South relations

The consortium between the National University of Brasilia Foundation - FUNB and the Pernambuco Foundation for Higher Education - FEESP has instituted the Inter-university Centre for Latin American, African and Asian Studies - CIELA, the two basic objectives of which are:

- To establish a point of convergence for the exchange of information and experience on the developmental problems that are current and common to countries or regions of the three continents;
- To promote and encourage the critical and systematic study of the question of development and to put forward proposals, solutions and alternatives.

Background

CIELA was established in September 1988. The basic idea behind CIELA is the realization that the problems of underdevelopment, poverty and increasing degradation of the environment nowadays represent the greatest challenge faced by the countries of the Third World, whose uncertainties regarding their possible political and economic options are increasingly more profound and in sharp contrast with the hopes and certainties of the period of decolonization, "independence" and redemocratization.

In addition to this perception there is also the conviction that the Third World's most serious and urgent problems, precisely those relating to development, demand of the intelligentsia a new approach, one that is both comprehensive and sectorial, capable of offering the prospects of another development.

Today, unlike the period of decolonization and independence, this intelligentsia exists

and is increasingly assuming its responsibilities. Intellectual production and innovating experiments are already substantial. However, the channels of direct communication between the countries of the South, between their universities, research institutes and study centres are recognizably deficient. Common, mutually agreed programs for study and research and the systematic exchange of people, ideas and results are virtually non-existent.

CIELA intends to be, among other bodies that may arise or assume similar responsibilities, not only an autonomous centre of production but also a forum for exchanging experiences and for the promotion and execution of activities agreed with its future partners, both Brazilian and foreign.

This initiative has a deep-rooted rationale and is entitled to expect the understanding and support of public and private entities of the North. Widely differing reasons and interests have led to an increasing awareness in the industrial countries that the stability, development, peace and even the survival of the countries that are today rich and powerful will depend more and more on whether or not a solution is found to the development problems of the South. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the South's development cannot be induced simply by the development of the North; and it is also clear that the North does not have the key or secret to solving these problems.

Themes

CIELA is taking the initiative in proposing a short list of topics for reflexion and investigation which, from its perspective, would constitute a common work program for different institutions in several countries

of Latin America, Africa and Asia. In this connection CIELA proposes the following working guidelines:

- *Development of the relations between the countries of the South: reality and alternatives.* - The growth of contacts between countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the prospects of commercial integration and economic cooperation. Potentiality and fragility of a South-South interrelationship. Diplomatic strategies and experiments in bilateral cooperation. Free trade associations and failures of continental integration. Alternatives and prospects of economic cooperation between the countries of the Third World.

- *Environmental policies: urban pollution, deforestation and desertification.* - Pollution of squalor and industrial-urban pollution in recently industrialized countries. Deforestation and devastation of renewable natural resources - water, soil and forest - in the tropical countries and subtropical regions. Tree felling, desertification and deterioration of the natural environment in the semi-arid regions of the Third World countries. Technological progress, economic modernization and the ecological crisis. Alternatives for development and self-renewal of the ecological system.

- *Political representation and local power.* - The formal representation of power and the reality of power. The political parties. Centralization and regionalization. The administration and management of development at the local level.

- *Climatic instability and alternative strategies. The safety of food.* - Emergency, cyclical or recurrent situations. Policies for prevention and help in times of crisis. Evaluation of the impact of the various policies adopted. Alternative policies.

- *The impact of technology and alternative policies.* - The spread of new technologies

and their social, economic and cultural impact on the Third World countries. Experiments with alternative technology and its chances of participation in the world's trading and economic system. Technological dependency and alternative policies for the development of science and technology. The new technological revolutions and the prospects of recently industrialized countries in the world context: marginalization and international disparities. The fascination of high technology and lack of appropriate technology.

- *Government intervention and the problems of development programs and projects.* - Government policies and the political process of decision-making in the countries of the Third World. The levels of power and the interests and concepts of the target population. The nation state and international financing organizations. Failures and so-called successes of development programs.

- *The land question and modernization of agriculture.* - The "green revolution" versus land reform. Mirages and the reality of the two options. Do political systems determine the paths to solving the land question and predetermine the way that agriculture is modernized? The importance of the historical, cultural and social context in the choice of agrarian policies. Comparative and multidisciplinary study of the plans for and experience of land reform and the modernization of agriculture over the past few years. The search for new perspectives.

(CIELA, Av Agramenon Magalhães, 50040 Santo Amaro, Recife PE, Brazil)

N.B. Une brochure en français décrivant le programme du CIELA au service des échanges Sud-Sud est disponible à l'adresse ci-dessus.

Indonesia: The Institute for Philosophy and the Future of Humanity

About 150 participants from 28 countries took part in the International Philosophical Congress on *Traditional Cultures, Philosophy and the Future*, held in Jakarta in January 1990. About 90 papers were presented on a great range of cultural and philosophical themes from East Asia, South Asia, West Asia and Southeast Asia as well as from the modern secular world including Europe, America and Australia.

There was a consensus that humankind is in the throes of a rapid and total transformation into a more united world, brought about by the speed of electro-communications and transportation. The great cultural traditions of China, India, West Asia and Greece, as well as of the separate nations that arose during the Renaissance, reaching their heydays in the 19th century and up until the two world wars, are now facing fundamental changes because of the criss-crossing encounters of individuals, institutions, societies and cultures on an unknown scale.

The result is the rise of innumerable tensions and conflicts which not only endanger the very existence of the human race, but also promote the opening of new possibilities for cooperation, synthesis, and new creativities in all fields of human social and cultural life.

Against the background of a confused amalgamation of conflicting political, economic, religious, aesthetic and other interests in the broad array of the all-embracing social and cultural life of our time, the Congress recognized that humanity is in need of a new philosophical reflection and contemplation on the present human predicament, due to the transformation of social and cultural life on a shrinking planet.

On the basis of these considerations, and especially as a result of the deliberations during the Congress on Traditional Cultures, Philosophy and the Future, the Congress Committee decided to create a new institution as a follow-up of the philosophical Congress, named the *Institute for Philosophy and the Future of Humanity*. The aims of the Institute will be:

- to promote and spread the consciousness of the unavoidability of the integration of humanity through the processes of social and cultural globalization;
- to create cooperation and exchange of information between scholars and philosophers who are interested in the scientific and philosophical study of the process of the present and future integration of the human race on our shrinking planet;
- to promote, through research and discussion, responsibility and commitment among social scientists and philosophers for the future peaceful and just unification of humanity;
- to spread the ideas and ideals of a future peaceful and just organization and integration of the human race in the world.

The Institute publishes a quarterly international journal, *Philosophy and the Future of Humanity*, in English, in which the various scholars, thinkers and philosophers in a mutual exchange of ideas and ideals contribute to the thinking and formulation of the values and structures of the emerging world community. Some of the papers of the Congress are published in the journal.

(S. Takdir Alisjahbana, President of the Steering Committee, Universitas Nasional, Jakarta, Indonesia)

South-South and South-North Communications: The Third World Network's Media and Publications Activities

by **Martin Khor Kok Peng**

How we perceive the world's events and trends to a large extent determines our responses. Much of the news that is read worldwide comes from a few agencies or magazines controlled by the West. As a result, there is a dominance of West-centric analysis that often distorts reality, especially where the Third World is concerned.

For instance, the 1980s have been portrayed in the western media as a decade of boom for the "world economy". Yet the economies in most of the Third World were declining due to the debt crisis and falling commodity prices. The Uruguay Round is overwhelming portrayed as a battle over farm subsidies. Yet for the Third World the real issue was the West's attempt to pry open Third World markets for western service companies and for foreign investors by expanding the powers of GATT into new areas. The Panama invasion or the Gulf War are portrayed by the American media as a good versus evil fight, but from a Third World perspective it may be perceived as a demonstration that the West is prepared to use brutal force to get the Third World to 'toe its line' and to ensure continued dominance over world resources.

For the past five years, a group of Third World journalists and citizens' associations have been trying to break the West's media by making available news reports and analyses from the South, and circulating them in both the South and the North.

The *Third World Network* felt that it was not enough to complain about western media control, so it started a simple news

exchange system by inviting journalists and thinkers (mainly from the Third World) to contribute to a Third World Network Features Service. Today the service provides four features weekly, is published in English, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Hindi and Bengali and distributed to about a thousand newspapers, magazines and citizens' groups around the world. They appear regularly in countries like India, Tanzania, Jamaica, Uruguay, Kenya and Iran and are also occasionally picked up by established western newspapers such as the *International Herald Tribune* and the *Guardian* (London) and *World Press Review*.

The features are written mainly by Third World writers, development activists and environmentalists, and they bring the activities and perspectives of Third World citizens' associations and thinkers to the world public. The features have for instance given prominence to the grassroots battles in many Third World countries to save the environment from northern financed development projects. They have provided in-depth analysis of economic affairs such as the debt crisis, increasing poverty and the Uruguay Round negotiations, from a Third World perspective. Equally important, they have highlighted the grassroots initiatives of Third World communities and groups in promoting appropriate technology, organic farming, innovative credit systems for the poor, alternative and indigenous health systems and cooperative housing.

Recently, the Third World Network began publishing two magazines, available in either English or Spanish, the monthly *Third*

World Resurgence and the fortnightly *Third World Economics*. Both aim to be a forum through which southern perspectives can be promoted and thus gain a fairer representation in the international marketplace of ideas, as well as provide a guide to citizens' associations both in the South and North as to what Third World groups, communities and intellectuals are doing and thinking.

Third World Resurgence aims to provide Third World analysis on a wide range of issues including the environment, health and basic needs, international affairs, economics and culture. Its inaugural issue in September 1990 focused on "Seeing Green Through Third World Eyes" and carried articles by Jose Lutzenberger (Latin America's well-known ecologist, now Brazil's Environment Minister) on deforestation and sudden ecological collapse; an analysis by Indian environmentalist Vandana Shiva on global warming and North-South relations; by Malaysian activist Mohamed Idris warning of how the political and commercial elite were coopting the green label to perpetuate their destruction of nature; and reports of how communities in the Third World are defending both the environment and their basic rights. Subsequent issues of *Resurgence* have highlighted how the Uruguay Round is threatening the sovereignty of Third World countries; why the East-West rapprochement has dangerous implications for the Third World; how the Gulf Crisis is perceived so differently when seen from the South as contrasted with the North; the impact of 500 years of colonisation as we approach the quincentenary of Columbus' landing in the Americas; and the plight of the world's indigenous people.

Third World Economics on the other hand aims to fill a long felt need for alternative, Third World oriented news and analyses on economic events and affairs both at the international and national levels. Much of the dominant coverage of such critical trends as the debt crisis, the commodity

price decline, the growing power of transnational companies, the widening rich-poor gap, the moves towards privatisation and deregulation, are all North oriented and establishment oriented. The fortnightly provides speedy but indepth analysis of current affairs in North-South economic relations. Its early issues have focused especially on providing a blow-by-blow week-by-week analysis of the Uruguay Round talks in Geneva and Brussels. The magazine gave a detailed account of how the GATT talks broke down in Brussels and the implications for the Third World. The magazine also covers a wide range of North-South issues (investments, transnational corporation practices, debt and finance, technology and intellectual property rights, trade and commodity prices) as well as the national dimension of development (poverty, rural development, social inequalities, basic needs problems, and alternative development strategies). *Third World Economics* is meant for development groups, research institutes and economists.

For the specialist, the Third World Network publishes the *SUNS (South-North Development Monitor)*, a daily bulletin on South-North issues produced in Geneva by veteran Indian journalist and analyst Chakravarthi Raghavan. The *SUNS* had been founded in 1980 and published until 1989 by II'DA. It is widely read and respected by Third World economic diplomats conducting negotiations in UNCTAD, GATT and other fora, and is a valuable resource for policy makers and economic researchers.

(Third World Network, 87 Cantonment Road, 10250 Penang, Malaysia, Fax: 804-368106; Spanish editions: Roberto Bissio, Instituto del Tercer Mundo, Miguel del Corro 1461, Montevideo 11200, Uruguay; SUNS: Chakravarthi Raghavan, Palais des Nations, Room C-504, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland)

(Continued from p94)

procurement and emergency aid, Third World countries have to look seriously at the only area in which the North-South notion of interdependence may have yet some sense: external trade.

A current effort by the US and other capital exporting countries which are bases for transnational corporations (TNC) operations in the world, attempt to incorporate in the GATT framework, areas of economic activities and relations that are not strictly 'trade' issues: intellectual property rights, services and investment rights. The introduction of these new areas within trade negotiations could be best described as the concerted efforts on the part of the North to reshape the existing international trading system that would promote maximum freedom of TNCs to operate worldwide.

If this were to succeed, Third World countries may find themselves obliged to reduce or eliminate conditions regulating investments and operation of foreign companies on their territories - in mining, manufacturing and services such as banking, insurance, transport, wholesale and retail trade and professional services like audit, advertising and legal practices. Under penalty of retaliatory measures against their exports, they would also be obliged to introduce laws protecting and enhancing patents and other industrial property rights of TNCs.

The central part of the book develops the background and starting positions for the new themes and the traditional

and systemic GATT's issues, their link with other trade's subjects, the interests behind the proposals advanced by the main trading actors (the US, the EEC, Japan and sometimes Canada, the Nordic countries or other industrial countries), the related advantages and disadvantages as the negotiation process went along, and the impact eventually agreed changes will have on Third World current trade status.

Besides classical GATT's themes such as tariffs, non-tariff measures, safeguards, the Multi-Fiber Arrangement for the trade of textiles and clothing and others, special attention is granted to two central subjects: (a) the "development principle", a basic concern for Third World countries, nevertheless specifically excluded as a guideline for the negotiations; and (b) the "new themes" of the Uruguay Round: Trade in Services, Trade-related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) and Trade-related Investment Measures (TRIMs).

Raghavan arrives at the end, more than with a note of caution, with a programmatic proposal of what needs to be done by the governments of the South to create and reinforce unity, to present a common front, to generate the required "mechanisms for political concertation and coordination", to avoid fighting battles "on the ground chosen by the North or according to rules formulated by the North", and finally defining a "Negotiating Strategy" which follows, theme by theme, the 14 areas of discussion incorporated in the Uruguay Round. ○

De Buenos Aires, Argentina

Deseamos agradecer los envíos del *IFDA Dossier*. El material publicado, el cual consideramos de interés fundamental para Latinoamérica, nos permite estar actualizados en nuestra labor docente, la cual desarrollamos en escuelas, universidades y municipios formando parte de nuestra actividad de extensión educativa absolutamente gratuita para los participantes.

Carlos A. Quevedo

From Cairo, Egypt

Of all the development literature I receive, this is the one I relish the most. It is 'a voice in the wilderness' and a much-needed venue for a different perspective on international development. Keep up the good work.

Laila Kamel

From Mambajao, Camiguin, Philippines

A friend of mine shared three volumes of your publication. I was amazed at the articles published which I find very useful in my work. Being an extension worker and at the same time researcher in this province, I'm involved in grassroot development of the people in the rural areas. Some of the articles in the *IFDA Dossier* really help me in my decision-making, especially in the planning process of development. More power to your publication. May this continue and give benefit to the different people of this world.

Crescencio L. Loquellano

De Montpellier, France

Nous vous remercions de bien vouloir continuer de nous adresser *IFDA Dossier*. Cette publication est d'un grand intérêt pour le public qui fréquente notre centre: étudiants, lycéens, chercheurs, enseignants, en particulier, qui consultent les documents que nous mettons librement à leur disposition.

D. Eldin, Documentaliste, Centre de Documentation Tiers Monde

From Mzuzu, Malawi

Once again I must assure you that I treasure the *IFDA Dossier* as one of my best reading resource. I always eagerly look forward to the new issue.

D.R.B. Manda, Kamwe Estate Ltd

From Parkville, Australia

I very much value the *IFDA Dossier* for its penetrating and non-western views. Most helpful in my work here (teaching futures).

Richard H. Slaughter, University of Melbourne

De Sonsón, Antioquia, Colombia

Por la presente, acuso recibo de su publicación *IFDA Dossier*, la que considero muy interesante, actualizada y aportadora para mi trabajo cotidiano en actividades de desarrollo rural - manejo integral de microcuencas, educación ambiental, organización y capacitación comunitaria en el oriente de Antioquia, Colombia. Estas publicaciones, una vez son leídas por mí, las facilito a compañeros profesionales que trabajan en instituciones del Estado y a personas interesadas que participan en organizaciones comunitarias urbanas y rurales de los municipios en los que cubro mi trabajo.

Gustavo Ocampo Alzate

From Tehran, Iran

I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the regular free copies you have sent me for the last 10 years. You know that in most Third World countries one has limited possibilities and access to instructive and relevant articles and information on development events in the world. In this context, the *Dossier* can help me in Iran.

Reza Najafbagy

From Ukiah, California, USA

Even though I haven't responded very much to the various articles in the *Dossier* over the years I have considered it my main source of credibility in international perspectives. There is no other publication, national or international, that approaches in integrity in dealing with the crucial issues of our time, especially as regards justice, equity and compassion generally for the marginalized of the world. I share this concern, and it leads me to be concerned about some of the trends I see in the thinking of many of those who ostensibly also share it but who, out of desperation, seem to have concluded that "realism" and "effectiveness" dictate some form of compromise with the major power centers in the world, and thus with the commitment to a truly humane and equitable world order.

Al Andersen

From Uyo, Akwa Ibom, Nigeria

I wish to express my profound gratitude to you for providing me the *IFDA Dossier*. The publication has always been interesting and educative. You are really doing much as far as development is concerned in the Third World. Please keep it up.

Edet Charlie Udoukor, Cross River Agricultural Development Project

*N.B. Publications mentioned in the following section are not available from IFDA but, depending on the case, from bookshops or publishers. Publishers whose address is given at the end of this section are indicated by an *.*

Espace local

- Jellal Abdelkefi, *La Médina de Tunis* (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1989*), 280pp. Nomb. ill. noir et coul. FF490.- Médina et capitale, Tunis du siècle précédent était une ville pieuse, burnous du prophète étalé entre lagunes et collines. Ville laborieuse faite au moule de l'idéal baldi d'ordre, de probité et de discrétion, elle était également savante, illuminée par les connaissances théologiques et juridiques de ses uléma. La médina de Tunis, montre l'auteur, est toujours vivante et présente au coeur d'une agglomération tunisoise en croissance continue. L'analyse des discours et des pratiques d'aménagement montre que la médina de Tunis cristallise les nostalgies progressiste et culturaliste: elle fait travailler en permanence les imaginations, aussi bien celles des peintres et des écrivains que celles des architectes et des ingénieurs; elle appelle ou suscite le discours politique; elle interpelle la recherche scientifique. Thème magnifique des mythologies, lieu favori des utopies, la médina est, en fait, un enjeu culturel et politique de toutes les tentatives d'aménagement de Tunis. Les Presses du CNRS méritent de chaleureuses félicitations pour avoir publié cet ouvrage, savant et merveilleux, de l'urbaniste tunisien, fruit d'années d'observations, de réflexion et d'action au service d'une ville et de ses habitants.

- Jean-François Tribillon, *L'urbanisme* (Paris: La Découverte, 1991) 123pp. L'urbanisation est en train de changer le monde. Même lorsque l'urbanisme fonde des villes, il se contente de préparer les

structures d'accueil d'une urbanisation qu'il tente ainsi de capter puis de conformer à son projet. Faire de l'urbanisme revient alors à *penser* - à *projeter*, puisque nous sommes dans l'espace - les formes urbaines et à les *administrer* au corps social. L'auteur explore ces notions d'une manière à la fois didactique et critique.

- Sabine Kradolfer, *Dynamique des villes secondaires et migrations en Afrique de l'Ouest* (Neuchâtel: Centre de Recherche sur le Développement, 1990*) 100pp.

- *Renaissance urbaine en Europe*, Actes de la conférence internationale sur "La maîtrise du développement urbain: solidarité Nord-Sud", Lisbonne (Portugal) 18-20 octobre 1989 (Strasbourg: Conseil de l'Europe, 1990) 113pp.

- Gustavo Riofrío, *Producir la ciudad (popular) de los '90: Entre el mercado y el Estado* (Lima: Desco, 1991*) 152pp. En este libro el autor busca aclarar numerosas confusiones respecto a las barriadas de Lima, que son compartidas cotidianamente por legos y entendidos a través de los medidos de comunicación masivos. Nuestra propuesta consiste en revisar el rol del Estado, más que el del mercado; ello supone examinar lo que ha sido nuestra visión estatista del Estado, una de las causas de la falta de respuestas dirigidas a integrar al mundo oficial con el mundo real.

- AVE-CEVE, *La participación como acción* (Córdoba: 1989*) 93pp. La experiencia que es base de esta publica-

ción, da continuidad a una línea de trabajo del CEVE: Investigar técnicas participativas en procesos socio-habitacionales.

- Cynthia Hewitt de Alcántara and Gabriel Vera, *Inside Megapolis: Exploring Social and Spatial Diversity of Provisioning Structures in Mexico City* (Geneva: Unrisd, 1990*) 47pp.

- Kosta Mathéy (ed), *Housing Policies in the Socialist Third World* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd, 1990*).

- Denis Murphy, *A Decent Place to Live: Urban Poor in Asia* (Bangkok: Asian Coalition for Housing Rights, 1990*) 130pp. The first part of this book presents six cities (Bombay, Hong Kong, Calcutta, Manila, Bangkok and Seoul), each of which illustrates a characteristic of major Asian cities. The second part discusses phenomena common to all cities - including evictions, housing solutions, informal employment, people's organizing efforts. In Asia's cities poor people live in cages, pushcarts, drainpipes, cemeteries, under bridges, on pavements and rooftops, on the sides of mountains, on stilts over stagnant water, in rooms so crowded a man can use it to sleep only eight hours a day and then must leave it so that others can sleep. Eighty percent of the text is from interviews with poor people.

- Marcia D. Lowe, *Alternatives to the Automobile: Transport for Livable Cities* (Washington: Worldwatch Institute, 1990*) 49pp. The automobile once promised a dazzling world of speed, freedom and convenience, magically conveying people wherever the road would take them. But societies that have built their transport systems around the automobile are now waking up to a much harsher reality. The problems created by overreliance on the car are outweighing its benefits. A new, more rational approach to transportations

is needed, one that puts the automobile in its rightful place as one among many options for travel. Making drivers pay more of the true costs of automobile use would hasten the shift to alternatives. Drivers would find public transport, cycling and walking much more appealing if the costs of congestion and air pollution were reflected in the prices for road use, parking and fuel.

- Hari Mohan Mathur (ed), *The Human Dimension of Development: Perspectives from Anthropology* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co, 1990*) 368pp.

- M.N. Mandal (ed), *Street Children and Slum Children in India* (Calcutta: Socio-Legal Aid Research & Training Centre, 1990*) 124pp.

- Comisión Costarricense de Derechos Humanos, *Los Derechos de los Niños* (San José: CODEHU, 1990*) 16pp.

- Fabio Dallape, *Enfants de la rue, enfants perdus? Une expérience à Nairobi* (Dakar: ENDA, 1990*) 183pp. Ce livre est une première tentative de coucher sur du papier les expériences d'une organisation qui a été pionnière dans le travail avec les enfants de la rue pour leur développement. C'est aussi, la réflexion personnelle d'un homme qui a dirigé Undugu Society dans un travail d'approche des enfants de la rue, de leurs parents et de leurs communautés. Titre original: *An Experience with Street Children* (Nairobi: Undugu Society of Kenya, 1988*).

- Mamadou Samb, *De pulpe et d'orange* (Dakar: ENDA, 1990*) 112pp. Cette autobiographie d'une fille-mère, étudiante et prostituée - transposée avec tact par Mamadou Samb - exprime à la fois les difficultés d'un certain contexte social et, chez Nabou, la volonté de s'en sortir, pour elle-même et pour son fils.

- Susheela Singh and Deidre Wulf, *Today's Adolescents, Tomorrow's Parents: A Portrait of the Americas* (New York: The Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1990*) 96pp. This report reveals that teenagers give birth to one out of every seven babies born in the Americas each year. The report also examines the levels and patterns of teenage childbearing in various Latin American and Caribbean countries.

- Romualdo B. Gaffud, *The Emergence of an Associative Economy of the Poor: Philippine Cooperatives in Focus* (Jakarta: SEAFDA, 1990*) 105pp. Cooperatives - the "darling" of development economics; the promising compromise between profit-driven and equity-oriented economic models; the so-called emerging third sector in the jungle-like, intensely competitive world of the free market. This book is a big help to this long journey. It addresses the fundamental issues plaguing Philippine cooperatives both at the macro and micro levels and proposes breakthrough solutions for their development. Yet in so doing, it does not lose sight of the basic values and non-economic foundations of genuine cooperativism, which do not merely pave the way for its viability but also ensure its sustainability.

- Lucinda Wykle, Ward Morehouse and David Dembo, *Worker Empowerment in a Changing Economy: Jobs, Military Production and the Environment* (New York: Apex Press, 1991*) 96pp. Cleaning up our environment and reducing the use of toxic chemicals and the reliance of our economy on military production will mean fundamental changes in the ways Americans produce and consume. These necessary actions will also mean drastic changes in the lives of workers dependent on the toxic economy. The conflict between workers trying to save their jobs and support their families and environment and peace activists trying to save our planet has played a major role in support-

ing corporate efforts to hinder progress in reducing our military production and cleaning up the environment. This book details a program to support workers who lose their jobs as a result of such efforts.

- Raff Carmen, *Communication, Education and Empowerment: Development Communication Revisited* (Manchester: Haigh & Hochland, 1990*) 121pp. Communication, just as education and development, is not neutral. They have been neutralised, by their 'owners' under the guise of 'the media', 'the formal school' and 'growth'. This monograph concentrates on communication-as-education and attempts to break through the myth that communication, just like education, 'belongs' to experts, to the powers-that-be. Just as everyone, by virtue of our common humanity, can gain knowledge and can 'make' culture (Freire), so communication should be in the power of everyone, this being of particular relevance in a Third World development context.

- Ad Boeren and Adri Kater (eds), *Delsilife: An Education Strategy to Fight Poverty* (The Hague: CESO, 1990*) 221pp. Part I explains the principles and characteristics of the Delsilife project (an acronym to the 'Development of a Coordinated Educational Intervention System for Improving the Quality of Life of the Rural Poor through Self-Reliance'). Part II presents the findings of the evaluation studies that were carried out in three pilot villages. The concluding chapter reflects on the merits and shortcomings of the system and its implementation.

- Mary Olivia Tandon, *Family Laws in Zimbabwe* (Harare: 1990). This mimeograph focusses on helping women in Zimbabwe to get easy access to the laws amended and new laws enacted after the independence of Zimbabwe. (POB 1516, Harare, Zimbabwe) £5.-

- Victoria Daines and David Seddon, *Survival Struggles, Protest and Resistance: Women's Responses to 'Austerity' and 'Structural Adjustment'* (Norwich: School of Development Studies, 1991*) 42pp.

- Gísli Pálsson (ed), *From Water to World-making* (Uppsala: SIAS, 1990*) 207pp. The essays in this book focus on human life in arid lands. While arid lands pose similar problems for all humans, experience of the ecological "facts" of aridity and drought is socially constructed, and located in a specific context of world-making. The articles attempt to illuminate the complex interactions between ecology and society the range of representations developed by Africans - be they pastoralists, fishermen or farmers.

- Michel Bassand et Jean-Marie Moeckli, *Villages: Quels espoirs?* (Berne: Peter Lang AG, 1990) 246pp. Les collectivités rurales européennes seraient-elles le laboratoire de la société de demain? Les réponses à nos questions angoissées sur le monde uniformisé et normalisé que nous promettent les médias, seraient-elles à chercher dans les villages? Les métropoles sont-elles vraiment seules à façonner notre avenir? Les régions périphériques, promises voici peu à l'absorption culturelle, ne sont-elles pas en train de sécréter des anticorps, pour leur propre survivance comme pour celle des villes? Ce recueil d'études faites au Canada, en Finlande, en France, en Hongrie, au Portugal, en Allemagne de l'Est et en Suisse, apporte à ces questions des réponses souvent nouvelles et parfois troublantes.

- Héctor Béjar, Fernando Eguren, Orlando Plaza y María Isabel Remy, *La presencia del cambio: Campesinado y desarrollo rural* (Lima: Desco, 1990*) 159pp. Este volumen es una invitación a recorrer y reconocer los cambios y transformaciones ocurridos en la sociedad rural y en el

Perú en los últimos veinticinco años. A través de cuatro ensayos se evidencia que los campesinos y los agricultores juegan un papel central - aunque por mucho tiempo invisible - en la configuración del actual tejido social del país. De otro lado, el cambio ocurrido no ha seguido necesariamente la dirección que buscaban las teorías o las propuestas políticas, pero sí ha cuestionado muy profundamente las bases de la organización social estamental del país, rebasando la capacidad de las instituciones para organizar la vida social.

- *Trabajo en las fincas: Los Tzotziles y las Fincas Cafetaleras de Chiapas*, 38pp; Diana L. Rus, *La crisis económica y la mujer indígena: El caso de Chamula, Chiapas*, 14pp. (San Cristóbal: Inaremac, 1990*).

- *Queremos que nos escuchen, que se oiga la voz de nuestros pueblos, Campaña 500 años de resistencia indígena y popular* (Guatemala: Campaña Continental, 1990*) 20pp.

- Ward Churchill (ed), *Critical Issues in Native North America* (Copenhagen: Iwgia, Vol II, 1991*) 175pp.

- Al Gedicks, *Wisconsin's Resource Wars* (La Crosse: Center for Alternative Mining Development Policy, 1990*) pp9-11.

- John E. Young, *Discarding the Throwaway Society* (Washington: Worldwatch Institute, 1991*) 45pp. People do not need materials (the metals, plastics, wood and other substances from which goods are fashioned), but the services they provide. Today's industrial economies were founded on the use of vast quantities of materials and energy, and the economic health of nations has often been equated with the amount they consumed. The amount of materials that originally enters an economy tells us nothing about the mate-

rial's eventual fate or its contribution to human well-being. It tells a good deal, however, about the damage the economy inflicts upon the environment. Societies can attack the problem at its source. From the attempts of people around the world to find alternative solutions to waste problems, a "soft materials path" can be mapped out. Its operating principle is efficiency: meeting people's needs with the minimum amount of the most appropriate materials available.

- Claudine Brelet-Rueff, *Les médecines sacrées* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1991) 353pp. Médecine shamanique, médecine des anciens Egyptiens, médecine des rites agraires, gnostiques, anthroposophiques, des Védas, du Tao, des sorciers africains, mais aussi de l'Amérique précolombienne, des alchimistes, "respirations sublimes" du Yoga, du Zen, du Tai Chi Chuan: les médecines traditionnelles représentent des connaissances et une expérience fondées sur des siècles, voire des millénaires, d'adaptation à un environnement spécifique. Grâce à l'impulsion donnée par l'Organisation Mondiale de la Santé depuis dix ans, elles font l'objet d'études et de recherches sur tous les continents. Claudine Brelet-Rueff fait le point sur ces médecines méconnues qui sont à la source de l'art thérapeutique.

- Isis, *El malestar silenciado: la otra salud mental* (Santiago: Isis, 1990*) 152pp. Isis Internacional se propone con este volumen contribuir al intercambio de ideas y experiencias sobre la salud mental de las mujeres, sobre el origen de sus conflictos y los caminos posibles para mejorar su calidad de vida, asumiendo una mirada específica de género. La otra salud mental, es asimismo un espacio de reflexión para las mujeres que trabajan con mujeres en salud mental, sobre el tratamiento terapéutico de los malestares femeninos. Nos proponemos ofrecer a los grupos, algunos elementos que puedan apoyar su

tarea cotidiana de reencuentro, fortalecimiento y crecimiento como mujeres.

- Prévenir, *Alternative santé: atouts et perspectives* (Marseille: CVM, 1990*) 300pp. Les inégalités dans l'accès aux soins s'accroissent. Le système de protection sociale, autrefois donné en modèle, renvoie la France en queue des pays européens. Evaluer, innover, inventer, construire une alternative santé plus performante, moins inégalitaire et moins coûteuse: ils sont des centaines à travailler dans ce sens. Economistes, techniciens des systèmes de santé, sociologues, praticiens généralistes ou spécialistes, représentants de syndicats médicaux, travailleurs sociaux, mutualistes, militants de la prévention, juristes, connus ou moins connus, décrivant leurs expériences, dans l'entreprise, à l'hôpital, dans les lieux de vie, ils livrent ici leurs réflexions sur l'efficacité des stratégies sanitaires et sociales, les pratiques médicales, les effets de la prévention, l'organisation de la protection sociale, l'avenir de la solidarité, l'éthique.

- P. Streefland and J. Chabot (eds), *Implementing Primary Health Care. Experiences since Alma Ata/ Les soins de santé primaires. Expériences depuis Alma Ata* (Amsterdam: KIT, 1990*). These two editions discuss the implementation of primary health care during the years since the WHO-UNICEF Alma Ata conference in 1978, and lessons for the future. The English and French edition contain different case studies. In English: Somalia, Tanzania, Zambia, Bangladesh, India, the Philippines, Colombia. Monographies en français; Bénin, Mali, Burkina Faso, Guinée Bissau, Zaïre.

- Debabar Banerji, *A Socio-Cultural, Political and Administrative Analysis of Health Policies and Programmes in India in the Eighties: A Critical Appraisal* (New Delhi: Lok Paksh, 1990*). In this book

data concerning a "people's eye view" have been used to strengthen the conventional methodology of appraisal of health policies and programmes. To rectify the situation in the field of health, India has only to regain its past heritage of public health practice which it had so assiduously cultivated over seven decades. It is endogenous in its origin. It situates health and health services in their social, cultural, political and economic contexts. The focus is on community self-reliance. It has been termed here as New Public Health. People, and not technology, forms starting points of New Public Health. US\$37.-

- Felix A. Ryan, *Better Life Technologies for the Poor* (New Delhi: Caritas, 1990*) 300pp. This book contains two hundred grassroot development ideas to help the poor to help themselves and their neighbours to live better, economically, socially and hygienically. All the ideas can be implemented in villages with local raw materials, strictly speaking with their own resources and without financial or technical aid from outside. Some of the ideas do not require any money at all to be put into practice and many of them can be implemented with about ten to twenty Indian rupees on each idea (about US\$ 2 only) on material cost. Every detail is explained in simple language with diagrams.
- Murray Dickson, *Là où il n'y a pas de dentiste* (Dakar: Enda, 1990*) 344pp. Cet ouvrage est fait de conseils simples et pratiques sur l'hygiène buccale pour le grand public autant que d'informations détaillées sur le traitement des problèmes bucco-dentaires par les agents de santé de base, se trouvant précisément "là où il n'y a pas de dentiste". Les illustrations et le texte ont été adaptés aux conditions africaines.
- Solon Barraclough and Krishna Ghimire, *The Social Dynamics of Deforestation in Developing Countries: Principal Issues and Research Priorities* (Geneva: Unriscd, 1990*) 40pp.
- M. Katerere and D. Giga, *Grain storage losses in Zimbabwe* (Dakar: Enda, 1990*) 97pp.
- Anne Bergeret et Jesse C. Ribot, *L'arbre nourricier en pays sahélien* (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1990*) 234pp. Les feuillages de bon nombre d'arbres sahéliens surpassent, par leur valeur nutritive, les feuilles et les légumes des régions tempérées. Outre les calories, les vitamines et les oligo-éléments, feuilles et fruits sahéliens jouent un rôle stratégique dans l'approvisionnement en protéines. Cet ouvrage montre que le savoir paysan sur les arbres, arbustes, lianes et tubercules de brousse se situe au coeur des stratégies anti-risques.
- Hélène Ryckmans, *La sueur, l'huile et le fromager: groupements producteurs de palme en Casamance* (Dakar: Enda, 1990*) 110pp.
- N. van Eekeren, A. Maas, H.W. Saatkamp et M. Verschuur, *L'aviculture à petite échelle sous les tropiques*, 50pp; N. van Wageningen et J. Meinderts, *L'incubation des oeufs par les poules et en couveuse*, 35pp. (Wageningen: Agromisa, 1990*). En français et en anglais.
- Vir Singh, *Ecological Impact of Apple Cultivation in the Himalaya* (Dehradun: International Book Distributors, 1991*) 152pp.
- Salehuddin Ahmed and Gerrit van Vuren, *Small Scale Irrigation and the Rural Poor in South Asia* (Dhaka: CIRDP, 1990*) 152pp.
- Maggie Black, *From Handpumps to Health: The Evolution of Water and Sanitation Programmes in Bangladesh, India*

and Nigeria (New York: Unicef, 1990) 133pp.

• Peter Morgan, *Rural Water Supplies and Sanitation: A Text from Zimbabwe's Blair Research Laboratory* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publ Ltd, 1990) 358pp. The emphasis is on practical, realistic and appropriate solutions to the fundamental problems in establishing and maintaining clean water supplies in areas without ready access to a reliable source of water.

• Armand Kassogué with Jean Dolo and Tom Ponsioen, *Traditional Soil and Water Conservation on the Dogon Plateau, Mali*, 18pp; Oussouby Touré, *Where Herders don't Herd Anymore: Experience from the Ferlo, Northern Senegal*, 21pp. (London: IIED, 1990*).

• UNSO, *Ecological Monitoring: The Senegal Model*, 28pp; *Lakes of Grass: Regenerating Bourgou in the Inner Delta of the Niger River*, 15pp. (New York: UNDP, 1990).

National space

Three major books by Amartya Sen and Jean Drèze in the WIDER Studies in Development Economies published by Clarendon Press (Oxford: 1989 and 1990):

• Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen, *Hunger and Public Action*, 373pp. This is a study on the role that public action can play in eradicating hunger and famines. It covers a wide range of issues, including the nutritional, economic, social and political causes of hunger, the strategy of famine prevention, the connections between economic growth and public support, the influence of class and gender conflicts, the role of adversarial politics and the relationship between state action and public action. The book also includes a large number of case studies.

• Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen (eds), *The Political Economy of Hunger*

- Vol I: *Entitlement and Well-Being*, 492pp.

This volume addresses policy issues relating to the role of public action in combating hunger and deprivation in the modern world. It deals with the background nutritional, economic, social and political aspects of the problem of world hunger. The topics covered include the characteristics and causal antecedents of famines and endemic deprivation, the interconnections between economic and political factors, the role of social relations and the family, the special problems of women's deprivation, the connection between food consumption and other indicators of living standards, and the medical aspects of undernourishment and its consequences. Several chapters also address the political background of public policy, in particular the connection between the government and the public, including the role of newspapers and the media, and the part played by political commitment and by adversarial politics and pressures;

- Vol II: *Famine Prevention*, 400pp. The topics covered include the problems of early warning and early action, the politics of famine prevention, the influence of market responses, the role of cash support and employment provision in protecting threatened food entitlements, and long-term issues of reduction of famine vulnerability. In addition to general analyses, the book contains a number of case-studies of failures and successes in famine prevention, both in South Asia and in Sub-Saharan Africa.

• Ehtisham Ahmad, Jean Drèze, John Mills and Amartya Sen (eds), *Social Security in Developing Countries*, 477pp. There is no single approach which can guarantee the security of living conditions which so many people desperately lack. There is, however, much that can be done and many important lessons to be drawn

from a wide variety of approaches which have been taken. Some of the chapters here explore broad themes, others describe social security provisions in various regions in India, South Asia, China, Latin America, and Southern Africa. Lessons from Western systems are explored, as are traditional social security systems and the role of the family in Third World village societies. The authors aim to put the subject of social security firmly on the agenda of development economics research and to stimulate further work in this area, as well as making the problems of poverty alleviation accessible to a much wider audience.

- Kari Polanyi-Levitt (ed), *The Life and Work of Karl Polanyi* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990*) 264pp. Karl Polanyi's concern for the peaceful co-existence of differing social, political and economic formations prompted him to extend economics beyond the laws of market exchange to the study of the place of the economy in society. His conviction that market economy remakes society, led him to warn against what he saw as 'a growing and humiliating enslavement to the material' that would lead to the disintegration of the cultural environment. What was needed, if humankind was to retain its humanity, was a social transformation, a building of a new society. The interest that Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* (1944) continues to attract confirm the relevance of his thought on a number of contemporary issues. In the current extravagant glorification of 'the magic of the marketplace' we have urgent need of Karl Polanyi's visionary insights. *The Life and Work of Karl Polanyi* is a volume of conference papers that presents Karl Polanyi in the perspective of his work and life in Budapest, Vienna, London and New York. US\$19.95.
- David Bevan, Paul Collier, Jan Willem Gunning with Arne Bigsten and Paul Horsnell, *Controlled Open Economies: A Neoclassical Approach to Structuralism*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) 367pp.
- Joel Jay Kassiola, *The Death of Industrial Civilization: The Limits to Economic Growth and the Repoliticization of Advanced Industrial Society* (Albany: SUNY, 1990) 297pp. This book explains how the contemporary ecological crisis within industrial society is caused by the values inherent in unlimited economic growth and competitive materialism. Kassiola shows that the limits-to-growth critique of industrial civilization is the most effective stance against what seems to be a dominant and invincible social order. He describes the social changes that must be implemented in order to transform industrial society into a sustainable and more satisfying one.
- Donald McGranahan, Wolf Scott and Claude Richard, *Qualitative Indicators of Development* (Geneva: Unrisd*) 30pp.
- Reed Brody (ed), *Attacks on Justice: The Harassment and Persecution of Judges and Lawyers* (Geneva: CIJL, 1990*) 107pp.
- Forum Civique Européen, *RDA - Un an après: Berlin le 4 novembre 1990 - Rencontre européenne, Bilan et projets* (Forcalquier: 1991*) 56pp.
- A. Tóth and L. Gábor, *Hungary under the Reform* (Budapest: Coordinating Council of Program Ts-3, 1989*) 179pp. The deepening economic and social crisis, the rapidly changing political prospects from February 1989 shows the need for a new type of social organization. The authors report on the state of affairs and outline possible alternative solutions.
- Brahim Brahimi, *Le pouvoir, la presse et les intellectuels en Algérie* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1989) 309pp. Attentif aux rapports entre la nature du régime politi-

que et la situation de la presse, l'auteur développe une analyse critique sur l'empire du pouvoir sur l'information; il fait le procès de la "Basse Intelligentsia" et dénonce les fonctionnaires de la culture qui bloquent la création intellectuelle. En lisant ce livre, écrit avant les événements d'octobre 1988, on comprendra pourquoi la jeunesse algérienne s'est révoltée avec autant de violence. Si les manifestants ont occupé la rue pour crier leur mécontentement ce n'est pas seulement à cause de l'échec du système éducatif, du chômage, de la cherté de la vie.

- Unctad, *Data base extracts on economic issues and related Israeli practices in the occupied Palestinian territory (West Bank and Gaza Strip), January-December 1989*, 34pp; *Assistance to the Palestinian People - Recent economic development in the occupied Palestinian territory*, 25pp; (Geneva: 1990)
- Chahrokh Vaziri, *Elites et mirages: acteurs et séquences révolutionnaires en Iran: 1977-1979* (Lausanne: CEDJ, 1990*) 220pp. Le mouvement de contestation du régime impérial a commencé par des protestations venues des rangs de l'élite intellectuelle et politique, au nom des Droits de l'Homme, et de la démocratie. Une longue période de dépolitisation de la société, l'absence de pratiques démocratiques et d'exercice d'institutions libres, au cours des années précédentes, eurent pour conséquence que lorsque le mouvement religieux affirma son hégémonie les élites changèrent de discours et acceptèrent la direction religieuse.
- Wilfred A. Ndongko and Franklin Vivekananda, *Economic Development of Cameroon* (Stockholm: Bethany Books, 1990*) 248pp. This book examines Cameroonian economic policies before and since 1960: population growth, colonial development policies, revenue allocation under the federal system, changing structure of wages and salaries, regional economic planning, finance and budget policies, external economic and trade relations and the evolution of the economy since independence.
- Jean Marie Gankou, *La politique économique du Cameroun: son impact sur la croissance depuis 1960* (Neuchâtel: Centre de Recherche sur le Développement, 1991*) 80pp.
- José Trouvé, *Eléments pour l'approche des indicateurs sociaux en Côte d'Ivoire* (Genève: Unrisd, 1990*) 47pp.
- Siegfried Pausewang, Fantu Cheru, Stefan Brüne and Eshetu Chole (eds), *Ethiopia: Rural Development Options* (London: Zed Books, 1990*) 256pp. Ever since the disastrous famine of the mid-1980s, the Ethiopian government has been under pressure to change its rural development policies. These essays challenge the simple dichotomy of market economy versus socialist collectivization, and represent a set of options reflecting the researchers' experience of rural Ethiopian society. Sections cover the domestic and international context, state-peasant relations, environment, population and resource management.
- Grete Brochmann and Arve Ofstad, *Mozambique: Norwegian Assistance in a Context of Crisis* (Fantoft: Chr Michelsen Institute, 1990*) 173pp. This study presents an assessment of Norwegian aid policies and programmes in Mozambique since independence, in the context of continuing war and economic crisis.
- Hans Gustafsson, Bertil Odén and Andreas Tegen, *South African Minerals: An Analysis of Western Dependence* (Uppsala: SIAS, 1990*) 48pp.
- Elke Grawert, *Impacts of Male Outmigration on Women: Case Study of Kutum/Nor-*

thern Darfur/Sudan, 23pp; Badr-el-din A. Ibrahim, *An Evaluation of the Empirical Studies on Handicrafts and Small Scale Industrial Activities in Sudan*, 23pp; Eltigani S. Mohamed and Bashir O.M. Fadlalla, *Problems Arresting Private Sector Development in Western Sudan*, 18pp; B. Yongo-Bure, *Economic Development of the Southern Sudan: An Overview and a Strategy* (University of Bremen, 1990*).

- Isaria N. Kimambo, *Penetration & Protest in Tanzania* (London: James Currey, 1990*) 224pp. The originality of this study of rural transformation stems from the way in which Kimambo has used the oral tradition to reveal the history of the impact of the world economy in northeastern Tanzania. First under the pressures of commodity trade, and later under German and British domination, the peasant producers of this region were forced into participation in capitalist production. These partial changes destroyed a balanced subsistence structure. But throughout the colonial period they were frustrated in their efforts to transform themselves fully into capitalist producers. These struggles finally led to open revolt in 1947 and it was three years before the protest ended. Between 1947 and 1960 the colonial government tried to reverse the effects of the revolt without providing the kind of transformation desired by the peasants.

- Muhammad Nasir Gazdar, *An Assessment of Kalabagh Dam Project on the River Indus, Pakistan* (Karachi: Environmental Management Society, 1990*).

- Asia Watch, *Prison Conditions in Indonesia* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1990*) 76pp. In this report, Asia Watch charges that beatings of prisoners are a common part of Indonesian prison operations, and corrupt practices by prison staff permeate every aspect of prison life. Asia Watch visited seven prisons, but was not permitted private meetings with inmates.

Interviews with ex-prisoners, both political and criminal, are the source for numerous accounts of prison life that contrast sharply with the "official version".

- John Weeks and Phil Gunson, *Panama: Made in the USA* (London: Latin America Bureau, 1991*) 131pp. This book explores the unanswered questions behind the invasion of December 1989 and looks at the turbulent history of US-Panamanian relations, in particular the bitter struggle for control of the Panama Canal. It analyses the economic and geo-strategic importance of a country literally created by and for the US government.

- Josefina Ríos de Hernández y Nelson Prato, *Las Transformaciones de la Agricultura Venezolana: De la Agroexportación a la Agroindustria*, 106pp; Ocarina Castillo D'Imperio, *Los años del buldozer: Ideología y Política 1948-1958*, 228pp. (Caracas: Fondo Editorial Tropykos, Cendes, 1990*) 228pp.

Regional space

- Instituto del Tercer Mundo, *Third World Guide 91/92: The World as seen by the Third World* (Montevideo: 1990*) 612pp. The 18th edition of this major Guide written by Third World people, published in the Third World for the Third World starts with a section on *Life* in its different aspects: life-giving (fertility, birth-control), growing (children, education), life-maintaining (food, housing, health), living in society (human rights, labor, migration, sports) and dying, which is part of living. *Death*, not as an integral part of every individual life, but as all those forces opposed to life itself - arms, pollution, resource depletion, the greenhouse effect - is explored within this section, as well. *Power and Poverty* are the subjects of the second section. Money as a major expression of power is what economics is all

about, but the reader should not forget the power of the media, that of politics and diplomacy, the new power of the drug industry and the rising protagonism of social movements and citizens' organizations. The section ends with articles on poverty, conceived of here as power-deprivation. *North and South* are currently the extremes of the present world duality, ever since East and West joined hands. *Yesterday* deals with history, of course, particularly that of the 500th anniversary of the arrival of Europeans to the New World, which not by coincidence is also the 500th anniversary of European presence in India. *Tomorrow* is not a chapter on futurology or projections, but rather a section where the authors discuss the new approaches needed to face the present problems. Countries and territories follow, in alphabetical order. Finally, global statistics and indexes should help the reader guide himself through the pages of the book.

- Göran Lindgren, Peter Wallensteen and Kjell-Åke Nordquist (eds), *Issues in Third World conflict Resolution* (Uppsala: Dept of Peace and Conflict Research, 1990*) 338pp. Part I of this collective book focuses on issues in conflict resolution (including human rights and the civil society) and Part II on processes with chapters on ethnically divided societies, internal conflicts and external interventions, and various approaches to reconciliation. Examples are drawn from the Philippines, Mexico, Central America, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Sudan, Guatemala, India, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.
- Abdelkader Sid-Ahmed, *Development and Resource-Based Industry: The Case of the Petroleum Economies* (Vienna: Opec Fund for International Development, 1990) 70pp.
- Philip Hurst, *Rainforest Politics: Ecological Destruction in Southeast Asia* (London:

Zed Books, 1990*) 303pp. The second largest area of tropical rainforest and the greatest diversity of tree species in the world are to be found in Southeast Asia. Each year, 25,000 sq km. of these forests are being clear-felled. It is not only the rural poor of these regions who are threatened, but all humanity. For tropical rainforests are reservoirs of the hugely diverse genetic material essential for reinvigorating cultivated crops. Tropical forests are also the 'lungs of the world'; just as crucial is their role as natural regulators of the world's climate. In each of these six case studies - the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Thailand and Burma - the author sets out the environmental, human and economic consequences of forest destruction. He shows how its causes are rooted in an exploitation of natural resources for Western markets. In addition, a range of other factors play a role, including the land hunger of small farmers deprived of their traditional farming areas, wrongly conceived development strategies, and the pressures of foreign debt. The author stresses the urgent need to involve local people in the care and management of the remaining forest areas.

- *Lawasia Regional Country Report* (Manila: Lawasia Human Rights Committee, 1990*) 312pp. + appendix 16pp.
- Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (London: James Currey, 1990*) 428pp. In Africa there is a terrain almost as large as western Europe that remains *terra incognita* for the historian. The rainforests of equatorial Africa and their approaches cover all of southern Cameroon, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, and the Congo, and half of Zaire; they spill over into the Central African Republic and Cabinda in Angola. Today some 12 million people live there. This synthesis of 3000 years of equatorial African history

shows that just as the rainforest habitats differed from place to place, so too its societies differed among themselves and were far more complex than has been realized. There is indeed a political, social and economic history to be recovered, along with a rich history of concepts, values and ideologies. *Paths in the Rainforests* reconstructs that history for the first time: the original settlement of the forest by the western Bantu; the periods of expansion and innovation in agriculture; the development of metallurgy; the rise and fall of political forms and centers of power; the coming of the Atlantic trade and colonialism; and the conquest of the rainforest by colonial powers and the destruction of a way of life. *Paths in the Rainforests'* reinterpretations challenge all those who reflect on the history of human institutions.

- Bill Rau, *From Feast to Famine: Official Cures and Grassroots Remedies to Africa's Food Crisis* (London: Zed Books, 1991*) 213pp. Famine is again threatening Africa. Six years after the great famine in Ethiopia, the question must be asked: Why has this happened again? Whilst that question is both vital and valid, Bill Rau maintains that the answers given are often too limited in their scope. Famine, he argues, is not purely a natural occurrence nor an act of nature; famine is also a social and political process. The author begins with an analysis of African history; from pre-colonial self-sufficiency to the colonial period and the subsequent famines which mark Africa's post-colonial heritage. This story is the key to understanding the present situation. Turning to current development strategies, Bill Rau provides a critical analysis of post-independence policies including those of the IMF/World Bank and the international development agencies. The hope for the future will not be found in Washington or Geneva, but in Africa's rural backwaters and urban slums. It is here that the most

creative response to the crisis is emerging. The poor have largely withdrawn from the formal market and are developing in its place a highly innovative and informal network and production.

- Mette Bovin and Leif Manger (eds), *Adaptive Strategies in African Arid Lands* (Uppsala: SIAS, 1990*) 181pp. Adaptive strategies cannot be fully understood on the basis of environmental constraints alone.

- Robin Horton et al, *La pensée métisse - Croyances africaines et rationalité occidentale en question* (Paris: PUF/Genève: lued*, 1990) 264pp. En choisissant ce thème, les Cahiers de l'UED souhaitent entrouvrir un espace de réflexion où puissent se révéler les sons d'une autre partition autour de l'unité, de la diversité et de l'universalité. Pensée traditionnelle et rationalité scientifique sont destinées à s'entrecroiser dans les allées de la modernité et du développement. D'abord parce que l'Occident croit qu'il existe une rationalité alors que la science est aussi une croyance. Il est aussi important de comprendre le fondement de la science que celui des croyances pour que cesse la suprématie de l'une sur l'autre au nom d'un universel culturel et technique qui invalide et appauvrit, la "richesse" des nations dans leurs différences.

- Medard Rwelamira, *Refugees in a Chess Game: Reflections on Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland Refugee Policies* (Uppsala: SIAS, 1990*) 64pp.

- Art Hansen, *Refugee Self-Settlement Versus Settlement on Government Schemes: The Long-Term Consequences for Security, Integration and Economic Development of Angolan Refugees (1966-1989) in Zambia* (Geneva: Unrisd, 1990*) 44pp.

- Sharon Stanton Russel, Karen Jacobsen and William Deane Stanley, *International*

Migration and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa (Washington, The World Bank, 1990) 168pp.

- Africa Leadership Forum, *The Leadership Challenge of Economic Reforms in Africa*, 141pp; *Les problèmes de la production agricole et de la sécurité alimentaire en Afrique*, 16pp. (Abeokuta: 1989*).

- Research Group on African Development Perspectives Bremen, *African Development Perspectives Yearbook 1989*, Vol I: "Human Dimensions of Adjustment" (Berlin: Verlag Schelzky & Jeep, 1990*) 692pp. Experts from African and international organisations, from universities and research institutions, from government and citizens' associations report on problems and solutions, new policies, programmes, projections and visions. Africa's development perspectives are analysed and commented from the global to the local space, by reprinting important documents dealing with Africa's development options, by presenting analytical surveys and statements, declarations and programmes of international, regional, national and voluntary organisations.

- Homero Luis Hernandez, *América Latina en Busca de su Identidad* (Santo Domingo: Agendas Dominicanas, 1989*) 198pp. Es un estudio sobre las consecuencias sociales y políticas en América Latina derivadas del proceso económico en los últimos años y los problemas que en todos los órdenes el Continente presenta. El autor no se limita a hacer sus observaciones, sino que fue tomando notas de cada uno de los hechos subsecuentes en su contacto con los pueblos en los que le ha tocado vivir en su condición de diplomático y funcionario internacional. La obra enfoca de manera muy personal, ovalada por sus años de experiencia dentro de organismos internacionales, la crisis por la que atraviesa América Latina. La obra consiste de varios

capítulos con juicios críticos sobre la realidad del continente americano. Entre los temas analizados, en el libro sobresalen la deuda externa, la democracia, el desarme y un análisis sobre el tiempo perdido y desconocimiento mutuo en las relaciones entre el Caribe y América del Sur debido en parte a la falta de comunicación.

- Aline Frambes-Buxeda (comp), *Confederación Latinoamericana: Edificación de un proyecto para el futuro* (San Juan: Homines, 1990*) 219pp.

- Anabella Busso, *Estados Unidos y la redemocratización latinoamericana: Los condiciones externos* (Rosario: Cerir, 1990*) 58pp.

- Fawzy Mansour, *L'impasse du monde arabe, les racines historiques* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990) 230pp. Le monde arabe contemporain n'a pas su jusqu'ici se moderniser véritablement. Dans les réponses qu'il apporte, l'auteur met l'accent sur les racines lointaines du problème, qui font du passé un présent qui continue à peser lourdement et négativement sur le développement de cette partie du monde. Ce passé a pourtant permis que se mette en place une véritable structure protocapitaliste, qui aurait dû favoriser l'implantation du système. Après une tentative d'explication de cet avortement, une contribution de Samir Amin élargit le champ du débat à l'ensemble des systèmes antérieurs au capitalisme moderne.

- Ian Anthony, Agnès Courades Allebeck and Herbert Wulf, *West European Arms Production: Structural Changes in the New Political Environment* (Stockholm: Sipri, 1990) 71pp.

- Hilary F. French, *Green Revolutions: Environmental Reconstruction in Eastern*

Europe and the Soviet Union (Washington: Worldwatch Institute, 1990*) 62pp.

Global space

- Cary Fowler and Pat Mooney, *Shattering Food, Politics and the Loss of Genetic Diversity* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990*) 278pp. The authors forecast a gloomy future for another source of diversity - traditional crops of the world, which are being crowded out by more uniform seed varieties. As native farmers abandon the old landraces for "high tech" seeds promising greater yields, genes lost through extinction can never be regained. "Use it or lose it," say Fowler and Mooney of the traditional varieties whose genes could, for example, rescue a future crop from disease or adapt it to new human needs. This is "life at the end of the limb," they warn, since the newer strains of wheat, corn, rice and other food crops may one day desperately need genes from the very seeds they are replacing. "Diversity - what difference does it make?" ask the authors. They then point to the Irish potato famine and other more recent disasters, as evidence that uniformity leaves crops open to ruin. They further show that the world's richest genetic resources are found in the tropical latitudes of Third World regions. Wealthy industrialized nations - grain rich but gene poor - increasingly look to Africa, Asia and Central America for the germplasm they need, thus bringing international politics into play.

- Christopher Flavin and Nicholas Lenssen, *Beyond the Petroleum Age: Designing a Solar Economy* (Washington: Worldwatch Institute, 1990*) 65pp.

- Lester R. Brown, *State of the World 1991* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1991) 254pp. How can we design a world economy that does not destroy the natural resources and environmental systems on

which it depends? That is *the* question of the 1990s, and the question to which *State of the World 1991* provides its answer. From energy production to urban transportation and from forest management to the reuse of common materials, *State of the World 1991* details how we can provide the energy and goods the world needs in a way that is sustainable - that does not consume the resource base of future generations. The authors conclude that partially replacing income taxes with environmental taxes is the key to quickly transforming our environmentally unsustainable global economy into one that is sustainable. Such "green" taxes would add charges to the burning of fossil fuels, the use of nonrecyclable materials, and the discharge of toxic wastes while generating income for environmentally sound development.

- Unicef, *The State of the World's Children 1991* (Oxford University Press) 128pp. On 30 September 1990, the World Summit for children brought together the largest gathering of Presidents and Prime Ministers in history. The outcome was a promise to the children of the 1990s - a promise to end child deaths and child malnutrition on today's scale by the year 2000 - and to provide basic protection for the normal physical and mental development of all the world's children. The Declaration and Plan of Action adopted by the Summit is published with this year's *State of the World's Children* report, as is the full text of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The report's panels describe all 22 of the specific goals for the year 2000 and show why they are now attainable and affordable. This year's report therefore serves as a basic record of the commitment made by the world community, in respect of its children, for the decade ahead. The great effort called for can only be sustained, concludes the report, if a new ethic for children emerges in the 1990s .

- Robert Repetto, *Promoting Environmentally Sound Economic Progress: What the North can do* (Washington: World Resources Institute, 1990*) 21pp.

- Andrew Chetley, *A Healthy Business? World Health and the Pharmaceutical Industry* (London: Zed Books, 1990*) 206pp. The book traces the campaign for a more sensible use of drugs. The World Health Organisation has developed a list of 200 'essential drugs' - a concept strongly opposed by the industry at first. Countries as diverse as the Philippines, Bangladesh, Kenya and Peru have tried to make rational drug policies work. Even in industrialised countries, the 'therapeutic jungle' is being trimmed back. How is the industry responding to these pressures? As biotechnology opens up the prospect of a new round of miracle drugs, what is the relationship between modern medicines and people's health? Is a profitable pharmaceutical industry compatible with a healthy world? And as we approach the year 2000, this book asks whether the WHO goal of 'Health for All' is poised to become a triumphant reality or an embarrassing relic.

- O. Blanchard et al, *World Imbalances: WIDER World Economy Group 1989 Report* (Helsinki: WIDER, 1989*) 137pp. Among the proliferating reports on the world economy, this one, coming as it does from the non-governmental, independent and competent institute directed by Lal Jayawardena, strikes immediately by its forthrightness. The WIDER World Economy group addresses squarely the USA's twin deficits showing that the US external current account deficit is neither the result of a strong economy, nor of increased investment opportunities in the US, nor of rising protectionism abroad. The deficit is seen quite simply as "the direct result of low national saving". It addresses also European unemployment (18 million people), the debt burden and economic

distress in the Third World, and for each problem it offers alternative policies and measures. We are looking forward to the subsequent editions.

- Magnus Blomström, *Transnational Corporations and Manufacturing Exports from Developing Countries* (New York: UNCTC, Sales N°E.90.II.A.21) 124pp. The study compares the impact of transnational corporations from three important home countries, Japan, Sweden and the United Nations, and their effect on the exports of Third World countries in Asia and Latin America.

- The Evert Vermeer Foundation, *Solidarity Against Poverty: A Socialist Program from Holland* (Amsterdam: 1990*) 175pp. Jan Tinbergen writes that "solidarity and social security are not only necessary within the boundaries of each country but also internationally. The world-wide distribution of income is even more unfair than it is within industrial countries. This is the view of the Evert Vermeer Foundation [an autonomous citizens' association associated with the Dutch Labour Party]. More aid, but especially better quality aid is needed, preferably to be spent in the Third World, promoting South-South trade. Aid requires listening to and cooperating with the poor themselves. Greater awareness and more effective organization of the poor and of poor countries are essential preconditions for a better policy, as much as international structural changes. After analyzing the problems of distribution between and within countries, this book indicates a way to fight poverty effectively. A social democratic development policy should stimulate organization of the poor and remove international barriers to that goal". Este libro es también publicado en castellano: *Solidaridad contra la pobreza: Un programa socialista de Holanda*.

- C. Schweigman and U.T. Bosma (eds), *Research and development cooperation:*

The role of the Netherlands (Amsterdam: KIT Press, 1990*) 192pp. This book focuses on two themes: Dutch research on development issues and the role of the Netherlands in the strengthening of research capacities in Third World countries. The debate concentrates on five criteria: scientific quality; long-term institutional cooperation; continuity in funding; proper management; interdisciplinary approach.

- Antonio Gonzalez Norris y Hélan Jaworski, *Cooperación internacional para el desarrollo: Políticas, gestión y resultados* (Lima: Grade, 1990*) 280pp. Este libro recoge los resultados de un estudio realizado en Grade en 1988, en el cual se revisaron las motivaciones, mecanismos, modalidades y montos de la cooperación de tres países europeos y un americano con el Perú. Se examina la evolución de la cooperación externa para el desarrollo peruano en el período 1972-1988 y se evalúan las políticas de cooperación de cuatro fuentes bilaterales de cooperación: Alemania, Holanda, Italia y Canadá.

- Sophia Mappa (ed), *Ambitions et illusions de la coopération Nord-Sud: Lomé IV* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990). Actes d'un colloque organisé par le Forum de Delphes en novembre 1989.

- OECD, *Development Co-Operation: Efforts and Policies of the Members of the Development Assistance Committee* (Paris: 1990) 272pp. The 1990 DAC Report, Chairman Joseph Wheeler discusses critical development questions for the 1990s, with a special focus on the interrelated subjects of environment, population and development. The Report includes the usual statistical data on official development assistance.

- OECD/OCDE, *Directory of Non-Governmental Development Organisations in OECD Member Countries/Répertoire des organisations non gouvernementales de*

développement dans les pays membres de l'OCDE (Paris: 1990) 708pp. This updated edition of a most useful tool provides concise descriptions of the aims, education work and activities of 2,542 Ngos in OECD countries. Cross-referenced indexes facilitate access to information on "who is doing what and where". Documenting the wide range of these activities, this Directory is a unique and comprehensive guide for development planners and practitioners worldwide. A special discount price is offered to Ngos if they apply directly to External Cooperation, Ngo Section, OECD Development Centre, 94 rue Chardon Lagache, 75016 Paris, France.

- Anthony Lake et al, *Reconstruction in Afghanistan, Indochina, Central America, Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa: After the Wars* (Washington: ODC, 1990*) 197pp. The end of the Cold War is also reverberating far beyond its European theatre - in the Third World killing fields of Afghanistan, Indochina, Central America and both Southern Africa and the continent's Horn. But beyond peacemaking lie the delicate challenges of peacekeeping and huge tasks of political, social and economic construction as much as reconstruction in some of the world's poorest areas. The authors offer practical ideas - not some grand outside reconstruction plan - both to stimulate and assist local planners as they address the future and to encourage continued attention to their needs in the international community.

- Movimiento de la Paz, *Encuentro internacional por la paz, el desarme y la vida: Resúmenes de las ponencias I* (Mérida: 1988*) 209pp. La Universidad de Los Andes ha dedicado todo su esfuerzo a la preparación del Encuentro Internacional por la Paz, el Desarme y la Vida como parte de un proyecto de trabajo dedicado a concientizar a diversos sectores: educativos, gremiales, vecinales, obreros, cul-

torales, políticos y pueblo en general, sobre la importancia del compromiso en la lucha por la paz y la justicia social. Es significativo el número y variedad de ponencias recibidas, cuyos resúmenes estan recogidos en esta publicación.

- J.S. Mathur, *Peace, Non-Violence and World Order - Gandhian Perspective* (Allahabad: Basant Bihari Jai Rani Foundation, 1990*)

- Peuples solidaires, *L'armement chimique: étroite frontière entre le civil et le militaire...* (Toulouse: 1990*) 28pp.

- Gerard Holden, *The End of an Alliance: Soviet Policy and the Warsaw Pact, 1989-90* (Frankfurt: Prif, 1990*) 36pp.

- Michael Brzoska, *Military Trade, aid and Developing Country Debt* (Hamburg: IPW*) 63pp.

- Laurie S. Wiseberg (ed), *A Guide to Establishing a Human Rights Documentation Centre: Report of a Unesco-Unu International Training Seminar on the Handling of Documentation & Information on Human Rights* (Ottawa: Human Rights Internet, 1990*) 80pp.

- Human Rights Internet, *A Special Bibliographic Issue: The Year 1989 in Review* (Ottawa: 1990*) 276pp.

- Arnd Bernaerts, *Bernaerts' Guide to the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea*, including the text of the UN Convention and Final Act (Coulson: Fairplay Publications, 1988*) 363pp. This book takes a detailed look at the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, which as the constitution of the ocean is a largely political document and will have a significant and increasing influence on the development of relations between the world's maritime states as well as on international affairs in general. The author,

a qualified attorney and judge, uses his considerable sea-going experience and legal expertise as a practicing lawyer and doctor of law to produce what is arguably the definitive work on this subject, outlining the scope and aims of the UN Convention and the basic framework within which the numerous regulations have been placed.

- Samir Amin, Giovanni Arrighi, André Gunder Frank et Immanuel Wallerstein, *Le grand tumulte? Les mouvements sociaux dans l'économie-monde* (Paris: La Découverte, 1990) 210pp. Cet ensemble d'études examine la "crise" dans les mouvements qui, dans le monde entier, s'opposent à toutes les formes de domination et d'exploitation. Qu'il y ait impasse de ce que l'on a appelé le "socialisme réellement existant" ne doit pas laisser oublier que partout s'organisent ou se réorganisent les résistances au "capitalisme réellement existant". Ce qui se passe à l'Est de l'Europe ne saurait ni justifier le libéralisme, ni faire croire que le système mondial actuel serait par nature éternel. Cette recherche collective s'efforce de dégager des perspectives dans le cadre d'un objectif de libération humaine. C'est à ce critère qu'elle mesure les résultats obtenus par les révolutions du XXe siècle. Chacun des auteurs esquisse des voies d'avenir pour les mouvements sociaux qui traversent l'économie-monde. Il y a certes des nuances entre les conclusions, mais tout le livre va à l'encontre de tendances actuelles qui voudraient enterrer à jamais un idéal socialiste auquel les auteurs sont attachés, non par un acte de foi, mais à la suite de recherches scrupuleuses et méthodiques. Il reste que si l'avènement d'un ordre mondial meilleur que celui que nous subissons est possible, rien n'en garantit la certitude.

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(The addresses of the 174 periodicals mentioned below appear in alphabetical order at the end of this section).

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